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**Re-Inventing the Past, Defining the Future
Historical Representations and Regional Development in the Russian Northwest:
*Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad***

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RE-INVENTING THE PAST, DEFINING THE FUTURE

**HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIONS AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN THE RUSSIAN NORTHWEST:
*Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad***

By Alfia Sorokina

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate and document the connections between recent dynamics of development and identity construction in two Russian regions: Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad. The range of primary (books, flyers, photographs and documentaries) and secondary (newspaper, magazine and electronic articles) material produced in the regions is utilized to identify and examine common themes and topics that have emerged in the course of the pre-anniversary 'marketing' campaigns undertaken by these regions nationally and abroad.

Some of the previous work on the topic of regional political and socio-economic development has taken into account the impact of local identities for creating favourable climates for regional development. This analysis examines the practices of re-interpretation of local histories in the contexts of national and international ones, the groups of local actors creating such interpretations, and the potential effect of such exercise.

In my analysis, working from the social constructivist perspective, I utilize Ray's theory of the dialectic in local development, the concept of the invention of tradition, the elements of Bourdieu's social theory and Dovey's premise of the political role of architecture in social life to demonstrate: 1) that interpretation of historical facts is being strategically used to promote political, economic and cultural ideas and to imply the continuity of history and tradition with the past; 2) that certain groups in scientific and cultural circles are more than others involved in the processes of interpretation; 3) that the process of interpreting and

reviving regional histories has an impact on territorial identity and local development projects.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many if not all Russian regions were left in disarray. In an effort to facilitate regional development, they have been trying to create and develop various industries, to attract investment, and simply draw attention to their regions with their existing problems. Some of them sooner than others came to realization that creating an attractive “image” might be the key to successfully competing for resources nationally and internationally. One of these regions was the Novgorod oblast. According to the series of studies, in the 1990s regional elites created there such positive environment for collaboration between various governmental structures, local intelligentsia and NGOs, that the region, without having much of an investment potential, became one of the country’s leaders in attracting foreign investment.

The second region, Kaliningrad oblast, was chosen for comparative purpose because of its extraordinary Prussian-German background and its unusual present-day positioning as the Russian semi-exclave and the enclave of the European Union. This oblast’, in the not so remote past commonly portrayed as the “black hole” of the Russian Federation, has more recently become the focal point of the Russian-European relations.

Both regions under study have been attempting to create favourable images of themselves and to promote local development. And for both regions local histories and identities have proven crucial in the image-creating exercise.

It is particularly interesting to study territorial identity re-creation in these two regions because, within national and international contexts, certain historical facts and perspectives have been either emphasized or overlooked depending on the goals and motivations of the responsible regional players. Secondly, accents and emphases on historical meanings are being directly influenced by the political, socio-economic and cultural conditions each of the regions faces. Thus, officially accepted territorial identities and their connections to respective historical representations are said, often times, to influence and be influenced by the goals of regional development.

The work begins with the outline of historical, political and socio-economic backgrounds of Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad. It is followed by the explanation of the theoretical and methodological approaches used to analyze the data. The main part of the thesis is thereafter dedicated to the analysis of the collected data using these concepts and methods and is concluded with the summary of the findings and some recommendations for further research on the subject.

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Two people in Novgorod the Great have been enormously helpful during the data collection and the analysis stages of this work. Professor Nicolai Petro, the author of “Crafting Democracy: How Novgorod Has Coped with Rapid Social Change,” who, during my visit to Novgorod the Great graciously agreed to meet to answer my questions and helped me thereafter; and Alexandr Ivanovich Zhukovsky, the director of the municipal center “Dialog,” without whose generous support the entire field trip to the Novgorod region would not have been nearly as productive, in kindly providing me with much of the essential for the analysis data. I also thank Oleg Demidov, the deputy director of the Regional Committee for Culture, Tourism and Archives, for meeting with me without prior notification and for

supplying me with some very valuable material. In Kaliningrad, my high school history teacher and the active member of the regionology club, Baikadam Kuandykovich Oralbekov, was most helpful in connecting me with an entire range of various important resources.

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1. INTRODUCTION

At the outset, two key motivations behind this thesis were to seek the models for regional socio-economic advancement incorporating in themselves the elements of locally-based development initiatives and to apply an interdisciplinary approach to comparatively study regional development in Russia. The important reference connecting these initial requirements with the particular locality was discovered in the work by Nicolai Petro on the successful development of the Novgorod region in the 1990s. In his research, Petro depicted several symbolic representations that, in connecting the past of the city with its present, contributed to the overall socio-economic well-being of the region and helped to create a special legal, socio-economic and cultural environment.

If Novgorod the Great was chosen for this study because of this pioneering practice that greatly enhanced its image nationally and abroad, the Kaliningrad region, considerably similar to Novgorod in its proximity and historical connections to Europe, from the start represented a strikingly distinct case due to the prevalent perception of the former German citadel and a more recent image of the ‘problem region’ within the Russian Federation. Kaliningrad (former Königsberg) was built on the ancient Prussian land with the very special history of German exclave up until the end of the WWII, when it became a part of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic within the USSR, and, following its dissolution, the exclave of the Russian Federation.

During the Soviet era, the official account of regional history never extended back beyond the Second World War. Numerous actions were undertaken to erase the German ‘enemy’

past from the land and the minds of the Russian settlers. Beginning with the late 1980s, regional history finally received the attention it much deserved; since then it has been investigated by professional and amateur historians, artists, students, and, more recently, introduced as a separate subject in schools.

Local actors in both Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad have commonly utilized historical findings to mould regional images, to make them more significant and attractive nationwide and abroad. Earlier academic works, like the one already mentioned, have explored the role of symbolic representations in establishing stable political and business environments on the regional and national scale. Others have concentrated on regional political, socio-economic or historical characteristics along with the evaluation of certain external circumstances. In this study I focus on the connections between regional development visions and the constructed representations of local pasts, and discuss this dynamics in the context of pertinent national and international conditions.

During the field trip in the summer 2008 it became sufficiently clear that data collection centred on vital for the local development events would make the processes under study more apparent. The two anniversaries (Kaliningrad celebrated the 750th anniversary of Königsberg-Kaliningrad in 2005, and Novgorod the Great was getting ready for its own, 1150th anniversary in the fall of 2009), together with Novgorod's hosting the festival of the New Hanseatic League the same year provided such an opportunity. In both cities, a host of printed material has been published before and around celebration periods, videos about the regions were produced, many articles were written. Both regions considered these

celebrations to be the major opportunities to push forward their development agendas nationally and internationally

As a result, the selected data is comprised of booklets and tourist guides, short books, magazine and newspaper articles published between early 2000s and 2009, being most numerous in Kaliningrad- between 2003 and 2007, and in Novgorod the Great-between 2005 and 2009. The main criterion for data selection was its relevance to the subjects of the anniversary, local history and architecture, regional development projects, tourism, regional culture, and various related actions and events. Furthermore, I also include my own observations and photographs as the input for the analysis.

The starting point in analyzing the data is the broad understanding of identity as the variable constructed in the process of social interaction. However, it is the notion of territorial identity formation that is of most value to this study, the notion previously explored by Lowe *et al* (1995) and Ray (1999). These authors agree that the localities are interrelated with the extra-local (external) environments and that any local development activity should be studied taking into consideration not only localities and their resources but also the various exchanges between the local and the external.¹ The ‘socially’ constructed regional identities may thereafter be utilized as a collection of internally generated resources allowing the localities to choose their distinct paths of socio-economic development.

¹ Christopher Ray, “Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 15, no. 3 (1999): 257-267.

On the whole, this study differs from the previous scholarship not only by its comparative scope and its focus on the connections between regional development visions, representations of local history and invented traditions, by the analyses of the regional fields of historical production involved in the construction of territorial identities, but also by the integrated discussions of this dynamics in relation to the external realities the regions have to cope with.

2. THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND DATA DESCRIPTION

The nature of this research calls for an approach not limited by the theoretical boundaries of a single discipline; a combination of perspectives bridging social and political theory, development anthropology and cultural and social history is required to adequately interpret and situate the empirical evidence within the theoretical framework. Therefore, in the course of the analysis I will be referring to Christopher Ray's theory of dialectic in local development, to Hobsbawm and Ranger's concept of the invention of tradition, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of action, and Kim Dovey's approach to studying the effects of the architecture on the social life.

I apply the social constructivist perspective of identity formation to the territorial identity creation practices. According to this perspective, identity formation is not an individual but rather a social, 'public' practice. Representatives of the social constructivist schools agree that there is no 'absolute' self, but rather that the identity is socially constituted and can be ascribed, disputed, re-negotiated, or resisted.² Therefore, identity formation of an individual can be considered a life-long, continuous process.

In this analysis I focus on territorial rather than on individual identity, various practices surrounding its formation in the context of the external circumstances affecting these processes. It has been made apparent in much of the existing scholarship on regional

² Bethan Benwell and Elizabeth Stokoe, *Discourse and Identity* (Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 4.

development that the developmental pace and success both depend on the ability of the region to create and promote its image locally and extra-locally.

In writing about rural development, Christopher Ray has pointed out that the locality (or a territory) needs to employ its internal resources to “discover, recover or invent” its identity, from which resources for territorial development can be generated. According to him, the primary sources of identities are cultural, historical and those related to distinct local landscapes or architecture.³ Identity then becomes operational by creating “consciousness-raising” strategies outside as well as inside the region. The targets of such practices may become various policy-making institutions, including state governments and international governing bodies that might have an impact on the development processes within the region. By activating and promoting its identity (-ies) to various extra-local actors, a territory reaches into national, international, and global spaces. For example, in Novgorod, the pre-anniversary activation of territorial identity of the region as the heir of the economic, political and cultural glories of the Novgorod Republic, as the origin of the Russian statehood and democracy was wisely utilized to negotiate the status of the celebrations and the funding from the federal government. Simultaneously, however, this consciousness-raising is employed within the territory to guarantee the support of important local actors and of the community.⁴ In the case of Kaliningrad, the political elites backing the research in regional history and sponsoring particular its topics, receives the support of the local scientific community.

³ Christopher Ray, “Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity,” *Journal of Rural Studies* 15, no. 3 (1999): 259.

⁴ Ibid., 259.

A theory of dialectic in local rural development within the European Union formulated by Ray argues for the necessity of the existence of the “other”, opposing (or re-affirming) category in order to energize local identity. This “other” can be represented either by other regions and territories and/or larger entities, such as state governments and other important national and international players. Thus, according to him, identities of the locality and of the “other” become mutually constituted, or even mutually re-enforcing.⁵ Although Ray’s theory was advanced based on rural communities of the EU, I will employ its elements for my data analysis, as it is quite useful in explaining some of the processes that take place in the Russian regions.

To operationalize Ray’s approach to territorial identity formation, I follow Wilkinson’s methodological underpinning in which he discusses the two main approaches to identity research in the social constructivist scholarship: conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis.⁶ Wilkinson references De Fina et al. (2006) who state that proponents of conversation analysis “look exclusively for categories of identity membership that are made relevant in the local context by participants.”⁷ I can apply this approach to the representations of the region and related categories locally mastered by the actors in the fields of historical-cultural production in texts and objects of material culture in the field of architecture.

⁵ Christopher Ray, “Towards a Theory of the Dialectic of Local Rural Development within the European Union,” *Sociologia Ruralis* 37. no 3 (1997): 356-7

⁶ Mark R. A. Wilkinson, “Discursive Construction of Russian-German Identity in Interviews with RusslandDeutsche University Students,” Master’s Thesis (University of Waterloo , 2007)

⁷ Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffin, Michael Bamberg, *Discourse and Identity* (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5

This approach to territorial identity research would not be representative, however, without looking at the underpinning, “larger” circumstances and representations. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as my methodological aid, I intend to highlight the discourses that have been marking the identities of both regions. The wide sociological understanding of a discourse as the “language in practice,” as Wilkinson points out, is common among the CDA approaches.⁸ He again refers to De Fina et al. to point out that identities are “produced and imposed upon individuals and groups through dominant discourse practices and ideologies.”⁹ Using CDA as a part of my methodological approach involves naming some of the relevant discourses when analyzing representations of the regions created by local actors. In doing this, I intend to determine whether present territorial identity representations that are meant to stimulate regional development, are being formed by affirmation or resistance to existing discourses.

In itself, the process of territorial identity construction by local actors involves creating images of the locality based upon its cultural, historical or landscape (or architectural) characteristics, - any local particularities that make the place distinct, different from others. The cases of Novgorod the Great and Kaliningrad are representative of most, if not all, of these strategies, among which the local uses of history for identity search are of most relevance to this research.

I analyze local treatment of regional pasts, their connections to the history of the state by employing the concept of the invention of tradition formulated by Eric Hobsbawm and

⁸ Wilkinson, “Discursive Construction of Russian-German Identity”, 14.

⁹ De Fina et al., *Discourse and Identity*, 5.

Terence Ranger, who state that the practice of tradition invention uncovers the human relation to the past, “for all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.”¹⁰

By ‘invented tradition’ Hobsbawm understands “a set of practices” seeking “to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”¹¹ In order to explain the existence of such phenomena, he contrasts the constant change and the innovation necessary in modern societies with the attempts to structure at least some parts of social life.

This concept appears to provide the basis for the explanation of the processes that have been taking place in Russia at both national and regional levels. In Russia, where two major socio-political transformations had taken place: first, the symbolic dissolution of the USSR, and, second, the dismantlement of the belief systems associated with the Soviet period, at the regional level, the processes that have been taking place reflect the ‘invention’ of tradition to create the continuity with the past and to enable localities to respond to “novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations.”¹² In this manner, the medieval past of the city of Novgorod as a free, democratic, and well-developed commercial centre, is paralleled with the current situation of the region that has become to be considered one of the most proactive and business-oriented among Russian territories. In Kaliningrad, the historical vision of the city as the major transportation hub, as the connecting point between Russia and Europe and the university centre is actively endorsed. These and other traditions

¹⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction. Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1

¹² *Ibid.*, 2.

are then represented as visions to create a modern image of the territory and to foster local development.

In analyzing the collected data, I will apply the general definition of an invented tradition and will determine to which one of the three groups identified by Hobsbawm each invented tradition belongs. According to him, they may be distinguished into three overlapping types: 1) those establishing social cohesion or the membership of groups; 2) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority; and 3) those socializing, inculcating beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.¹³ For instance, the traditions of the centre of education in Kaliningrad and the guardian of the Russian culture in Novgorod can be simultaneously characterized as inculcating beliefs and establishing the status of the region within the nation or of the educational institution within the region.

The concept of tradition invention is also useful when one attempts to analyze the role played in this practice by historians, who “select, write, picture, popularize and institutionalize” the past, or ‘the truth’ about the past. Hobsbawm writes,

“...all historians are engaged in this process inasmuch as they contribute, consciously or not, to the creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past which belong not only to the world of specialists investigation but to the public sphere of man as a political being.”¹⁴

¹³ Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

Considering the vital role of history and historians in the practice of the tradition invention, I further study the field of historical production using the elements of the theory of action developed by Pierre Bourdieu.

Throughout this section of my analysis, based on the collected data, I expect to address the following questions

- *What constitutes the field of historical production in each region?*
- *Who are the main actors that contribute to the process of the creation of dominant historical representations in the regions?*
- *Based on the example in the data, what possible motivations do historians have when they set out to search and uncover the particular aspects of regional and national histories?*

As mentioned earlier, the concepts of field, capital, and habitus of Bourdieu's theory of action will provide me with the framework for this part of the analysis

A *field* of social practice "is a social space which structures strategic action for control over resources which are construed as forms of capital [cultural, social, economic, or symbolic]"¹⁵ The notion of fields is applied to my analysis to describe the social space (here the field of historical production) where actors, by contributing to the process of 'inventing' traditions and constructing historical imageries of places, participate in the distribution of capital within the field and attempt to affect the transformations to the status

¹⁵ Pierre Bourdieu quoted in Kim Dovey, "The Silent Complicity of Architecture," in *Habitus A Sense of Place*, ed. Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002), 270

and authority of the field itself. For the purpose of this study, I intend to focus on the social field of historical production.

The notion of *capital* is directly connected to the understanding of the dynamics of a field; all capital can be divided into four groups. According to Bourdieu, *cultural capital* can exist in three forms: embodied, that is “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”;¹⁶ objectified, in the “form of cultural goods such as art objects, food, dress.” It is, however, not the ownership of those goods that matters, but “the capacity to choose and consume them.”¹⁷ The last type, the institutionalized cultural capital exists in the form of institutional recognition of the cultural capital held by an individual.¹⁸

Secondly, the concept of *social capital* refers to “the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.”¹⁹ The resources (economic, cultural, or symbolic) embedded in the network are shared among the members, albeit unequally. Thirdly, *economic capital* stands for material wealth and associated power. The last form of capital, *symbolic*, is understood as the incorporation of the other three forms of capital as it represents “a form of power that is not necessarily perceived as power, but as legitimate demands for recognition, deference, obedience or service.”²⁰ For instance, in an intellectual field, symbolic capital takes on a form of academic reputation, and agents who

¹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, ed. Mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 98

¹⁷ Dovey, “The Silent Complicity of Architecture,” in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, 270

¹⁸ Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, 98

¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 119.

²⁰ Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby, “Introduction,” in *Habitus: A Sense of Place* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002), 8.

possess it are often capable of constructing dominant forms of representations of knowledge within the field.²¹

Bourdieu underscores the interchangeability of the forms of capital and argues that "...social capital is never completely independent from economic or cultural capital because the exchanges instituting mutual acknowledgement presuppose the re-acknowledgment of a minimum of objective homogeneity..."²²

The detailed analysis of the resources circulated within the field of historical production of each region would constitute a complete another study that would require much further data collection and investigation. In this thesis I intend to provide brief backgrounds of the fields in question, identify their most prominent actors and, based on the collected data, these actors' possible motivations in undertaking particular projects. I will also discuss some of the particularities of the fields and analyze field productions in the context of the anniversary celebrations.

In addition to the already introduced theoretical constructs, I use the notion of the discursive field of architecture and its political implications on the social world developed by Kim Dovey. According to her, architecture, as a practice of 'framing' the habitat of everyday life, both literally and discursively, constructs "the narratives of 'place'" where we live our lives.²³ She points out that seeing architecture as neutral to the "life within" would be a

²¹ Thomas Cushman, "Constructing the Soviet Other," in *Postmodern Representations Truth, Power, and Mimesis in the Human Sciences and Public Culture*, ed Richard Harvey Brown (University of Illinois Press, 1995), 104

²² Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, 103.

²³ Dovey, "The Silent Complicity of Architecture," in *Habitus A Sense of Place*, 274.

mistake; the less questioned the structures become, the better they do their work. And this is where, according to Dovey, lies their ‘complicitous silence’ along with the source of their power.

I utilize Dovey’s approach to create a general ‘feel’ of the architectural transformations through the identification of the constructions of special significance to the images of the cities. I discuss their form together with the associated accounts of their construction or restoration. The examples of the important construction and restoration projects include the work conducted in Kaliningrad’s central squares between 1991 and 2008 such as the erection of new monuments and the construction of the Orthodox cathedral; the restoration of the Königsberg cathedral and the Royal Gates.

Methodology and Data Description

The preparation for this project began in the spring of 2008, with the thorough Internet investigation with the purpose of locating pertinent organizations and institutions in Novgorod and Kaliningrad regions. To structure the initial data collection in the Novgorod region I used a book written by Nicolai Petro as my primary source to locate relevant organizations, resources and individuals; in Kaliningrad, I was mainly counting on my personal contacts and knowledge to proceed with the research. The trip took place during the months of July and August 2008.

In Novgorod, I arranged to meet with the director of the municipal research institution “Dialog”, Alexander Zhukovsky and, to my great surprise, also with the author of the book I was basing my project on, professor Dr. Nicolai Petro, who provided me with some

insightful information not only on the subject of my research, but also on where to go and who to speak to in the city (which, in light of the duration of my short visit, proved very useful). Following their lead, I had a meeting with the member of the organization committee of the city anniversary and the Hanseatic Days celebrations, Mr. Oleg Demidov, who was extremely helpful in explaining the concepts of the celebrations and who provided me with some relevant flyers and brochures. Following my meeting with Mr. Demidov, the idea about the analysis of the anniversary related publications began to sink in.

During the remainder of my visit to Novgorod the Great, in addition to gathering materials available for sale in the local bookstores, I also visited regional scientific library where I collected relevant information from local and national newspapers, books and magazines.

In Kaliningrad, I began my search by visiting city museums and monuments, and by gathering information about various exhibitions related to the history of the region. Thus, a significant part of the collected in Kaliningrad data is represented by photographs, in addition to the magazine and newspaper articles, tourist brochures, and books, that I picked up in the regional scientific library, museum and general bookstores.

Looking for the information about municipal and regional monuments and their restoration, I set up a meeting in the Kaliningrad regional ministry of culture; to my disappointment, it was an almost complete loss of time: no one was able to compile the data that, I assumed, was to be readily available. One moment, however, made the whole trip to the ministry worth while. In speaking with me, one of the key architects of the office said: “Who were the first residents of Kaliningrad? What did they know about the culture and the architecture

of Königsberg? Nothing, and, hence, no historical site preservation could even be imagined [in the past].” He expressed an opinion that we are presently living the consequences of that past, and that the state of affairs with historical site preservation was in need of urgent attention.

Another meeting was set up with my high school history teacher, B. K. Oralbekov, one of the active members of the regional historical society. He was able to provide me with much of the valuable information about the potential sources of data I was trying to collect. However, due to the time constraints, I was unable to pursue all of the contacts he suggested. During my visit, I was also able to locate two documentaries surveying the history of each city, produced in Kaliningrad in 2005, and in Novgorod-in 2006.

When I initially set out to collect the data for this thesis, I was looking for any general information related to the history of the regions, such as facts of local history, their revisions by scientists, journalists, professional and amateur historians, officially accepted positions regarding territorial histories and identities, the ways the regions were being ‘promoted’ to the visitors, investors, and, lastly, the information on the main projects of regional development together with their discursive interpretations. What I ended up pursuing was, generally speaking, all the data I referenced above, but with the set limitation on the timeframe of its production. During my trip I made a decision to narrow down the scope of the work to relate it time wise to the anniversary celebrations of the two cities, which, in Kaliningrad took place in the summer of 2005, and in Novgorod the Great – in the fall of 2009.

To maximize the validity of the data I collected a variety of material from multiple sources. The volume of gathered data is slightly larger for Kaliningrad, simply due to the duration of my significantly longer stay in the city. Below is the complete list of the data that I was able to gather, by city:

In Kaliningrad:

- 15 magazine articles published by professional and amateur historians, scientists of history, sociology and humanities, archivists and officials (photocopied originals);
- 41 regional newspaper articles written by local journalists (photographed);
- Seven brochures, short books, tourist guides, and magazines (original);
- Eight short observation accounts made in local museums, near monuments and excavations (photographed);
- One documentary, titled “Fathers and Sons of Königsberg”, produced and created by the largest regional media group.

In Novgorod the Great:

- Two summaries of parliamentary hearings (original);
- 21 local and national newspaper articles (Internet sources);
- Seven brochures, flyers, tourist guides, and other promotional material (original);
- One documentary, titled “Novgorod the Great: the City-State.”

In collecting and analyzing the data, I attempt to follow the principle of reflexivity, as it was elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu, who treats science and scientists as part and product of their social universe and points out that the scientists’ construction of their own reality often

misrecognizes that same reality.²⁴ According to my understanding, then, every researcher who sets out to study a particular subject has to provide a clarification of her or his positioning for the sake of reflexivity.

I made a decision to study the selected topic because of my great interest in the development of the Russian regions that, considering the depth of the economic, political and social downfall of the 1990s, have been picking up noticeably starting in the 2000s. I am hopeful that my investigation will contribute to the understanding of the mechanisms of regional and local development and consider the search for territorial identities to be the opportunity to “own” the development processes of a locality by the locality.

The data search was conducted according to the initial plans, with a few modifications. During data collection I have changed directions of the search on several occasions, following the new leads just uncovered, and broadening or limiting the extension of the search, accordingly. I tried to collect as much material as possible, while looking for themes, particular language, and patterns in every piece of the collected material. I searched for an actual expression of an idea, a point of view on a particular matter, was that the regional history, territorial image, regional development project or a construction of a church.

In translating relevant excerpts, I attempted to relate the genuine character of the original document, which, at times, altered the literal word-for-word translation. During the analysis stage of my project I employ the hermeneutics approach of personal interpretation of the

²⁴ Moishe Postone, Edward LiPuma, and Craig Calhoun, *Bourdieu Critical Perspectives* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3.

collected data,²⁵ that involves the discovery of meaning through description and interpretation of data collected from multiple sources. In analyzing the data I follow the procedures outlined by Catherine Marshall.²⁶ I undertook a thorough study of the data, including visual imagery of all printed material. To aid myself with data organization, I categorized all material by region, type, period of production, and category of the author (scientist, amateur historian, journalist, official, etc.) The next step that I took was the detection of most important categories and themes which led to data reduction to the manageable format and its organization in Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. My initial 'working data tables' were summarized under the following main headers:

- Year of publication;
- Document type (book review, article, government report, etc.);
- Author and his/her affiliations (university, professional organization or society, public official);
- Project sponsors (who supported and financed the publication), whenever possible;
- Main references such as the Prussian-Russian connections, scientific collaborations, cultural and historical continuity between old Königsberg and present Kaliningrad, the role of Novgorod the Great for the Russian statehood, culture and authentic democratic development, among others;
- The last column, the initial outcome of the analysis, represented the summary of main recurring ideas and topics for each of the data sources.

²⁵ David Silbergh, *Doing Dissertations in Politics A Student Guide* (London. Routledge, 2001), 24

²⁶ Catherine Marshall, "Managing, Analyzing, and Interpreting Data," in *Designing Qualitative Research*, ed Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), 156.

Having reviewed all collected data several times, I systematically took notes and revisited them regularly. In doing so, I was searching for patterns of belief, categories of thinking, and recurring ideas.

Working with the material summarized this way proved to be considerably effective; however, further re-organization and breaking down of the data was needed. It was then, after the initial core of recurring themes was elaborated for each piece of the data that the actual coding began. The process of coding involved me comparing the contents of the core selected 'recurring themes' to establish commonalities among them. As a result, the following main topics emerged: 1) locally created representations of the region and of the images of local residents as representing the entire nation; 2) external influences, such as discursive practices affecting/stigmatizing images of the regions and regional actors' reactions/resistances to these discourses; 3) representations of historical connections between the region and the state, significance of the region for the state and/or for the international governing bodies, such as the European Union; 4) the 'invented traditions' involving distinct local characteristics and associations; 5) landscape and identity. Apart from these main categories, notes were taken of the authors of the published material, and, whenever it was possible, of any accounts of actions meant to foster local identities, sources of financial assistance and of any projects of regional development.

After the initial core material had been selected and coding categories established, other data was gradually integrated into those categories as the analysis progressed. The final methodological step was to apply the theoretical framework to my data, which will be presented in the analysis chapter.

3. THE CONTEXT

The following section represents a comparative summary of the surveyed literature used to explain the circumstances, historical, geographical, socio-political and economic, the two regions have been facing. This glimpse into the (extra-) local conditions is critical to our understanding of the variety of factors contributing to the interactive processes of territorial identity construction.

3.1 THE HISTORY

Kaliningrad

The city of Königsberg was at the heart of many important historical events. The region's original settlers, Prussians, populated these lands, when in the 13th century the Teutonic knights under the lead of the Bohemian king Ottakar II came here attracted by the region's location and natural resources. It was the king Ottakar who founded the original castle of Königsberg.

The German Königsberg was rapidly growing and in the Middle Ages became the important member of the Hanseatic trading union²⁷ that contributed to the city's economic and cultural development. Königsberg's prosperity came from the participation in commercial networks and economic exchanges. Thus, traditionally, the location of the city, in the intersection of

²⁷ The Hanseatic League: major European trading union incorporating numerous members amongst the countries of the Baltic rim: modern Germany, England, Holland, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Russia, Scandinavian countries.

trading and transit routes, was one of its most important economic assets. The legends from the city's past were once again re-discovered by the Russian settlers of Kaliningrad several centuries later and, following the dissolution of the USSR, enthusiastically promoted as a part of territorial identity.

From the Middle Ages into the Enlightenment, the city grew and thrived, characterized as very progressive politically, economically, and culturally. In 1525, Albrecht, the last Grand Master of the Teutonic order, decided to abolish the order and to instead create a Prussian Duchy, which came to be one of the first secular states in Europe. The same Duke Albrecht established the Königsberg University in 1544, invited numerous scientists, intellectuals and artists to work in the city and, overall, helped to create the environment of ethnic and religious tolerance that Königsberg became famous for throughout its history. Among famous scientists and artists who lived and worked in the city the one most famous was the 18th century's philosopher Immanuel Kant, the son of a craftsman who in the end of his academic career headed the Königsberg University.

Nowadays, for many of the present residents of Kaliningrad 'being progressive' signifies the continuation of celebrated traditions of the progressive German territory, but in combination with the Russian spiritual and cultural beliefs. Particularly, several major developments in the areas of culture and education undertaken during the last two decades were meant to propel the region forward culturally and economically, but, even more importantly, they were meant to reverse the effects produced by the constructed in the national and foreign media image of the problem-ridden region.

Numerous facts from the regional past have been incorporated into the re-created regional identity. At times, the desire to historically substantiate common local perceptions such as the amicability between the Prussian kingdom and the Russian empire impels local researchers to describe the Russian occupation of Prussia in the 18th century as an ‘agreeable’ and ‘friendly’ event that approximately half a century thereafter would not preclude the two countries from uniting their forces against the army of Napoleon.

But even the eager local historians cannot miraculously re-create the East Prussia of the Nazi period as being ‘amicable’ to Russia and its people. Following Germany’s defeat in the WWII the region was annexed by the Soviet Union, according to the decision of the allied governments; in 1946 it was renamed after Mikhail Kalinin, one of the original Bolsheviks. The remaining pre-war residents of the region were either expelled to Germany or sent to the Soviet labour camps. The city centre, 95 percent destroyed by the allied aviation during the war, was not restored during the first decades following the repossession. The ‘russified’ city was modernized and industrialized during the Soviet era; it was made the outpost of the Soviet Baltic Fleet and as the ‘strategic’ military area was closed to foreign visitors throughout most of the Soviet period.

During this time, all references to the German history of the region were avoided at all cost; officials attempted to erase the pre-Soviet history of the land entirely, changing the names of cities and streets, undertaking residential construction projects according to the Soviet tradition and either ignoring or demolishing the objects of German material culture, including one of the most impressive architectural monuments, the Königsberg Castle. Either despite or because of the cultural wrongdoing of the post-war period, the interest

towards regional history was on the rise since the 1980s, and growing stronger by the early 1990s. The German past of the region, once quietly concealed, was being investigated and publicized. The issues of returning the city the original name of “Konigsberg,” separation from Russia and annexation by Germany were being freely discussed.

In Kaliningrad, thus, the time of the increased interest in history coincided with the frantic search for the self-identification and determination in the new political, economic and cultural environment of the 1990s. Since 1991, the region has become the exclave of the Russian Federation, separated from the mainland Russia and sandwiched between Poland and Lithuania along the Baltic coastline. In 2004, admission of Lithuania and Poland to the European Union made the Kaliningrad region its enclave.

Novgorod the Great

The history of this city significantly differs from that of Kaliningrad in several ways. Similarly located in the northwest Russia, between Moscow and Saint-Petersburg, it came to carry a distinct meaning of special significance for the Russian culture, language, and history, often times being referred to as “the Father of the Russian cities.”²⁸ It was also here that the Variangian chief Rurik, who was invited to be the first ruler of Novgorod, became the founder of the first Russian royal dynasty.

²⁸ The fact that the city avoided the Mongol yoke makes it possible to suggest that in Novgorod the Russian culture and language can be found in its purest form

The first mention of the city of Novgorod in the chronicles dates back to the 9th century. Throughout its history until it was overpowered by Moscow in the end of the 15th century, this city-republic that covered vast territories became famous for its traditions of liberty and democracy, connections to the world markets and successful entrepreneurship.²⁹ The two most distinct attributes of the Novgorod republic were the democratic election of its rulers and the communal gathering (or *Veche*) –public hearings in which residents could participate, bring up issues and concerns, and request changes to existing legislation.

