

The Infrastructural Monument

Stalin's Water Works under Construction and in Representation



1. After Mikhailov's maps. "With lines and signs on the map, history draws its path." Drawn by author.

In the Stalinist era, the task of representing memory, sovereignty, and history was given to the Soviet water works—canals, dams, and reservoirs. This infrastructure embraced the cultural program of monument making despite its otherwise efficiency-driven role as a utility. In the perceived misfit between traditional monumentality and the dispersed object of hydraulic infrastructure, a system of representation emerged that presented a unified image of nature transformed through politics. Due to its immense scale, both as a physical object and as a national utility, the representational role of the monument was separated from the physical object. Whereas the construction site of the canal was violently real, the public dissemination of its cultural value traveled through the mass-printed book to include the media of text, photomontage, drawing, and maps. The propaganda campaign produced an infrastructural monument by amplifying events as they unfolded in the present and constructing scenarios that depicted the future. In turn, these artistic representations influenced encounters with the reality of the completed infrastructure and, by extension, with the affected landscape. The infrastructural monument synthesized the imagery disseminated through mass media with the real, animate power of moving water to formulate a new state geography and, with it, a new Soviet mentality.

The Soviet water infrastructure was a system of dammed rivers and lakes linked by reservoirs and canals that formed navigable connections between the Baltic, White, Azov, Black, and Caspian Seas. Built under Stalin in the 1930s, the infrastructure connected an immense territory for the expedient traffic of goods. It also included dams and reservoirs for the production of nationalized sources of energy and water, and drained northern marshlands to move water southward into deserts, thus creating new agricultural zones. In addition to these functions, the canal network acted as a monument for the Communist regime by representing and distributing the Kremlin's power across the Soviet landscape. This inevitably recalls Georges Bataille's view of architecture as a medium for political representation, and therefore as always already a monument. He compares the great buildings of authoritarian regimes to grandiose dams built for the purpose of control:

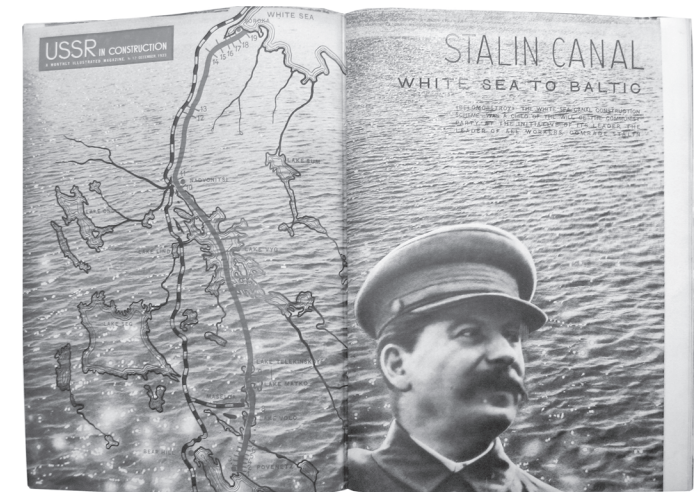
Architecture is the expression of the very being of societies, in the same way that human physiognomy is the expression of the being of individuals. However, it is more to the physiognomies of official characters (prelates, magistrates, admirals) that this comparison must be referred. In practice, only the ideal being of society, that which orders and prohibits with authority, expresses itself in what are architectural compositions in the strict sense of the term. Thus, the great monuments are raised up like dams, pitting the logic of majesty and authority against all the shady elements.¹

Bataille's metaphoric comparison of monuments to dams can be taken literally. For in the case of Stalin's political regime, as its power spread across the geography of the USSR, the water works came to represent his authority, monumentalizing his presence much like an architectural monument but on a geographic scale. Alexander Rodchenko's 1933 photo-essay for the journal *USSR in Construction* is one of the most deliberate examples of the water infrastructure being used as a representation of political power. Devoted to the construction of the White Sea–Baltic Canal, or “Belomor” in shorthand, the journal opens with a photomontage of Stalin's portrait set against a glittering, continuous, horizonless background of water (Figure 2). The caption reads:

“Belomorstroy,” the White Sea Canal construction scheme, was a child of the will of the Communist Party, at the initiative of its leader, the leader of all workers, Comrade Stalin.²

If architecture, or in this case infrastructure, is the expression of its political body, Rodchenko's formal superimposition of Stalin's face onto Belomor makes the case explicit. This photomontage of Communism's human physiognomy against the image of water constructs an identity for the canal and, by extension, for the water delivered by the canal to the people. Note also the ending of “stroy” in the term “Belomorstroy,” which is the root of the verb “to build.” Belomorstroy refers to the construction of Belomor, not to the completed canal. The propaganda campaign reached its height before the canal's completion. Perhaps it is not surprising that most of the literature related to the Soviet infrastructural works dealt with its construction and desired effect rather than the finished object and its quotidian utility. Monumentality could be more effectively constructed when the infrastructure was still purposeless, that is, before it was put to work.

2. Portrait of Stalin and map of Belomor, superimposed over background of water. Alexander Rodchenko, *USSR in Construction* 12 (1933), n.p. Courtesy of the Estate of Alexander Rodchenko/RAO, Moscow/VAGA, N.Y.



A vast literary campaign, begun in 1933 under the curatorial direction of Maxim Gorky, documented the construction of the hydraulic works of the Second Five Year Plan. Gorky, a novelist and playwright, edited a theatrical depiction of Belomor's construction. His 1934 book, *White Sea–Baltic Stalin Canal: History of Construction*, extended the themes pictured in the issue of *USSR in Construction* through narrative. He was also the chief editor of another popular journal, *Our Achievements*, which was the first to publish the work of Nikolai Mikhailov, a geographer whose essays described the futuristic changes that would ensue from these hydraulic works.³ Following Gorky's death and the censorship of his book, several other accounts were written to document the progress of the landscape in construction. Among them can be found *Volga Goes to Moscow* (1938), by Pavel I. Lopatin, and an unpublished manuscript, *The Moscow–Volga Canal* (1939). Both monumentalized the second stretch of the Soviet canal network, which connected the Volga and Moscow rivers. Finally, Mikhailov's popular book of maps, *Over the Map of the Motherland (Nad kartoï rodiny, 1947)*, envisaged a new geography and horticulture that would emerge from the reversal of rivers and the relocation of water from the swamps into the deserts.

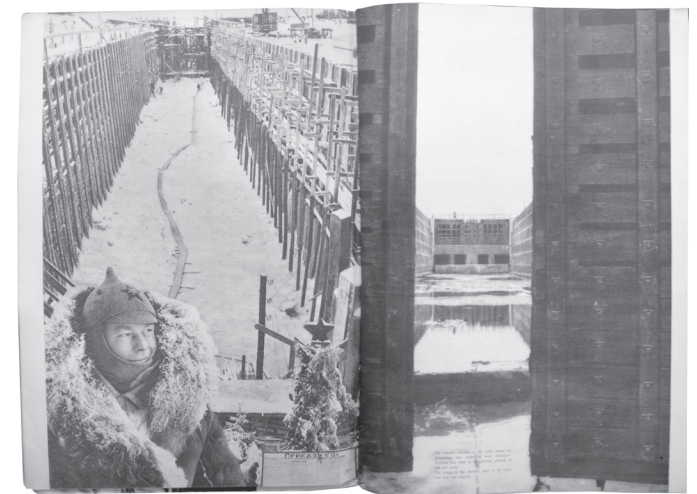
In other words, the book was the preferred format for disseminating information and for monumentalizing this infrastructure. Here, the media of text, photograph, and map could be consolidated under the leadership of one strategically appointed editor, chosen by Stalin to directly supervise the production of a unified narrative. An added advantage to this format was that its tone could be less journalistic and construct fictional realities or represent future scenarios. Perhaps most important, however, was the fact that books placed the physical presence of the monument within reach of the masses.

El Lissitzky saw the power of the book format as “the most monumental art form today.” In the age of “dematerialization,” he explained, transmissions over telephone and radio displaced material letters and newspapers, yet the book remained the sole physical medium to extend into the age of immaterial communication. Thus, Lissitzky argued that the book was more than a mere fetish for the bourgeoisie: “no longer is it fondled by the delicate hands of a bibliophile, but seized by a hundred thousand hands . . . We shall be satisfied if we can conceptualize the epic and the lyric developments of our times in our form of the book.”⁴ The book preserved the canals in history even as they were being built. The act of narrating their construction historicized them, monumentalized them, and turned them into heritage. The canals were documented, disseminated, and preserved before construction was completed.