Involved in the international commercial networks, Novgorod appeared on the trading route “from Variangians³⁰ into Greeks”³¹ long before the Hanseatic League expanded into the area of the Northeast Baltic. With the enlargement of the League, it became one of its foremost trading posts, a major connecting node where the goods from Western Europe and the East were exchanged and traded. Because of these commercial and cultural connections and the entrepreneurial spirit of the local residents, the city prospered throughout the Middle Ages. According to some sources, it was then better developed than many European capitals of the time, more populous than many of them, more culturally and technologically progressive. For example, municipal roads in Novgorod the Great were already paved in the 14th century, the first in Northern Europe piping system was put in exploitation here,³² and the literacy of the city residents reached an unprecedented level, as archaeological evidence testifies.

²⁹ Natalia Dinello, “Can Novgorod’s Greatness Rub off on Putin?,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 49, no. 5 (September/October 2002). 20

³⁰ For the people of the Byzantine Empire a ‘Variangian’ came to mean any person of Scandinavian descent living in what is now the Russian territory

³¹ This famous trade route established between 8th and 9th centuries initiated in Scandinavia (Gotland), went through the Baltic Sea into the Finnish Gulf and through the Neva and Volkhov rivers, down South to Kiev into the Black Sea and to Constantinople

³² Dmitry Likhachev, *Reflections about Russia* (Saint Petersburg. Logos, 1999), 155

The active investigations of Novgorod's history have continued throughout most of the 20th century. And the history based representations, that were for the longest time scientifically studied and documented, during the last two decades have been acquiring their other than academic significance; they have now become vital elements of Novgorod's present day identification and the local government's main arguments in the competition for attention of the federal centre, foreign partners and donors.

For example, the historical role of Novgorod in the Hanseatic union was effectively utilized in the wake of the Hanseatic Days of the New Time festival held in the city in June 2009, to add to the already widely accepted perception of the region as the place with extensive international connections and favourable investment climate.

Following Novgorod's annexation by the Duchy of Moscow in the late 1400s the 'open' city retained its significance. A century later, however, after the massacre undertaken by the army of Ivan the Terrible, Novgorod was completely destructed and forced into a decline. From the peak of its prosperity in the Middle Ages the region came to play a secondary role in the united Russian state, the Russian empire, and later as a part of the Soviet Union.

The long period that followed Novgorod's destruction and decline has received limited and at times contradictory publicity. Most of the recently constructed representations based upon both the legends and the facts of local history have almost unanimously avoided the topic of conflicts with Moscow or have underplayed their significance for the city and its development. In such selective treatment of history, in underscoring favourable and

understating unfavourable components of local past, the image of the region agreeable with the external conditions is being created

During the Second World War the German Army occupied the city for over three years. When the Soviet troops finally entered Novgorod in 1944, the heart of the ancient city laid almost completely destroyed. It was, however, gradually restored after the war and was thereafter declared a World Heritage site by UNESCO. It can be said that the efforts of the Soviet government made in the restoration of the old city of Novgorod, especially when compared to the case of the post-war Kaliningrad that in part was left in ruins for decades, carry an obvious ideological connotation expressed in significantly different approaches to identical problems of the restoration of regional cultural and historical heritage.

During the Soviet period, Novgorod grew, mostly due to the expanding in the region military-electronic and chemical industry, apartment buildings and roads were rapidly constructed in the 1960 and 1970s. Along with the development of the city the education level of local residents was raising, multiple educational institutions were being established and, little by little, a special intellectual environment matured in the region. As the city where the Russian spirit can be fully appreciated, Novgorod attracted many creative people working in various areas of national traditional art, the city also became the centre of conferences and festivals related to Russian Slavic cultural and historic heritage.³³

It can be suggested that the historical 'myth' thus became the unifying element around which a community of people of artistic and scientific inclinations became concentrated.

³³ Victor Smirnov, *History of Novgorod the Great* (Moscow: Veche Publishing, 2006), 345.

This influential group of intellectuals and artists, in combination with growing interest in regional history among local residents, helped to establish a particular cultural atmosphere in the city during the years of perestroika and beyond. The distinct environment in the region, in turn, created a precondition for the local enthusiasm to turn to past experiences during the times of transition.³⁴

To summarize, both regions have had long and fascinating histories, reaching their peaks in cultural development and economic prosperity throughout the Middle Ages and thereafter (for Königsberg) as a result of their participation in international commercial and cultural networks. Both cities were then significantly advanced, with the progressive atmosphere of ethnic and religious tolerance. As much as their histories may be considered similar in several respects, in terms of the symbolic value for the Russian state and culture, Novgorod as the ‘place of birth’ of Russia and its democratic tradition and as the keeper of the national culture many times outweighs Kaliningrad. However, the significance of the latter has been considerably augmented due to its important role in the current Russo-European dialog.

3.2 GENERAL OVERVIEW AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Kaliningrad

Kaliningrad is positioned between Poland and Lithuania on the Baltic coast, which turned the region into an exclave of the Russian Federation in 1991 and the enclave of the European Union in 2004.

³⁴ Smirnov, *History of Novgorod the Great*, 346.



Source: <http://www.inkaliningrad.com/english/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/map-kaliningrad.JPG>

Covering over 15,000 square kilometres the *oblast* is 76th among 89 Russian regions in size, with the population of close to a million people. Ethnic Russians make up 82% of the population; 86% consider Russian their native language; and an overwhelming majority of local residents belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. Various sources have monitored the dynamics of local affiliation: according to Zverev, for example, around 77% of locals consider themselves Russian, and 21%-European;³⁵ Moses writes that whatever the survey results might be, Kaliningrad residents identify with the region more than with the ‘mainland’ Russia.³⁶ Evidently, the physical positioning of the region and its remoteness from the Russian mainland not only influenced the identity of local residents, but also, more recently, directed the coordinated efforts of the federal and regional governments to aid the process of the regional self-identification.

³⁵ Yuri Zverev, “Kaliningrad: Problems and Paths of Development,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 54, no.2 (March/April 2007): 11.

³⁶ Joel Moses, “The Politics of Kaliningrad Oblast: A Borderland of the Russian Federation,” *The Russian Review* 63 (January 2004): 116.

With respect to natural resources, the Kaliningrad region possesses a limited number of offshore oil reservoirs and about 90% of the world's amber deposits. Fishing has always been a traditional industry due to the region's geographic location; other local industries include transport, industrial equipment, breweries, paper production, electronic and food processing plants. Car and truck assembly for BMW, GM, KIA and other companies is a growing sector. Agriculture, on the other hand, has always remained a weaker segment of the regional economy.

Since becoming an exclave, Kaliningrad has been often portrayed in the official media as the problem region in need of constant federal 'feeding' with the economic development rates below Russian average. However, other sources claim that the region can be considered 'developed' not only by Russian, but also by the Baltic countries' standards.³⁷ Samson and Eliseeva, in this instance, in comparing the living standards in Kaliningrad with the average Russian indicators consider them being rather high.³⁸

The overall pessimistic depiction of the region in the national and foreign media has produced a negative effect on the local identity representing a debilitating obstacle to several aspects of regional development. In itself the negative portrayals of the region can be considered a discursive practice that, in triggering local resistance movement, produced the counter-efforts aiming to promote the grounded in history, politically and economically progressive territorial identity.

³⁷ I. Samson, I. Eliseeva, "The New Image of Kaliningrad Oblast," *The Problems of Economic Transition* 46, no. 6 (October 2003): 74.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

One of the key local economic activities is trade; throughout the history of the region, trade with the neighbouring states has always been of tremendous importance. And now, trade flows remain vital for the region's small internal market.³⁹ Among its leading trading partners are the Russian regions, the EU and the CIS countries. The volume of regional trade is highest with the Russian regions amounting to forty percent of the total trade flow; the trade with the Western and Central-Eastern European countries represents around 20 and 25 percent of total commercial exchange respectively.⁴⁰ An important characteristic of the region is its SEZ (Special Economic Zone) status, which has made it relatively open for interregional and international commercial flows.⁴¹

Kaliningrad's profile in these partnerships varies from the "European" (more developed) in trade with the Russian regions to the typically "Russian" (less developed) with foreign trading partners.⁴² In this instance, region typically exports oil, timber, paper products, amber, woodworking, and fish to the EU, while selling consumer electronics, cars, and foodstuffs to the Russian regions. The current trend in both interregional and international types of trade indicates clear volume increases, although the former has been growing much more rapidly, thus indicating the strengthening of the region's trade ties with the 'mainland' Russia.⁴³ However, contrary to other sources, the Kaliningrad Information Catalogue

³⁹ V Lamande, E Vinokurov, "Trade in Kaliningrad Oblast," *Problems of Economic Transition* 46, no. 6 (October 2003): 56.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 66

⁴¹ Kaliningrad region offers low tariffs and taxes as well as fewer administrative barriers to capital and the flow of goods

⁴² Lamande, Vinokurov, "Trade in Kaliningrad Oblast," 69.

⁴³ Ibid, 70

indicates in this regard that in 2004, regional trade with the EU constituted 75.6 percent of the regional exports and 67.5 percent of all imports.⁴⁴

In addition to the trade, the manufacturing sector has proven to be vitally important for the regional economy. Following the rapid decline of the early 1990s, the more recent trend demonstrated a significant improvement: according to Zverev, between 1999 and 2005 export of products manufactured in the region to other Russian regions increased nine fold. Home electronics, furniture, and car assembly were among the most rapidly expanding production areas.⁴⁵ The other two economically significant industries are the transportation, due to the Kaliningrad's location and strategic positioning as the transport hub, and tourism, as one of the local traditional industries.⁴⁶ Essentially, the sectors of local economy traditionally vital for the survival of the region have been once again assigned high priority on the development agendas of the regional government.

Regional infrastructure is relatively well-developed: a number of ports, quality roads, and the regional airport with regular transits to many European and Russian cities – may all contribute to the development of the local transportation industry.⁴⁷ The local tourist industry, too, may be developing into a profitable enterprise once again, at least among the compatriots. Since the region became less restricted for visitors in the 1990s, large numbers of foreign tourists, predominantly German, visited the region. Kaliningrad has since seen a decline in the number of foreign tourists accompanied by an increase in the inflow of

⁴⁴ *Cooperation in Kaliningrad Region* (Kaliningrad Pride Publishing House, 2008), 6.

⁴⁵ Zverev, "Kaliningrad Problems and Paths of Development," 11

⁴⁶ Moses, "The Politics of Kaliningrad Oblast. A Borderland of the Russian Federation," 111

⁴⁷ Zverev, "Kaliningrad. Problems and Paths of Development," 15-16. Zverev writes that between 1999 and 2005 the regional cargo turnover increased 3.6 times.

Russian visitors.⁴⁸ To revive the local tourist industry, major efforts have been undertaken to further improve regional transportation networks, to restore some of the key historical monuments and to promote the region as the fascinating site for recreational and knowledge tourism.

Finally, an important indicator of regional economic activity that needs to be briefly mentioned is the volume of the investment capital. Recently, Kaliningrad has been recognized as the region combining one of the most dynamic investment potentials in Russia with low investment risk.⁴⁹ Other local characteristics, such as high degree of democratic⁵⁰ and socio-economic⁵¹ development, and the developed entrepreneurial culture may help competing for investment with other Russian regions. Internationally, however, there exists a commonly accepted pessimistic view of Kaliningrad, and the region's poor image, among other reasons, does not allow it to successfully attract foreign investment. This situation is reflected in the investment distribution since the early 2000s: the heavy inflow of internal Russian capital has remained in severe misbalance with poor foreign investment record.⁵²

Novgorod the Great

Novgorod region is situated in the northwest of the European part of the Russian Federation, along the main highways between Saint Petersburg and Moscow, in close proximity to the

⁴⁸ *Cooperation in Kaliningrad Region* (Kaliningrad. Pride Publishing House, 2008), 14.

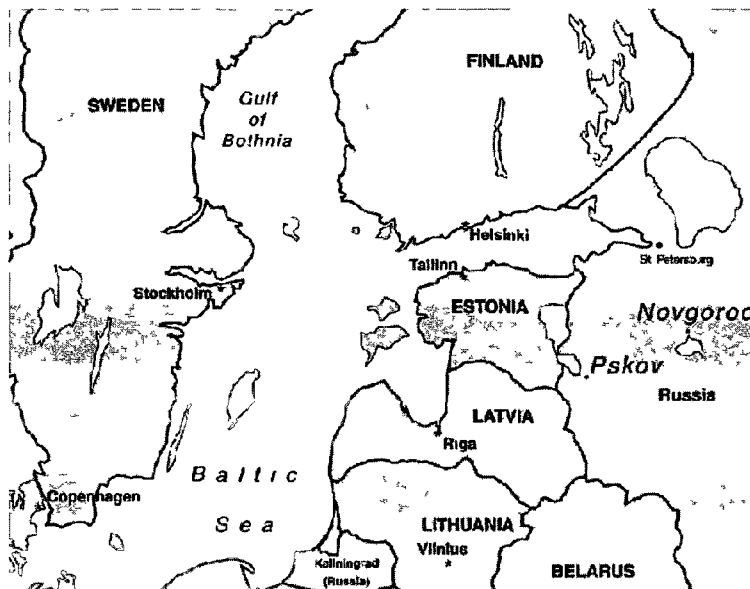
⁴⁹ Samson, Eliseeva, "The New Image of Kaliningrad Oblast," 85-86

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 83 According to the Moscow Carnegie Center, Kaliningrad is ranked 9th in Russia in democratic development.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 84 According to the Russian Ministry of Economic development and trade, the region ranks 11th in socio-economic development.

⁵² Zverev, "Kaliningrad Problems and Paths of Development," 15

Baltic and Scandinavian countries. It covers the area of 55,300 square kilometres, with the population of 694,355 people as per the last national census of 2002.



Source N Dimello (2002)

The population of the Novgorod region is highly homogenous in ethnic composition, with 96% of local residents represented by the Russian ethnic group. Considering the relatively small size of population, the region possesses high quality human resources: approximately 50 percent of the total workforce have higher or specialized secondary education; 23,100 people are employed in the scientific, healthcare, educational and cultural sectors, and 5,000 people - in municipal and other public services.⁵³ High levels of education among local residents are indicative of the overall cultural and intellectual environment that, according to the local historian Victor Smirnov, was being established in the region in the second half of

⁵³ Alexander Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation", Commissioned study, Institute of Social Sciences of the Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel, http://www.frieden.uni-kiel.de/pdf_files/060.pdf (accessed February 10, 2009), 4

the 20th century ⁵⁴ This same cultural environment has more recently inspired local initiative, resourcefulness and collaborative effort

Besides human capital, Novgorod region's most valuable resources are wood, high quality clay, sand, peat, limestone, gravel, and a number of mineral springs ⁵⁵ Provided the low endowment with natural resources regional industrial complex can be considered relatively well developed High-tech engineering and electronic military industry established here during the Soviet era, although has witnessed a steep decline due to the character of its key orders from the military, presently once again represents a significant portion of the local industrial output Other important regional economic sectors include chemical industry (by far, the most successful), timber and woodworking, glass and ceramic production, as well as the developed cultural industry. ⁵⁶

During the 1990s, to boost regional development, Novgorod's elites created a progressive regional model promoting openness of the local economy ⁵⁷ The Novgorod model, deeply rooted in local history, ⁵⁸ was designed to attract foreign investment and combined such features as low tax and fewer administrative barriers with rapid development of the telecommunication industry

This progressive outlook has proven successful The resulting intensive collaboration with international commercial networks and high volume of foreign capital inflow into the region

⁵⁴ Smirnov, *History of Novgorod the Great*, 345

⁵⁵ Laura Solanko and Merja Tekoniemi, "Novgorod and Pskov," *Russian and East European Finance and Trade* 35, no 2 (March/April 1999) 44

⁵⁶ Smirnov, *History of Novgorod the Great* 357

⁵⁷ Ibid , 348

⁵⁸ Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation", 10

with the supposedly low investment potential boosted Novgorod's image both within and outside the country. As a consequence, during the times of economic crises the region's performance was superior to the rest of Russia.⁵⁹ Regional experience caught the attention of many experts and has since been researched and publicized as the authentic Russian path of democratic development.⁶⁰ One of the important indicators of the economic success, according to Sergounin, was the major reduction in federal subsidies received by the region: if in 1993-94 subsidies accounted for 40 percent of the regional budget, in 1996-99 they constituted only 5-10 percent, due to the effective economic policy pursued by local political elites.⁶¹

Several sectors contributed to the sound economic performance of the region. Establishment of a significant number of small and medium size enterprises,⁶² successful revival of the industrial sector, and the creation of the favourable investment climate caused larger volumes of goods being manufactured locally and exported, thus often times resulting in regional trade surpluses.⁶³ Important contributors to the overall economic performance of the region, the electronic and the chemical industrial sectors have constituted the backbone of the local industrial complex since the Soviet period: for example, Solanko and Tekoniemi recognize that the electronic military plants proved extremely important as the basis for regional development after 1991;⁶⁴ Novgorod's chemical plant, Akron, too has been successful in the interregional Russian market.

⁵⁹ Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation, 7-8

⁶⁰ Smirnov, *History of Novgorod the Great* (2006), Petro, *Crafting Democracy* (2004)

⁶¹ Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation", 31

⁶² Solanko, Tekoniemi, "Novgorod and Pskov," 53

⁶³ Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 10

⁶⁴ Solanko, Tekoniemi, "Novgorod and Pskov," 46.

Other growing local sectors include the cultural industry incorporating the traditional arts and crafts and knowledge tourism. Additionally, because of the geographic location of the region along the main highways between Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the transportation is now being deemed a significant for the regional development economic segment, in need of urgent attention.

One of the main factors that contributed to the greater than average economic success of the Novgorod region has been the fact that Novgorod is viewed as the ‘paradise for investors.’⁶⁵ This was not always the case. The investment potential of the region was considered low in the early 1990s, ranking 66th among Russian regions. However, from the very beginning, steps taken by the regional government to overcome the depressing situation were directed towards the creation of the optimal investment climate.⁶⁶ Public officials, business elite, influential scholars and cultural figures were brought together by the common goal of articulating and implanting in the public conscience a coherent message related to the creation of the regional image. Dinello writes that by employing history to develop and maintain certain ideas local elites helped to cultivate regional pride and to develop Novgorod’s identity. Since then, the city earned a reputation of a progressive city “rooted in the past” both in Russia and abroad, and has been sought after as a very attractive for the investors region.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Dinello, “Can Novgorod’s Greatness Rub off on Putin?,” 21.

⁶⁶ “Creation of a Favorable Investment Climate: the Experience of Novgorod Oblast,” Report summary, AUCC, http://www.aucc.ca/_pdf/english/programs/cepra/summary%20of%20the%20final%20research%20results.pdf (accessed November 30, 2008).

⁶⁷ Dinello, “Can Novgorod’s Greatness Rub off on Putin?,” 26-7.

Essentially, the constructed deeply grounded in history territorial identity of the Novgorod region has defined the extent of its socio-economic advancement. Wide ranges of historical representations have been used to implant into the local consciousness the notion of historical continuity with the past, the knowledge of local history, the appreciation of historical experience and its applicability to the present-day situations.

Embedded in the local psyche, these concepts create a solid foundation for collaboration between the various groups of local elites charged with designing and executing the new model and, simultaneously, for the mass acceptance of the new policies produced by the elites.

The results of this overall strategy are self-evident: if in 1995-96 Novgorod's was ranked tenth on the investment risk list, in 2000-2001 it became first in Russia as the region with the friendliest investment policies.⁶⁸ This positive image helped to attract significant for the regional economy inflows of foreign capital: between 1994 and 2001 \$536.2 million dollars in foreign investment were drawn to the region. And not only did foreign companies invest in existing plants and enterprises, they actively built new manufacturing facilities.⁶⁹ The most attractive for the foreign investors have been the food industry, wood processing, transportation and the infrastructure sector of the local industrial complex.⁷⁰

In general, the two regions have comparable locations, territory, population sizes and ethnic compositions. Despite similar physical positioning in the Northwest federal district of

⁶⁸ Samson, Eliseeva, "The New Image of Kaliningrad Oblast," 86

⁶⁹ "Creation of a Favorable Investment Climate the Experience of Novgorod Oblast," Report summary, AUCC, http://www.aucc.ca/_pdf/english/programs/cepra/summary%20of%20the%20final%20research%20results.pdf (accessed November 30, 2008)

⁷⁰ Sergounin, "External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 37

Russia, Kaliningrad's geographic circumstances can be considered more challenging. Ethnic Russians constitute the overwhelming majority of the population in both regions; however, the self-identification of the local residents varies between Novgorodian and Russian in Novgorod, and Russian, European, and a combination of the two in Kaliningrad due to a variety of socio-political factors.

Economically, both regions have experienced improvement in their conditions: Novgorod, since it was more proactive in creating better business and socio-economic environments; Kaliningrad, on the other hand, seems to have enjoyed higher living standards because of the above average levels of shadow economy in the region that resulted in higher GDP per capita.

With regard to the investment activity, both Novgorod and Kaliningrad have experienced significant increases in capital inflow, although different types of investment have been prevalent in each region. Novgorod has seen major inflow of foreign capital since 1994, while in Kaliningrad the overwhelming share of investment has come from the mainland Russia. For example, 284,198 thousand US dollars in foreign capital was invested in Novgorod in 2006; in Kaliningrad, FDI constituted only 80, 814 thousand dollars. The higher volume of foreign investment in Novgorod region reflects the degree of trust foreign companies have towards the region, and its political and economic leadership. Based on the two investment records, it can be maintained that while the increase in foreign investment in the Novgorod region may indeed be explained by the positive investment climate and territorial image abroad, high levels of monetary inflow in the Kaliningrad region from the

Russian mainland (chiefly, Moscow and Saint Petersburg) may signify stronger political and financial dependency of the region on the federal centre.

3.3 POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The political climates of the two regions differ despite certain similarities caused by the nation-wide political transformations since 1991. In the early 1990s, central government gave the regions the opportunity to choose their own governing models. However, during the 2000s these freedoms were partially revoked resulting in significant alterations to the ways the regions dealt with internal and external matters.

According to the preliminary data analysis, the shifts in national and international political circumstances unequivocally affect the direction in which local history is being utilized to re-shape regional images in relation to other entities and changing conditions.

Kaliningrad

After 1991 left to “strike out” on its own, not unlike every other region in the country, Kaliningrad was made a national priority by the federal government in 2001, both politically and financially. The Putin’s government was paying increasing attention to the region’s circumstances in light of important international transformations directly affecting the region: the EU expansion and the NATO enlargement. Moscow made it its priority to keep the region a part of the country and to provide for its development. In this instance, a

generous 92 billion-ruble program for regional economic development was established ⁷¹

The share of federal contributions was later reduced in light of its inability to support such expenditure ⁷²

The federal position toward Kaliningrad suddenly changed instead of the country's military outpost it was now being considered a bridge between Russia and Europe, and as such it was desperately lacking a positive and progressive image, nationally and abroad ⁷³ The reputé of Kaliningrad had to be re-built to reflect the dual reality of the region remaining a part of the Russian Federation and working for a closer integration with the EU The positioning of the region was recognized as being extremely important for its further development, and the appointed by the president in 2005 the new governor, Georgiy Boos, was set to make the region attractive for capital and international commerce ⁷⁴

Novgorod the Great

In the Novgorod region, from the mid-1990s the effective political leadership of the governor Prusak's team, their consistent determination to attract business to the region, their ability to cooperate with local elites, NGOs and cultural institutions to reach their goals made the region stand out politically and economically ⁷⁵ The narratives of Novgorod's ancient democratic tradition were re-told and popularized, and the opinion that the

⁷¹ Zverev, "Kaliningrad Problems and Paths of Development," 22

⁷² Moses, "The Politics of Kaliningrad Oblast A Borderland of the Russian Federation," 125

⁷³ Ibid , 123

⁷⁴ "Regions and territories Kaliningrad," BBC News, 15 May, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/6177003.stm (accessed 2 June, 2009)

⁷⁵ Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?," 20, 25-6

Novgorod's "officials know how to listen" became quite common among the locals.⁷⁶ An equally rare occurrence in the post-Soviet Russia was the air of harmony and collaboration between the regional and municipal governments.⁷⁷

In the early 2000s, although initially critical of Putin's federal reforms, governor Prusak became more and more appreciative of central policies and maintained constructive relations with Moscow and other regions. The president very much valued the support and leadership qualities of the Novgorod's governor and, according to Dinello, even followed some of the steps undertaken by Prusak regionally, when reforming the country.⁷⁸ Regarding the increased political constraint on the regional autonomy in negotiations following the federal reforms, there also seem to have been achieved an understanding; according to Sergounin, Novgorod is a unique region that "does not want more autonomy in foreign affairs."⁷⁹

By and large, both regions have been coping with the circumstances developing on the national level, and after 2000 both had to let go some of the autonomy of the 1990s. The Novgorod region, however, had done significantly better with regard to the progressive political leadership and the development of stable political and economic environment in the region. Among the great successes of the Novgorod's government has been the creation and maintenance of the image of the city and the region as politically and economically open, administratively progressive, tolerant and, overall, portrayed as following the democratic traditions of the prosperous Novgorod republic. This image already formulated and exploited in the 1990s, with the changing political climate following Putin's reforms, has

⁷⁶ Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?," 26.

⁷⁷ Sergounin, "External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 34.

⁷⁸ Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?," 29.

⁷⁹ Sergounin, "External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 33.

been accordingly re-moulded to suit the new political conditions and regional needs and to reflect stronger ties of the region with the Russian state.

Kaliningrad, on the other hand, has been lacking direction in political development, especially in terms of elevating the status of the region and making it attractive to investors. Only after 2001 did the regional political elites begin to demonstrate relative consistency in formulating the new regional identity, with some direction from Moscow. The complex external circumstances of the region create the prerequisite for the formulation of a similarly multi-faceted regional identity, which is being articulated in relation to several external entities.

3.4 TERRITORIAL IDENTITIES: EXTERNAL MOTIVATIONS

Constructed in a process of ‘social’ interaction, territorial identities are often being articulated in relation to other entities, external to the regions in question. These external actors, such as the governing bodies, other regions and municipalities, powerful corporations and organizations, may be capable of influencing the patterns of strategic decision making in the regions. The particular relations between the regions and these extra-local actors are essential from the standpoint of the ability of each region to “cater” to the most significant of them. In an attempt to comply with the external conditions, regions make specific decisions that affect their development paths: in some instances, the ways the territorial identities are articulated in relation to these external entities directly influence the image of the regions and, therefore, their development priorities.

For Kaliningrad, the federal government and the governing bodies of the European Union represent two most important influences. Other parties such as the potential investors, partner municipalities, NGOs and development institutions are not as substantial in their capacity to significantly affect the course of regional development.

Federal government that has been paying special attention to Kaliningrad since 2001 plays the decisive role in determining regional plans of action legislatively, economically, financially, and politically. Moscow presently defines regional legislation and norms, determines financial and economic policy, sponsors financial transfers and federal goal-oriented programs, and appoints governors.⁸⁰ The government also controls the external relations of the region, including those with regions and municipalities of other countries.⁸¹

European Union represents another major influence on the region's ability to define its path of development. With the expansion of the EU in 2004 and with the addition to it of Poland and Lithuania, Kaliningrad, although remaining the subject of Russia, became increasingly affected by the pan-European policies.⁸² Being separated from Russia, the region is subjected to EU transit - related decisions, critical for Kaliningrad in light of the sheer number of border crossings and cargo transits taking place in the region. Apart from strictly legislative actions, EU also delivers economic assistance to Kaliningrad through TACIS

⁸⁰ *Cooperation in Kaliningrad Region*, 4

⁸¹ Zverev, "Kaliningrad. Problems and Paths of Development," 22

⁸² Arthur Usanov et al, "Support to Transforming the Kaliningrad Oblast into Pilot Region of Russian-EU Cooperation," (Kaliningrad Kaliningrad Regional Development Agency, 2003), <http://www.kaliningrad-rda.org/en/development/discoveres.php> (accessed May 20, 2009), 15.

(Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States) and other programs,⁸³ and supports independent programs of cooperation with the region. Besides, an estimated two thirds of the regional economy is linked with Baltic and West European neighbours by commercial exchange, thus making Kaliningrad enormously dependent on the cooperation with its neighbours,⁸⁴ although trade with the Russian regions is also becoming increasingly important.

Still, the region remains reliant on the dynamics of the Russian-EU relations even more. If the Russian strategy of integration with the European Union is to be pursued, Kaliningrad may become the region of experimental integration, the pilot region, where economic, political and legislative policies are put in practice and evaluated.⁸⁵ This way, the region will be assisted with further development of the economic relations with the EU simultaneously remaining the integral part of Russia, looking for support from Moscow.⁸⁶

This brief discussion provides the context within which the particular aspects of Kaliningrad's identity are being articulated. It becomes evident already from the preliminary analysis that the connections between the dependence on the federal government and the objective requirement for constructive collaboration with the EU strongly influence the territorial identity that now combines Russian cultural and spiritual ties with the past traditions of the progressive and cultured European country.

⁸³ Zverev, "Kaliningrad Problems and Paths of Development," 17

⁸⁴ Moses, "The Politics of Kaliningrad Oblast: A Borderland of the Russian Federation," 111

⁸⁵ Zverev, "Kaliningrad Problems and Paths of Development," 23

⁸⁶ Usanov et al., "Support to Transforming the Kaliningrad Oblast into Pilot Region of Russian-EU Cooperation," 3

The circumstances in Novgorod the Great, although similar in terms of the existence of comparable influences, seems to differ in the extent to which the particular extra-local actors are capable (or willing) to affect regional development strategies.

According to Solanko and Tekoniemi, before 1999, Novgorod although receiving federal aid was less dependent on it than many of its neighbours.⁸⁷ However, the situation with the centralized financial assistance may have changed as a result of the national reforms undertaken since 2000, even though there is no indication that the region is more reliant on it than before the federal reforms. This region, having become famous in Russia for its creativity in establishing and maintaining international collaborative networks, does not seem to want more autonomy from Moscow in international relations, thus accepting the dominating presence of the federal centre in its affairs.

The European Union does not possess such an overwhelming influence in Novgorod as it does in Kaliningrad due to obvious differences in geographic and political positioning of the regions. Various financial collaborative programs have been implemented regionally under TACIS and through the region's cooperation with the international institutions and organizations in a variety of areas, including the education and tourism.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Solanko, Tekoniemi, "Novgorod and Pskov," 54.

⁸⁸ Sergounin, "External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 20-1

Novgorod's another important tie to the European community is its membership in the New Hanseatic League. This connection goes beyond a formality and, as Sergounin points out, "represents a political-conceptual basis of external relations and a concept for socio-economic development of the city."⁸⁹ The membership in the league provides tangible substantiation to the historical myth utilized in the formulation of Novgorod's identity.

Overall, major extra-local actors, similar in both regions, differ in the degree of their ability to affect the politics of local development. The influence of two such actors, the Russian federal government and the EU, omnipresent in Kaliningrad, are somewhat less pervasive in Novgorod. At the same time, Novgorod's membership in the Hanseatic League seems to have become a part of the created regional identity together with the variety of other interregional and international collaborative networks in culture, education and municipal governance. When compared to Kaliningrad, Novgorod's network building appears to represent a combination of activities that are non-threatening to the federal authority, and constitute local, "grass root" affairs, so to speak.

And despite or thanks to the character of its external relations, Novgorod has been more successful among the two regions in attracting foreign businesses and capital and in developing connections within the networks of foreign municipalities and organizations. This has been possible by creating and successfully projecting the positive image of the region as traditionally democratic, politically stable, and historically consistent,- qualities very much appreciated by the foreign partners, and to a much lesser degree, by the more pragmatic Russian ones.

⁸⁹ Sergounin, "External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation,"25.

All that being said, Kaliningrad too has been developing networks supporting its interregional commercial operations, including trade and investment capital, and simultaneously attempting to attract foreign investment, albeit not as successfully. As mentioned earlier, this can be explained by the problematic status of the region as well as the relative weakness of the regional image abroad. Additionally, Kaliningrad region appears to be subjected to tighter federal government controls in external affairs to avoid any ambiguity in the international arena, due to the region's geographic positioning and its background of a German territory.

4. ANALYSIS

The upcoming analysis, as outlined in the theory and methodology section, in fact represents a much larger analytic process, in which I continually revisited the entire collection of summarized data, producing a ‘core’ of recurring topics. It is these key topics along with corresponding data excerpts that will be examined in detail below.

The analysis is subdivided into three sections: territorial identity, invented traditions, and the analysis of regional fields of cultural-historical production. These divisions reflect the outcome of the methodological coding procedure.