Although, like Lissitzky, many artists embraced the political ambition of reaching the public, the book format subordinated the variety of mediums to a single political purpose, forcefully absorbing the avant-garde into the power of the state. For example, the context for Gorky’s book, *Stalin Canal*, was the Gulag, or The Chief Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps, which administered the construction as well as the journalistic documentation of the first large canal in the Soviet network. The reality of the labor camp was severe: of the 130,000 laborers who were conscripted to labor on the White Sea–Baltic Canal, 50,000 died.⁵ The infrastructure (built primarily of wood, with some concrete) stretched 226 kilometers in length and rose 102 meters in height, comprising nineteen locks and five dams. To document its construction, Gorky commissioned contributions from 120 authors and 30 illustrators and photographers—including literary critic Victor Shklovsky and photographer Alexander Rodchenko. These artists and journalists produced more than 600 pages of literary montage filled with personal stories, political rhetoric, photographic documentation, and semifictional accounts from inside the labor camp. In this narrative, nature was tamed and the prisoners were redeemed.

Redemption was promised not only to the construction workers of the canal, but also to those who participated in its representation. Avant-garde artists who were enlisted in the propaganda campaign found themselves on a new path, transforming art into a politically operative tool. As one anonymous writer of *Stalin Canal: History* claimed: “The Party and Stalin comprise . . . a never-ending sensation of the avant-garde.”⁶ The front page of the first issue of the Gulag newspaper displayed the slogan: “To the avant-garde of the great construction—a fiery hurrah!”⁷ With the artistic commu-

3. Belomor locks under construction.
Rodchenko, *USSR in Construction*, n.p.
Courtesy of the Estate of Alexander
Rodchenko/RAO, Moscow/VAGA, N.Y.



nity enlisted as a political army of workers, the term “avant-garde” regained its original military meaning. Rodchenko’s engagement in documenting Belomor’s construction exemplifies the participation of the avant-garde in the development of the state’s propaganda campaign. In *USSR in Construction*, he offered two different types of photographic images of the infrastructure: a sequence of frames depicting the lock under construction and an all-encompassing panoramic landscape. The sequence of vertically oriented photographs depicted the space created by the locks on an architectural scale while the panorama offered a broad geographic, even political, scale.

The first photograph of a lock, captured from above, emphasizes the monumental depth of the cut that it created in the surface of the earth (Figure 3). The horizon line, pushed to the top of the frame, refuses a view of the land and sky beyond. The colossal rectangular hole is given its scale by the two miniscule figures on its floor. The second image depicts the totalizing interior of the lock from beyond the half-open wooden gates. Photographed from within the canal, the empty lock is presented as a monumental room. Other photographs depict the lock filled with laborers. Wearing winter clothes and holding only a few shovels, those gathered in the frame seem to congregate in a peaceful setting rather than in a labor camp. A band plays to produce a festive atmosphere. The construction site is transformed into a city street, offering a public space in an otherwise harsh and empty landscape. The sequence of photographs captures the locks as most citizens would never see them, before they were filled with water. Because the scale of these spaces would soon dissolve into infrastructural utility, such a document could only be made during the canal’s construction, before its disappearance under water and dissolution into the landscape.

The lock was presented first as a colossal architectural abstraction; only later would it be given the scale of the human body, the street, and the globe. The sequence of photographs gradually unfolds the monumental dimensions of the dig. In a later, unpublished text from 1939, *The Moscow–Volga Canal*, the authors struggle with the same problem of describing the enormity of the lock, which by this time is filled with water. Using a familiar architectural object—a slab sunk inside a swimming pool—they described the unfamiliar architectural space of the lock as constructed in the landscape:

To estimate the immensity of these masses of water, imagine a great swimming pool, 42 meters in length, 25 meters in width, and 24 meters in depth. A six-story building would easily fit into this swimming pool.⁸

Calling the lock a “swimming pool,” the authors superimposed a familiar architectural object, scaled to the human body, onto the gigantic proportions of a geographic infrastructure. Together the pools formed “a stair to climb the mountain, but only out of water.”⁹ Swimming pools, slabs, and stairs—architectural elements and spaces—were defamiliarized in this new landscape. Architecture’s monumentality demanded a new geographic scale.