The *first part* of the analysis deals with the territorial identity formation, and is divided into two subsections: image of the region and of the nation in the region and historical connections of the region with the Russian state and/or with Europe. This section rests upon the three elements of methodological framework introduced in the second chapter: the theory of the dialectic in local development, conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis.

As discussed earlier, positive territorial identity is considered essential for the successful development of any region and locality; above all, the *internally* formulated territorial identity that is “discovered, recovered, or invented”, may be paralleled with the creation of a pool of local resources that, once accumulated, will foster local development.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Ray, “Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity,” 259.

In the first subsection, concerned with the image of the region and of the nation in the region, I introduce the representations of the regions created by local actors and analyze the significant categories of regional identities that are made pertinent in the context.

Throughout this section, I examine relevant translated excerpts to answer such questions as: What are the images of the regions constructed in the data? What are the distinct characteristics of the regions, their history and their people as depicted in the texts? How are the regions portrayed as representative of the nation, bound to embody the state for many of their European neighbours? What are the sources of the created identities (according to Ray, they can be based upon cultural, historical, or architectural local particularities)?

Furthermore, I also name certain discourses as they relate to the constructed territorial identities. Even though they are not explicitly mentioned in the texts, their existence is made evident by the authors' positions taken toward them. I further intend to show how local actors attempt to overcome them through revisiting local histories and re-formulating positive regional identities, thus in a way engaging in resistance strategies.

As we will see, more negative images were constructed about the Kaliningrad region, although Novgorod had also been portrayed as "neglected" on some occasions. However, due to the fact that Novgorod's officials proved being much more proactive in re-inventing the regional image, its overall identity has received more positive attention, as the literature survey confirms. The questions I address in discussing the applied discursive practices are: What are the dominant discourses created in the media about the region? How are these resisted or affirmed in the texts? Using the theory of the dialectic in local development I also

explain the concept of the “enemy” used to justify the cultural-historical degradation in Kaliningrad before the late 1980s.

In the second subsection, dealing with historical connections of the regions with the Russian state and/or with Europe, I analyze data excerpts containing the accounts of regional histories that relate them, historically and/or culturally, to other regions, to the state, or to the European governing bodies and organizations. Here, I again employ a combination of all three theoretical approaches, using the conversation and critical discourse analyses together with the theory of the dialectic in rural development.

The *second part* of the analysis deals with the notion of invented traditions. As I have previously mentioned, both Kaliningrad and Novgorod, along with all other Russia’s regions, witnessed the overwhelming collapse of the previous regime together with the associated ideological constructs and values. The invention of tradition, in both regions, took on a form of ‘revising’ local histories and, based on past events and characteristic particularities of both places, of attempting to construct positive environments for local socio-political, economic and cultural development.⁹¹

Presently active processes of re-invention have been evident since the early 1990s. Historical facts about the localities, their architectural sites, either still existent or imagined into existence (such as the destroyed Royal Castle in the centre of Kaliningrad), characteristics of the people who previously lived on these lands-are only some of the tools

⁹¹ Although critical of the limited understanding of culture as only one aspect of societal life, I use the terms ‘culture’ and ‘cultural’ in their narrower sense as being related to the higher culture, quality education and, overall, to a ‘civilized’ society, as they are being used in the collected data

that are being employed to bridge the past and present, to create a sense of continuity of history and tradition. What appears to be most striking among all these exercises? Using the collected data, I analyze the means by which the past and present are attempted to be bound together, what the specific historical references are, and how modern localities are envisioned (and enacted) into reality. In explaining the processes by which traditions are invented, some common elements will be identified. For instance, some of the invented traditions originate through historical investigations that help to produce an image of the locality and its residents in the past, some are called into being by the discussions about the continuation of historical process thus attempting to create a vision of the present day localities as bearers of the past values and qualities.

The *third part* of the analysis is dedicated to the brief discussion of the regional fields of historical production, essential to the processes of identity construction and tradition re-invention. The significance of the field of history becomes more than apparent already throughout the examination of territorial identity and invented tradition. Professional and amateur historians in each region involved in the resurrection of historical truth intimately engage in the practices of re-invention. In this section, I identify the main characteristics of the historical field in each region and attempt to answer the following key questions in the course of the discussion: What constitutes the field of historical production in the region? Who are the main actors that contribute to the process of the creation of dominant historical representations in the regions? What are the ways they are they involved in the process? Based on the examples, what possible motivations do historians possess when they set out to search and uncover particular aspects of regional and national histories?

4.1 TERRITORIAL IDENTITY

4.1.1 Image of the Region and of the Nation in the Region

In this subsection I analyze the representations of the region as created in the texts by local actors: scientists, cultural workers, state officials, journalists, using original excerpts in Russian to highlight key categories revealed in this image production exercise.

This section is organized in the following manner: I create an image of each region for the reader, by stating the ideas expressed in the texts and substantiating them by the relevant excerpts. In switching between the languages, I avoid making literal translations, rather trying to convey key notions present in the original excerpts. The overall goal I set for myself in this subsection is to create an evident depiction of each region grounded in the collected data.

Kaliningrad

I begin this section with the essential definition of Kaliningrad as the city with history; moreover, with captivating history. For example, Boris Adamov, local lore specialist, writes that

“The most significant historical particularity of the region is the region itself, with its complicated, but fascinating history. In it there was a place for the Prussian tribes, and for a unique Order state, and for the migrants from various countries, and for Kant’s philosophy,

*and for the Russian presence. Every moment of the past is interesting and captivating, we only need to guard each of them so that the book of history can be enjoyed in its entirety.”*⁹²

In another instance, Nina Peretiaka, local cultural worker, discusses the concept of Kaliningrad as a city ‘re-discovering its past’:

*“We (local residents) stopped pretending that the history of the city began in 1945, we study the history and the culture of the land, reconstruct its architectural relics, loading them with new cultural meaning.”*⁹³

The author speaks of the image of the city constructed during the Soviet time as the “young city of the Russian suburb” and the way it was counteracted through the officially sanctioned re-thinking of the regional history since the late 1980s. In my view, the artificial construction of the city as ‘young’ and ‘without history’ can be considered a discursive practice employed by the Soviet ideology to structure the identity of the region and its residents due to the complexities of the local history. Peretiaka notes that

*“After an almost half a century of Soviet rule came to an end, the energy of the land, its long and fascinating past and historical memory washed off the ideological construct, although well fabricated, and the life of local residents began to fill in with completely different historical facts and meanings.”*⁹⁴

⁹² Boris Adamov, “Historical Particularities of Kaliningrad Oblast as the Stimulus for Tourism Development,” *Baltika* 2, no 26 (2007) 87

⁹³ Nina Peretiaka, “Myths and Reality of Kaliningrad’s Cultural Life in the Eve of the Anniversary,” *Baltika* 17, no 2 (2005) 7

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 7

What also becomes visible in these passages is the identification of an extra-local actor, to whom the concept of the 'enemy' can be applied. Here it is represented by the Soviet state that for a few decades attempted to disguise local historical truth by implanting the idea of the 'young Russian city' in the consciousness of the settlers.

If in the second excerpt Peretiaka refers to the Soviet period as the time of historical deception, in the documentary about Königsberg-Kaliningrad produced during the year of the anniversary; this period is implicitly described as the period of 'hibernation' in the city's life. Kaliningrad is said to be 'returning to life,' and showing the signs of cultural and historical rebirth."⁹⁵ This time-fitting revival of the city is being referred to as "digging out the past" and symbolically compared to the excavation of the Königsberg Castle.

My own observations at the digging site-museum of the Königsberg Castle appear to validate the revival notions expressed above. In one instance, a museum stand at this archaeological site presented under the title "Castle Königsberg: The Return" tells visitors in much detail about the process of current archaeological investigations and familiarizes with the projects of the reconstruction of the castle.

Another example of imagining Kaliningrad as the city with long history represented in the article "Between BERG and GRAD" (or between Königsberg and Kaliningrad). Dedicating the article to the opening ceremony of the 750th anniversary celebrations of the city, the

⁹⁵ Documentary "Fathers and Sons of Königsberg" (Kaliningrad: NTRK Kaskad, 2005).

author compares recently restored Royal Gates monument with the time travel “from Königsberg to Kaliningrad,” and goes on to emphasize the idea of historical continuity with the following metaphor:

... “And the Royal Gates between Königsberg and Kaliningrad have unlocked! The cities have merged together; and blended with each other, inseparable.”⁹⁶

Similar idea appears to be what has inspired the anniversary organizing committee to title the activities of the day one of the celebrations as “One city, one history”, to underscore the historical continuity existing between the two cities, in reality representing one and the same entity.⁹⁷

Blending epochs and blending cultures seem to play an important role in conveying the spirit of the city. Kaliningrad is often represented as the place where cultures come in contact with each other, co-exist, and intermingle. This idea is substantiated, for example, by Galtsova, the director of the Russian State University museum, who, in her book review, emphasizes that

“...throughout the 1990s... a research stance was beginning to form, in which the famous idea about our region as the place where different cultures meet and influence each other received central position.”⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Natalia Gorbacheva, “Between ‘berg’ and ‘grad’,” *Kaliningradskaia Pravda* (2 July 2005) 1.

⁹⁷ “The Program of the Kaliningrad Anniversary Celebration,” *Kaskad KTV*, no. 114 (30 June 2005) 4.

⁹⁸ Svetlana Galtsova, “Peter’s Beginning Königsberg University and Russian Education in 18th century.” *Kaliningrad Archives Research and Investigations*, no. 3 (2001). 345.

In another instance, Kuznetsova, a university professor, in her discussion of the particularities of cultural development of the region, writes:

*“Throughout the centuries, on the amber shores of the Baltic, a distinct culture was being formed, mainly German, but with the influences of various other traditions. Here developed the culture of Pruss, the people of the Baltic Slav ethnic group, here lived Lithuanian tribes, and the Poles made their cultural contribution ...Later, when the German culture became dominant, it was influenced by the French Swiss migrants, and by the Huguenots running from the persecution of the French state, who built here their church and schools...Then came Austrians, Hungarians, along with the representatives of many persecuted in different countries religious sects. The multiplicity of customs, traditions, and religious differences formed a distinct world of the Eastern Prussian culture...”*⁹⁹

She then refers to a more recent time period and describes the situation following the World War II:

*“...although the population has completely changed, its international character remained; presently in the region reside representatives of almost one hundred nationalities; however, around 80 percent is of Russian ethnic background... People from all over the USSR came to the region. They brought with them their traditions and cultures, behavioural stereotypes...their cultural experience.”*¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Irina Kuznetsova, “The Particularities of Cultural Development in Kaliningrad Oblast,” *Baltika*, no. 1 (2001): 98.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 98.

Another instance of constructing the city as the place of mixing cultures is demonstrated in the article titled “The Eastern Prussian-Russian Style”, in which the author, in surveying the opinions of the local residents about their own interpretation of local cultural particularities, receives the following responses

“The city of Königsberg did not cease to exist, it was not destroyed. This is why I think that we live in Königsberg-Kaliningrad. Kant, Schiller, Hoffman are representative of our culture, it appears.”

“I think that Königsberg and Kaliningrad is the same city. The land may be repossessed, sometimes even in a barbaric way, but it always remains and does not begin new life.”¹⁰¹

And then again

“The influence of the German culture is felt constantly. It affects the culture of the local residents formed on the basis of Russian spiritual values. And, in a way, Kaliningrad residents are more open-minded toward culture, have greater interest in it, they express more tolerance and acceptance of other [ways of being].”¹⁰²

The idea of continuity of the historical process, of the cultural synthesis is expressed quite commonly in the data. It is present, for example, in the usage of the double name of the city, Kaliningrad-Königsberg, commonly referred to as “our city” in place of any one name, or in

¹⁰¹ Alexei Baklanov, “East Prussian-Russian Style,” *Kaskad KTV*, no. 111 (25 June 2005): 8.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 8.

the mixing of the two names, as it is done in the title of the article “Kalininberg-Koniggrad”¹⁰³ dedicated to the opening of the monument to Baron Munchhausen, a German nobleman widely known in Russia as a fictitious literary character. This representative of the German nobility who, at some point in his life, visited the city of Königsberg and was at the service of the Russian empire is not the only thread connecting Russia and Europe through these lands.

Historically, East Prussian territory was the bridge linking the East and the West. These connections are being now re-thought in light of the recent political developments, the enlargement of the European Union and the NATO expansion.

Presently, Kaliningrad is being portrayed as the place vital for Russian-EU relations, one of the ‘common spaces’ between Russia and Europe,¹⁰⁴ the city-bridge connecting the two entities.¹⁰⁵ Such characteristic of the city is implied, for example, in the article about the construction of the new regional airport facilities; in it the remodelled Khrabrovo airport is presented as being the connecting link in a sequence “Russia-Khrabrovo-Europe.”¹⁰⁶ This representation of the regional airport follows the model set by its German predecessor, the

¹⁰³ Alena Zadneprovskaya, “Kalininberg-Koniggrad,” *Kaskad KTV*, no.107 (21 June 2005) 7

¹⁰⁴ Press Conference Following the Meeting with Federal Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schroeder and President of France Jacques Chirac, July 3, 2005, http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/07/03/2302_type82914type82915_90815.shtml (accessed May 25, 2009)

¹⁰⁵ Valery Biriukov, “Kaliningrad’s Anniversary Got Lost in Moscow Corridors,” July 20, 2004, http://www.prazdnikinfo.ru/5/21/121_7532.htm (accessed May 15, 2009)

¹⁰⁶ Andrei Gorbunov, “The Nail in the ‘Body’ of the New Khrabrovo,” *Kaliningradskaya Pravda*, no. 136 (July 8, 2004) 1.

East Prussian airport Devau, the first airport of civil aviation in Germany that for the first time connected Moscow and Europe by regular passenger flights ¹⁰⁷

Many regional projects aiming to boost the development of the regional infrastructure or tourism make the definition of Kaliningrad as the city connecting Russia and Europe their focal point. As such, the Fish Village ethnographic and business centre is meant to connect, link and bridge by becoming a one-stop destination for the visitors from Russia and abroad. In the words of the project director,

*“ today when our nations have come to a complete reconciliation, I would like to look at Fish Village as a symbol of the revival of the united Europe in which Russia receives its rightful place ”*¹⁰⁸

In this passage Russia is represented as not only connecting, but fusing with Europe through Kaliningrad and its Fish Village. The inspiration to belong to the progressive society of civilized and cultured (European) people was common in Russia during past several centuries. And today, when the ideological confinement of the Soviet era has vanished, there seem to be much fewer obstacles to feeling equal to western neighbours in culture and civility. Hence, the construction of Russians as civilized and cultured people is another aspect of regional identity formulation that I examine in this section.

¹⁰⁷ Documentary “Fathers and Sons of Königsberg ”

¹⁰⁸ “Ethnographic trade and handicraft centre “Fish Village,” promotional booklet, (Kaliningrad Project Financial Company Ltd, 2008)

As I mentioned, the desire to feel “European” was widespread in Russia for quite some time. Historically, Russians, on occasion portrayed as ‘uncivilized’ by their ‘enlightened’ neighbours, have felt obligated to prove themselves otherwise. They adopted European etiquette and costumes, learned foreign languages and dances, excelled in arts and sciences.

In the data, portrayed as ‘caring’ about the German cultural heritage (sometimes even more so than the Europeans themselves), Russian people are constructed as ‘civilized’, to resist the implied discursive underpinning of cultural negligence. In Kaliningrad, there seems to be a particular need to counteract such a discourse to explicate the depressing state of many historical sites left in complete disarray until 1990s. Thus, the regional resistance strategy has been to construct Russian people as ‘caring’, ‘educated’ and ‘spiritual,’ simultaneously depicting the Soviet period as ‘deceptive’ and ‘uncivilized’.

To provide an example, Kuznetsova, in her article “The particularities of cultural development in Kaliningrad Oblast” discussing the successes of the Russian cultural achievements in the region and portraying Russian people as knowledgeable and art loving, speaks of the specific cultural politics in the Baltic, according to which Russian culture should not only be preserved and further developed locally, but should also be used as a tool to influence neighbouring countries “with the purpose of the creation of an attractive image of our people, our country, and strengthening trusting and respectful relationships.”¹⁰⁹

The image of the Russian people as ‘caring’ is also created in the article “The Legends and the Mysteries of the Cathedral” by the same author. Kuznetsova examines some of the

¹⁰⁹ Kuznetsova, “The Particularities of Cultural Development in Kaliningrad Oblast,” 100.

myths surrounding the recent restoration work of the Königsberg cathedral, making, in the course of a discussion, the following statement:

*“In 1807 Königsberg was occupied by the French. The Napoleon’s army used the Cathedral first as a military prison, then as a hospital. They did not have any particular respect for the cathedral, but everything is forgiven to the Europeans; it would be quite different if Russians would behave in the same manner during the time when Prussia was under the Russian rule,- the repercussions would echo for a few centuries. But not once during the Russian presence the service in the Cathedral was interrupted ...”*¹¹⁰

In this passage she explicitly states that what is forgiven to Europeans is not forgiven to Russians, and revisits local history to explicate her opinion. Moreover, she refers to the history once again to demonstrate that, more recently, during the Second World War the cathedral has experienced a somewhat similar treatment:

*“During air attacks by the British forces in 1944, the cathedral was set on fire, even though not one bomb directly hit it...Local residents were begging to eradicate the fire but their demands were refused since the church was perceived to be an enemy of the Reich by the Nazi government.”*¹¹¹

And then she notes, depicting Russian (Soviet) people:

¹¹⁰ Kuznetsova, “The Legends and the Myths of the Königsberg Cathedral,” 108.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 109.

“...from the first days of their arrival in Königsberg the Soviets were very caring of the burial place of Immanuel Kant [buried in the cathedral]. It was the memorial of the great philosopher that prevented the destruction of the cathedral. On the famous photograph made days after the Königsberg offensive there is writing on Kant’s memorial saying: Do you believe now that the world is material?” As for me, I am proud of this image, because it demonstrates the high educational level of our fellow citizens...”¹¹²

As we can see, in the last excerpt Kuznetsova again portrays some Europeans (Germans) as more negligent, or less educated and caring than some Russians.

In another instance, Russians are depicted as ‘respectful’ toward the collection of the now legendary Wallenrodt library established in the 17th century in one of the rooms of the cathedral. The manuscript collection was treated with extreme care during “the period of Russian governance” (Russian occupation of the region following the Seven Years war in the mid-18th century).¹¹³ The same idea is present in the dedication of Kirill, the Metropolitan (the Christian Orthodox leader) of Kaliningrad and Smolensk, in which he addresses those working on the restoration of the Königsberg cathedral:

“It is with great interest that I familiarize myself with the restoration work. The resurrection of the cathedral signifies the rebirth of the outstanding culture of those who lived on this land during many centuries; it is the restoration of a great layer of the world culture, close to everyone who leads spiritual life...”¹¹⁴

¹¹² Kuznetsova, “The Legends and the Myths of the Königsberg Cathedral,” 109.

¹¹³ Nicolai Valeriev, “The Historical Treasure of Königsberg,” *Kaskad KTV*, no.13 (October 4, 2005): 13.

¹¹⁴ Igor Odintsov, *The Königsberg Cathedral* (Kaliningrad: Kaliningrad Publishing Yard, 2001), 3.

In this passage, the significance of the contribution made by the Russian restoration teams to the world culture is emphasized; also, in caring about the world culture, Russian people are implicitly portrayed as spiritual.

Based on the above arguments, I underscore that the special efforts are being made to create a favourable image of the Russian culture in the region, to offset the effects of the ‘uncivilized’ discourse. In a similar manner, the tactics of historical revisionism is used to uncover the truth about the past of the region, its remaining material culture and the struggle surrounding it in the decades after the war.

In the following passages the Soviet period is implicitly constructed as uncivilized, deceptive, and barbaric. Surprisingly, these characteristics are being applied to the Communist party only, constructing Soviet intelligentsia and the ‘regular’ people in the opposition to the party and its actions.

For example, Klemesheva, the university professor, in her article “Some aspects of self-identification of the Kaliningrad youth” states that

“...despite the efforts of the local government who fifty years ago attempted to destroy the German cultural landscape, following the slogan “Get rid of the Prussian spirit on this land”, who lifted the tiles off the building tops instead roofing them with the slate, who covered stone roads with asphalt...who destroyed German sculptures and churches; as hard as they tried to create a Russian city,... all the same, the general feel of the city still

remained German – German buildings, Lutheran and Catholic churches , narrow streets, etc. ”¹¹⁵

In the excerpt, Klemesheva creates a feel of the local government as the entity completely separate from the local residents of that time. Evidently, she attempts to convey an idea that the party was acting only in its own interests, and against the will of the people, thus constructing it as the ‘opposing entity’ who alone can be blamed for the cultural-historical negligence in the region after WWII.

Another vivid reference to the ideological blindness of the regional government is made in the article by Nisnevitch recalling the last days of the Königsberg Castle, just before it was blown up by the Soviet army, twenty years after the war. The author constructs the party leaders as the ideological enemies of the people. He notes:

“Regular people when looking at this symbol of the immortality of the city perceived it as a priceless relic. But the “first people” of the region were seeing in it the ghosts of Prussian militarism. In their politicized imagination it appeared to be populated by the spirits of war...”¹¹⁶

In a similar way, Chernyshev in his booklet “ Travelling in Königsberg”, describing the event of the destruction of the castle, writes that the ruins of the castle mounted above the city for twenty years following the end of the war:

¹¹⁵ Marina Klemesheva, “Several Aspects of the Self-Identification of the Kaliningrad Youth,” *Kaliningrad Archives Research and Investigations*, issue 6 (2003): 216.

¹¹⁶ Boris Nisnevitch, “The Last Days of the Königsberg Castle,” *Kaliningradskaia Pravda*, no. 116 (June 28, 2005). 3

“They stood for twenty years! For the party leaders –the masters of the city they symbolized Prussian militarism. The Kaliningrad community wanted to preserve the destructed castle as a historical and architectural monument. A small group of intelligentsia attempted to achieve this. But their protests, unfortunately, were not heard.”¹¹⁷

In all passages, the party is constructed in the opposition to the people, to the Soviet intelligentsia, as an undemocratic entity of uncivilized and highly politicized character that, by its barbaric actions destructed Königsberg’s most important monuments thus affecting the present state of Kaliningrad’s historical sites. Following Ray, this type of historical revisionism can be characterized as searching for the ‘enemy’.

Simultaneously with the physical destruction of material heritage, the Soviet leaders conducted active work of ideological nature attempting to create the image of “young” Kaliningrad, as a city without a long history. Biryukov, in this instance, notes that the wealth of regional historical and artistic heritage was kept covert until the 1990s and that only now the locals are finally allowed to research and celebrate the historical past of the land where they live.¹¹⁸

Thus, the Soviet government in the region is constructed as the opposition to the regular people, to intelligentsia, it is constructed as the ‘enemy’ who delayed such processes as the research of regional history and the restoration of cultural sites, thus putting Kaliningrad in a

¹¹⁷ Yuri Chernyshev, *Travelling in Königsberg* (Kaliningrad: Kaliningrad Publishing Yard), 3.

¹¹⁸ Biryukov, “Kaliningrad’s Anniversary Got Lost in Moscow Corridors,” 2

disadvantaged position in the development of historical and cultural tourism and somewhat perpetuating the inferiority complex within the region surrounded by European states.

Novgorod the Great

If the definition of ‘historical city’ has been commonly applied to Kaliningrad only quite recently, Novgorod the Great has always been depicted as the ancient city incorporating in itself the immense richness of Russian historical experience. Presently, the historically formulated image of the city is being more actively promoted to boost regional development and elevate the status of the locality nationally and abroad. The region is being constructed as the all-around Russian place, where every aspect of the national spirit and culture can be experienced to the fullest.

To begin with, I use the following excerpts from the official document produced by the commission for preservation of cultural and spiritual heritage:

“Considering the special significance of Novgorod the Great in the history of Russia... grant the status of historical settlement to the city by the order of the government of the Russian Federation.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ “The Recommendations of the Special Onsite Meeting of the Committee for Preservation of Cultural and Spiritual Heritage of the House of Commons of the Russian Federation dedicated to the Organization of the Celebration of the 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great,” July 12 2008, received through personal communication with A I Zhukovski, IMC Dialog

The work of the commission was meant to make recommendations to the branches of the Russian government to take particular measures promoting the cultural heritage of the city and the region. One of the recommendations to the House of Commons of the Parliament states:

*“To consider the possibility of assistance in attaching greater significance to the youth round-tables “Preservation of cultural and spiritual heritage: the message to the young Russia” being conducted as a part of the 1150th anniversary celebrations of Novgorod the Great ...”*¹²⁰

The message of Novgorod to the Russian youth is the message incorporating the historical lessons of the city-republic that can and should be presented as the new national idea. Logically, the place that has been the source of most if not all Russian authentic developments has something to offer to the nation still in transition.

In the parliamentary hearings organized as a part of the 1150th anniversary preparations, the image of city was formulated to justify governmental financial assistance and to create greater understanding of the role of the city as a part of the Russian state. Below are some of the references used to depict the city and its role within the state.

For example, in the section titled “Novgorod and the Origin of the Russian Statehood” the events surrounding the coming of the Variangian chief Rurik to rule the city in 862 were

¹²⁰ “The Recommendations of the Special Onsite Meeting of the Committee for Preservation of Cultural and Spiritual Heritage of the House of Commons of the Russian Federation dedicated to the Organization of the Celebration of the 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great ”

established in the Russian empire as the official beginning of the Russian state. In 1862, a majestic monument dedicated to the one millennium of Russia was erected in the middle of the Novgorod Kremlin, as a reminder of the significant for the entire country events:

“It still adorns the centre of the ancient city affirming the traditional saying “Novgorod-the father, Kiev-the mother, and Moscow-the heart [of Russia].”¹²¹

Such titles as “Novgorod and the Russian Democratic Tradition”, “Novgorod –the Keeper of the Thousand Year Old Culture”, and “Novgorod-the Heart of International Integration” are used to emphasize the historical significance of the city for the nation and for the state. An interesting reference is also made in the subsection of the booklet dedicated to the lessons of Novgorod for the modern Russia:

“...what does it mean to feel Russian today? The feeling of the motherland is not only the patriotism and pride for the recent achievements of the country, but, more importantly, the profound knowledge of the native history and culture. To know yourselves is to know the place of your birth; it is needed both by people and by nations.

Many modern states have ancient historic capitals: in Japan-Kyoto, in Spain-Toledo, in Sweden-Sigtuna. In today's Russia there is no such commonly accepted ancient centre of history and culture. Novgorod could rightfully become one...

¹²¹ 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great: Historic Roots and the Future of Russia, special parliamentary hearings (Moscow: Federal Duma, 2007), 4.

...the historical experience of Novgorod is important for the modern Russia with its traditions of democratic self-governance, integration into the European economy, high spiritual and material culture, the origins of which go back to antiquity."¹²²

The status of the city and the historical significance of its heritage are also mentioned in reference to the establishment in the ancient Novgorod of the city-republic - the first in Europe democratic state governed by parliamentary principles:

*"Novgorod the Great represents the principle of local self-governance, established there long before it was instigated in Europe, the book of the first Russian law...Novgorod is the largest commercial centre of the past, member of the powerful European trading organization, the Hanseatic League..."*¹²³

Evidently, in this text the historical city of Novgorod the Great is constructed as one of the most significant territorial formation of the ancient Russia.

Overall, throughout most of the collected data the identity of the city is formulated along the same lines, as the source and the most authentic depository of the national culture,¹²⁴ as the

¹²² 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia, special parliamentary hearings, 7

¹²³ Ibid , 13

¹²⁴ Victor Troianovski, "The Motherland begins with Novgorod the Great," *Rossiiskaia Gazeta*, March 3, 2006 In 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia, 75-6. (Moscow Federal Duma, 2007)

place where the Russian democratic tradition was initiated,¹²⁵ and where the Russian language, literacy, and education began.¹²⁶

In constructing the image of Novgorod the Great various tools are employed. Among these are the references made by the highly respected scientific figures, such as the one made by the immensely respected Russian human scientist, Dmitri Likhachev:

*“At the dawn of the Russian history, we owe it to the people of Novgorod that we are the way we are, that we are Russian.”*¹²⁷

Repeating such passages, the actors who construct the historical images of the city thus automatically enhance their own statements with the authority and the reputation of these well-known and respected individuals.

Another such tool, for example, are the recurring references to the official pre-1917 recognition of the role of Novgorod in the history of Russia. On the official anniversary website, www.1150novgorod.ru, the following reference is made:

“It was in Novgorod, in September 1862, in memory of the coming of Rurik, that the 1000th anniversary of the establishment of the Russian state was celebrated; it was also here that

¹²⁵ Elena Vitol', "Political will is there, the concept will follow," *Novgorod*, no. 39 (September 25, 2008), <http://1150novgorod.ru/press/127.html> (accessed June 24, 2009)

¹²⁶ *Velikiy Novgorod The Official City Guide*, Summer/Autumn 2008 (Saint Petersburg: RIAL, 2008), 4

¹²⁷ "Velikiy Novgorod-Russia's Birthplace," promotional flyer (Novgorod the Great: Novgorod Regional Administration, 2008)

the majestic monument dedicated to the beginning of the Novgorod's and of the Russian history was installed " ¹²⁸

Nowadays in Russia, where the combination of symbols and references are being employed to highlight important national historical milestones, such a statement adds a sense of the precedent historical recognition in imperial Russia, thus giving more credence to the claims about the birthplace of the nation being made by regional actors

The validity of history-related claims is perceived to be of high importance in constructing territorial identity rooted in local past, especially since the Novgorod's history is considered to be one of its main attractions and, therefore, one of the key resources for the development of the knowledge-based tourism in the region ¹²⁹ The archaeological sites and monuments attesting to the rich history of the region, are not only frequently mentioned in the data, but are also referenced as the sites of the World Heritage recognized by UNESCO, ¹³⁰ the fact adding more credence to the existing in the region historical artefacts

Among the many initiatives aimed at attracting visitors to the city, are the calls to come to experience the spirit of the nation, to feel its "Russianness"

¹²⁸ "Novgorod the Great-The Origin of Russian Statehood and Democracy," Novgorod Official Anniversary Website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/history/gos/> (accessed April 15, 2009)

¹²⁹ Vitol', "Political will is there, the concept –will follow "

¹³⁰ "The Time Theatre Troitsky Raskop as the Focal Point of Knowledge Tourism," promotional flyer (Novgorod the Great Regional Committee for Culture and Tourism, 2008)

“To get in touch with the source of the Russian statehood, to feel the extreme antiquity of the ages, to understand the soul of our country, Novgorod the Great is a must to visit.” (The Mayor’s Address in the Official City Guide) ¹³¹

The official anniversary website, too, in constructing the image of the city and the region emphasizes the uniqueness of Novgorod’s history, its Russian essence, its spirit. The invitation to visit the city as the place of priceless historical and cultural treasures is validated by the following statement:

“[Novgorod] is not only an ancient Russian city with an interesting past; it is the inseparable part of Russia, its history, culture and national pride. That is why everyone who cherishes and is interested in the Russian history, has to come here at least once in their life, come near the origin of Volkhov, to see all this priceless treasure, to comprehend the force of the past that at all times has served as the source of power and wisdom.”¹³²

Another significant part of the Novgorod’s past and a source of its power and wealth was the city’s active participation in the international trading networks of the Middle Ages. Similarly to Kaliningrad-Konigsberg, Novgorod is constructed as the important economic and trading exchange between the East and the West, and North and South, as the authentically Russian commercial centre.¹³³ Depicted as the connector between Russia and Europe and the initiator of the Russian relations with the Europeans, the people of Novgorod of the Middle

¹³¹ *Velikiy Novgorod The Official City Guide*, 1

¹³² “Dear Friends!,” Novgorod Official Anniversary Website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/oficial/> (accessed April 15, 2009)

¹³³ *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, special parliamentary hearings, 6-7

ages are said to have actively engaged in the economic transactions with the Baltic countries,¹³⁴ contrary to the common in Russia knowledge about the rule of Peter the Great as giving the head start to the Russian-European economic and political relations.