This scale can be traced in Rodchenko’s panoramic perspectives. Unlike his previous photographs, these compositions offered a futuristic image of an uninterrupted, continuous, and politicized geography. The panoramic spread juxtaposes scenes of a landscape before and after the canal’s construction (Figure 4). The barren grey land below smoothly transitions, through a color gradient, into the blue-toned laboring dam above. The horizon line, located at the center of each panorama, allows for a conventional ground (flat and rocky versus cut and filled with water) and middle ground (trees versus dam) to appear against the background of the neutral sky. Constructing the juxtaposition of before and after erases the time elapsed between the two states. The dam appears as if by magic and without human effort. Time collapses and labor disappears. The caption reads: “Mighty dams sprang up where there had formerly been forest.”¹⁰ The dams seem to be alive; they “spring” out of the landscape as if they were trees. These panoramic perspectives present a shift in Rodchenko’s aesthetic that is both formal and, as Benjamin Buchloh has argued, political. In writing about Lissitzky’s 1928 *Pressa* Exhibition and the 1933 German Werkbund Exhibition (*The Camera*), Buchloh traces a common shift in totalitarian regimes’ representational strategies away from photomontage and toward the uninterrupted perspective view:

4. “Mighty Dams sprang up where there had formerly been forest.” Landscape panoramas before and after Belomor’s construction. Rodchenko, *USSR in Construction*, n.p. Courtesy of the Estate of Alexander Rodchenko/RAO, Moscow/VAGA, N.Y.



To erase even the last remnant of modernist practice in photomontage . . . had now become a standard practice in totalitarian propaganda, and construction was replaced by the awe-inspiring monumentality of the gigantic, single-image panorama. What had once been the visual and formal incorporation of dialectics in the structure of the montage . . . we now find displaced by the unified spatial perspective (often the bird’s-eye-view) that travels over uninterrupted expanses (land, fields, water, masses) and thus naturalizes the perspective of governance and control, of the surveillance of the rulers’ omnipresent eye in the metaphor of nature as an image of a pacified social collective without history or conflict.¹¹

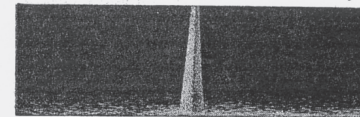
Conventional perspective constructions made such panoramic images of landscape as realistic as they were political. No longer alienated through forced camera angles or montage techniques, the photographically unified image of nature offered a pastoral place, organized under the watchful eye of the new regime. At Belomor, the new laboring landscape masks any sign of the conflict and violence that were inextricable from its construction history. As the labor camp was erased from memory in these panoramas, time collapsed into an image in which infrastructure was given a politically cleansed representation.

When put into action, the locks further played out the political smoothness of the panoramic images. The motion of the gates in each lock was controlled remotely through an automated system that masked all visible signs of labor. The infrastructure seemed animate, capable of responding intelligently to its visitors. Publications showed diagrams of the control center removed from the path of the canal, physically disconnected from any direct visual encounter. The machines in

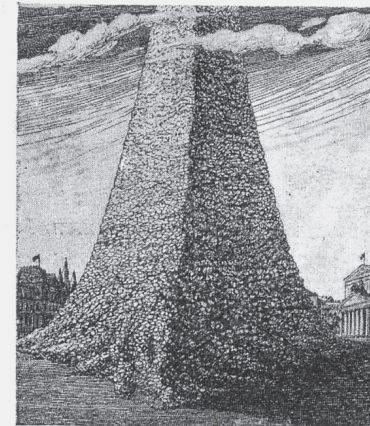
the locks, in other words, appeared to operate like automata. Under the ever-present gaze of the regime, the invisible power that controlled the infrastructure would have implicitly referred to the power of Communism. This conflation of mechanical and ideological power is evident in an account of Stalin entering the canal:

I noticed the conscientious, slightly squinting from the sun's rays eyes, dear and familiar face of comrade Stalin. I was introduced as the manager of the Perevan lock constructions . . . Upon my sign, the electrician on the opposite side of the lock, in his tower, picked up the telephone. And immediately, on the opposite end of the construction, in the tower on the upper head of the lock, the arms of the guard reached out to the remote control of the mechanisms. A light push of the button. The shutters of the opened lock gates soundlessly begin to close. I bring comrade Stalin's attention to the smooth movement of the shutters. "Yes," says comrade Stalin, "the gates are closing very smoothly" . . . The mirrored glass of the regulating mechanisms tower shivered from the astonished screams. On the decks of the ships, hundreds of people ran to the port side. Tourists started to wave their hands, yelling "hurray," they picked up their children, waving their kerchiefs and scarves. "Congratulations, Comrade Stalin!" endlessly sounded throughout the lock.¹²