The depiction of Novgorod the Great as the main Russian initiator of commercial and cultural exchanges with Europe is, in my opinion, the act of resistance to the commonly accepted perception summarized in the saying: “*Peter the Great ‘hacked a window’ into Europe.*” The purpose of the resistance here is, by uncovering the ‘real facts’ about the past, to inform people about the role of Novgorod in the national development, thus attempting to reverse the historical injustice of becoming a neglected region. One of the examples of such resistances can be found in the tourist flyer dedicated to the 1150th anniversary of the city:

*“Long before Peter I ‘hacked a window’ into Europe, Novgorod the Great had represented a widely open door into the rest of the world. Situated on the intersection of main trading routes this port of five seas served as the international trading point between Russia, Vizantine Empire, Western Europe and the Islamic East.”*¹³⁵

According to the data, the people of Novgorod were involved in international trade significantly earlier than the rest of Russia:

¹³⁴ 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia, special parliamentary hearings, 77.

¹³⁵ “Veliky Novgorod-Russia’s Birthplace,” promotional flyer.

“...the first experience of successful international cooperation between Russia and Europe was also linked to Novgorod: through the city went the ancient trading route “from Variangians into Greeks...”¹³⁶

Following its initial commercial successes, Novgorod began to actively trade with the European commercial network, the Hanseatic League. For a few centuries it remained the most important Russian trading partner of the European merchants. The significance of Novgorod the Great for the European trade was recognized by the Hanseatic League of the New Time, in which Novgorod has become a full member representing the Russian side.¹³⁷ As the “open city” the ancient Novgorod is constructed as representing the principles of self-governance, openness and tolerance long before the same values started to be accepted across Europe. According to the historical image of the city formulated in the governor’s address to the Russian Parliament,

“The history of Novgorod the Great today is the best argument against numerous attempts aiming to lessen our role in the world history, in comparison with the advanced West. Those who can take a closer look at the achievements of the people of Novgorod understand that culture and civilization did not come here from overseas. They were born here, and from here spread throughout Russia.”¹³⁸

In this passage the representation of Novgorod’s (and Russian) culture as authentic and organic, and of superior or at least of comparable value to the Western culture, is formulated

¹³⁶ Vladimir Nikolayev, “Velikiy Novgorod-Russia’s Birthplace,” *Tribuna*, no. 19 (May 29, 2008), <http://1150novgorod.ru/press/104.html> (accessed March 30, 2009).

¹³⁷ 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great: *Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, 7.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

in the opposition to the previously mentioned discourse of the Russian ‘backwardness’ in comparison with European nations. Such a statement pursues a dual purpose: in attempting to elevate the standing of the entire country, the references made to the Novgorod’s role in the development of the nation are meant to simultaneously raise the status of the region within Russia.

4.1.2. Construction of the Region in Connection with the State and Other Entities

In this subsection I analyze the created representations of the regions as being historically linked to the Russian state or to the international community. These representations, shaped and actively promoted around the times of the anniversary celebrations, are directly related to the political exercise of articulation of regional identities as well as to the assignment of finances for the anniversary organization and various related projects.

The history of Kaliningrad region only began to be openly researched in the late 1980s when, quite naturally, its German-Prussian past became the focus of the attention of the local scientists, researchers, and common residents. It was the time to ‘make history,’ as practically anyone could uncover fresh archaeological artefacts or historical facts clarifying certain aspects of regional history. The history of the region prior to the WWII obscured by the Soviet government’s efforts to depict it as non-existent, was now open for discovery. New facts of regional past were uncovered and publicized, historical works were published and scientific investigations grew in number.

It was, however, the new direction of the more recent historical investigations that became the main focus of this research: the depiction of the region as historically ‘connected’ to the Russian state and national progress. The latest political-territorial developments in the European Union made this type of research a necessity, a ‘survival technique’, so to speak; it laid historical grounds for linking the region with the rest of Russia, and around the time of the anniversary, - for receiving the recognition from the federal centre, both politically and financially.

Both cities have seen a surge in local and external interest in their history and architecture prior and during the anniversary celebrations; both cities have officially considered these events to be major head starts in boosting regional development and receiving financial assistance from various donors to facilitate the advancement of local agendas. The ideological exercise of identity search aside, as the federal government did contribute most significantly with the anniversary funds, it does not come as a surprise that major efforts were made to join local forces in collaboration to revisit local history and to uncover ‘new’ facts of prior Russian ‘connections’ in the case of Kaliningrad, and to further promote the past and present achievements and contributions of the region at the national level, in the case of Novgorod.

This section is organized in the following manner: starting with Kaliningrad, I examine the associations and representations of major Russian ‘connections’ that were created and promoted regionally. Interestingly, some of these depictions are presented as ‘historical truths,’ while others, in effect no more than insinuations, have been publicized and promoted as eagerly.

While the Russian connection of Novgorod the Great should not require such a thorough investigation, in examining the history-grounded identity of the city-republic and its contributions to the state as constructed in the collected data, I also discuss the varying outlooks at the significance of the democratic process in the city following its annexation to the principality of Moscow in the late 15th century. In the majority of sources the democratic self-governance of the ancient Novgorod is presented as the ‘authentic’ Russian democratic movement, something that Novgorod contributed, among other things, to the development of the Russian statehood. In some other instances, the same process is presented as Novgorod’s opposition to the Moscow’s centralizing influences of the time, with the destruction of the republic symbolizing the permanent eradication of democracy in the country.

Kaliningrad

I begin this subsection with the excerpt from the article “The Kaliningrad’s anniversary got lost in the Moscow’s corridors” by Valery Biriukov, that best describes the setting in which the intense pre-anniversary search for the Russian connections and their substantiation initiated. Biriukov writes that after numerous discussions and round tables

“...it was decided that the birthday of ‘our city’ will be celebrated, with its complex centuries-long history, inseparably connected to the history of Russia from the time of the rule of the Moscow prince Vasilii III in the first quarter of the 16th century.

During the discussions it was also remembered that Peter I and Catherine II visited here, that for a few years Eastern Prussia became a province of the Russian Empire, and that during the Seven Years' War Vasilii Suvorov-the father of the future great military commander Alexander Suvorov was the general-governor of Königsberg that the city was made famous not only by the locally born philosopher Immanuel Kant, writer Ernst Amadeus Cöffman, astronomer Friedrich Bessel, composer Richard Wagner, but also by the outstanding representatives of the Russian science and culture who left their mark in the history of the city, -the president of the Russian academy of science duchess Dashkova, historians Tatischev and Karamsin, poets Zhukovsky, Baratynsky and Nekrasov, writer Gertsen and many other famous Russians ”¹³⁹

This excerpt provides an indication of the beginning of the search and the direction of its efforts. Being dependent on the federal decisions in an almost every aspect of the anniversary organization, the region had to present a clear case that would convince Moscow to approve the concept of the anniversary and to back it politically and financially. In that, clear connecting threads needed to be re-constructed between the history of Russia and that of the Kaliningrad region. And the investigations of the Russian connections began.

A variety of positions and opinions have been elaborated in the region and outside, from the close connections between the Russian-German-Prussian royal houses¹⁴⁰ to the historical investigation confirming that the East Prussian lands were, in fact, Slavic lands prior to their

¹³⁹ Biriukov, “Kaliningrad’s Anniversary Got Lost in Moscow Corridors,” 2

¹⁴⁰ Igor Afonin, Andrei Gubin, “From Rurik to Our Time,” *Baltic Almanac*, no 2 (2002) 47

occupation by the German knights. In the words of Constantine Vorotnyĭ, a historian from Kostroma,

*“ Prussians were not only a Slavic tribe but the most Western branch of the Krivichi group that formed the basis of the Russian Smolensk, Briansk, partly Novgorod and Pskov regions. The territory of Prussia was forcefully annexed by Germany, but it never was its historic land. There were never any Germanic tribes here. Moreover, these lands were a part of the Smolensk Russia. That is why Germany cannot and will not produce any justifiable claims to Russia in regard to Prussia-these lands are essentially our lands ”*¹⁴¹

In producing such a statement, Vorotnyĭ is attempting to justify the re-possession of the Eastern Prussian lands following the WWII, and constructing these lands as ‘essentially’ Slavic, connects them to the ‘big’ Russia via the common ethnic composition.

Another claim of a similar character, made in the documentary titled “The Fathers and the Sons of Königsberg”, urges a viewer to consider that something similar to what is being described *could have* happened:

*“And could it have happened so that [Vikingian chief] Riurik received the invitation of the Novgorod’s residents ‘to come and rule over us’ while being in these [Prussian] lands?”*¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Constantine Vorotnyĭ, “Slavic City Romanov – the Predecessor of Königsberg,” *Baltic Almanac-750th Anniversary of Kaliningrad* (2005) 42.

¹⁴² “The Fathers and the Sons of Königsberg,” documentary.

This rhetorical question, left without an answer, calls for an intuitive response: yes, of course, it could have happened so. In using such rather mythical statement substantiated by the desire of the movie producers to convince the viewers, the connection is attempted to be made between the history of the region and one of the single most important moments in the history of the Russian state: the invitation sent out by the people of Novgorod to the Variangian chief Rurik (the founder of the first Russian royal family) to come and rule over the city of Novgorod.

Another reference connecting the region to the ‘mainland’ Russia, that was not only publicized but even institutionalized as a part of the pre-anniversary organization, was the construction of the Russian emperor Peter’s visit to Königsberg in 1697 as one of the most important events in the city’s history. The reference to the Peter’s visit is present in much of the collected data, especially the one produced near the anniversary period.

For example, in the article titled “Classes for the Tzar”, Malinovskaia writes about one of the historical sites of Königsberg, now destroyed:

“The fortress of Friedrichsburg has been destroyed for such a long time that no one now remembers how it looked. Nonetheless, it is very easy to discover it in its original condition. One can visit the city on the Neva [Saint Petersburg] and take a tour around the source of pride of local residents – the fortress of Petr and Pavel. For it was built following the ideas and the design of the fortress of the Prussian king.

It is not very difficult to deduce that the project of the Prussian architects and builders in Russia was enacted by Peter I.”¹⁴³

In this excerpt the initial connection between the Prussian architectural and military achievements and the Russian emperor Peter I are made. For someone unfamiliar with local history, this comment might seem somewhat unusual. However, as the newspaper is catering to the local residents supposedly knowledgeable about their past, such a beginning of an article would not appear surprising.

The important accent in the passage is made on the fact of borrowing by Peter I of the ideas of the Prussian masters to create one of the most famous fortresses in Russian history. In emphasizing this, the author is pursuing two goals: firstly, she is making a connecting reference between the pasts of the two countries, thus historically linking the region to the Russian state, and secondly, she is attempting to enhance the status of the locality as the place that, even though at some point in the past, was more advanced than Russia in many aspects, the place where Russians learned and borrowed ideas. She writes:

“...it was here that he [Peter I] received his first foreign education, substantiated by a diploma.”¹⁴⁴

Konigsberg became the first stop in the long sequence of foreign visits for the young Russian monarch. Here he furthered his knowledge in diplomacy and military art, and signed the “Konigsberg tractate” that *‘facilitated Russia’s victory in the Northern war and*

¹⁴³ Ekaterina Malinovskaia, “Classes for the Tsar,” *Kaskad KTV*, no. 114 (June 26, 2004): 8.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 8.

*helped gaining an access to the Baltic Sea In effect, from that time on regular diplomatic relations between Russia and Prussia were established,' according to the tourist booklet "The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates "*¹⁴⁵

The embassy of Peter I is referred to as the event that facilitated the subsequent rapid advancement of the Russian state, thus again presenting in itself an attempt to elevate the status of the present day region and the value of its contribution to the development of the country In the same booklet the author of the text, Natalia Trofimova, refers to the embassy as *'influencing the entire course of history of the Russian state Russia did not only advance to the shores of the Baltic, but it also developed a very powerful navy Russian seamen subsequently glorified their country all around the world '*¹⁴⁶

Two interesting details attracted my attention in the same booklet First, in the final part of the text the Kaliningrad region is referred to as the place *"where Peter sailed the Baltic for the first time "* In this, the defining the region reference directly links it through the mention of 'Peter I' to the history of the Russian state and of the Russian fleet

Secondly, on the front page of the booklet there is a replica of the painting titled *"The Arrival of Peter the Great in Konigsberg on 7 May 1697,"*¹⁴⁷ fashioned by a Moscow painter in 2005, the year of the anniversary One cannot help but to wonder why was the order placed with the Moscow artist when there existed a very well developed local artistic industry? Why was it commissioned only in 2005? While we can only speculate in

¹⁴⁵ Natalia Trofimova, *The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates* (Kaliningrad IP Mishutkina, 2007), 1

¹⁴⁶ Ibid , 39

¹⁴⁷ Refer to the Appendix A

answering the first question, the response to the latter seems to be an obvious one. Was it that the work was refused to be performed by the local artists or the commission was not even offered to them? All in all, the fact that the painting was performed by an ‘outsider’ from the national capital contributes to the overall controversial feeling about the artwork.

Used as a tool in connecting the histories of Königsberg and of the Russian state, the importance of Peter’s embassy becomes especially evident in the act of its institutionalization. As such, a museum dedicated to the diplomatic relations of the region opened its doors in one of the most important historical sites of Kaliningrad-Königsberg, the Royal Gates, restored in a few short months, just before the anniversary celebration. According to my observations, the museum exposition itself, though it claims to cover the entire history of diplomatic relations of the region, past and present, and does provide an overview of the history of the region, its important monuments and references its most important visitors, certainly puts Peter’s embassy in the spotlight as the most significant event in the region’s history and a fateful one for the entire Russian state. This message becomes clear in the way the exhibition is set up but can also be read in the name of the museum itself “The Great Embassy.”

A significant feature of the exhibition is represented by the stand listing the most important visitors to the region under the title “Great Foreigners.” In the central exposition and in no particular order there are presented the three Russian monarchs: Peter the Great, Alexander I

and Catherine the Great, followed by other significant visitors from Russia and other countries.¹⁴⁸

As it has been previously mentioned, the museum is located in the restored in 2005 Royal Gates, one of the most significant landmarks of the old Königsberg. During the preparation for the anniversary, the established significations of the city landscape were altered: the freshly restored Gates became the focal point of the celebrations, meanwhile the Königsberg cathedral, the most famous historical site of the city, was pushed over into a secondary position. In my opinion, the significance of the Lutheran cathedral was being intentionally overshadowed by this other architectural reference, that could be more easily 'linked' to the history of Russia and its fleet, meanwhile the cathedral, although used now mostly as the museum and an art hall, nonetheless, represents a spiritual installation of a religious branch different from the predominant in Russia Orthodoxy.

Various other 'Russian connections' have been uncovered and publicized, from the portrayals of the relationships between Russia and Prussia as being 'friendly' and 'amicable', to the occurrences of military alliances and cooperation arrangements (where Russia always seemed to help Prussia out). Some other depictions of the Russian-Prussian relations may be considered less agreeable, such as the episode of the Russian occupation of the country following Prussian defeat in the Seven Years war.

Interestingly enough, though, the years of Russian occupation between the 1758 and 1762 are depicted as not necessarily a negative experience for the Prussian population. The

¹⁴⁸ Refer to the Appendix B.

Russians, portrayed as considerate and caring masters, seemed to have earned the respect of the locals, according to some sources.

In one instance, in the article titled “The Russian Trail” Nedbaeva informs the readers about the recent find located in the ruins of the Königsberg Castle, a brick marked with the logo of the Russian brick producers:

“It seems nearly impossible to suppose that Russians were involved in any of the construction work in Königsberg. Nonetheless, historians are aware that during the Seven Years war when the Russian army resided in the city, Russians made repairs of the city fortifications. The hand of the Russian masters reached the Königsberg Castle. They carried out the construction work in the summer residence of the Prussian kings...It was there that the brick with the Russian mark was discovered.”

Nedbaeva further notes:

“It was for only four years that Russians ruled Königsberg in the distant 18th century. Their caring and master-like management of this land and of the ancient “alien” constructions is something our contemporaries should learn from them. The Russian mark in the construction history of the Prussian sacred site – the Königsberg Castle-had been left...”¹⁴⁹

In a similar manner, Yuri Chernyshev in his booklet “Travelling in Königsberg” states:

¹⁴⁹ A. Nedbaeva, “The Russian Trail,” *Kaliningradskaya Pravda*, no. 150 (July 28, 1993): 3.

“A distinct period in the life of the city was the Russian rule during the Seven Years war For four years Königsberg, along with the rest of the Prussian cities, belonged to Russia, and during this period the castle became the residence of the Russian governor of Prussia The fact that Königsberg was under the Russian rule nevertheless allowed for the peaceful development of the city and of the region that continued almost completely uninterrupted Königsberg retained its privileges, rights and liberties The life went on without restrictions for the German population The Russians took care of the repossessed territories as if it would be their property, master-like, caring, and without destruction By the way, for one year V Suvorov, the father of the great Russian military leader, was the governor of the province ”¹⁵⁰

It is evident in both excerpts that the period of Russian occupation is depicted here as ‘business as usual’ and non-invasive for the civil population, and maybe even as a somewhat positive experience for Prussia, as represented by the Russian authors In doing this, the authors of these and other statements of similar nature that were uncovered during the investigation, construct the act of the occupation as ‘peaceful’ and the Russian people as ‘caring’ Over the depictions of the occupation period are used not only to elevate the status of the Russian nation as considerate and tolerant toward other nations and religions, but also to link the histories of the two countries together in search for the Russian connection, and to set the historic precedent of previous Russian possession of these lands

¹⁵⁰ Chernyshev, *Travelling in Königsberg*, 6

Another link between the region and the Russian state can be discovered in scientific investigations of mutual historic influences of the two systems of higher education.

In her review of one such investigation, Galtsova, the director of the Kaliningrad university museum, writes that the objective of the authors was to “*determine the role of the Königsberg’s university and of the scientists of Eastern Prussia in the advancement of the Russian higher education and science in the 18th century.*” In summarizing the outcomes of the research, Galtsova emphasizes the serious influence of the University of Königsberg and its scholars on the development of the first Russian universities. According to the authors of the research, Kaliningrad university professors, the number of Russian students who came to study in Königsberg is astounding; among them there were many of the famous Russian politicians, scientists, diplomats and military commanders. In turn, many Prussian scientists came to work in the Russian scientific institutions accepting the invitation of Peter I. Interestingly enough, while the Russian-Prussian connection is quite apparent in the research, the authors specifically stress their hope that “*new facts of the Russian presence in this ancient land will aid in the restoration of time connectivity and of the unity of historic process.*”¹⁵¹ The authors of the research were evidently searching for the ‘Russian link’, but, simultaneously, they also attempted to elevate the status of the regional university that in the past was drastically more advanced and progressive than leading Russian scientific institutions of the time.

Irina Sattarova, in her article “MSU [*Moscow State University*] Would Envy Us” recounts interesting facts from the history of the Königsberg University established over 450 years ago; and although she does not directly reference the Russian connection in the text, the title

¹⁵¹ Galtsova, “Peter’s Beginning. Königsberg University and Russian Education in 18th century,” 345.

of the article speaks for itself. In it, the long history and the glorious past of the Konigsberg University is compared with that of the Moscow State University, arguably the largest and the most famous Russian educational institution of today, to the advantage of the former. Even though the author uses the verb ‘would’ in the title implying that the University of Konigsberg exists no longer, the comparison is made in an attempt to boost the standing of the Kaliningrad University, the heir of the traditions of the famous Albertina.¹⁵²

Novgorod the Great

In comparison with Kaliningrad, there has been no real need to search for the references connecting Novgorod region with the rest of Russia. However, the role of the ancient city-republic, “the father of the Russian cities”, in the development of the Russian state needed to be re-articulated and once again brought before wide audiences, both within the region and nationally. The 1150th anniversary of the city was considered, as in the case of Kaliningrad-Konigsberg’s 750th birthday, a reasonable foundation for demanding additional federal funding for various local needs, from the restoration of the world heritage sites to building hospitals and recreational facilities.

For this reason, the process of activation of locally constructed and grounded in history territorial identity was initiated by the regional government who, in their effort to promote the cause, even instigated special parliamentary hearings entirely dedicated to the 1150th

¹⁵² Irina Sattarova, “MSU Would Envy Us,” *Kaskad KTV*, no. 33 (August 21-27, 2007): 7.

anniversary of the city under the title “The 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great: Historic Roots and the Future of Russia.”

The significance of the historical role of the city and the region for the rest of Russia has been formulated in the way that did not only emphasize the contributions of the Novgorod republic made for the Russian state in the past, but also presented a clear opportunity for the state to utilize the lessons from the city’s history to rebuild the authentic Russian values and traditions and to endorse a new national idea.

The parliamentary hearings dedicated to the city’s past and present had its objective to provide more information to the highest echelons of Russian officials about the role of Novgorod in Russian history and in the development of the state, to make a profound impact and to increase the chances of a positive outcome resulting in federal financial and legislative support.

In the hearings Novgorod is represented as the place where the Russian state began:

“The events related to the ‘summoning of the Variangians’ [by the people of Novgorod in 862] and the territorial formation of Rus’ up until the 1917 were set in the official historiography as the date of the creation of the Russian state. In memory of the summoning of the duke Rurik in 862... a grandiose monument “The Millennium of Russia” was erected in the heart of the Novgorod Kremlin. It still adorns the centre of the ancient city

*validating a common saying: Novgorod is the father, Kiev is the mother, and the Moscow is the heart [of the Russian land].”*¹⁵³

Depicted as the place where the Russian state originated, where the principles of Russian democracy were developed, the place that is considered a unique depository of the ‘unaltered’ Russian culture and traditions, the city-protector of the state against numerous invaders and a historical centre of international cooperation, the modern city of Novgorod the Great can be expected to make its greatest contribution to the state yet. The following are the main headers according to which the parliamentary hearings proceeded:

1. *‘Introduction: Novgorod the Great. Contribution to the Third Millennium’,*
2. *‘Novgorod the Great: The Origins of the Russian Statehood and the Nation. Novgorod as the Model of the National Democracy’,*
3. *‘Novgorod the Great as the International Integration and Commercial Hub. Culture as the Economic Resource for Regional Development,’*
4. *‘Novgorod the Great as the Centre of European Culture in Russia, the Religious and Spiritual Source,’*
5. *‘1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great as the Time to Choose the National Idea.’*¹⁵⁴

The city of Novgorod is constructed as a unique place of special significance for the Russian nation, both past and present. During the hearings the main regional issues and obstacles to

¹⁵³ *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, 4

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

successful regional advancement were discussed and various local development initiatives were endorsed, in response to the efforts of the Novgorod's delegation.

The theme of uniqueness of the city is visible throughout most of the widely publicized anniversary-related documentation. For example, in one of his interviews, the governor of the Novgorod region M. Prusak, in explaining his efforts to create awareness of the anniversary, states why this date is important for the entire country:

*“Even prior to 1917 the textbooks of Russian history explicitly linked the beginning of Rus’ to Novgorod...Nowadays, when the return to such understanding of the origins of the Russian state became especially viable, we are counting on the anniversary to trigger an increased interest toward the history of the country in all Russians.”*¹⁵⁵

In the last statement, as in several other sources, the potential contribution of Novgorod to the future development of the country is referenced as the most effective tool to attract the attention to the event. To enable such statements, however, the region's officials conducted a significant amount of work in collaboration with the community of historians, whose contribution to the production of historical imagery and representations of the region cannot be overemphasized. For example, according to the article “The Anniversary Fund, Everyday Problems”, during one organizational meeting, the governor of the region *“appealed to historians present at the meeting with the special request. In his opinion, the specialists in Novgorod’s history and archaeology should clarify the role of Novgorod the Great in the*

¹⁵⁵ Troianovsky, “Motherland Begins with Novgorod the Great,”75.

ancient history of Russia for the President's administration ¹⁵⁶ Directly connected to the receipt of the anniversary support from Moscow, such 'clarification' is a vital part of the pre-anniversary preparations

Scientific investigations of regional history present only one part in the process of the production of local representations. The second stage, no less important, involves publicizing and disseminating these ideas, to create a profound impact among target audiences. One example of such promotional efforts is the tourist pamphlet under the title "Novgorod the Great – Russia's Birthplace" that describes the upcoming anniversary and provides the information about the city's history and its role in the advancement of the state. In the pamphlet, in visual and textual representations, the image of the city is constructed in accordance with the main story lines widely circulated.

Apart from textual representations, the visual elements of the pamphlet are in agreement with the overall impression. For example, across the title page, underscoring the image of the Novgorod Kremlin and the Saint Sophia Cathedral, the state tri-colour flag is run, symbolizing the connection and the significance of the event for the Russian state. Another interesting, though slightly controversial detail, is the depicted on the same page the Veche assembly bell ¹⁵⁷ with the Russian tri-colour bell clapper ¹⁵⁸. This image can be considered controversial since it attempts to appropriate the historically established democratic tradition of Novgorod for the entire country. In reality, however, the medieval Moscow presented a

¹⁵⁶ Sergei Troianovsky, "The Anniversary Fund, Everyday Problems," *Novgorod* no 8 (February 21, 2008) <http://1150novgorod.ru/press/47.html> (accessed March 15, 2009)

¹⁵⁷ Note: Veche Bell was the symbol of the democratic governance of the Novgorod republic, its signals announced to the people of the city that it was the time to gather for a meeting.

¹⁵⁸ Refer to the Appendix C.

strong political opposition to Novgorod and, following the forceful inclusion of the republic in the Moscow principality in 15th century, the Veche bell was taken off its original location and moved to Moscow, thus signalling the end of the democratic governance in the republic.

Interestingly enough, in the majority of data the emphasis is shifted away from these less agreeable with the regional promotional strategy events and toward the idea that what really happened in Novgorod was the development of the Russian democratic tradition.

Apart from these debatable representations, other images of the ancient city, frequently re-occurring in the data, depict it as the origin of the Russian language, literacy, and education, and as the place where Russian material culture has been guarded since the beginning of the second millennium. According to my observations, local residents, scientists, journalists and government officials produce most of these depictions. A slightly different angle at the Novgorod's history and its annexation by Moscow is taken by the newspaper "Russian Germany" in the article "Everlasting Are the Routes of Trade." Although the article's main focus is the role of Novgorod in the European commercial union of the Middle Ages, the Hanseatic League, its author does mention the threat that Novgorod the Great presented for Moscow:

"...the [acquired] Novgorod's power threatened the dukes of Moscow...Twice the Moscow duke Vasili II attempted to subdue Novgorod merchants but they paid him off and looked for support in Lithuania.

...Ivan III finally led his army to the independent hanseatic city and in 1471 defeated the weak army of Novgorod...In six years the people's Veche in Novgorod was terminated, and its territory gradually transformed in one of the regions of the Moscow state."¹⁵⁹

In this passage published by and for the Russian community in Germany, its author makes explicit remarks about the historical opposition of Novgorod to Moscow and of the democracy to the totalitarian style of governance, usually avoided altogether or at least made much less overt in the publications by the local authors.

In only one more source similar, though implicit, comments have been located. In the documentary titled "Novgorod the Great, the City-Republic" the following statement was made by the authors:

*"The collapse of the Novgorod's republic for many Russians became symbolic of the fact that the democracy in the country disappeared forever..."*¹⁶⁰

The phrase is formulated in such a way that it is unclear whether the authors are referring to our contemporaries or the people who experienced the annexation to Moscow first-hand, when they mention "many Russians." If the authors of the movie were set on creating an image of the city entirely agreeable with the mainstream presentation of historical events, they would have placed a rebuttal following such a passage. Without an opposing statement, this statement is accentuated as the final point in one of the movie chapters.

¹⁵⁹ Victor Fischman, "Everlasting Are the Routes of Trade," *Russian Germany*, no.22 (June 2, 2008), <http://1150novgorod.ru/press/103.html> (accessed March 15, 2009).

¹⁶⁰ "Novgorod the Great, the City-Republic," documentary.

The same historical event of forceful annexation of the republic by Moscow is presented as an act of peaceful unification with the Moscow state in the information letter of the Novgorodica conference that took place in 2008 in Novgorod. It states:

*“The main topics of discussion are related to the events of drastic transformation in the history of the mediaeval city of Novgorod (including the 530th anniversary of its integration with the Moscow state in January of 1478) and their effect on the establishment and development of Russia.”*¹⁶¹

Above, not only the act of the integration with Moscow is depicted as a peaceful process, but the effects of such ‘union’ are being discussed only from the point of view of the unified Russian state, in which the focused selectivity of the uses of history becomes especially apparent.

Throughout my research I have tried to locate the data in which the regions are constructed in relation to entities other than the Russian state. In Kaliningrad most such references are made in relation to the geographic proximity to Europe or to its former membership in the Hanseatic League; among those, several statements about culture appropriation and cultural and historical continuity have been selected and will be discussed in the next section.

¹⁶¹ “Novgorodica 2008”, information letter, <http://novgorodica.natm.ru/tree5.html?id=43> (accessed August 25, 2008).

In Novgorod, however, the references linking the region to Europe and to the Hanseatic union are significantly more pronounced and are made much more frequently. The reason behind this is that the 29th Hanseatic Days are being hosted by the city in the summer of 2009.

One of the sources, the newspaper “Russian Germany”, constructs the city of Novgorod of the Middle Ages as a highly progressive, friendly and tolerant place and references it as the only Russian city-member of the New Hanseatic League. As the periodical for the Russian-German community, this source tells the story of the Hanseatic Union and emphasizes Novgorod’s relations with Europeans, and the German merchants in particular, thus attempting to construct the historical Russian-German trading connection as the unity of equals in which each side possesses something of value and interest to the other.¹⁶²

While all sources emphasize the significance of Novgorod the Great for the mediaeval European commercial network and state that the city is the only Russian city that has been chosen to host the Hanseatic Days celebrations, the tourist pamphlet “The Theatre of Time” depicts the city as “*one of the wealthiest cities of Eastern Europe [during the Middle Ages].*”¹⁶³ Similarly, on the official anniversary website created with the support of the Federal Agency for Communications and Mass Media, the following statement in one of the sections titled “*Novgorod the Great-the Centre of International Cooperation and Commerce*” is made:

¹⁶² Fischman, “Everlasting Are the Routes of Trade.”

¹⁶³ “The Time Theatre: Troitsky Raskop as the Focal Point of Knowledge Tourism.”

“The significance of Novgorod the Great in relations with Europe was so immense that up until the 16th century some western European cartographers believed it was the most important entity of the Russian state. For the Europeans it was a part of the national symbol and the national myth, as well as the poetic image of Russia, and as such it has attracted and still attracts tourists, businessmen, scientists, politicians.” ¹⁶⁴

In the last passage Novgorod is defined as the place of importance to Europeans, both commercially and culturally. Overall, the comparisons with Europe are being utilized to construct the image of a progressive city, that in its most glorious times was as developed and advanced as its European counterparts, and, on some accounts, more so.

¹⁶⁴ “Novgorod the Great-the Centre of International Cooperation and Trade,” Novgorod Official Anniversary Website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/history/trade> (accessed April 15, 2009).

4.2 INVENTED TRADITIONS

As it has been mentioned earlier, after the collapse of the USSR, Russian regions, as much as the country itself, were left without much of the foundation upon which they could have structured the radically transformed societal life. In the first chaotic years following the dissolution, between severe criticisms of the Soviet regime and numerous attempts to look back to the glories of the Russian empire, many regions were left on their own to try to figure out the possible development paths for themselves. Many turned to local histories as resource pools for ideas to provide not only the survival tactics through the toughest times, but also to direct the regions towards the recovery and development. As Hobsbawm points out, this tactics enables finding the response to “*novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations.*”¹⁶⁵

Not surprisingly, then, that the regions turned to the more glorious years in their histories to learn from their historical experiences and to try to re-imagine and re-enact themselves into the future.

In Novgorod the Great, the entire re-constructed identity of the region as the prosperous democratic republic, progressive, developed and open to commercial relations with foreigners, is built into the foundation of regional strategic development. In utilizing their history to master their present, the region’s top officials, along with the scientists, social and cultural workers have enabled the jump start of the regional development during the toughest periods of post-Soviet disarray: the region has become considered one of the most

¹⁶⁵ Hobsbawm, “Introduction Inventing Traditions,” 2

proactive and business-oriented among all Russian territories, with a great deal of foreign partnerships established locally.

In Kaliningrad, where the confusion over the territorial identity has ruled for a longer while due to the complicated Prussian-German-Russian history of the region, the process of the re-invention received a slow start. Torn between European and Russian self-identification, it has been only considerably more recently that the regional actors began to work in a more or less coordinated fashion toward the new ideological construct. It was around the time of the anniversary that through major physical transformations of the city these new ideas tangibly manifested themselves.

Presently portrayed as the connecting point between Russia and Europe, the important nucleus of international cooperation and commerce, culturally and spiritually progressive city with historically strong tradition in sciences, this 'European city with the Russian soul' is beginning to act out on some of these representations. The image of the city is the one of its most important invented traditions that gives the direction to its development.

Throughout the preliminary analysis I attempted to pick and choose specific invented traditions from each region. After initial investigations it became apparent that due to the ongoing character of the process of tradition invention, some of the inventions have been very freshly devised and still are being moulded and ritualized into specific practices. In such cases I identify the traditions and the ways they are being established.

In this section I discuss specific historical references and underpinnings, and how, based on these, modern localities are envisioned (and enacted) into existence. More specifically, I describe particular regional projects and development initiatives sometimes overtly and sometimes implicitly connected to local histories and the constructed territorial identities of Kaliningrad and Novgorod. In the conclusion, I also explain to which of the three groups identified by Eric Hobsbawm the invented traditions belong: those establishing social cohesion or the membership of groups; those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority; or those socializing, inculcating beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour.¹⁶⁶

Kaliningrad

In the case of Kaliningrad, most of the recently acquired traditions represent the enactment of the constructed territorial image and are manifested through several ongoing development initiatives. The articulated with the help of historical investigations local specificities are being used as the unifying foundation for some of the major developments, which may or may not be explicitly stated in the project mission statements. Interestingly, in Kaliningrad, differently from Novgorod, the official position of the state, including regional government, does not expose the historically based assumptions of the projects, instead relying almost exclusively upon their practical (economic and socio-political) justification. These same projects, however, can be easily linked (and are) to the historical ‘legends’ and ‘memories’ that have become a part of the regional identity.

¹⁶⁶ Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,”9.

This section is organized in the following way: first, the specific characteristic of the region based on its historical background is introduced to create the focus of the discussion; and, second, the ways in which this local particularity is utilized as the justification of regional development strategies are analyzed.

I begin with the representation of the region *as the developed centre of cooperation and commerce at the intersection of trading routes, and a transportation gateway from Russia to Europe*. This depiction of the region takes its origin in the several hundred years of intensive commercial cooperation with neighbouring countries and in its active participation in international trade:

*“Due to its geographic location, Königsberg has always represented the gates from Russia to Europe; from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and trade has been the foundation of its existence.”*¹⁶⁷

In the data Königsberg is continuously depicted as the city *“on the intersection of European roads”*¹⁶⁸ and as the active member of the Hanseatic league since 1339. According to the data, the Königsberg port was one of the major forces that ‘defined the city’:

“The port represented the access to the sea and the rivers, the development of the shipbuilding and trade, the European Hanseatic union and the thriving merchants. The municipal tower and the active shopping areas, storages, market and fairs, development of

¹⁶⁷ Trofimova, *The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates*, 15.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

the civil liberties, self-governance and cultural traditions, - all that became possible thanks to the city port.”¹⁶⁹

The busy commercial life of the city is depicted in relation to the everyday activities of the port during the first visit to Königsberg by Peter the Great. In the end of the 17th century the port of Königsberg represented one of the foundations of its prosperity:

*“Vessels, boats and rafts loaded with timber approached [the port facilities], the cranes loaded cargo and installed masts, the city weighing machine was operating at full pace, next to which the repairing and manufacturing facilities were located.”*¹⁷⁰

Portrayed in this way, the Königsberg port appeared to be the essential source of the city’s identity, allowing it to develop at fast rate during the Middle Ages and beyond. The representation of Königsberg as historically connecting point between many origins, as a commercial and transportation hub operating through a developed marine infrastructure, has received much attention from the present residents of the region, in both creating the image of the new Kaliningrad-Königsberg and enacting it, for only with further development of the territorial infrastructure and commercial networks the rapid socio-economic advancement of the region has been deemed possible.

The objects of infrastructure facilitating transportation and commercial exchange have at all times remained vital for the region. For example, two centuries after Peter’s visit, in the late

¹⁶⁹ Chernyshev, *Travelling in Königsberg*, 2.

¹⁷⁰ Trofimova, *The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates*, 15.

1800s-early 1900s, the famous Königsberg airport Devau gained superior importance as the ‘first airport of civic aviation in Germany’. The history of the airport is now represented in the local media as *“being inseparably linked not only to the development of civic aviation in Germany, but also to the beginning of the air transportation in Russia.”*¹⁷¹

In the regular periodical *“Okno v Evropu”* (*“The Window to Europe”*) published by the regional carrier KD Avia, the Königsberg airport Devau is mentioned to be of particular importance to Germany after the WWI. It was a very well equipped facility that *“was considered one of the best airports of its time, in possession of spacious airplane hangars, centralized gas station, and well-drained field that allowed landing and taking off of the aircraft to various destinations.”*¹⁷² Its importance for the region together with its innovative development is made clear by the following passage:

*“Thanks to the financial support of the state, of the region and of the city, on the 8th November 1922, for the first time in Germany a modern airport complex was open in Königsberg...The air terminal of the airport was considered one of the best in Europe.”*¹⁷³

Numerous other references made in this source represent the Königsberg airport as the international transportation hub vital for the development of the world aviation and as the place of significance not only for Germany but also for Russia.

¹⁷¹ “The Königsberg Airport,” *Okno v Evropu* (June-July 2008) 4.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 7.

Overall, Königsberg is consistently constructed in the data as the active centre of transportation and commerce, international cooperation and trade, which, due to its geographic positioning, the city has always been destined to remain. Such portrayals of its predecessor are currently being 'tailored' to fit modern Kaliningrad, as the heir of the centuries old traditions.

For instance, according to the medium and long-term development goals, the transportation industry has become an evident priority of the local government addressed by coordinated efforts aiming to drastically improve regional infrastructure as well as to attract investment, business and tourism to the area. Among the four main directions of Kaliningrad's strategic development "*the first two reflect the aspirations to develop regional financial and business infrastructure and to establish the city as the logistic, trade and distribution hub*." Such long-term goals as "*strengthening of Kaliningrad as the Russian 'contact' point of active cooperation in the Baltic region and the entire country, the establishment of efficient information and legal infrastructure and the development of small and medium size business*" have been set.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, as a part of the city advancement as the strategic transportation hub, the long-term objectives of the same plan seek to "*efficiently integrate Kaliningrad and its ports into the transportation system of the entire Baltic area, and to facilitate the inclusion of the region in the networks of the European transportation system*."

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Set as one of the highest priorities for the successful development of the city and of the region, its integration in the commercial and transportation networks of the entire Baltic area

¹⁷⁴ "Strategy of Socio-Economic Development of Kaliningrad Oblast for Medium- and Long-Term Period," March 9, 2007, <http://www2.gov39.ru/index.php?idpage=563> (accessed July 16, 2009) 90

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 91

has been evidently receiving the much deserved attention of the government officials on various levels. Even though these development goals are not discussed in the context of tradition continuity from the perspective of local authorities, such long-term projects aim to put the region in the position of the developed transportation and commerce hub that it occupied during much of its existence.

Long-term strategy aside, federal and regional authorities have tried to create a positive acbusiness and investment climate in Kaliningrad region by maintaining existing (such as the Special Economic Zone privileges) and promoting newer initiatives (such as the potential partnership of ‘the region of cooperation’ between the Russian Federation and the EU that has been discussed since the early 2000s). The newly acquired label of the region of cooperation has already become a part of regional image, its brand, so to speak;¹⁷⁶ and as such, it is being utilized in government whitepapers, academic and media publications alike.¹⁷⁷

Most justifications for the development of the regional transport and commercial networks are regularly grounded in the more ‘rational’ geographic, political and economic conditions. The common understanding of the past experience of the region as a well-developed commercial centre in the intersection of trading routes, although rarely explicitly stated in the strategic development programs and projects, is in fact connected to the constructed

¹⁷⁶ Valentin Balanovski, “Particularities of Regional Image Formation and Promotion in the Instance of Kaliningrad Region,” www.statebrand.ru/upload/files/doc_1237582491.doc (accessed July 16, 2009).

¹⁷⁷ Igor Kukhta, “The Concept of the Development of Kaliningrad Regional Transport Complex,” February 27, 2007, <http://www.balticgateway.se/PDFs/development%20of%20Kaliningrad%20regional%20transport%20complex%20Igor%20Kukhta.pdf> (accessed February 14, 2009).

representations of local identity. These associations between past experiences and present identities are expressed as smoothly as possible, for the invention of tradition is an ongoing process capturing the attention of the local community and attracting its fierce criticism whenever the facts of an ‘invention’ become markedly apparent.

However, some data sources do base presently executed projects on local history and historical topography. For example, in the brochure published by the Company for Project Financing, the idea for the development of an ethno-trading complex “Fish Village” in the same location where the famous Königsberg fish market was once situated is justified by grounding the current project in historical context:

“...construction of the Fish Village in approximately the same place where the famous around the entire Europe Königsberg fish market [the symbol of the European-Russian trade of the past] used to be...This is the first large scale project in the Russian North-West, in which the objectives of territorial, commercial and societal development come together.”¹⁷⁸

The goal of this essentially construction project is the creation of the European in appearance business park that will provide a range of services for a wide variety of visitors. The Fish Village is envisioned as the ideal location *“for workshops and round-tables, symposia and seminars of the European and Russian political, business, and scientific elites,” “the refuge for the tourists and yachtsmen.”¹⁷⁹* Visualized as the connecting point

¹⁷⁸ “Ethnographic trade and handicraft centre “Fish Village.”

¹⁷⁹ “Ethnographic trade and handicraft centre “Fish Village.”

within the city-bridge between Russia and Europe, as the “*genuine little old Europe in the most European Russian city*,” the village project is being implemented in the historical nucleus of Königsberg next to the Lutheran Cathedral; the inspiration for the project came from local historical accounts of a developed commercial gateway.

Another occurrence of the invented tradition in the area of infrastructural development is evident in the magazine published by the regional airline, KD Avia. In the June-July 2008 issue of the magazine, the three-article sequence reconstructs the narrative of the past and present of the local aviation. In the opening piece the background of the historically progressive Devau airport of Königsberg is introduced; the following article under the title “Ours are the best” informs the readers about the current achievements of KD Avia, the implied successor of the celebrated traditions of excellence established before the WWII. Several recognition awards attained in a national competition as well as the appreciation of the passengers are presented to illustrate the successful development of the company. One of the key judges of the competition, in recognition of the achievements of KD Avia, noted:

*“A few years ago Kaliningrad was a piece of land separated from Russia...The successful implementation by KD Avia of a project meant to establish an intersection transport node...offered its passengers the best way to travel between Russia and Europe...”*¹⁸⁰

The third in a sequence article titled “The Air Crossroads” speaks of Kaliningrad as having already become the actual transportation node:

¹⁸⁰ “Ours are the Best,” *Okno v Evropu* (June-July 2008): 13.

*“On 15th June 2007 Kaliningrad became the transit node between the “big Russia” and Europe. On that day in the new transfer terminal of the Kaliningrad international airport the first passengers transiting from the Russian cities to Europe arrived. KD Avia managed to transform the “air gates” of the Kaliningrad region into the international air crossroads.”*¹⁸¹

The common connecting thread of tradition and historical continuity becomes evident to the reader, and especially so when the three pieces are read in the sequence they are published, from the past to the present.

The second invented tradition I discuss in this section is ***the part of the territorial identity where the region is represented as being historically and culturally connected to Russia.***

The historical accounts of close connections between East Prussia and the Russian state have been studied and publicized extensively in the region. For the local residents some of these accounts have become eye opening to a certain degree.

Numerous depictions used by the authors portray the relations between the two neighbouring nations as historically friendly, amicable, and full of mutual respect. The strong bonds between the royal houses of the two countries also played a definite role in shaping and strengthening of the Russian-Prussian alliances on various matters, from legislative collaboration to military coalitions. Some sources also describe the occurrences of the knowledge borrowing (mostly by the Russians), of educational and cultural

¹⁸¹ “Ours are the Best,” *Okno v Evropu* (June-July 2008): 14.

cooperation.¹⁸² One of such episodes represented in the data depicts Peter the Great as borrowing the project plan of a Prussian fortress and using it during the construction of the city of Saint Petersburg:

*“In the image of the customary fortresses of Königsberg and Pillau in six years there was erected the fortress of Peter and Paul, the one from which originated the [Russian] city of Saint Petersburg.”*¹⁸³

The significant contribution of the Prussian architecture to the advancement of the Russian military construction in the way of a blueprint borrowed in Königsberg by the famous Russian monarch during his ‘educational’ visit is what is represented and accentuated in the above excerpt. Peter’s visit to Königsberg, as previously mentioned, has been studied and elaborated into a narrative by local historians, has been approved by the federal government and institutionalized as the central exhibition of the museum of diplomacy and as a work of art.¹⁸⁴

The process of the invention of this tradition has received its momentum in the recent years, due to some significant political and economic events regionally, nationally and abroad. The centralized ideological requirement to create an image of the progressive Russian region in the heart of Europe has set the objectives of the enterprise and triggered several developments.

¹⁸² Refer to the section 4.1.2 of this analysis.

¹⁸³ Trofimova, *The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates*, 13.

¹⁸⁴ Refer to the Appendix A.

The construction of the Orthodox Cathedral on the Victory Square of Kaliningrad can be considered one of them. The cathedral, built as a replica of the famous Moscow Church of Christ the Saviour, is, without a doubt, the tallest building in the central part of the city and can be viewed from virtually anywhere. This newly erected cathedral represents the solidified government-approved cultural and spiritual connection of the locality to the rest of Russia,¹⁸⁵ for the invented traditions can be very efficiently implanted and reinforced with the help of architecture.



Source:

<http://veskaliningrad.ru/?tag=%D0%BF%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B0>

Other physical Russian connections are the statues and memorable plaques dedicated to Peter the Great as the founder of the Russian Fleet (in front of the Fleet Headquarters)¹⁸⁶ and to Peter as a young Russian tsar visiting East Prussia to begin his foreign education as a part

¹⁸⁵ Refer to the Appendix D.

¹⁸⁶ Refer to the Appendix E.

of his Great embassy. Regarding one of the memorable plaques on the wall of the restored Königsberg Cathedral, Kuznetsova, the regional university professor, notes,

*“Actually, in the fall of 2003 on the wall of the Cathedral there appeared a non-existent earlier detail. It was the representation of Peter the Great sculpted in bronze. The title reads: ‘The Emperor Peter the Great was here’, together with the dates of his visit. Similar plaques will be installed in every site he visited, all around the region.”*¹⁸⁷

The efforts to implant a part of Russian history in local mentality, thus contributing to the process of the invention of tradition, and to strengthen the Russia-related component of regional identity are evident in this passage. A similar initiative found its expression in the recently erected monument dedicated to the Soviet-Russian victory in the WWII, on the Victory Square, in front of the Orthodox cathedral.¹⁸⁸ In this monument, a curious combination of Soviet military and Russian imperial and spiritual symbols comes to simultaneously express the appreciation to the veterans of the war, born and raised during the Soviet epoch, and to provide the younger generations with the variety of symbols related to ‘big Russia’ meant to direct the process of local self-identification.

In the field of high culture, in order to implant and maintain the Russian cultural tradition locally, too, some important efforts have been undertaken. In this regard, a recent tradition of “The Baltic Seasons” art festival has been established and well received by the locals. Every summer since 2004 the performers from the very best art collectives of the country

¹⁸⁷ Kuznetsova, “The Legends and the Myths of the Königsberg Cathedral,” 112.

¹⁸⁸ Refer to the Appendix F.

present an entire host of cultural events before the local public. The festival website, in providing the justification for initiating the series of events, states

“In conceiving the event as the festival of high culture representing the soundest achievements of the modern Russian masters of music, dance and theatre, the organizers set before themselves the goal to transform the most western region of the country, geographically separated from its mainland into an important centre of Russian cultural life

The Kaliningrad region represents the Russian “window into Europe,” the prospects of its development are closely related to the development of Russian relations with the European Union. This is why the annual festival of arts “The Baltic Seasons” in the region with such unique geopolitical situation can be equated with the establishment of the stronghold of the Russian culture. According to the conceptual understanding of the organizers, the festival is meant to aid the development of cultural connections between Russia and the European countries as well as the transformation of Kaliningrad into a cultural centre of European significance.”¹⁸⁹

This unprecedented in Russia project is organized and supported by the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communication of the Russian Federation, the Federal Agency of Culture and Cinematography, the regional government, the Ministry of Culture of the Kaliningrad region and the Russian Federal Agency for the Theatre. It has been a great success among the residents, extremely eager to attend the events of such nature and magnitude

¹⁸⁹ “Baltic Seasons Art Festival/About,” <http://baltseasons.ru/about> (accessed July 31, 2009)

According to my personal observation during one of the concerts in the summer 2008, conducted by one of the Russian most famous conductors, in the introduction to the event it was noted that the festival is meant to facilitate the greater familiarity and a more profound knowledge of the culture and the artistic essence of the country, thus creating deeper connections between the 'island' and the 'mainland.'

Other projects that contribute to the creation of tradition of cultural and spiritual connectivity and that might have a potentially more profound impact on the younger generation include, among others, favouring Russian fairy tales over European ones by the troupe of the local puppet theatre,¹⁹⁰ introducing the subject of Western Russian history taught in connection to the history of Russia,¹⁹¹ and establishing the tradition of the Orthodox festival of spiritual, folk and patriotic song in the town of Yantarnyi. The latter event has already become "traditional" after having been organized for the fourth consecutive year in the summer 2008.¹⁹² With the blessing of the Metropolit Kirill (the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the region) and the support of the regional government, the festival has been attracting numerous spectators from all over the region. To cite the governor Georgi Booss (who himself has been an active supporter of the event):

¹⁹⁰ Elena Nagornyykh, "And no One to Ask for Help," *Kaliningradskaia Pravda*, no. 168 (August 21, 2004): 6.

¹⁹¹ Olga Vladimirova, "The history that wasn't?" *Kaskad Podrobnosti*, no. 29 (July 24-30, 2007): 5.

¹⁹² "The Festival of Petr and Pavel in Yantarnyi," July 12, 2008, <http://www.alexandrnevskiy.ru/docs/otz/17.htm> (accessed July 25, 2009).

*“There should be many such festivals, the more, the better...And the fact that it is organized here - too, may be, in a certain sense, a message from above; this is why it is good that we have it.”*¹⁹³

In one of the short television interviews the same Booss noted: *“...the fact that this festival has been organized on the land of Kaliningrad is in itself an enormous achievement...”*¹⁹⁴

Through this event, the relatively new local tradition of Orthodox spirituality is being implanted and popularized among the residents. The Orthodox belief system, now nearly the official religion of the Russian Federation, is often identified with the mainland Russia and serves as a strong spiritual connector between the region and the rest of the country.

If the institution of the Orthodox Christianity may be considered recent for the region, ***the local tradition of a major university and cultural centre*** goes back several centuries to the period of the establishment of the University of Königsberg, much renowned throughout Central and Eastern Europe for its scientific discoveries and cosmopolitanism.

Among the collected data, some of the sources depict Albertina as having played a significant role in the development of higher education in Russia, as having maintained the

¹⁹³ “The Festival of Petr and Pavel in Yantarnyi,” July 12, 2008, <http://www.alexandrnevskiy.ru/docs/otz/17.htm> (accessed July 25, 2009).

¹⁹⁴ “The Festival of Peter and Pavel in Yantarnyi,” GTRK “Yantar” (State Radio and Television Company), Kaliningrad, July 2008.

environment of tolerance and cosmopolitanism throughout its existence, and as being one of the best and most scientifically advanced universities of its time.¹⁹⁵

In 2005 the Kaliningrad University has witnessed one important symbolic change: its official title was changed to the Russian State University of Immanuel Kant, thus conflating both the new federal status with the scientific heritage of the university. In this, the attempt to elevate the status of the university to the level of federal significance due to the important geopolitical positioning of the region, thus providing the university with more authority in the European educational space, was made. The action of the name change was undertaken during the three-day celebration of the city's 750th anniversary; it was made especially significant by the presence of the Russian President Vladimir Putin and the German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who commented on the event in the following way:

*"I am glad that the Kaliningrad University, the heir to the traditions of the ancient Albertina, is receiving the name of Kant..."*¹⁹⁶

The name of the world famous philosopher, born and educated in Königsberg, who during his entire life never left Prussia, is of special significance to the present day university. In the above excerpt the reference made to its German past may be viewed as the indication of one of the most glorious periods in the Albertina's history, admittedly more eventful than the history of the Russian State University (RSU). As stated on the university website, there is no and there can not be any direct historical continuity between the two universities:

¹⁹⁵ Galtsova, "Peter's Beginning: Königsberg University and Russian Education in 18th century," Valeriev, "Embriology originated in Königsberg"; Sattarova, "MSU Would Envy Us", <http://www.kantiana.ru/about/history/>.

¹⁹⁶ "The Anniversary Collection," *Kaliningradskaya Pravda*, no. 121 (July 5, 2005): 2.

“Naturally, the history of the University of Kaliningrad and its achievement cannot come close to those of the Königsberg’s Albertina. There was not and could not be any legitimate succession between the two. Certainly, the University of Kaliningrad has its own history, its own development path and the different conditions of its present existence. And, nonetheless, one of the current paradoxes of Kaliningrad may be that the further away is the past of Königsberg and its university, the better understood and more sought-after becomes the intellectual and cultural legacy of the Albertina...

...All in all, it can be said that the recognition of its unique mission among Russian universities as the keeper of the memory of the famous Albertina becomes widely accepted in the university.”¹⁹⁷

Even though it is explicitly stated in the above excerpt that no direct succession exists between the two universities and no actual “tradition” was passed on to the RSU by its predecessor, the *memory of Albertina* is said to define the course of action and the path of future development for the Kaliningrad university. For example, the fact that the Albertina was one of the international scientific and educational centres of Europe in its time influenced one of the missions of the Kaliningrad University as the “*bridge between the Russian and the European universities*.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ “From the History of the University,” Russian State University of I Kant, <http://www.kantiana.ru/about/history/> (accessed August 2, 2009)

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

Being one of the most active among the Russian universities in the area of international cooperation in education, the Kaliningrad University was officially recognized by the federal government as especially significant for the Russian –European relations;¹⁹⁹ in a symbolic action of name and status change the university acquired a new and improved brand and greater responsibilities, as it is expressed in the following excerpt:

“This [new] name, in bringing with itself greater responsibility, influences both the self-identification of the university and the election of its future advancement path...”²⁰⁰

Thus, the memory of Albertina and its intellectual tradition, together with the newly acquired federal status, are considered to be the crucial factors that will shape the development strategies of the Russian State University of Kaliningrad.

The main directions can be markedly identified among the university development objectives: advancement of scientific research, coordination of innovation in higher education, and strengthening of international cooperation with various scientific institutions. All these are connected to the ‘memory’ of Albertina, its history and its fame of one of the leading institutions of Eastern Europe in scientific research and education, as well as in its tradition of tolerance towards diverse cultures of the people who came to study there. According to the university website,

¹⁹⁹ “From the History of the University,” <http://www.kantiana.ru/about/history/> (accessed August 2, 2009).

²⁰⁰ Ibid

“It [Russian State University] advances the best scientific traditions of the Konigsberg University that was founded in 1544 and closed in 1945.”²⁰¹

So, despite the earlier statement about the lack of legitimacy in succession between the two universities, the old traditions of the Albertina are being re-invented and re-enacted by the present day RSU, whose efforts in this direction have been certainly made more efficient by the symbolic change of its name and status.

The role of the modern university is also very much defined by the geopolitical positioning of the region, one of the Russian centres of integration in the European economic space, the territory attempting to connect Russia and Europe economically, politically and culturally. All this places greater requirements on the largest regional university that *“must occupy the leading role in the regional system of science and education.”²⁰²*

Together with the acquired new name novel challenge presented itself: the responsibility of representing Russia in the processes of integration of the European education systems.²⁰³ Depicted as linking the European and Russian institutions of higher learning, thanks to its historical German-Prussian connection, the new name of Immanuel Kant, its federal status and its dynamic development, the Kaliningrad University is acknowledged by the European countries *“as the legitimate representative of the Russian system of higher education. [As a*

²⁰¹ “Establishment of the Bipolar Area of Science and Research Klaipeda-Kaliningrad Researa,” Russian University of I. Kant website, <http://www.kantiana.ru/resarea/en/database/struct> (accessed August 5, 2009).

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

result], the university maintains partnerships with over fifty universities from 16 different countries”²⁰⁴

The scientific advancement of the university in various fields has also been on the rise, various academic units that investigate the works of Kant and Russian philosophers, the multifaceted research of the Baltic region and the world oceans, linguistics, physics of ionosphere, among many others, have become known in Russia and abroad. According to the university website, the scientists of the university have published over 300 scientific and methodological works, over 5,000 scientific publications.

Finally, RSU has been recognized as one of the most successful universities of the country and has become the winner of the federal competition among the universities that carry out innovative projects in higher education. In fact, its experience in the area of education modernization has been considered quite valuable and caught the attention of the members of the Russian parliament interested in the progress and the experience of the university.²⁰⁵

Overall, the university has been rapidly advancing in most of the strategic directions implicitly suggested by the ‘memory,’ tradition and the historic experience of the University of Albertina. As stated above, the RSU is progressing in the areas of scientific research and educational innovation, and actively working to maintain and extend its networks of international partnerships in science and education. The transformation of the RSU from

²⁰⁴ “Establishment of the Bipolar Area of Science and Research Klaipeda-Kaliningrad Researca,” Russian University of I. Kant website.

²⁰⁵ “Federal Deputies Evaluate the Experience of the RSU of I. Kant,” KSCTR, October 28, 2008, <http://www.kaliningrad.rfn.ru/news.html?id=21904> (accessed August 3, 2009).

being one of many regional institutions into the university officially recognized as representing Russia in the EU educational space and embodying the remarkable history of Albertina, is fundamental.

The final discussion in this section is related to the invented tradition of *Kaliningrad as progressive place, with cultured and educated population*. The discussion is organized in the following manner: the past depictions of the city and the region are referenced; then the connecting references are analyzed together with the present-day characteristics of the region, to illustrate the process of the invention.

The present day depictions of Königsberg and East Prussia in local sources have been sufficiently consistent: most of them represent the city and the region as being a progressive European state, with the developed infrastructure and commerce, and the well-known in Europe university. As noted in the beginning of the analysis, Königsberg is also depicted as the city bridging Europe and Russia, where cultures come in contact with each other and intermingle and, therefore, as a tolerant and cosmopolitan place.

In the region surrounded by the EU countries, Europe is considered an especially important reference of being 'progressive', 'cultured' and 'civilized'. In my view, whenever the adjectives 'progressive', 'advanced', or 'developed' are being applied to characterize modern Kaliningrad, the tradition of being such is attempted to be implanted in the local consciousness, to create a perception of being similar to their 'civilized' neighbours. This is why the discussions of tradition continuity are often elaborated and publicized, although as frequently they become subjected to the criticism of the locals.

The connecting references between the past and present are almost never explicit; more often, they are hidden within the uses of ‘our city’ instead of Königsberg or Kaliningrad, within the discussions of the continuity of history and tradition in the region that during most of its existence remained a part of Europe politically, economically and culturally; within the statements describing local culture as combining Russian and European cultural variants,²⁰⁶ and in constructions of local residents as cultured, well-educated and civilized people.

Not unlike the tactics employed in the re-invention of the Kaliningrad University, these discussions do affect the self-identification of the locals and contribute to the improvement of the image of the “region of cooperation.”²⁰⁷

The enactment of the qualities associated with progress, culture and civility is the integral part of Kaliningrad’s self-professed identification. For being viewed as progressive and cultured is both customary and mandatory for the historically European region presently surrounded by the EU countries and, due to its geopolitical positioning, being bound to intimately intermingle with the neighbouring regions and nations. Therefore, the historical narrative is activated in order to re-invent the locality according to the required perception.

A self-evident example of being progressive is presented by the airline carrier KD Avia who has been recognized as being the best in Russia regional operator and as having created the

²⁰⁶ Baklanov, “East Prussian-Russian Style,” 8.

²⁰⁷ Balanovski, “Particularities of Regional Image Formation and Promotion in the Instance of Kaliningrad Region ”

transportation hub in the Russian exclave region. In presenting itself as having achieved significant heights in the development of the regional air transportation since the late 1990s, KD Avia constructs itself as the successor to the famous aviation tradition of the pre-war Königsberg.

Another progressive feature of the territory is in becoming a pilot region of Russian-European cooperation as well as the Russian internal pilot region for testing the innovative projects in the areas of medicine, education and information technology.²⁰⁸ Although the official status of such a region in the Russian-European context is still pending, according to some sources, the region has been already carrying out the supposed functions, such as, for example, being the first among the Russian regions to participate in the movement of the Euro Regions.²⁰⁹

In the area of scientific advancement the leading role is played by the regional university along with some other institutions of higher education. Continuing the old traditions of the Königsberg University, in the last decade the RSU of Kant has significantly improved its reputation nationally and abroad by rapidly developing its technological base and scientific focus, and modernizing its educational practices. According to the university website, RSU has developed numerous international partnerships in science and education, and is recognized by a host of foreign universities as being a credible representative of the Russian system of higher education.

²⁰⁸ Balanovski, "Particularities of Regional Image Formation and Promotion in the Instance of Kaliningrad Region."

²⁰⁹ "A Pilot Region of Cooperation of Russia and the European Union," Kaliningrad Regional Development Agency, <http://www.kaliningrad-rda.org/en/kgd/interpart.php> (accessed May 20, 2009)

The rapid advancement of the university certainly enhances the image of Kaliningrad in Russia and abroad as the city of culture, with the educated population. According to the data, even during the Soviet times, local levels of culture and education were superior to the Russian average.²¹⁰ Many local residents take pride in their mixed cultural heritage describing it as the “fusion” of Russian cultural foundation and European cultural surrounding that makes them more tolerant and more receptive to other ways of being.²¹¹ In the article about the regional image making, its author, V. Balanovski, argues that residents of Kaliningrad speak very correct Russian language, a considerably rare en mass occurrence in the country that, nowadays, has witnessed a major increase in linguistic borrowing and simplification of vocabulary.²¹²

The cultured and educated population has to make a certain impact on the surrounding environment. Therefore, it is only natural that the restoration of valuable historical sites has been taking place in the region; some of them have been restored with basically no or minimal financial support of the government (such as the Königsberg Cathedral). However, according to the anniversary speech by the President Putin, further restoration of monuments of local history will continue in the region with government support.²¹³ Overall, the process of restoration of historical sites in the region can be viewed as a proof of the re-instated

²¹⁰ Balanovski, “Particularities of Regional Image Formation and Promotion in the Instance of Kaliningrad Region.”

²¹¹ Baklanov, “East Prussian-Russian Style,” 8

²¹² Balanovski, “Particularities of Regional Image Formation and Promotion in the Instance of Kaliningrad Region.”

²¹³ “Speech at the Celebrations of the 750th Anniversary of Kaliningrad,” July 2, 2005, http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/07/02/1148_type127286_90747.shtml (accessed January 16, 2009)

tradition of cultural appreciation and tolerance, thus receiving its continuity in the modern Kaliningrad.

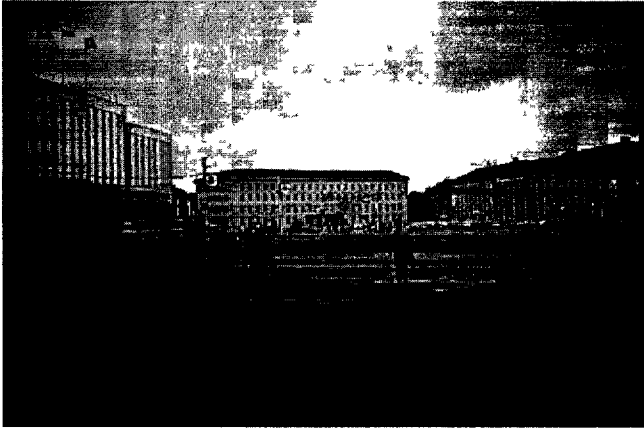
The restoration projects are destined to change the face of the city; and so are the new developments of commercial, business and touristic nature. The major transformations of the city core have already changed the appearance of Kaliningrad. Now, often constructed as ‘European city,’²¹⁴ the present day Kaliningrad-Konigsberg has been altering its physical form, often getting rid of the architectural shapes and structures of the Soviet period and experimenting with currently more meaningful styles and designs.

The city central Victory square, so named after the Great Patriotic War, has been transformed from the asphalt covered largely bare space, with the tribunes and Lenin monument, into a European in appearance, stone-laid plaza with fountains, decorative street lights and monuments. Below are the pictures of before and after the reconstruction of the square took place.