With a sign from the head engineer, a chain of events sets the infrastructure in motion. The scene moves progressively faster: a queue triggers a telephone call that "immediately," as if by reflex, forces the arms to reach for the remote control. "A light push of the button," masked also by the "mirrored glass," and the perfectly choreographed apparatus comes to life as the steel gates move to close the lock. The loud and heavy movement of steel against the massive weight of water is portrayed as "smooth." The chain of events—from Stalin to the engineer to the electrician to the telephone to the guard to the button to the lock—is collapsed in time. In the view of the hundreds of people standing on the ship, the lock's motion is explained by Stalin's presence. Astounded by his power, the tourists cheer their leader, causing the glass of the tower housing the regulating mechanisms to shudder, nearly destroying the architecture that regulates the canal. The peaceful, harmonious automation dissolves into a discordant frenzy. Stalin's presence turns the beautiful landscape into a sublime scene. In this story, and many others like it, Stalin's power and presence were inscribed onto the mechanics of the canals, contributing to the construc-



Если бы вес грунт, который предстояло вынуть на канале, уложить в пирамиду, заняв ее основанием всю московскую площадь Свердлова, — вершина пирамиды поднялась бы на двенадцать километров, достигнув стратосферы.

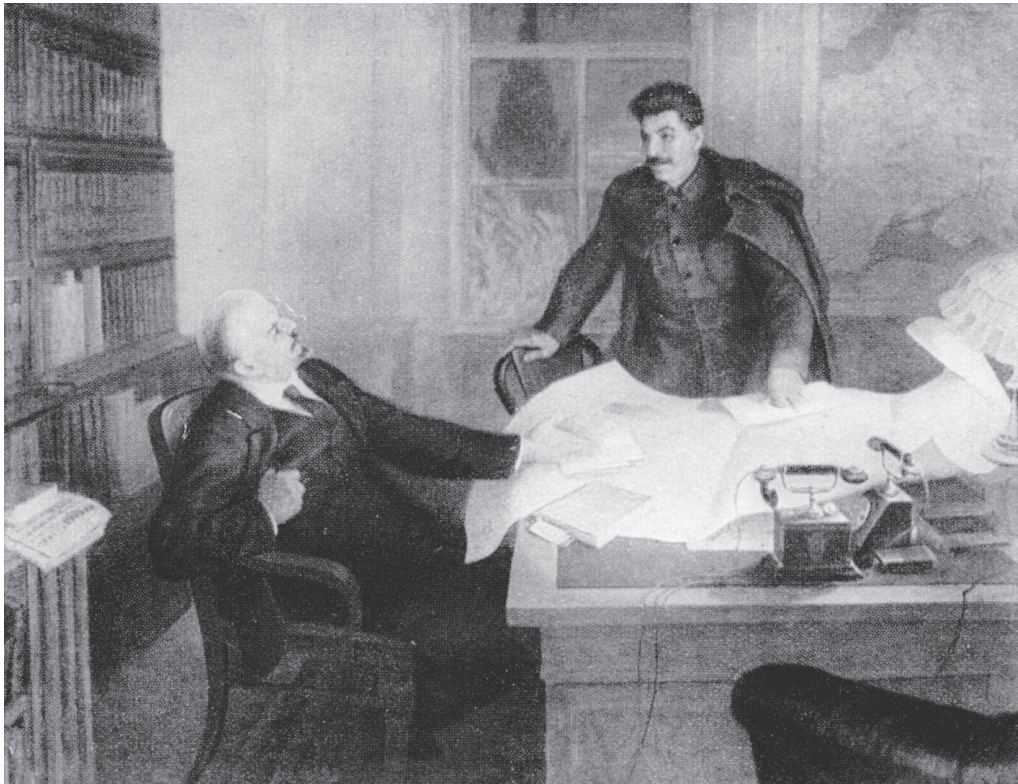


Гигантский поезд, груженный вынутой землей и строительными материалами канала, мог бы пять раз опоясать земной шар.

5. Left: "If we were to stack the mass of earth excavated from the canal into a pyramid, taking as its starting point the entire area of Sverdlov Square, the top of the pyramid would extend to twelve kilometers, reaching the stratosphere." Pavel I. Lopatin, *Volga idet v Moskvu* (1938), 86. Right: "A gigantic train, loaded with the soil and construction materials from the canal could circle the Earth five times." Lopatin, *Volga idet v Moskvu*, 87.

tion of an infrastructural monument that represented a totalizing political presence. From this point on, geography would no longer be a passive setting for utility works. Animated by politics, it would become a productive participant in the construction and dissemination of Communism across the Soviet state and even the globe.

Stalin's canal system claimed a global influence over geography and culture by referencing the construction of monuments from the past and predicting those of the future. In one drawing, a mass of earth excavated from the canal's construction was rendered as a pyramid placed in the center of Moscow (Figure 5).¹³ The twelve-kilometer-tall prism of dirt towered over the Bolshoi Theatre, invoking both ancient Egyptian pyramids and the land art that was yet to come. Another drawing made the matter excavated from the canal perceptible through the illustration of a fabled 120,000-kilometer long train that carried this mass and encircled the earth five times.¹⁴ In anticipation of Superstudio's "Continuous Monument," the drawing fantasized the construction project on a planetary scale. If its utopian counterpart inscribed an infrastructural dimension to architecture, Soviet infrastructure took on the capacity of architecture to extend beyond its utilitarian function. Representations of the infrastructural monument escaped the utopian genre yet still cultivated a suspension of disbelief in



6. After Nikolay Andreyev's painting "V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin discuss the Plan GOELRO." Nikolai Mikhailov, *Nad Kartoi Rodiny* (1947), 4.

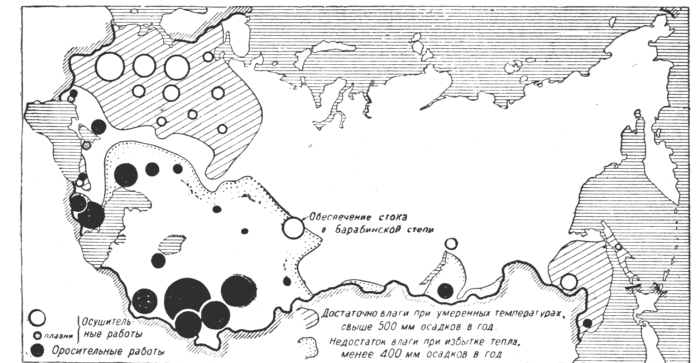
the power of the State to employ nature for its own historical construction.

Not until 1947, when the canals had been operating for more than a decade, did a new idea about monumentality fully emerge in the work of Nikolai Mikhailov, a popular geographer. His book, *Over the Map of the Motherland*, represented the infrastructure through a series of national maps. From the point of view of a geographer, the water works could be read through their ecological effects. Denying an interpretation of nature as given, he declared that geography could now be restructured by the power of the state:

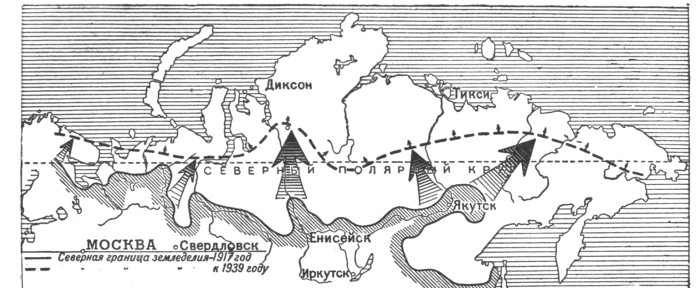
Scientists of the contemporary West lament: "Landscape is our irrevocable fate." — "No!" we say. "With our own hands, using well-considered blueprints, we are building our country; we are creating a new landscape." Bourgeois scientists say: "Geography is not created, but is born of itself." — "No!" we say. "Building Communism, we are remaking the country with rational calculation, we are changing its geography."¹⁵

Before moving away from a pictorial image of monumental power and toward the abstraction of the map, Mikhailov gave his readers one last original myth. The frontispiece to his journey over the map of their motherland was a painting of

7. "Major regions of ○ draining and ● flooding." Drawn by V. V. Pokshishevsky and A. A. Ulyanov under the guidance of Mikhailov. Mikhailov, *Nad Kartoi Rodiny*, 181.



8. "Movement of the agricultural boundary to the north." Mikhailov, *Nad Kartoi Rodiny*, 174.



Lenin and Stalin discussing the plan for nationalized hydro-electric power (Figure 6). On the table and on the walls are maps of blurry blue waterways. The scene articulates a myth that the infrastructure was planned not in the engineering offices or in the Gulag fields but in the Kremlin. Andreyev's painting offered Mikhailov's readers a narrative in which the Communist leaders labor together over a set of maps, lit by an electric lamp that is powered by the very hydraulic infrastructure they are discussing.