²¹⁴ Chernyshev, *Traveling in Konigsberg*, “Ethnographic trade and handicraft centre “Fish Village,” personal observations.

Before

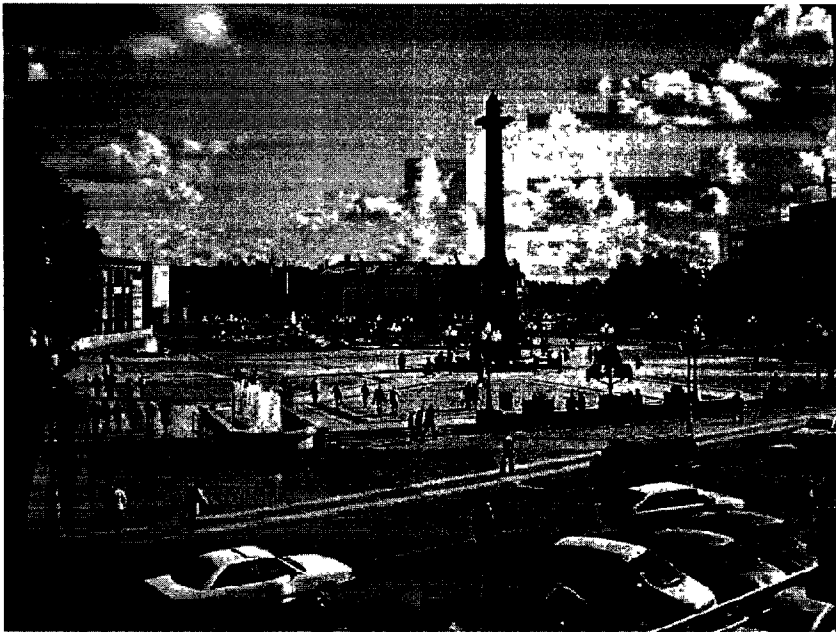
Photographed during the summer of 2002 by Vitaly Volkov



Source:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Poedy_square_2002.jpg

After



Source:

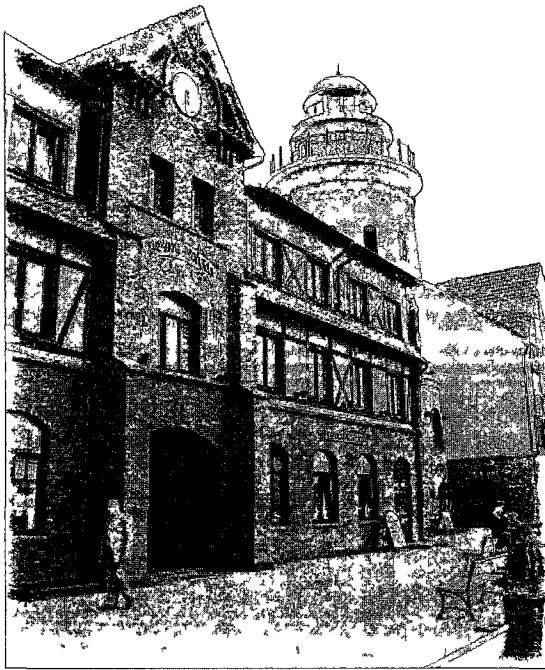
http://www.runako.ru/marmelad_1.htm



Source: photographed by the author in July 2008, Kaliningrad.

Another vivid example of such transformation is the ongoing project implemented by the Company for Project Financing (CPF), in charge of the construction of the Fish Village, a new ethnographic and commercial complex in close proximity to the Königsberg Cathedral. In undertaking this large-scale project, the CPF is attempting to alter the image of the city in the long run hoping that the project “*would allow beginning of the systematic formation of a ‘classic’ image of Kaliningrad-Königsberg and will become the new face of the Russian exclave.*”²¹⁵ With one of its mottos reading as ‘the genuine small old Europe in the most European Russian city,’ the company has already transformed some of the surrounding the cathedral areas. Below are the images at the site of the unfinished village photographed in the summer of 2008.

²¹⁵ “Ethnographic trade and handicraft centre “Fish Village ”



*Source photographed
by the author in July
2008, Kaliningrad*



*Source photographed by
the author in July 2008,
Kaliningrad*

According to the study of Nicolai Petro, important local actors have been utilizing the historical myth of the city-republic to boost regional advancement for well over a decade.²¹⁶ However, as it happened in Kaliningrad, during the anniversary preparations the process of the activation of regional historical myths received its momentum. The opportunity presented itself to make the regional celebration as publicized and as significant for the entire nation as possible. Throughout the preparation stage numerous steps were taken towards the institutionalization of traditions through the establishment in the region of various cultural programs and institutions of federal significance, through special educational undertakings aimed to raise awareness of local history and its significance among the local population.

Some re-inventions, activated prior to this period, were mostly related to the principles of local democracy and self-governance, entrepreneurial openness and educational advancement. The ones that were activated throughout the period of anniversary preparations were typically concerned with the role of Novgorod in the Russian history and its historical lessons for the emergent Russian democracy.

The first in the discussion of the traditions reinvented in the course of the preparations for the festivities of 2009 is the one representing *Novgorod the Great as the origin of the Russian state*. Promoted as such, the medieval city-republic was depicted as the ‘birthplace’

²¹⁶ Petro, *Crafting Democracy: How Novgorod Has Coped with Rapid Social Change*.

of Russia in an overwhelming majority of sources, and, most of the time, by local actors. Although it cannot be regarded as a tradition in and by itself, this portrayal of the region certainly holds considerable potential as the negotiating and promotional tool.

According to one of the sources,

*“When on the vast spaces of our motherland the slogan “Novgorod the Great-Russia’s Birthplace” was introduced, many were amazed: why Novgorod? Where did this come from? But two years passed by, and the compatriots have gotten accustomed to the idea. And less and less often they become shocked having found out that Novgorod the Great is actually older than Moscow itself”*²¹⁷

The slogan promoted outside the region, to the general population and to the federal government, and internally, to the local residents, has gradually become more and more naturally accepted, not only due to the fact that it has been supported by historical evidence, but also because the message itself has been extremely consistent. The wide spread interest in historical investigations can be considered an important characteristic of the nation; when the search for the national idea is under way, the claims such as the one made by the Novgorod’s government, have to be easily verifiable, which they certainly appear to be.²¹⁸

In spreading the word and in making the slogan ‘stick’, the mayor and the governor have been most instrumental. In an almost every piece of data that has been collected throughout

²¹⁷ Vitol’, “Political will is there, the concept-will follow,” <http://1150novgorod.ru/press/127.html> (accessed June 24, 2009)

²¹⁸ Troianovski, “The Motherland begins with Novgorod the Great,” in *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, 75

the course of this research, they utilized, it seems, every opportunity to consistently accentuate the main themes of the anniversary celebration *ideology*. Thus, in getting the tradition activated, the governments of the city and the region have been extremely active working in an apparent harmony with each other.

In one of the interviews to “Rossiiskaia Gazeta”, the former mayor of Novgorod gives his feedback about getting the anniversary preparations started:

*“...First of all, we defined the ideology of the celebration. Yes, we very strongly desired that the anniversary of our ancient city became an event of national significance. In this instance, we received the support of the Federation Council that twice conducted their onsite hearings in Novgorod the Great; and every time we discussed with senators the problems of the 1150th anniversary celebration...”*²¹⁹

The established ideology of the celebration permitted attempting to reach out to the federal government and to negotiate the more acceptable conditions of the celebration including the financial backing. In one of his interviews titled “The Motherland Begins with Novgorod the Great”, the former governor of the region actually speaks of a ‘tradition’ to celebrate the anniversary of the city that started after the WWII, in 1959, when the 1100th anniversary of the city was celebrated. He also notes: *“even before the October revolution the Russian history textbooks unmistakably linked the beginning of Rus’ with Novgorod.”*²²⁰

²¹⁹ Olga Kolotnecha, “The Hansa Days Await Us,” in *Parliamentary Hearings 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia* (Moscow: Federal Duma, 2007), 78.

²²⁰ Troianovski, “The Motherland begins with Novgorod the Great,” in *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, 75

In many sources this ‘custom’ is referred to as being set in imperial Russia. The main reference in every such case is the monument that was erected in the middle of the Novgorod Kremlin in 1862, for the millennium anniversary of Russia. This memorial depicting the thousand-year history of the state was installed not in Moscow, and not in Saint Petersburg, but in Novgorod, in recognition of this city’s key role in the establishment and strengthening of the Russian state.²²¹

The enactment of conventional representation of the city as the birthplace of the state has materialized in the referrals to the older celebration traditions set in the imperial Russia (and in the USSR) as historical precedents that provide the additional justification to the claims of the modern Novgorod. The additional endorsement of the practice of equating the history of the city with the history of Russia happens through publishing special anniversary additions of scientific and popular works of history, poetry and art, through educating children about the anniversary and the associated historical narrative, through printing the collection and regular coins depicting Novgorod the Great and its World Heritage monuments as well as the special anniversary medal, and simply seizing the opportunity to spread the word of the festivity and its underlying ideology to compatriots locally and nationally. For example, one of the initiatives of the Tourism Office of the city is the production of the video “Novgorod the Great-Russia’s Birthplace” and its subsequent regular screenings in taxis, central bus station and on the screens around the city.²²²

²²¹ “Novgorod the Great- Russia’s Birthplace,” promotional flyer, Nikolayev, “Novgorod the Great – Russia’s Birthplace.”

²²² “Tourism Office of Novgorod the Great,” website of the non-commercial partnership, <http://expo.oprf.ru/355/373/655/> (accessed August 18, 2009)

If the 'Novgorod-the origin of Motherland' slogan has been enacted only very recently, this next tradition can be considered among the oldest connected to the land of Novgorod. It is the tradition of being *the centre and the protector of the Russian culture, art and education.*

In the data, the city is represented as the origin of all things Russian: culture and art, language and literacy, education and law.²²³ As I mentioned, this traditional view of Novgorod the Great is not new; throughout the last two centuries the city has received the recognition as the cradle of Russian culture and language and as unique city-museum of world importance. However, this representation was more recently re-introduced with a slight nuance: the contributions of the city-republic were put in the context of federal significance, to accentuate the importance of Novgorod's input to the preservation of the national culture through the centuries.

This tradition has been well endorsed throughout the years: from the extensive archaeological and historical investigations and discoveries a wealth of historical evidence has been recovered and publicized, several excavation sites became museums under the sky. To support the image of the important educational and cultural centre of the ancient Rus', many cultural-educational initiatives were adopted in the region. In 1993, the Novgorod State University was established and given the name of prince Yaroslav the Wise, one of the rulers of the ancient city, the founder of the first Russian school and the author of the first law codex. Among the policies of the regional and municipal governments education and

²²³ 1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great *The Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, special parliamentary hearings; Novgorodica 2008 information letter; The Official City Guide 2008; "Novgorod the Great- Russia's Birthplace" promotional flyer, and others

cultural programs received definite priority, as the politicians understood early on that cultural-historical heritage of the region might become an important force to propel it forward.

One of the leading roles in constructing the image of the region as cultural and educational centre belongs to the regional university, the keeper of the educational tradition of the Prince Yaroslav the Wise.

As stated on the university website, *“in the value system of Novgorod the Great education occupies the central place. This is linked to the principles of the development and needs of the local society – its politics, economics and culture.”* Further it quite logically introduces visitors to the historical aspects of regional education development that originated in the 9th-10th centuries. Essentially, the “history” section of the website provides the historical underpinning of the invented tradition depicting the present day Novgorod State University as the heir to the ancient traditions of educational advancement established on this land in the remote past. The founding of the university in 1993 was *“historically predetermined and logical event. The university, at its establishment and advancement took over the traditions of education and enlightenment accumulated during the eleven centuries of the existence of the city, and ensured their development at a qualitatively new level.”*²²⁴

²²⁴ “Historical Overview,” Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/dept/1106/12429/?id=671> (accessed August 11, 2009)

In continuing the ancient traditions, the university *“promotes cultural development of the regional community on a national and historical, spiritual and moral basis, while emphasizing the features and dynamics of “a learning university” using the latest organizational and technological achievements.”*²²⁵

As one of the key actors in the field of regional development, the university is dedicated to the advancement of sciences, giving the special precedence to the social and human sciences, in honour of the humanistic essence of the region itself. Being the founding member of the Interregional Institute of the Social Sciences, the Novgorod State University is committed to the scientific research in the area of *“State, Society, and Individual in the Context of Russian Culture.”* The NovSU branch of the Institute conducts scientific investigations in the fields related to the system of spiritual values, the connections between tradition and modernity, and the history of the Russian state and society in the context of transformation of values, among others.

The university, from the time of its establishment was being considered one of the foundational nodes to provide the focus and the infrastructural aid for regional development strategies. The vocalization of the principles upon which the NovSU was established constructs obvious references to the history of Novgorod the Great and its remarkable writing and reading literacy, widespread among the residents already in the early Middle Ages. The anthem of the university too is very explicit about the traditions the NovSU is set to continue:

²²⁵ “Mission”, Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/english/about/1.2458/?id=15155> (accessed August 11, 2009).

*“The light of the past hasn’t faded through the ages/ In the university, we religiously keep the old tradition/Bright is the light of Yaroslav the Wise, the Prince of Novgorod/The bond of times has not been torn/ ...Through the centuries shines the light of knowledge of Yaroslav the Wise, the Prince of Novgorod.”*²²⁶

So, it can be said that the re-invented tradition of strong education is largely based on the long-established strength in this area, and, even more importantly, the strength represented as such and constructed as ‘historical’.

Major efforts have been made in order to publicize the educational, cultural and artistic legacy of the ancient Novgorod. Apart from numerous works compiled locally and nationwide, during the pre-anniversary period a wealth of new editions dealing with the variety of aspects of regional history was printed, to seize the momentum, so to speak. Among those, the productions of some well-known regional historians were published. The range of publications varies from the history of the monument “The Millennium of the Russian State” by Victor Smirnov (the founder and the former director of the regional TV station), to the oral history of the city and its art and architectural heritage, to the origins of the Russian state and the history of Novgorod for children.

Novgorod region has become the established centre of Russian cultural gatherings, such as the Days of Slavic Writing and various scientific conferences in social sciences, humanities, ancient Russian architecture and the advancement of the modern restoration methods. Many

²²⁶ “The University Anthem,” Novgorod State University website, http://www.novsu.ru/dept/1106/1_2429/?id=88156 (accessed August 11, 2009).

restoration undertakings have originated there. One of the Novgorod-based restoration institutions is a unique cultural organization “Musical Antiquities” of Vladimir Povetkin, the master, who for a few decades has been working to restore the musical instruments used in the ancient Novgorod.

The immensity of the restoration work that has been and is being conducted in the city and its environs made the request for the establishment in the region of the Restoration Centre a natural outcome of the accumulated throughout the decades expertise and a sheer necessity in view of the large number of historical sites requiring restoration work and appraisal. The establishment in Novgorod of Russian Restoration Centre was one of the recommendations made by the committee of the Russian House of Commons upon the conclusion of the special hearings dedicated to the celebration of the 1150th anniversary of the city.²²⁷

The accumulated experience in archaeological investigations and monument restoration has been organically fitting territorial image and the development strategy. Such specialization suits the programs of the advancement of tourism; more specifically, its cultural and knowledge-based variety. According to the president of the National Foundation for Business and Tourism, *“the main attraction of Novgorod is its history, everyday, religious, civic...This is why there should not be any emphasis on the entertainment projects...The tradition of election, the establishment of Russian democracy, – this is the main strength.”*²²⁸ Tourism is regarded as one of the strategic regional industries and very much depends on the general condition of local historical sites and monuments.

²²⁷ “The Recommendations of the Special Onsite Meeting of the Committee for Preservation of Cultural and Spiritual Heritage of the House of Commons of the Russian Federation ”

²²⁸ Vitol’, “Political will is there, the concept-will follow.”

Throughout the 2000s the number of tourists visiting the region increased two hundred percent; in 2007 the contribution of the industry into the regional budget constituted 1.6 billion roubles.²²⁹ Both the regional and municipal governments have been extremely active in their efforts to attract more visitors to the region and continue working in this direction.

The tourism industry apart, on the whole, in the invention of tradition in Novgorod the Great a particularly striking role is played by local historians, who “*select, write, picture, popularize and institutionalize*” the past, or ‘the truth’ about the past. Hobsbawm writes,

*“...all historians are engaged in this process inasmuch as they contribute, consciously or not, to the creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past which belong not only to the world of specialists investigation but to the public sphere of man as a political being.”*²³⁰

Interestingly, this can be said to be particularly true in the case of Novgorod, where the representatives of this profession have not only took an essential part in the process of re-invention by uncovering and publicizing the data, but they also actively participated in the political, economic, and cultural life of the local society. For example, one of the well-known regional historians, Vasiliy Andreev, a public representative in the municipal council in the 1990s, was elected the head of the working group for returning old names to the city streets in Novgorod.²³¹ The same Andreev, subsequently the dean of the faculty of history in

²²⁹ Vitol', "Political will is there, the concept-will follow."

²³⁰ Hobsbawm, "Introduction. Inventing Traditions," 13.

²³¹ Vasiliy Andreev, "What is in a name?" *Novgorod* (October 4, 1991) 2.

the NovSU, became one of the initiators of returning the full name “Novgorod the Great” to the city.²³²

Another famous in the region historian turned politician, is the screen writer and local television authority figure, Victor Smirnov, the creator and long-time director of the regional Television station “Slavyia” that, according to the work of Petro (2004), was committed to producing and broadcasting documentaries and programs on the history of the city and the region. Smirnov participated in the sponsored by the Gorbachev Foundation “The Novgorod Project” aimed to direct the strategic development of the region and to enable its entry into the post-industrial global space. The main goal of the project was to create, stimulate and enhance the knowledge-and information-based infrastructure of the region. Novgorod State University and “Slavyia” were supposed to become two main infrastructural hubs leading the process.²³³ According to Petro, even though the project was not carried out, its recommendations, nonetheless, ‘took on a life of their own’ and produced a considerable effect on the strategic development of the region.²³⁴

The next in the discussion is the enacted representation of the city and the region as *the connecting point between Russia and Europe and the centre of international cooperation*.

The acting out of this particular feature of the regional identification has been actively pursued since the 1990s, when the regional government proved being able to resourcefully attract foreign business and investment. As mentioned in the first chapter, considered as

²³² Vasily Andreev, “Constituted and Acknowledged as the ‘Great’,” *Novgorod* (July 3, 1997) 5

²³³ Valentin Tolstykh et al, “The Novgorod Project: The Breakthrough into the Post-Industrial Society,” (Novgorod-Moscow, 1995), <http://www.shkp.ru/lib/publications/45/print> (accessed on November 5, 2008), 21

²³⁴ Nicolai Petro, *Democratic Surge The Novgorod Model of Rapid Social Transformations*, the website of the ISE Centre, <http://www.ino-center.ru/press-center/publication/petro.html> (accessed on November 15, 2009), 230.

possessing weak investment potential, the Novgorod region has become the territory with the best investment climate in Russia by the early 2000s.

Although this tradition had already been commonly endorsed in the region by the time the anniversary preparations began, it too was most aggressively promoted as a part of the well-articulated territorial identity, and especially so prior to the New Hanseatic League assembly in the city in 2009.

Most recently, Novgorod has been presented as the “open door” to Europe, Russian most important commercial and political centre of the Middle Ages. This way it was introduced to the Russian parliamentarians prior to the hearings dedicated to the city, its history and the anniversary preparation.²³⁵ In a similar way it is portrayed in the media.²³⁶ It appears as if every opportunity was used to reference the fact that Novgorod the Great was the one and only Russian city that was elected to host the gathering of the New Hanseatic League, together with the historical underpinning explaining such preferential treatment of the city.

As previously noted, historically, the positioning and the existing business contacts of the city-republic provided Hanseatic merchants with the great motivation to invite Novgorod’s traders to take part in this extensive commercial network. As a result of joining the league and furthering its mercantile partnerships, medieval Novgorod reached the unprecedented

²³⁵ *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great The Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, special parliamentary hearings, 6

²³⁶ *1150th Anniversary of Novgorod the Great The Historic Roots and the Future of Russia*, special parliamentary hearings, 76; Kolotnecha, “The Hansa Days Await Us.”

power, prosperity and edification levels that allowed the city to develop at a very fast pace.²³⁷

The anniversary promotional campaign involved most regional periodicals and other media. The official city guide from the summer 2008 featured the ad of the Hanseatic Days of the New Times under the slogan “Extending the Borders”, followed by the invitation to visit the city.²³⁸

In the flyer that, according to Oleg Demidov (the deputy director of the regional committee for culture and tourism) was published mainly for the external public and potential visitors,²³⁹ it is explicitly stated that the New Hanseatic League re-created in 1980 continues the traditions of the old League in attempting to boost the cooperation between cities-members.

The union itself represents a roundtable, so to speak, to which the municipalities come to showcase their traditional arts and crafts, to extend their commercial and cultural networks, and to share their expertise in solving some of the common municipal issues.

The official concept of the Hanseatic Days 2009 aims to promote “*the integration of Novgorod the Great and Russia with the European countries*”. The following main tasks need to be carried out to fulfil such the objection:

1. “*Representation of Novgorod the Great as a modern Russian city with Hanseatic history;*

²³⁷ “The Time Theatre Troitsky Raskop as the Focal Point of Knowledge Tourism,” promotional flyer

²³⁸ *Veliky Novgorod The Official City Guide*, 1-2.

²³⁹ Personal communication with Oleg Demidov (July 18, 2008).

2. *Familiarization of local residents and guests with traditions of the medieval and modern League;*
3. *Formation of the image of Novgorod the Great as the territory with good prospects, in possession of all necessary resources, that is ready to further its international integration in the areas of economics, culture and tourism.”*

Such an event, well organized, promoted and supported at the federal level, represents a promising means to *“aid to further attract investment to the region, to promote the city as the attractive touristic destination, and contribute to the development of the international relations of Novgorod the Great and the entire Russia.”*²⁴⁰

In portraying itself as an heir to the legacy of entrepreneurship and commercial and cultural cooperation of the ancient Novgorod, the present day Novgorod has been utilizing every opportunity to attach the related aspects of its long history to the undertakings of today to further regional development. The institutionalization of the traditions of the medieval Novgorod in the area of international commerce and foreign capital is being carried out through the creation by the regional government of favourable conditions for foreign investors resulting in stable long-term business relationships,²⁴¹ through the membership and active participation in the New Hanseatic League and Novgorod's partnerships with many European municipalities.

²⁴⁰ “The Organizational Concept of the 29th Hanseatic Days,” Novgorod Official Anniversary Website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/ganza/concept/> (accessed June 22, 2008)

²⁴¹ “Investment Projects,” Novgorod Regional Administration website, <http://www.niac.natm.ru/investment/invest5.php> (accessed July 17, 2009).

Another representation re-invented during the preparations for the anniversary festivities involves the depiction of *Novgorod as the origin of the Russian authentic democratic tradition*. This aspect of the city's history has been widely used in various promotional publications in a greatly unified manner. It appears so that all actors involved in the preparation of the promotional material have agreed to proceed in unison.

In 2002 Dinello wrote that the stability and accord in Novgorod and the region have been maintained by the way of dividing territories and assets, routinizing barter exchanges among Novgorod elites, teaching the NCOs "...to appreciate official leniency, and ordinary people, to know and respect their heroes, both ancient and contemporary."²⁴²

Essentially, according to her, the real democratic spirit and openness have been sacrificed there to maintain stability. It is possible that similar tendencies are in place today; it is also possible that the reforms, federal and regional, have been slowly working their way through the established order of things, towards a more discreet environment of mutual respect and collaboration. Regardless of the current situation, however, local elites have been very consistent in their messages about the spirit and history of the region. In one such statement the mayor notes:

"Today, when everyone is discussing the national idea, the spiritual and ideological basis around which the society could consolidate, it would be great to simply invite the politicians and ideologists to visit Novgorod the Great. For the national idea is the origin, it is the

²⁴² Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?,"25.

understanding of the past of one's country; it is the wisdom and the experience passed from one generation to the next."²⁴³

Depicted as the place where the national democratic tradition originated many centuries ago,²⁴⁴ Novgorod the Great might become the symbol of the re-invented all-Russian democracy. And this is despite the fact that Novgorod at some point was in opposition to Moscow and even was violently destructed by the Muscovites; despite the fact that the Novgorod Veche bell, the symbol of the republic, was dismantled and moved to Moscow, thus symbolically terminating democratic governance; and despite the fact that Moscow has never before throughout its long history officially represented the democratic style of governance.

At the regional level, some of the democratic traditions of the ancient Novgorod were being enacted since the 1990s, with the endorsement of the regional government, even though pursuing its own populist goals.

According to my own observation, when in the city and looking to meet (without making prior arrangements) with Oleg Demidov, the deputy director of the regional committee for culture and tourism, I was able to meet with him in person within fifteen minutes after entering the premises of the committee. In terms of the familiarization with the concepts of the celebration of the anniversary and the Hanseatic Days, as well as in gaining access to some of the important printed material used in this analysis, this meeting, overall, was

²⁴³ Nikolayev, "Velikiy Novgorod-Russia's Birthplace."

²⁴⁴ Vitol', "Political will is there, the concept-will follow."

invaluable for my research. I, furthermore, could experience first-hand how the ‘open public access’ principle functions in the region.

Being politically, culturally, economically open and innovative were the key historical characteristics of the medieval city of Novgorod. The last re-invented tradition that will be discussed in this section is the constructed image of *being a progressive Russian city*.

In one of the interviews, the mayor of the city states that most authentic Russian innovations originated in these lands, thus giving an indication of the potential of the Russian people and of the Novgorod region in particular. He notes:

“Everything in Rus’ began in this land: the statehood, the famous Novgorod’s Veche – the symbol of democracy, the writing literacy, the rouble, the first book, and the trades. In the 12th century in Novgorod there began to be established the municipal infrastructure -the first water piping and canalization...The first international treaties were signed between the Novgorod’s and German and Gothic merchants...And the earliest instances of the successful international cooperation between Russia and Europe are also linked to Novgorod...”²⁴⁵

In the above excerpt the mayor portrays the city as the source of many novel and progressive initiatives that originated in Novgorod and spread throughout the Russian land. In the same article he compares the development of the medieval Novgorod with Moscow and also with Europe, again and again depicting the early medieval Novgorod as being more advanced than most European and Russian cities and regions of the time. This same viewpoint is again

²⁴⁵ Nikolayev, “Velikiy Novgorod-Russia’s Birthplace.”

consistent throughout most of the data; the Novgorod is portrayed as reflecting Russian national resourcefulness, originality and talent.²⁴⁶

In another source, a tourist flyer dedicated to the 1150th anniversary of the city, Novgorod is depicted as the open city. It was Russia's 'open door' to the rest of the world in the Middle Ages as the major commercial and cultural exchange, the example of cultural openness and religious tolerance. The text then refers to the 'continuity of tradition' in the modern history of the city:

*"The city maintains various economic and cultural connections with many of the world's countries; an exceptionally favourable investment environment has been created here. By the volume of foreign investment per capita Novgorod the Great constantly enters the leading group of Russia's regions..."*²⁴⁷

And according to the existing sources, the successes of the region in constructing its own image, creating stable political and economic environments, attracting foreign investment, maintaining international partnerships and developing communications infrastructure were unprecedented in the post-Soviet Russia for the region's size and available resources. For example, Petro writes that by the 1999 the per capita level of domestic and foreign investment in the region was second only to Moscow.²⁴⁸ For the region ranked 59th among Russian regions in investment potential it was quite an outstanding performance. And the

²⁴⁶ See, for example, the official website of the Anniversary and The Hanseatic Days (<http://www.novgorod1150.ru>), the documentary "Novgorod the Great. the City-Republic"

²⁴⁷ "Open City," in "Novgorod the Great-Russia's Birthplace," promotional flyer.

²⁴⁸ Nicolai Petro, "Creating Social Capital in Russia. The Novgorod Model," *World Development* 29, no. 2 (February 2001) 232.

current government continues to actively work with the investors producing visible results.²⁴⁹

Another progressive at the time of policy implementation was the support for the small-and medium-size businesses that the regional government pioneered in the 1990s; this allowed to significantly increase regional industrial output and to revive local employment market.

Although disputed by some scholars,²⁵⁰ the cooperation of the government with regional NGOs has also proved to be more successful than in many other territories. As Petro writes, the creation of the Social Chamber in the region (chaired by either a governor or the head of the regional Duma) had its purpose providing local NGOs with the opportunity to participate in the discussions of pending before the regional parliament legislation and to offer their alternatives.²⁵¹ According to the latest annual report on the activities of the non-governmental organizations, presently there are over one thousand active NGOs in the region.²⁵² Despite the conclusion of the report suggesting that the understanding of the potential power of NGOs is still lacking, the fact that the Social Chamber has been making continuous efforts to increase the level of civic mindedness of the residents is encouraging.

In the area of tourism and attraction marketing, too, there has been established a non-commercial organization in the region. The Tourism Office of Novgorod the Great is the

²⁴⁹ "Investment Projects," Novgorod Regional Administration website, <http://www.niac.natm.ru/investment/invest5.php> (accessed July 17, 2009).

²⁵⁰ Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?" She writes that NGOs are being "tamed" by the regional government led by the governor Prusak

²⁵¹ Petro, "Creating Social Capital in Russia. The Novgorod Model," 234.

²⁵² "The Need to "Want," Federal Social Chamber website, July 30, 2009, <http://www.oprf.ru/newsblock/regionnews/?id=865> (accessed August 18, 2009).

first such office in Russia created jointly by businesses and the government; it unites nearly thirty local organizations active in the area of tourism and culture, and has its purpose to attract visitors to the region.²⁵³ The Office coordinates the activities of the regional tourist industry and the production of promotional material such as catalogues, CDs and DVDs, booklets, flyers, and informational articles in the mass media. It is also responsible for a number of community projects aiming to educate and promote the history of the city and the region to tourists and local residents alike.

Another considerably influential local NGO, the municipal institution «DIALOG» is working to integrate the efforts of federal, municipal, local, and foreign initiatives in the sphere of optimization of social and economic development in the region;²⁵⁴ since 1996 this institution has been carrying out a host of social investigations, administrative and educational initiatives, conducting surveys and programs of continuous education.

Several initiatives undertaken in the region concern the development of the regional content of education for children and youth, among others. One of the employees of the Institute of Educational Marketing and Workforce Resources, Ekaterina Kopylova, noted that the development of the regional component in the educational institutions of the Novgorod region has been actively pursued within the larger context of the national program of transformation of educational and methodological practices.²⁵⁵ A good example of the initiatives in the area of teaching history of the region is the website for the schoolchildren

²⁵³ "Tourism Office of Novgorod the Great," website of the non-commercial partnership, <http://expo.oprf.ru/355/373/655/> (accessed August 18, 2009).

²⁵⁴ "Activity Information," MII "Dialog" website, <http://www.dialogvn.ru/spravka.htm> (accessed June 15, 2008)

²⁵⁵ Personal communication with Ekaterina Kopylova, Novgorod Institute of Educational Marketing and Workforce Resources (October 31, 2008).

created with the support of the regional scientific library. The website, well illustrated and highly interactive, contains a wealth of information about the region, past and present and, in my opinion, represents an excellent educational resource for the local youth.²⁵⁶

In the area of educational and scientific initiatives, Novgorod State University has been taking active part in a number of projects. One significant undertaking has been the university's involvement in the multi-dimensional project as a part of the Interregional Institute for the Social Sciences, with the specialization in statehood and society in the context of the Russian culture and value system. As the development of the majority of social and human sciences was not given the priority during the Soviet period, their advancement thereafter has become one of the main concerns in the general advancement of science. In this area, Novgorod State University was one of the pioneers that engaged in consolidation and strengthening of various related academic fields that, provided local historical and cultural context, have proven vital for the development of some of the strategic regional industries.

Overall, the innovation and originality has sprung in the region on numerous occasions and in a variety of diverse settings. Throughout this research it has become my impression that the city and the region of Novgorod have been considerably proactive and down to business in attempting to resolve the issues impeding local development, some local initiatives have spread to other regions and have even been adapted at the federal level.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ "Novgorodica for Children," interactive history website for grades 3 to 6, <http://www.novkraj.natm.ru/> (accessed December 5, 2008)

²⁵⁷ Dinello, "Can Novgorod's Greatness Rub off on Putin?," 29

4.3 THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL PRODUCTION

In this section the focus of the discussion is on those individuals who instigate the reinvention, - the actors within the fields of cultural production. As it has become evident from the previous chapters, historical field is profoundly implicated in the practices of tradition invention and the endorsement of these traditions through relevant development initiatives.

The field of historical production in Russia has been a fascinating and evolving enterprise. With history remaining greatly popular, the discovery of historical ‘truth’ has been understood one of its main objectives. Despite the fact that the reputation of historical profession suffered greatly during the late 1980s-early 1990s, as it was then viewed as an accomplice of the old regime, misrepresenting facts and covering its faults, it has since then seen a recovery in public interest, for history is now viewed as the foundation upon which the new society is being rebuilt. In the process, the older historical discoveries are revisited and reinterpreted, and the newer ones are unveiled, thus contributing to the enactment of the more epoch-appropriate historical representations.

In the discussion of the regional fields of historical production I attempt to identify groups of historians and key individuals who, based on the collected data, have been active in the field; the ways they are involved in the processes of invention; what their likely motivations are; who sponsors their research; the impact of specific discoveries on territorial identities and invented traditions. In this part of the analysis I apply the concept of a social field of history, where its members, participating in the process of invention, thus construct the

historical depictions of the regions and take part in the distribution of capital within the field of historical production, but also attempt to affect the status and authority of the field itself, hence potentially attracting more resources (capital). The purpose of the analysis represents an attempt of uncovering a “form of interest” attached to the field of history, since, as Bourdieu puts it, “*every field, in producing itself, produces a form of interest ...*”²⁵⁸

4.3.1 The Field of History in Kaliningrad

I begin with an overview of the field of historical production in the Kaliningrad region, where it became established relatively recently due to the particularities of local history, the secrecy previously surrounding it, and the consequent inaccessibility of the archived documentation.

The field of historical production in the region consists of two main connected subfields of actors, who, through their research and publications, contribute to the accumulation of local historical knowledge. As Postone et al. note, “*each field is semi-autonomous, characterized by its own determinate agents... its own accumulation of history, its own logic of action, and its own forms of capital.*”²⁵⁹ In this discussion, I use the notion of a ‘*subfield*’ to indicate the difference in the nature of production practices between the actors.

The first such subfield is represented by historians-regionologists, history teachers, regional archivists and the employees of the cultural sector (professional and amateur historians). The

²⁵⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason On the Theory of Action* (Stanford. Stanford University Press, 1998), 85.

²⁵⁹ Postone, LiPuma, Calhoun, *Bourdieu Critical Perspectives*, 5.

second group consists of the scientists of history, social and other human sciences, the individuals mostly affiliated with the regional university (academic historians). Although each subfield represents a different group, on some occasions several of their members have belonged to both groups simultaneously.

Kaliningrad Regionology Club (*Klub Kraevedov*)

The formation of this subfield was instigated in the late 1980s, subsequent to the establishment in the region of the branch of the Russian Foundation for Culture in 1987. According to the overview of the background of the Regional Foundation for Culture, the club for the research in regional history was established as a result of collaboration of scientists, historians, regionologists and German activists participating in the discussions “History-Ecology-Culture” held in Kaliningrad in 1988. It was in 1990 that the regionology club was officially instituted and since then has become a place where anyone interested in local history can take part in discussions, seminars and conferences. The society has an open participation policy so that any individual investigating a particular topic of local history is able to present their research before the club. The outcomes of these investigations are published in the journals “Baltic Almanac” and “Baltica”. The former is supported by the Regional Culture Foundation and the regionologist society and printed by the regional university (Russian State University of Immanuel Kant).

The club maintains an extensive network of contacts among scientific and educational institutions, archives, libraries, museums and community associations of the region, and

with a number of foreign organizations.²⁶⁰ The society ‘*continues to maintain its apolitical standing*’, and lists among its objectives the investigations of the general history of the Kaliningrad region, search for the artwork and expert appraisal of valuable cultural objects.²⁶¹ From the collected data the main tasks of the society further emerge as the research of local history and the promotion of the findings. Numerous connections and networks established through the facilitation of the club members support these activities. Professional affiliations of the participants vary; among active contributors of the club there are high school teachers, historians-regionologists, university professors, along with the employees of museums, archives and other cultural organizations.

Throughout the analysis of the collected material, the names of a few active authors have surfaced on numerous occasions. Among the most commonly mentioned and encountered in the data are the names of Alexei Gubin (the head of the regionologist society), Boris Adamov and Igor Afonin (regionologists), Gennady Kretinin and Constantine Lavrinovitch (university professors), Avenir Ovsianov (the director of the state organization dedicated to the search for misplaced cultural treasures), Inna Krivorutskaia (employee of the regional archives), Nina Peretiaka (head of the regional foundation for culture), and several others.²⁶² These historians have been engaged in conducting their investigations and publicizing research outcomes on local history and cultural legacy.

I proceed by giving an indication of the nature of the work published by some of the actors to provide the substance for the discussion of the subfield according to the theory of action. I

²⁶⁰ “Regionology Club,” “Kaliningrad Regional Foundation for Culture,” *Baltic Almanac*, no. 3 (2002). 37-8.

²⁶¹ “The Catalog of Kaliningrad Internet Resources,” Regionology Club link, http://links.mykoenig.ru/index.php?cat=66&t=sub_pages (accessed September 15, 2008)

²⁶² “Regionology Club,” “Kaliningrad Regional Foundation for Culture,” 37-8.

begin with the brief introduction of the work of Alexei Gubin, one of the better known regionologists and the head of the society.

In the majority of his publications, Gubin, in an uncomplicated and straightforward manner, familiarizes his readers with the facts from the local past. His publications include the reports of name changing practices of the Soviet period, the investigations of the history of local places and streets, and some genealogical research. Gubin is the author of numerous magazine and newspaper articles, and the co-author of the book “The Overview of the History of Königsberg” (1991). Having come to Kaliningrad in 1956, he worked in the construction sector, and began to actively engage in regionology, history and community work upon his retirement from the workforce.²⁶³ The manner of writing, together with the nature of his research made him an author commonly published by the regional newspapers, magazines, and the one best represented in the “history” section on the municipal administration website. This section opens with his citation:

*“Kaliningrad is one of those rare Russian cities that have their own unique presence. It cannot be confused with any other place. This is the common opinion amongst the guests of our city admiring the gothic architecture of medieval buildings.”*²⁶⁴

Several other authors working in a similar fashion have been publishing their work in local regionology journals and other periodicals. For example, Boris Adamov, in his article dedicated to using local historical knowledge for the development of tourism, has surveyed

²⁶³ “The Biography of A. B. Gubin,” Kaliningrad municipal administration website, <http://www.klgd.ru/city/history/gubin/gubin.php> (accessed August 21, 2009)

²⁶⁴ “Articles by A.B. Gubin,” Kaliningrad municipal administration website, http://www.klgd.ru/city/history/gubin/gub_och.php (accessed August 21, 2009)

various actual and suggesting other potential attractions around the region with the purpose of utilizing those to advance the industry of cultural and knowledge-based tourism. In discussing the Russian ‘trail’ left in regional history, he underscores that “*not using this fact is, at least, unwise*”²⁶⁵ He further refers to the historical particularities of fortresses, towns, festivals and culinary specialties of the region, and calls for an activation of historical myths surrounding these places, objects and events that would aid their transformation into tourist attractions. Essentially, Adamov makes recommendations for the local tourism industry development, the sector recognized as significant for the overall wellbeing of the regional economy.

The next important reference to the activities of the regionology club is the text composed for the brochure “The Great Embassy in the Royal Gates” dedicated to the embassy of the Russian emperor Peter I to Königsberg and East Prussia in the late 17th century. Overall, the text builds a strong connection between Russia and East Prussia, and underscores the historic significance of the embassy for the two countries. The author of the text, Trofimova, an employee of the museum of the World Ocean, has collaborated with several contributors, and, among others, with Avenir Ovsianov, the director of the organization for the search of the valuable objects of culture and a well-known member of the club.

Ovsianov, a writer, an activist and a retired army colonel, has dedicated a significant part of his career to the search for cultural valuables, both Russian and German. He authored numerous publications in regional periodicals discussing various aspects of local historical

²⁶⁵ Adamov, “Historical Particularities of the Kaliningrad Region as the Stimulus for Tourism Development,” 88

heritage, the ideology surrounding some of its subject matters, and the problems related to the search of historical valuables with the purpose of their protection and preservation.²⁶⁶ As we notice from his participation in the project of “The Great Embassy,” Ovsianov also takes part in collaborative ideology-driven initiatives involving various institutions and individuals.

All regionologists, regardless of their specialization, have to become closely familiar with the structure and the content of the regional archives. Assisting with numerous inquiries about the historical past and cultural legacy of the region, the archives’ oldest employee, Inna Krivorutskaia, has also become an extremely keen specialist of regional history and culture. In one of her articles in the “Kaliningrad Archives” published by the RSU of I. Kant, she notes: “*during the anniversary year the interest toward the history of the city and its architecture has seen a significant increase.*” According to her, the employees of the archives have participated in a number of undertakings, from conducting scientific research of the various aspects of regional history in federal, regional and foreign archives, to carrying out consulting functions during the restoration of the Royal Gates monument and the subsequent its transformation into the museum of diplomacy “The Great Embassy.” She writes that throughout the year of the anniversary, a number of inquiries from organizations and individuals about past residents of the city, history of the city lakes, streets and municipal landmarks, as well as about the diplomatic connections with Russia were researched. Krivorutskaia underscores that the regional archives have been behind most initiatives and projects related to the scientific investigation and the promotion of local

²⁶⁶ Avenir Ovsianov, “Why Search for a Raisin in a Grapevine?,” *Kaliningradskaia Pravda* (April 12, 2005): 4; Avenir Ovsianov, “Konigsberg ‘Trail’ of Relocated Cultural Valuables: Problems, Explorations and Discoveries,” Kaliningrad, 2000. <http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/conf/ovsjanov-r.html> (accessed August 22, 2009).

history. In the article's closing paragraph she states: *"in the visitors' book of the archives the residents of the city marked down: "You help us to better know the past so that we can make sense of the present..."*²⁶⁷

Thus, Krivorutskaja describes the essential role the employees of the archives play in the investigations of regional history and portrays them as simply indispensable in raising the awareness of the locals about the past of the land they live on. The task description of the regional archives' section of scientific information and document publication that she heads is formulated as follows:

The section *"carries out the informational provision for the local government and self-governance institutions, state and other organizations, acting both according to their requests and proactively. The section organizes, coordinates and carries out the work in the area of scientific publication of the materials of the Archives RF. It also conducts informational actions such as the excursions, presentations, lectures, readers' conferences, etc. utilizing the documents of the archive."*²⁶⁸

Certainly, the role of the archives in the invention of tradition and the construction of territorial identity cannot be overestimated. However, various other institutions and organizations represented in the club have also contributed significantly to these processes. For instance, Nina Peretiaka, another important member of the regionology club and the head of the regional foundation for culture, has, in her publications, been closely following

²⁶⁷ Inna Krivorutskaja, "Anniversary Year 2005," *Kaliningrad Archives*, no. 7 (2007): 257.

²⁶⁸ "The Structure of the Archives," Regional State Archives website, <http://www.gako2006.narod.ru/struktura.htm> (accessed August 28, 2009).

the course of territorial identity formation. In the collected data, one of her articles discussing Kaliningrad's cultural life has been particularly useful in accentuating some issues surrounding local identification. In this article, Peretiaka discusses the definition of "historical city" applying it to Kaliningrad and investigates the works of Russian literature, past and present, to explain her stance. She, furthermore, makes an interesting for this discussion point underscoring the important role played by the regional culture foundation in the formulation of the concept of the 750th anniversary celebration.²⁶⁹

To proceed with the discussion of the subfield according to the theory of practice, I further identify the main types of capital - social, cultural, economic and symbolic, - that represent the source of motivation for the players within the group. In itself, club is a volunteer organization that does not provide any economic support to the participants. Rather, the main motivations originate from other sources. It appears that the social network represents one of the more important types of capital for the group connected to other social fields by the affiliated memberships and personal contacts of its participants, which provide the possibility to conduct focused investigations, to publish their work, and to participate in gatherings of specialists, conferences and roundtables. For instance, the workers of the local museums inquiring about an important piece of information from the regional archives may receive a higher quality or faster response because of their membership in the same with local archivists organization. Similarly, a possibility of publishing one's work is more realistic when a historian possesses a wide network of contacts within the group that may facilitate such an undertaking.

²⁶⁹ Peretiaka, "Myths and Reality of Kaliningrad Cultural Life on the Eve of the Anniversary,"7.

The cultural capital that, according to Bourdieu, is accumulated through the upbringing, education and the possession and appreciation of the artwork and other valuable within the circle particular objects, also represents an important basis for differentiation between group members. Most of the active members of the society belong to the older generation, and were born and raised elsewhere in Soviet Union, relocating to the region during their adulthood, after the war. Their diverse educational backgrounds and professional affiliations have made certain impact on the amount of cultural assets each of them possesses. However, one type of cultural capital, the capital in its materialized form reflects the particular characteristics of the group itself; the rare historical documents and resources, photographs and monographs, the material objects of German and Prussian periods, as well as the artwork of German, Soviet or Russian artists related to the history of the region or its representations are the potential articles of interest to this subfield; the number and the alleged significance of one's publications may also contribute to her status within the group.

The last type of capital, in its symbolic form, defined by the individual's "*power to establish the legitimacy of a particular symbolic order*,"²⁷⁰ is determined by both the extent and resilience of one's social networks and the amount of cultural assets he possesses, and is crucial for the ability to define the dominant representations within the subfield. The amount of symbolic capital an actor of the subfield possesses is reflected in one's ability to publish her own work in the regional media, to participate in the essential processes of defining the image and the historical depictions of the city, to make her ideas "stick" by propelling them through various channels, including the consulting services rendered to various organizations, institutions and the local government. In this instance, the statements made by

²⁷⁰ Dovey, "The Silent Complicity of Architecture," 272.

Krivorutskaja about the contribution made by the local archivists to the processes defining the appearance and the identity of the city especially during the year of the anniversary, or the indication of Nina Peretiaka of the regional culture foundation's participation in the formulation of the concept of the anniversary celebration, an event crucial for the construction of the territorial identity and furthering of the development of the region, can be considered exemplary. However, these instances of direct influence on identity formation, so to speak, cannot be considered something that every member of the regionology club is capable of producing. On the contrary, they are considerably rare.

The Scientific Community

The subfield of scientific historical investigation has been closely associated with the faculties of history, philosophy and *culturology* (or cultural studies) of the leading regional university, the Russian State University of Immanuel Kant.

The scientific unit dedicated to history was originally open in 1974 as a part of the faculty of history and philosophy, with the simultaneous initiation of the new line of professional training in history of USSR and, in 1978, - in general history. The independent faculty of history was thereafter established in 1979. According to Marina Klemesheva, candidate of historical science, docent, it was only in the beginning of 1980s that the transformation in the scope and manner of teaching history took place; it was then that the first works on the history of the region, both locally produced and translated from German, appeared in print.

²⁷¹ In the 1990s, the following academic units were established at the university in 1992 – the department of history of the Baltic region was open, in 1995 – the department of pre-1917 history was subdivided into the units of Russian history and special historical disciplines ²⁷²

Among the variety of academic departments within the faculty of history the ones dedicated to the history of the Baltic region, to the investigations in special historical disciplines and to the philosophy and cultural studies are the most pertinent to this discussion. Such selectivity is explained by the simple fact of the affiliation with these departments of particular scholars active in the local field of historical production. Most of these actors have been conducting their investigations in the areas of regional history and culture and of such their aspects as the associations between Russian and Prussian histories and systems of education, the methodological particularities of researching regional history, and the sociological analysis of the impact of teaching local history, among others. Furthermore, some of these scholars began participating in the construction of the regional historical narrative fairly early on.

In the subsection I discuss several works produced by these scientists, together with their academic backgrounds and possible motivations directing their research. The first among such contributions is the article composed by Svetlana Galtsova, docent, member of the Baltic region history department and the director of the RSU museum. She graduated from the Moscow State University for the Humanities with the specialization in history and archival work, the main areas of her academic research are the agrarian history of Russia.

²⁷¹ Klemesheva, "Several Aspects of the Self-identification of the Kaliningrad Youth," 217

²⁷² "General Information: The Faculty of History," Russian State University of I. Kant website, <http://www.kantiana.ru/history/> (accessed August 28, 2009)

and challenging issues of local history.²⁷³ One of her publications that caught my attention among the collected data was the review of a book composed by two of her colleagues, RSU professors Kretinin and Kostiashev, who investigated the role of the Königsberg University in the development of the Russian higher education.

Galtsova provides an overall highly positive evaluation of the work, and in commenting on and correcting some of the omissions made by the authors, underscores the importance of the outcome of their research for scientists, regionologists, and all students, especially the ones studying the history of the development of the national education and science. In this review, Galtsova re-enforces the ideas expressed by the authors; for example, she mentions that they recognized the objective of their investigation to be in determining the role of the Königsberg University and of the Prussian science in the advancement of the Russian education in 18th century, in attempting to rebuild the connecting references between different epochs and to re-establish historical continuity by uncovering “*the new facts of Russian presence in this ancient land.*”²⁷⁴

She acknowledges fine academic level of the publication including the variety of sources used and, in approving of the work, recognizes its scientific validity, thus re-affirming the status of the fellow historians, as well as her own authority to make such a judgment.

Overall, the recognition of the invaluable role of the Königsberg University in the advancement of the Russian higher education and the generally positive overview of the

²⁷³ “University Museum Management,” Russian State University of I. Kant website, http://www.kantiana.ru/museum/head.php?phase_id=241078 (accessed August 23, 2009).

²⁷⁴ Galtsova, “Peter’s Beginning The Königsberg University and Russian Education in 18th Century,”³⁴⁵

conducted research may well constitute a joint attempt of boosting the status of the present-day Kaliningrad University.

One of the authors of the reviewed book, Gennady Kretinin, doctor of history and professor of the departments of history of the Baltic region and of special disciplines in history, has been one of the foremost actors in the field of historical production. Within the academic subfield of regional history he has published several works such as “The East Prussia: From the Ancient Times to the End of the Second World War”, “Under the Russian Crown,” “Prussian Routes of Peter the Great,” articles in magazines of the nationwide coverage and regional periodicals.²⁷⁵

As previously mentioned, Kretinin, the co-author of the reviewed by Galtsova publication, in this work attempted to breach the time rupture and to re-build the connections between the Russian Empire, East Prussia of the 18th century and the Kaliningrad region of today. In the research, he and his colleague uncovered numerous facts of Russo-Prussian cooperation in education, including the significant role of Prussian scholars in the advancement of the Russian science. This peer-reviewed edition, in presenting sufficient, according to Galtsova, *scientific* findings, thus claims the authority within the field of historical production, something that ‘less scientific’ publications do not seem to possess.

Kretinin’s approach to the research is apparent in one of his articles dedicated to the general state and the prospects of scientific investigations in regional history. In this publication, he recounts the chronology of the development of the regional field of scientific investigations in history noting that in the early 1990s in the region there was an urgent need for initiating

²⁷⁵ “Contributors’ Information,” Kaliningrad Region State Archives website, <http://gako.name/index.php?publ=141&razd=207> (accessed August 30, 2009).

and putting into practice a systematic approach to local research of history. According to him, many translated works on the subject of regional history were imported from the neighbouring countries, others were composed locally. However, many of the available publications “*did not fully reflect the historical reality*”²⁷⁶ and, thus, did not represent the reliable sources for local residents wanting to familiarize themselves with the history of the region. And, “*little by little there arose the need in our own Russian investigations of historical past intended for the wide audience.*” This created the conditions for the establishment of the laboratory of scientific research with the purpose of composing the scientific publication dedicated to the history of the region. The final version of such work would incorporate the efforts to depict the “*key moments of Prussian history, to attempt to interpret them, to rethink [them] from the position of the Russian people.*”²⁷⁷ Kretinin, thus, underscores the importance of re-visiting the historical facts and of their re-interpretation from the ‘Russian point of view’.

The scientific laboratory established with the financial support of the regional administration was able, in Kretinin’s words, “*with sufficient objectivity and at a good scientific level,*” to complete a significant volume of research, including the collection and translation of various sources discovered in the national and foreign archives. In the course of their investigations, the scientists of the laboratory had to employ their networks of professional and personal contacts in order to gain access to rare documentation.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁶ Gennady Kretinin, “History of East Prussia and Kaliningrad Region: The Present and the Future of Scientific Investigations,” Kaliningrad Region State Archives website, <http://www.gako.name/index.php?publ=105&razd=207> (accessed September 1, 2009).

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid

At the time of the publication of Kretinin's article, the lab was planning to initiate the publication of the scientific compilation "Kaliningrad Archives Investigations and Materials" that, by the way, has been since published regularly by the printing office of the university. Kretinin's article provides an essential depiction of the way the academic subfield of historical investigation in the region was established and what the motivations behind its initiation and development were. Among the key motivations of the scientists was the creation of the academic level research base that would allow generating a reservoir of knowledge by the local scientists and for the local use.

This understandable stimulus to establish a scientific field and to provide a more objective, science-based and, hence, ideology-free view of the regional history, results in other types of selective treatments of local history dictated, in various instances, by the possibilities of an enhancement of one's academic reputation or by the receipt of financial support from different sources. According to Bourdieu's theory, the "*scientists' construction of their own reality - the scientific field and the motivations for scientific behaviour - often misrecognize that reality*"²⁷⁹ The 'objective' facts of history procured as a result of implementing a truly scientific research methodology does not necessarily signify the absence of motivations and behaviours common within the academic field of historical production. I suggest, therefore, that the local scholars were motivated to develop the scientific field of history and its various specializations to define the margins of their own professional affiliation, to boost the status of the academic field of history, and to re-establish the 'value' of their profession.

²⁷⁹ Postone, LiPuma, Calhoun, *Bourdieu Critical Perspectives*, 3

In the competition for intellectual domination, all sources of capital are highly appreciated. Within the subfield of scientific historical investigations, the social capital in the way of professional and personal contacts allowing the access to rare archived material or the possibility of scientific collaboration may be considered quite a valuable resource; the cultural capital, in a way of the acknowledgment of one's academic background and of published to date academic work, may represent potentially significant in the scientific competition factors.

Furthermore, the symbolic capital allows the recognition of a scientist's status and, simultaneously, the authority to constitute the legitimate ways of interpreting the historical reality. According to Thomas Cushman, "*in an intellectual field, symbolic capital takes on a form of academic reputation, and agents who possess it are often capable of constructing dominant forms of representations of knowledge within the field.*"²⁸⁰ We can argue in this regard that regional historians' active participation in the establishment and the development of the academic field of history represents a case of amassing symbolic capital by several main actors. The economic capital from the government subsidies, grants and other sources is viewed as the interchangeable resource distributed within the field according to the actors' possession of other types of capital.

One of Kretinin's colleagues and co-authors, Yuri Kostiashev, doctor of history and professor of the department of foreign history and international relations of the RSU of I. Kant, has also become considerably visible in the scientific historical subfield. Kostiashev's academic specialization in Serbian and Prussian history of 18th century allowed him to

²⁸⁰ Cushman, "Constructing the Soviet Other: Reputation and Representation in Western Sovietology," 104.

participate in a number of investigations and publications, including the “Peter’s Beginning” (refer to the opening of this section), “Settlers Recount”, and numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals and other periodicals. He heads the university laboratory for the research and teaching methodology of regional history; the main objectives of the lab are the investigation of history of East Prussia and Kaliningrad region, the publication of the related scientific and methodological material and its implementation within the university and various other educational institutions of the region.²⁸¹

This latter professional specialization of professor Kostiashev is of particular interest to this study. As a leader of a group of scientists he took part in the project aiming to establish the new subfield in history instruction in the region. In the process, the methodological framework for the course titled “The History of Western Russia. Kaliningrad Region: Regional History” was compiled. The implementation of the project commenced during the 2006-2007 school year as a part of an experimental introduction of the regional component in education. The project was undertaken by the regional ministry of education, the RSU of I. Kant, together with several pedagogic collectives of regional schools.²⁸²

Prior to introducing the course in the educational institutions of the region, series of specialized seminars for teachers of history, literature and geography were arranged by a group of scholars of the Russian State University of Immanuel Kant in collaboration with the visiting education professionals from Moscow. The ‘highly qualified specialists,’

²⁸¹“General Information The Faculty of History,” Russian State University of I. Kant website, <http://www.kantiana.ru/history/> (accessed August 28, 2009)

²⁸² E. Zhuk et al, *History of Western Russia. Kaliningrad Region. Regional History. Teacher’s Guide*, ed. Yuri Kostiashev (Kaliningrad. RSU of Immanuel Kant, 2006), www.edu.baltinform.ru/data/smod/Static/79/231/materialy_uchitel.doc (accessed August 28, 2009).

professors Kretinin and Kostiashev were the only doctors of history among the several scientists leading the seminars. One of the key focuses of the seminars was the connection between the history of Western Russia and the region with the history of Russia.²⁸³ The vital role played by these history professors in the establishment of the new discipline once again confirms their supposed expertise and seniority within the field of regional history, amounting to their ability to create, support and popularize certain representations of local historical past.

The introduction of the new curriculum in history and related disciplines considered a significant event in the region has been one of the important tasks of the university. One of the university affiliates, docent Marina Klemesheva, candidate of history, in her article titled “Several Aspects of the Self-identification of the Kaliningrad Youth,” studies the impacts of regional history instruction on the local youth. In analyzing the collected during the interviews of various youth groups data, Klemesheva concludes that the relation between the levels of familiarity with various aspects of regional history among young people and their abilities to articulate their own self-identification is directly proportional.²⁸⁴ Therefore, the history instruction is essential for not only the familiarization with local past, but can also be considered a major part of the patriotic upbringing of the young. When articulated this way, history instruction transforms into one of the chief missions of the profession; and in this area the scholars of history undeniably possess the overwhelming share of the authority to direct and lead the process.

²⁸³ “History of Western Russia: Kaliningrad Oblast’,” Russian State University of I Kant website, December 27, 2007, <http://www.kantiana.ru/news/148/1148> (accessed July 17, 2009)

²⁸⁴ Klemesheva, “Several Aspects of the Self-Identification of the Kaliningrad Youth,” 223.

4.3.2 The Field of History in Novgorod the Great

Quite differently from Kaliningrad, scientific investigations of the Novgorod's history, the variety of its cultural, architectural and spiritual aspects, have been conducted throughout much of the 20th century. The consistency of this research process has paid off with invaluable archaeological discoveries and major advancement in the exploration of the regional (and national) past. Although it has been noted that Novgorod's material heritage remains the focus of a narrow circle of scholars,²⁸⁵ researchers from a variety of disciplines and geographic locations continue to carry out their investigations in the region.

The field of historical production in the Novgorod region may, thus, be considered considerably better developed in comparison with that of Kaliningrad. The history of the region has captured the hearts and minds of Russian intellectuals and professional scientists since 19th century, when the Novgorod's Veche was romanticized as Russian authentic way of societal development (in a way, something similar to that idealization is going on right now). Major Russian/Soviet scholars and intellectuals were closely involved in the investigations of Novgorod's history and culture and considered this land an immense source of the national wisdom, culture and spirituality. Novgorod's history has been and remains on the research agendas of the central institutions of science. The archaeological research in the region has been actively carried out since 1932 by the permanent expeditions of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the highest level scientific institution in the country. This in itself attests to the degree of interest the region receives both from within and outside

²⁸⁵ Sergei Troianovsky, "Novgorod the Great: The Material World of the Medieval Republic," *Neprikosnovennyj zapas*, no. 5 (2007), <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2007/55/tro15.html> (accessed September 10, 2009).

Russia, due to its outstanding history and its uncovered remnants that have drawn to Novgorod scientific digging parties and tourists alike.

As a result of such widespread interest in regional history, several external actors occupy an important place in the field of Novgorod's historical production, owing it to their own academic visibility. However, the objective of this thesis is to identify main local actors active within the field, to discuss the field resources, along with the actors' possible motivations and practices.

Due to the nature of the collected material, different from what was gathered in Kaliningrad, the discussion of the field of the regional historical production is also structured in a slightly different way. It focuses less on the publications by specific actors, and more on the general lines of work, societal and scientific visibility, and their involvement in the political and social process, educational activity, etc. I proceed with the introduction of the leading historians who have become most noticeable in the data through their academic and community exposure.

According to my understanding, the field of historical production in the region may be separated into various subfields, among which the most prominent are occupied by the '*historians-community activists*' and the '*historians in academia*', although it should be noted that most of these actors do get involved in the socio-political developments in the region.

Historians-Community Activists

Among the most prominent actors in this subfield is Sergei Troianovsky, candidate of science in history, the deputy director of the regional society of antiquity, and the head of the Archaeological Research Centre of the Novgorod Museum-Preserve. His other job descriptions include the cultural columnist for the “Novgorod” municipal newspaper and the instructor in the section of archaeology and Russian history at the Novgorod University. Throughout the examination of the field, his name continuously resurfaced in many diverse sources.

From the data, it is evident that Troianovsky is closely involved in numerous cultural, educational and political undertakings, and represents regional communities of intellectuals related to the historical and associated fields, both amateur and professional. Below I discuss several of these activities to define the scope of his affiliations.

As a trained historian, Troianovsky authored articles and participated in discussions regarding various aspects of local historical research. For example, in one of the articles, he discusses the mutually complementary scientific explorations in history and archaeology in Novgorod the Great allowing the more profound investigation and analysis of the history of the region from social, cultural, political, geographic and other perspectives.²⁸⁶ In another instance, acting in the capacity of the deputy director of the regional society of antiquity, he argued against the unacceptable practices of the regional government in relation to local material heritage. Specifically, Troianovsky was concerned with the fact that the monuments

²⁸⁶ Troianovsky, “Novgorod the Great The Material World of the Medieval Republic ”

of national significance remain under local jurisdiction and reminded about the immense number of monuments of the Russian statehood located on the territory of the city.²⁸⁷ On a different occasion, he also voiced concerns of the antiquity society about some projects of the reconstruction of the city core as “unsuitable” for the city and called for the closer collaboration between regional government, local community and the federal cultural institutions in such matters of high importance for the region and for the nation.²⁸⁸

Furthermore, in an interview to the Russian State Radio Company Troianovsky commented on various issues of regional and national history, from depicting the Novgorod Republic as the development model for the modern Russian state, to discussing the history of its annexation by Moscow and the uncovered evidence of the wide-spread literacy among the ancient residents of Novgorod. In the same discussion Troianovsky explained the reasons for the appeal to the President’s commission against the falsification of history initiated by him personally and filed by the governor, and touched upon the topic of the transformation of the self-consciousness of the young residents of Novgorod who apparently became closer to the land and to their history.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ Lina Bogoliubova, “Uncooperative Historians,” January 30, 2004, <http://www.novgorodinform.ru/analytics/1917.html> (accessed September 10, 2009)

²⁸⁸ “Historians Disagree with the Transformations of the Historic Centre of Novgorod the Great,” November 14, 2008, <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1084184.html> (accessed September 8, 2009)

²⁸⁹ “Ancient Novgorod as the Epitome of the Future Russia,” interview with Sergei Troianovsky on RSRK “Russia’s Voice,” July 3, 2009, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/press/545.html> (accessed September 11, 2009)

His work as the cultural columnist for the regional newspaper “Novgorod” was acknowledged by the Novgorod’s branch of the Journalist Union of Russia for the series of historical publications dedicated to the past and present of the Novgorod land ²⁹⁰

In his numerous capacities he carries out an extraordinary amount of responsibilities, from organizing scientific conferences, to defending the historical monuments of the city from the unnecessary and unsuitable transformations, and to taking part in various historical-archaeological and community projects. Good examples of the latter would be Troianovsky’s participation in the pre-anniversary television mini-documentaries “Novgorodinki” about the important historical monuments of Novgorod and in the significant for the development of regional tourism project titled “The Theatre of Time” open on the Troitsky archaeological site, in the capacity of its director ²⁹¹

The variety of his activities and the scope of his interests are impressive, so much, in fact, that in the beginning of my investigation I could not conceive of the fact that Sergei Troianovsky the deputy director of the museum, historian and the candidate of science, is the same Troianovsky writing columns in the regional newspaper. After putting two and two together, I uncovered an interesting detail. In one of his articles about the pre-anniversary preparations meeting, Troianovsky mentions the appeal of the governor Mitin to the present in the audience historians to help “*to clarify for the federal centre and the President’s administration the role of Novgorod the Great in the ancient history of Russia*.” The author notes that “*the emerging in the scientific world differences regarding the ‘ancient capital of*

²⁹⁰ “Novgorod’s Journalists Are Recognized for the Anti-Crisis Publications,” September 5, 2009, <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1202872.html> (accessed September 8, 2009)

²⁹¹ “The Time Theatre Troitsky Raskop as the Focal Point of Knowledge Tourism ”

Russia' can harm the standing of the Novgorod's anniversary in Moscow, which will therefore affect the budget of the celebration."²⁹²

Subsequently, in an interview to the state radio company Troianovsky commented on the complaint filed by the governor to the President's commission against the falsification of history, the action initiated by Troianovsky himself. The complaint was filed against the 'unscientific' model of research that attempted to undermine the decades of thorough investigations, providing a contradictory hypothesis of historical development. Hence, it becomes apparent that the earlier governor's request to historians to prove to the President's administration that Novgorod is indeed the oldest Russian city did materialize in this appeal.