The reader was meant to imagine that the blueprints for draining the marshlands and irrigating the deserts, drawn up within the Kremlin walls, were collected and bound in Mikhailov's book. One map showed regions in need of artificial flooding juxtaposed with marshland regions in need of draining (Figure 7). Stalin's plan would bring the excess water from the north to the south to equalize the regions and render them both productive. Giving geography agency, Mikhailov proclaimed: "Water is washing desert regions off the map one after another."¹⁶ A different map depicted the movement of the northernmost geographic border of cultivation into Siberia (Figure 8). The line indicating the limit beyond which the climate was too extreme for the survival of agriculture was simply redrawn to increase the area of cultivable land. By relocating massive amounts of water through the canal infrastructure into new parts of the state, formerly unproductive regions were rezoned for agriculture. The maps under consideration were projecting a fictional idealized geography, where irrigation and electricity could overcome the excessive cold of Siberia.

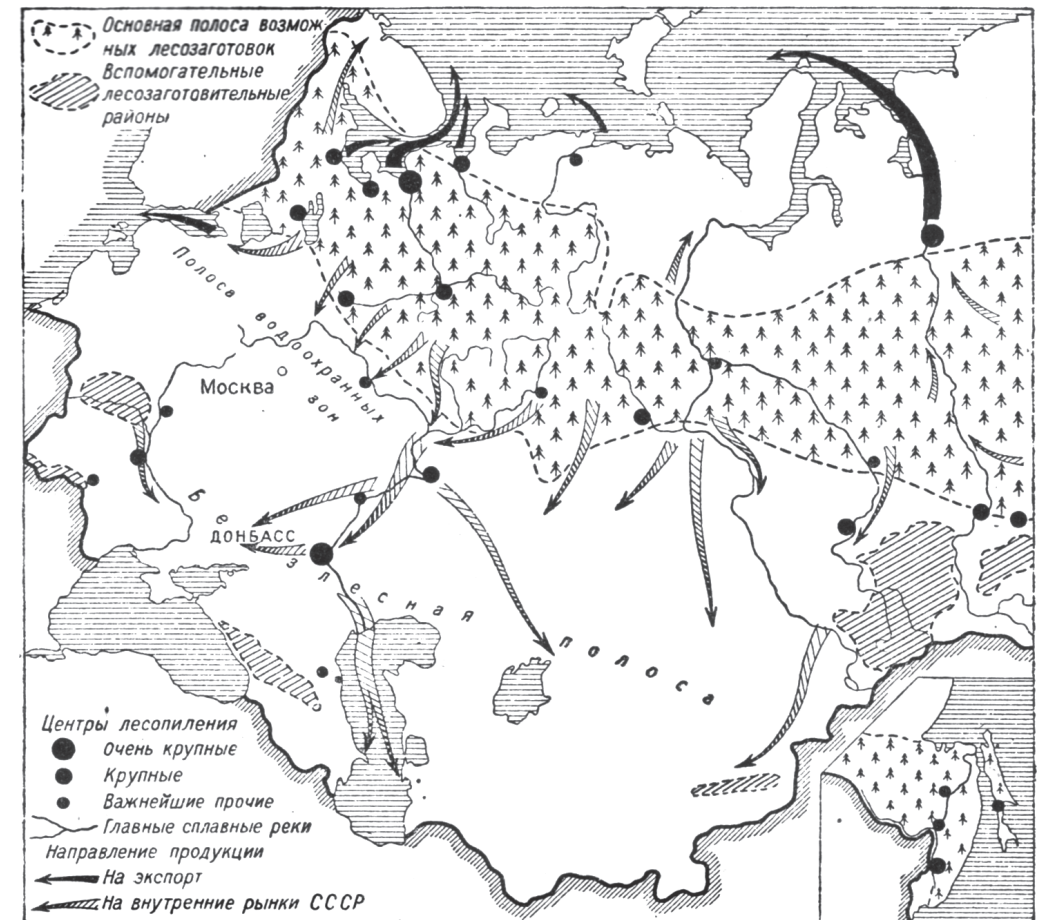


9. "Wheat plantations expand into new zones." Mikhailov, *Nad Kartoi Rodiny*, 157.

One map marks new regions with bold black arrows where wheat plantations would be expanded (Figure 9). A massive hatched arrow in another map determines where cotton could be introduced in the Azov and the Black Sea regions. Mandarin oranges, Peruvian cherries, and Japanese persimmons had been imported from warmer climates but could now be harvested on Russian soil.¹⁷ Stalin proclaimed: "Only the creative initiative of the masses can fix the map of fruit-growing . . . Only the people can create a new geography of horticulture."¹⁸ These techniques were not only reserved for plants and crops but also implemented in the migration of animals. Squirrels and deer would populate the newly formed climatic zones following the arrows on the map. New habitats and forests would invade former deserts and marshes by occupying an expanded area of the hatch (Figure 10). According to Mikhailov, by 1947 more than 3 million hectares of desert land had been turned into gardens and more than 10,000 hectares of land were drained, turning "the malaria-infested jungle . . . into health resorts and subtropical plantations."¹⁹ Lines, hatches, and arrows on the maps were charged with the task of redefining the fate of entire geographic regions, plant cultures, and animal communities.

Mikhailov's geography illustrated more than the physical migrations and expansions of agricultural production. Backed by the infrastructural object and its many representations, geography became the discipline that could best represent the new economic and infrastructural programs of the Soviet state, thereby preserving its legacy in history. Mikhailov was aware of his role as the geographer-historian. He wrote:

The country has changed. And much of what has been achieved by the Soviet State is shown in the geographic map. With its representational language, the map narrates the changes brought on by historic epochs. Not for nothing did Gogol say: "I always wanted to write geography; here,



10. "Expansion of the forest." Mikhailov, *Nad Kartoi Rodiny*, 125.

in geography, it would be possible to understand how to write history."²⁰

Tracing Mikhailov's maps and superimposing them all onto a single drawing reveals the scale of the geographic campaign (Figure 1). Because the Soviet Union was understood as a closed system with a clearly defined border, the geographic signs all fit neatly within its boundary. This drawing clearly shows how the geographic language redefined the Soviet landscape as a monumental construction site. It is a unified image of Stalin's war on nature, of geography transformed through politics. Mikhailov wrote: "With lines and signs on the map, history draws its path."²¹ Animated through a vast literary-representational campaign, the infrastructural monument became an apparatus for disseminating the power of the Soviet state. The prophetic map was its ultimate medium, which alerted readers to the new scale of Communism's reach across the USSR and beyond.

Biography
Anna Neimark is full-time faculty at the Southern California Institute of Architecture (SCI-Arc) and a founding partner of First Office, a speculative architectural practice

that focuses on form and its relationship to representation within the convention of architectural drawing.

Notes

¹ Georges Bataille, "Architecture," in *Rethinking Architecture*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 19–20.

² Alexander Rodchenko and Lev Slavin, *USSR in Construction* 12 (Moscow: OGIS, December, 1933), 2. The entire issue was devoted to the canal's construction. Photographs and composition were by Rodchenko and the text by Slavin.

³ Evgeny Dobrenko, "The Art of Social Navigation: The Cultural Topography of the Stalin Era," in *The Landscape of Stalinism: The Art and Ideology of Soviet Space*, ed. Evgeny Dobrenko and Eric Naiman (Seattle: University of Washington, 2003), 189.

⁴ El Lissitzky, quoted in Benjamin Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," *October* 30 (1984): 100–101.

⁵ Cynthia A. Ruder, *Making History for Stalin: The Story of the Belomor Canal* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998), 25.

⁶ Maxim Gorky, Leopold Averbakh, and Semen Firin, *White Sea–Baltic Stalin Canal: History of Construction* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1934), 551.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Anonymous, *Canal Moscow–Volga* (Unpublished, GARF), 65.

⁹ Gorky, Averbakh, and Firin, *White Sea–Baltic Stalin Canal: History of Construction*, 195.

¹⁰ Rodchenko and Slavin, *USSR in Construction*, 23.

¹¹ Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography," 114.

¹² *Canal Moscow–Volga*, 159–60.

¹³ Pavel I. Lopatin, *Volga Idet v Moskvu* (Moscow: Moskovskii Rabochii, 1938), 86.

¹⁴ Ibid., 87.

¹⁵ Mikhailov quoted in Dobrenko, "The Art of Social Navigation," 195–96.

¹⁶ Ibid., 196.

¹⁷ See *USSR in Construction* 5 (May 1933), devoted to new plants and crops introduced into the newly formed agricultural regions of the USSR from around the world.

¹⁸ Stalin quoted in Dobrenko, "The Art of Social Navigation," 195.

¹⁹ Nikolai Mikhailov, *Across the Map of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1949), 233.

²⁰ Nikolai Mikhailov, *Nad kartoi rodiny* (Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 1947), 8. [Author's translation].

²¹ Ibid., 5.

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