Both by the received education and the scope of actual professional and personal involvement, Troianovsky rightfully occupies one of the important places in the regional field of historical production. However, he certainly belongs to a number of overlapping fields, such as the archaeology, regionology and museology, to name a few. As a result, the extensive network of his professional and personal contacts allows him a relatively easy access to political, scientific and community activist circles. Despite his differences with the local government regarding the management and restoration of historical, Troianovsky collaborates with the officials on other issues. For example, it has become apparent that he supports the representation of Novgorod as the cradle of the Russian statehood and democracy, and agrees that Novgorod's history offers the development model for the modern Russia.²⁹³ It is impossible to state with certainty whether he is the one behind those

²⁹² Troianovsky, "The Anniversary Fund, Everyday Problems."

²⁹³ "Ancient Novgorod as the Epitome of the Future Russia," interview with Sergei Troianovsky on RSRK "Russia's Voice "

concepts or that he simply supports the prevailing in the region point of view; it is apparent, however, that he stays in considerably close collaborative contact with the executive branch of the regional government.

To add to his profile, I should also mention that although he was educated in Moscow, he has spent most of his professional life in Novgorod. Furthermore, his father, Victor Troianovsky, is a well known locally journalist and the reporter of the ITAR-TASS (federal information agency) for the Novgorod region.

In summary, Troianovsky possesses a considerable amount of accumulated capital of each type. As I already mentioned, his widespread social network represents an important resource resulting in the position of field domination and the authority to pass judgments. However, it can also be said that other types of capital he possesses result in his extensive connections. Regarding the cultural capital, his upbringing and education, together with the family relations might have all contributed to his eminent standing within the field. The latter may be confirmed by the comment made by the president of the Novgorod State University Gavrikov in an interview to the state radio station, who, following the Troianovsky's interview, noted that "*Sergei Victorovitch is, certainly, a good specialist; you can trust him [on the discussed matters].*"²⁹⁴ Other sources also confirm Troianovsky's status within the new Novgorod cultural elite. According to the independent research titled "The New Elite of the Novgorod Region" conducted in 2008, Troianovsky occupies the fifth

²⁹⁴ "Ancient Novgorod as the Epitome of the Future Russia," interview with Sergei Troianovsky on RSRK "Russia's Voice."

place among thirty five best-known individuals affiliated with regional educational, scientific and cultural industries.²⁹⁵

The one area I have not been able to find a confirmation of his activity has been the area of the academic publication. The articles I have located are mostly published online through an affiliation with electronic journals, without special access requirement; some other works can be found in various lay periodicals, as though Troianovsky is not as concerned with his own academic standing as he is with making his investigations widely known and with attempting to affect real transformations in local society.

Another important actor in the subfield is the previously mentioned professor of history Dr. Vasily Andreev, formerly the public representative in the municipal council. In the 1990s, while being a member of the municipal government, he took an active part in the process of returning the original names to the streets of the city and, subsequently, to the city of Novgorod itself. However, during the last decade he seems to have stayed away from the political arena, dedicating himself to academia and education in the department of national history of the Novgorod State University. However, it has not been very clear what the directions of his current research are or what his recent published works have been, since, differently from the more active subfield actors, he has not been quite as publicly visible, although his name does surface in relation to academic publications and scientific conferences.

²⁹⁵ "The New Elite of the Novgorod Region," rating investigation, May-June 2008, http://upt-group.ru/images/upload/pdf/novaq_novgorodskaq_elita.pdf (accessed September 8, 2009).

One of his less recent works titled “Novgorod’s Private Statute of 12-15 centuries” represents a social history approach to the investigation destined for professional historians as a target audience ²⁹⁶ His latest work referenced on the university website represents a collaborative effort on the project “Entrepreneurship” undertaken together with the faculty colleagues ²⁹⁷ Another indication of one of Andreev’s activities is contained in the book titled “The Republic of Saint Sophia” published in 2008 by his student Olga Kuzmina In the work she investigates the role of the Orthodox church in the self-government of the Novgorod Republic, using the social history approach and demanding answers to raised questions “*from the residents of Novgorod of the 12-15 centuries*” themselves ²⁹⁸ In the introduction Kuzmina refers to Andreev’s work that helped her in the research and makes a dedication “*With gratitude to Vasily Fedorovitch Andreev-an exceptional historian and Teacher*” The capitalization of the “Teacher” signifies in this case an outstanding ability of an educator Therefore, according to Kuzmina, Professor Andreev seems to possess the special gift of passing his fascination with history along with the accumulated expertise to his students

Another source references Andreev’s participation in a conference dedicated to the past of Novgorod and the region, in the capacity of the head of the department of Russian history and archaeology of the Novgorod University In referring to the immense scientific interest towards Novgorod’s history nationally and abroad, Andreev noted in an interview

“Novgorod is not simply a regional centre It is a great city within a great empire from Kronschtadt to the Urals Novgorod Republic represents a large layer of European

²⁹⁶ Andreev, *Novgorod Private Statute of 12-15 centuries* <http://bibliotekar.ru/iusNovgAkt/index.htm>

²⁹⁷ “The Faculty of National History,” The Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/dept/1386/12429/?id=1929> (accessed September 14, 2009)

²⁹⁸ Olga Kuzmina, *The Republic of Saint Sophia* (Moscow Veche, 2008), 4

history When first conferences were organized, the idea about creating the Novgorod research centre in the city was introduced ” Andreev refers to this largely educational conference as the event not only aiding graduate students from around the country with their investigations by providing updated reference sources, but also allowing scientists, graduate and even undergraduate students to share and discuss their current research ²⁹⁹

What are the general conclusions that can be made based on the formerly political, and presently academic and educational inclinations of Professor Andreev? There are two points that might be helpful for the current discussion of the subfield Firstly, the reputation of a scientist and a community activist was elevated in the 1990s due to his political activity resulting in the return of original names to the city and its streets His subsequent and timely retirement from politics has possibly also added to his academic reputation, and so did his abilities of an educator Secondly, he makes an impression as having the authority to pass the judgment about the importance of Novgorod, its history and the widespread interest towards them in the academic world By accentuating the pervasive interest toward Novgorod’s history, he thus demonstrates the necessity of further investigations of its various aspects and the need for future conferences and educational collaboration, in doing so, he, in my opinion, elevates the status of the field of Novgorod’s history and its scholars, and underscores the requirement of its further advancement

Another professional historian who for over two decades actively participated in the regional political and cultural life is Victor Smirnov, the honoured citizen of Novgorod, the founder

²⁹⁹ Anna Bagauri, Anna Mikhailova, “The History of the Novgorod Land,” November 2006, http://www.novsu.ru/press/novuniver/1_2526/?number=2006_11_37&article=novg (accessed September 8, 2009)

and the first director of the regional television and radio company “Slaviya”. Throughout his professional career he has tried himself in many trades: while holding a degree of a candidate of science in history Smirnov became an employee of the local government. In the late 1980s he founded a regional television station that under his leadership produced and publicized programs and documentaries about the history of the Novgorod region. A well-known novelist and a writer of popular historical editions such as the “Monument to the Russian State: The Millennium in Bronze” dedicated to the monument of the Russia’s 1000th anniversary located in the Novgorod Kremlin, he has also written a number of novels connected to the history of Novgorod; many of these novels were subsequently transformed into screenplays. According to the journalist Maria Torova, Smirnov’s every book became an event in the cultural life of the city.³⁰⁰

The above mentioned publication dedicated to the monument of the millennial anniversary of Russia has been recently re-printed again, in its third edition for the 1150th anniversary of the city. During the last few years, Smirnov published several books, some of them in collaboration with other local historians. Since recently, he has been working on three important projects, all related to the history of Novgorod the Great. The first two are the screenplays; the first one provides an insight into the archaeological investigations in the city, the second is the “full-size movie” “Novgorod the Great in the History of Russia”. The last project completed for the anniversary is the souvenir edition titled “Novgorod the Great 1150: The Beginning of Russia”.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Maria Torova, “Novgorodians. V. G. Smirnov, The First Director of “Slaviya,” interview with Victor Smirnov, July 24, 2009, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/sovrem/572.html> (accessed September 16, 2009)

³⁰¹ Ibid.

Generally speaking, Victor Smirnov appears to be an individual presently more related to the writers' circle than to either the scientists or the community activists. However, he certainly does participate in the field of historical production in the region. More specifically, his books, encyclopaedias, articles, and novels possibly target a much greater number of readers than many scientific publications do. The screenplays written by him have too, most likely, as a finished product, reached wide audiences within and outside the region. Moreover, it was under his leadership that the regional television network was established and major efforts were made to familiarize local residents with the history of their region. Smirnov has evidently reached certain standing both inside the local field of historical production and within the region, as the study of the new Novgorodian elite signifies. According to this study, he, although officially retired from the active public life, still holds the 28th place within the regional cultural elite as a writer and a historian.³⁰²

In my view, the above details support the fact of an accumulation by Smirnov of various types of capital within the subfield, as well as, most certainly, within various other social fields including regional politics, professional writing, and radio and television production. Throughout his professional carrier he seemed to have maintained and widened his extensive connections in various fields, since, without those, he wouldn't be able to easily transfer from one field to another, always in the capacity of a leader. In terms of cultural capital, his degree of a candidate of science in history has provided him with an easy access to various circles including the academic, but also, maybe even more significantly, gave him more authority in the area of novel writing and popular history. This, together with his political carrier, provided him with the sufficient background for the subsequent transfer into

³⁰² "The New Elite of the Novgorod Region," 17.

the creative industry allowing him to become the director of the regional TV station. The economic resources that, according to Pierre Bourdieu, reflect the amount of all types of accumulated capital, in his case signify the ability to publish his work and to receive commissions for the participation in various projects of cultural production, be that souvenir album editions or screenplay orders.

What is more, the accumulation of social and cultural resources propelled him into the position of authority within the subfield, the position that has allowed him (and still does!) to support certain representations of local history. Most recently this has been evident in the book dedicated to the monument of the 1000th anniversary of Russia. This publication was re-printed for the third time in 2008, for the anniversary; only this time the title of the publication was changed from its original “Russia in Bronze” to the more suitable for the occasion and the spirit of the time “The Monument of the Russian State: The Millennium in Bronze.” The publication was re-printed with the support of the committee for culture, tourism and archival work of the region and with the financial support of the federal agency for print and mass media.³⁰³ Although it may be considered an unimportant nuance by some, this title change accentuates the dominant in the region position in representing the land of Novgorod as the origin of the Russian state. The same can be said about his latest projects, the movie “Novgorod the Great in the History of Russia” and the souvenir publication “Novgorod the Great 1150: The Beginning of Russia”, both ‘in the works’ in time for the 1150th anniversary.

³⁰³ “Pre-anniversary publications,” Novgorod Official Anniversary website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/jubilee/books/> (accessed September 22, 2009).

In an interview with Maria Torova, when asked whether he likes the pre-anniversary makeover of the city, Smirnov approves of the changes: *“It is great. I am glad this transformation is happening. The city, while keeping its Russian character, is becoming more ‘European’. I like it.”*³⁰⁴ If we take away the consideration of personal aesthetic preferences, with this positive remark he provides a contradictory assessment of the alterations being effected in Novgorod, somewhat opposing to the point of view prevailing among the members of antiquity society and other historians who argue that the city, in reality, loses its face due to the modifications transforming the city centre. Therefore, when Smirnov supports these, he tends to ‘side’ with the politicians, thus providing local government with the opportunity to refute the arguments against the changes.

Historians in Academia

In this subsection I discuss the academic contributions and professional association of selected scholars affiliated with the Novgorod State University of Yaroslav the Wise, to provide a glimpse into the tendencies dominating within the subfield of scientific historical production.

I begin with Svetlana Kovarskaia, the docent of the department of national history of the Novgorod University and the director of the scientific and educational laboratory for the investigations of culture. The research laboratory she leads was founded in 1998, with the following foremost objectives:

“Achieve in the Human Sciences Institute of the university an organic unity of educational, methodological and scientific activities in the investigation of topics of the world and

³⁰⁴ Torova, “Novgorodians. V. G. Smirnov: The First Director of “Slaviya,” interview with Victor Smirnov.

*national history and culture; work to overcome the interdisciplinary dissociations; conduct fundamental, exploratory and applied scientific investigations; incorporate the outcomes of these investigations in educational practice; establish partnerships and coordinate efforts in the investigations of history and culture carried out at the university, in the region and in the North West Russia.”*³⁰⁵

Kovarskaia has become one of the regional experts devoted to the historical investigations of culture and education. Under her leadership the laboratory has participated in the focus program “Development of scientific potential in higher education institutions” in 2006-2008; as a part of the project several fundamental investigations of the role of Novgorod the Great in the world and national history and culture were carried out, and 23 applied topics were explored. Several of these topics were further developed into publications and appeared in print in time for the 1150th anniversary; among the seventeen publications about Novgorod the Great advertised on the anniversary website, six represent the outcome of the project “The role of Novgorod the Great in the world and national history and culture” undertaken by the laboratory led by docent Kovarskaia.³⁰⁶ Several of these and other anniversary productions were composed by the well-known in the region historians, such as the academician Valentin Yanin (the head of the Novgorod archaeological expedition), docent Gennady Kovalenko and Sergei Troianovsky.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ “Scientific-Educational Center for the Investigations of Culture,” Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/dept/1389/12429/?id=1956> (accessed September 18, 2009).

³⁰⁶ “Pre-anniversary publications,” Novgorod Official Anniversary website <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/jubilee/books/> (accessed September 22, 2009)

³⁰⁷ “Scientific-Educational Center for the Investigations of Culture/Publications,” Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/dept/1389/12429/?id=1956> (accessed September 18, 2009)

Despite the fact that before the anniversary these and numerous other new editions were published in the region, in an interview to the regional newspaper, Kovarskaia expressed her satisfaction noting that the act of frequently publishing new scientific productions about Novgorod is the tradition of the university that does not depend on the immediacy of important dates.³⁰⁸ In this, she attempts to demonstrate the scientific ‘disinterestedness’ and independence, and suggests that the scientific investigations that go on in her laboratory are free from the influences from social and political fields. According to Bourdieu, “the more field is autonomous from the social field and the field of power, the more ...the field speaks the language of science.”³⁰⁹ Convinced in her own scientific disinterestedness, Kovarskaia negates the effect of the outside manipulation on the research in her laboratory, thus articulating her conceptual understanding of a ‘scientific field.’

She explains that in the laboratory she and her colleagues regularly organize exhibitions and presentations of the new literature and meetings with the writers: “*The devotion to books is the ancient intellectual tradition of the Novgorod’s society that originated in the IX-X centuries.*” Kovarskaia reminds about the libraries established by Yaroslav the Wise and the renowned birch bark letter with the request to send some “*good reading*” written by one resident of the ancient Novgorod to another. Kovarskaia questions: “*What could that be? Maybe an apocrypha or a Psalter. . It is a mystery to us, but it is also an indication [of the old literary tradition in Novgorod].*”³¹⁰ According to Kovarskaia, the preservation of this

³⁰⁸ Maria Klapatniuk, “The Library Homestyle,” *Novgorodskie Vedomosti*, May 30, 2009, http://nov.ved.ru/index2.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4907&pop=1&page=0 (accessed September 16, 2009)

³⁰⁹ Scott Lash, “Cultural Economy and Social Change,” in *Bourdieu Critical Perspectives*, ed. Moishe Postone, Edward LiPuma, Craig Calhoun (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 199

³¹⁰ Klapatniuk, “The Library Homestyle ”

alleged tradition is her direct duty. Hence, she reinvents a new custom that suits her personality and her upbringing, and implants it within the modern university practice.

Her upbringing seems to have been the decisive element that shaped much of her career and personal development. As she notes in the same interview, the dedication to books and reading was inherited from her parents throughout her childhood and much of her youth. This detail, in my view, represents the proof of the accumulation of cultural capital, embodied, materialized, and institutionalized. Embodied, for the books have become an essential part of her life and her dedication to them has always defined her position towards every aspect of personal, professional and social life; materialized, since among nearly three thousand books in her apartment there is not one that hasn't been read, as she does not only possess numerous editions, but also knows and appreciates them; and institutionalized, because this love for reading has directed her academic career, still guides her research and has resulted in the institutional recognition of her scholarly and educational capacities.

Regarding social capital, apart from her connections in the academic world, there is one other important detail worth discussing. It is her personal acquaintance with the one most prominent Russian human scientist, academician Dmitry Likhachev, who created a tremendous reputation for himself throughout his academic career, during the Soviet period and thereafter. She notes that for her “*Likhachev is the great example of Russian intelligentsia. When he visited Novgorod, we often met, I accompanied him around the city; I was his guide to the museum-preserve. We would inevitably enter the bookstore...where he*

would very diligently examine the Novgorodica section ”³¹¹ In depicting her personal relationship with Likhachev and their common affection for the city, its history and culture, Kovarskaia, thus, elevates her own status within the field of historical-cultural production, which, together with her academic ‘disinterestedness,’ amounts to the accumulation of symbolic authority For this ‘disinterestedness’ is a curious phenomenon as far as I understand, it is one of the most widely respected attributes of a *true* scholar and an unavoidable personality trait of the representatives of the Russian intelligentsia

As, according to Bourdieu, it is not the production of valid statements per se but the “socially recognized capacity to speak and act legitimately”³¹² is what constitutes the scientific authority, the reputation of a scholar is the tool allowing her to accumulate this scientific capital and to produce representations commonly recognized as legitimate For instance, for Kovarskaia, continuing the cultural traditions of the ancient Novgorod is the vocation of her life Strong believer in the torch of enlightenment being passed to the present Novgorodians by the ancient residents of the republic, in one of her articles, she depicts the representation of spiritual and educational tradition of Novgorod the Great and constructs the university as the heir to the Novgorod’s ages old educational and enlightenment legacy ³¹³

Another important representative of the Novgorod’s academic circle is the docent of the department of Russian history Gennady Kovalenko, the candidate of science in history and the head of the research laboratory *Nordistica* specializing in the investigations of “*vital*

³¹¹ Klapatniuk, “The Library Homestyle ”

³¹² Lash, “Cultural Economy and Social Change,” 199

³¹³ Svetlana Kovarskaia, “Spiritual and Educational Traditions in the Sociodynamics of Novgorod the Great,” *Vestnik NovSU*, no. 16 (2000) 12

topics of history and culture of Northern European countries". The centre investigates the political, economic and cultural relations between Northern European countries and Russia (and Novgorod in particular); its main objectives read as follows:

*"To organize and carry out educational seminars on the subjects of history and culture of Northern European countries for students of the human sciences institute of the university; to organize the implementation of the outcomes of scientific investigations in the educational practice; to supervise specialized student research; to promote the outcomes of the Russian academic research in the Scandinavian countries; to facilitate the collaboration with the Scandinavian scientists."*³¹⁴

Basically, the Nordistica research laboratory carries out several functions of an international collaborative centre in humanities with the geographic focus on Scandinavia and Northern Europe. This geographic focus is strategically justified by the historical connections between these European regions and Northern Russia, and particularly Novgorod; it is strategic since the future development of the region strongly depends on its cooperation, scientific and otherwise, with these countries.

The director of the centre, docent Kovalenko has become one of the most regularly published regional historians, in collaboration with other authors on some occasions. His primary research interests include the investigations of the foreign relations of Novgorod the Great with the neighbouring countries, of the representations of Novgorod created by various European traveller, merchants and diplomats, of the depictions of Novgorod in

³¹⁴ "The Educational-Scientific Laboratory Nordistica," Novgorod State University website, <http://www.novsu.ru/dept/3360967/1.2429/?id=2245> (accessed September 1, 2009).

Russian historical accounts, among others. In brief, it can be held that he specializes primarily in the areas of Novgorodian and Russian history where it connects with the history of Northern European countries

To evaluate his impact on the overall production of the literary sources in the region, one can take into account his academic contributions as the member of two scientific laboratories of the university: the centre for culture and Nordistica. In the recent years, he has (co-) authored four out of eight publications produced by the centre for culture as well as the only book issued by the Nordistica research lab to date. Overall, he has compiled eight publications between 2007 and 2009; most of them have been promoted among the productions dedicated to the 1150th anniversary and the New Hanseatic Days celebrations, either on the official anniversary website or as press-releases issued by regional and municipal administrations ³¹⁵

Throughout the data collection and its subsequent analysis, Kovalenko's name has been commonly encountered among the authors of scholarly editions, it was, more specifically, this omnipresence together with the number of his publications dedicated to the Novgorod's history in various contexts that made him most notable. Besides his already mentioned most recent publications advertised regionally, Kovalenko, as the senior scientific associate (*старший научный сотрудник*) of the Saint Petersburg's History Institute of RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences), between 2001 and 2009 has fashioned several other editions visible to external scientific community

³¹⁵ "Pre-Anniversary Publications," Novgorod Official Anniversary website, <http://www.novgorod1150.ru/jubilee/books/> (accessed September 22, 2009)

As I have previously noted, Kovalenko has been researching various European sources that reference Novgorod, an exercise that has allowed him to position Novgorod the Great in the context of European history and culture and, based on various accounts by European travellers, diplomats and merchants, to perhaps further boost the image of the city as considerably important for the European trade and economy, politics and cultural exchange.³¹⁶ In my view, the fact that he has been consistently investigating foreign sources on the subject of Novgorodian history and culture suggests that these materials contain the evidence of Novgorod's significance in the Russian-European medieval exchange.

In summary, Kovalenko has accumulated academic capital through his network of contacts, professional and otherwise, in the region and externally; this external visibility resulted from his active participation in the academic process as a member of at least two scientific circles, that of the Novgorod State University and of the St. Petersburg History Institute. The decisive element of his cultural capital, besides his upbringing and education, is that by utilizing his contacts he has been able to produce numerous publications, known both within the scientific community and to the wider audiences. The number and visibility of his publications, in my view, constitute his cultural capital that transforms into scientific authority, or symbolic capital. One good example of a successful partnership is Kovalenko's professional collaboration with the well known in the region historian Victor Smirnov on the book "The legends and mysteries of the Novgorod's land" printed in 2007. According to the

³¹⁶ See, for example, the article "Novgorod Through The Eyes of German Travelers 17-19 cc,- A New Publication for the Hansa Days," Novgorod Regional Administration website, June 18, 2009, <http://new.adm.nov.ru/parse.jsp?uid=7517EAF087EA1443C3257600001EDA32> (accessed September 25, 2009).

website of regional administration, the book was published as a part of the 1150th anniversary preparations, as suggested by the regional committee for culture, tourism and archival work and financially supported by the Federal Agency for print and mass communications.^{317,318}

Owing it to his professional connections and scientific publications, Kovalenko must have accrued an important share of academic authority in the subfield; and especially, in the historical production niche specializing in the Russian-European relations, past and present.

Using Kovalenko's example, we can compare the subfields of scientific historical production in Novgorod and Kaliningrad. While in Kaliningrad historians have been establishing new discipline(s) 'from scratch', so to speak, in Novgorod, the exercise of niche searching or positioning may be considered most fruitful. For instance, Kovalenko has been able to successfully establish and develop the new for the Novgorod university academic specialization; this research area presents an extension of the general regional tendencies of closer collaboration with Northern European countries on many matters, from business to science. It is logical to suggest, therefore, that the scholars may enjoy greater visibility depending on the degree of the urgent need for the outcomes of their scientific

³¹⁷ "The Legends and Mysteries of the Novgorod Land" Book Has Been Published," News of the Novgorod Regional Administration website, September 12, 2008, http://region.adm.nov.ru/news/press/5391/index.php?IBLOCK_CODE=press&ELEMENT_ID=5391&bx=true (accessed September 25, 2009)

³¹⁸ Federal and regional governments have sponsored the publishing activity in 2008 and 2009, thus sharply increasing the number of new editions dedicated to regional history and culture. See, for example, "Ten Books Have Been Published for the Anniversary of Novgorod the Great," Baltic Information Agency, September 12, 2009, <http://www.baltinfo.ru/news/K-yubileyu-Velikogo-Novgoroda-vypuscheno-10-knig-po-istorii-i-kulture-goroda-104342> (accessed September 25, 2009)

investigations. In the discussed instance the product of the research creates greater mutual interest and better understanding of historical ties between Russia and Northern Europe.

One aspect of the Novgorod's field of historical production worth mentioning here is its connection with the name and academic carrier of the prominent Soviet-Russian scientist Dmitry Likhachev. Likhachev has become something of an iconic figure in the post-Soviet society as the true representative of Russian intelligentsia, one who has survived the Leningrad blockade during the Great Patriotic War and the incarceration in a Soviet concentration camp, and remained an ardent advocate of culture and human rights. The Likhachev's legacy has been strongly connected to the historical and archaeological research in Novgorod since before the WWII. It was his famous phrase: "*Already at the dawn of the Russian history we owe it to the Novgorodians that we are the way we are, that we are Russian*", that became a slogan of the anniversary, as one might say, and was repeatedly cited in many official documents, articles and websites by its organizers. In the recent years, this legacy has been accentuated over and over again, and especially so inside the Novgorod region. Beginning in 2006, officially declared "*the year of human sciences, culture and education, the year of academic D.S. Likhachev*" by the president's decree, in Novgorod the Great there were initiated Novgorodica conference series, with the opening one dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the scientist.

Throughout the analysis, I have located numerous references to Likhachev's outstanding contribution to the Russian artistic and spiritual development and references to his

remarkable individual and academic qualities.³¹⁹ Recounted together with those were the remarks of his dedication to the city of Novgorod, his fascination with the region's history and his reflections about the culture of Novgorod and its significance for the nation. The emphasis on Likhachev's personal distinctiveness and charisma adds authority to his investigations of Novgorod's history, art and culture, to his scientific stance and to the arguments of those who presently support his position concerning the significance of Novgorod the Great for the Russian state and culture. This exercise becomes particularly vital when, as it has recently happen, the new or contradicting 'evidence' concerning the historical development of the Russian state is uncovered.

In one such instance, the "new chronology" hypothesis undermining the historical role of Novgorod the Great, introduced by a group of scientists led by professor Fomenko, is named 'non-scientific' and 'pseudo-historical,' as it contradicts the entire body of historical-archaeological investigations conducted in the Novgorod region since the 19th century. I have located at least three references to the local efforts undertaken to refute Fomenko's "new chronology": firstly, the governor of the Novgorod region asked local historians to "clarify the role of Novgorod the Great for the President and his team" as the debates about the ancient Russian capital were going on; secondly, historian Sergei Troianovsky initiated the appeal to the President's committee against falsification of history in an attempt to refute the same 'false' hypothesis; and, finally, the well-known archaeologist Valentine Yanin, the

³¹⁹ See, for example, "The Chronicles of D. S. Likhachev's Life," Novgorodica website, <http://novgorodica.natm.ru/tree5.html?show=DOC&id=18> (accessed September 20, 2009), Irina Zabarovskaya, "D. S. Likhachev on the Importance of Novgorod the Great in the History of the Russian Culture," http://yro.narod.ru/Xronika_culture/LiachevNovg/DSL_VN.htm (accessed September 26, 2009); Elena Aleksandrova, "Conscience, Dignity and High Merit Distinguished Likhachev," the interview with Valentin Yanin, http://www.lihachev.ru/pic/site/files/vospominania/Valentin_Yanin.pdf (accessed September 9, 2009)

head of the RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences) archaeological expedition in Novgorod the Great, commented in one of his interviews that this hypothesis was bogus and that similar matters have previously received criticism of Dmitry Likhachev.³²⁰ In this instance, referencing Likhachev as the figure of superior scientific authority adds credence to the scholars siding against the false theory (or *heterodoxy*)³²¹ that has been threatening to create a doubt about their own investigations of history and culture of Novgorod the Great.

Similar exercises leading to the status accentuation and enhancement are common in scientific communities. For instance, in his analysis of the academic field of Soviet studies in the United States Thomas Cushman argues that “the process of constructing [academic] reputation underlies the process of creating representations and rendering them as true or false, good or bad, accurate or inaccurate, insightful or ordinary,”³²² and that the two processes are “inseparable.”³²³ In essence, the scientific and personal reputation of the academician Likhachev in Russia is almost beyond criticism; therefore, referring to his views as supporting the position of many local actors regarding the significance of Novgorod the Great for the overall advancement of the Russian state, its language and culture, signify an evident attempt to boost the veracity of their claims.

³²⁰ See, for example, Troianovsky, “Anniversary Fund, Everyday Problems;” “Ancient Novgorod as the Epitome of the Future Russia,” interview with S. Troianovsky; Aleksandrova, “Conscience, Dignity and High Merit Distinguished Likhachev,” interview with V. Yanin.

³²¹ Cushman, “Constructing the Soviet Other,” 105. Heterodoxy is the “alternative view that challenges and aspires to displace orthodoxy”, however, it is always carved out in relation to it. *Orthodoxy* is the dominant form of knowledge that occupies a central location within the field

³²² Ibid , 102.

³²³ Ibid , 103.

5. CONCLUSION

In this comparative study, a variety of sources were utilized as the basis for the multi-level investigation of the uses of history in the territorial identity reinvention tied to the projects of local development in Kaliningrad and Novgorod regions. The task I envisaged before myself throughout the project was to demonstrate the mechanisms and motivations behind the creation of the regional image in relation to a number of internal and external factors.

The preliminary contextual analysis of regional conditions demonstrated the existence of several external entities capable of manipulating the direction of local development, defining its scope and setting its margins. In Kaliningrad, the federal government exerts the strongest external influence upon nearly every aspect of the regional socio-political and economic conditions, the European Union represents another major power due to obvious political and geographic particularities of the region, and especially so through the dynamics of the Russian-European relations. In Novgorod, same key forces seem to have a more limited direct impact upon the development policy. One of the strongest links of the region to the EU is the membership of Novgorod the Great in the New Hanseatic League, the connection that, according to some authors, represents a concept for regional socio-economic development.³²⁴

Both regions have been evidently utilizing topics in local and national history as tools for the reinvention, enhancement and promotion of territorial identities, and, in turn, have employed these improved identities as resource pools for the betterment of regional socio-economic

³²⁴ Sergounin, "The External Relations of the Novgorod Region of the Russian Federation," 25

conditions. The practices of reinvention that have provided the historical foundation for existing projects also became essential in the exercise of shaping the regional development strategies and long-term plans. However, the degree of articulation of such historical underpinnings in each region has varied from remarkably straightforward in Novgorod to considerably implicit in Kaliningrad.

The temporal focus of this investigation on the anniversaries of the two regional centres has proven to be quite fruitful as it demonstrates the extent to which both regions have used these important dates to push forward their development agendas. The outcomes of the research are outlined below, in the format that follows the structure of the analysis.

Territorial Identity Construction

As it has been frequently emphasized in various sources on local development, positive territorial identity is considered essential for the successful growth of any region or locality; and, above all, the internally formulated territorial identity is compared with the creation of a pool of local resources that, once accumulated, fosters local advancement.³²⁵ Throughout the analysis, it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the majority of representations created by local actors carry positive connotations towards their respective region. Using the concept of territorial identity and the theory of the dialectic in rural development as the basis for the analysis, it is possible to conclude that most of these constructions, locally created and articulated, represent the responses to a variety of external and internal conditions: political, economic, and cultural. As such, it can be stated that even though the localities

³²⁵ Ray, "Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity," 259.

create these representations internally, they do not construct them autonomously, but are rather being guided by the exterior circumstances and the corresponding local requirements.

The analysis of the territorial image formation has demonstrated that, similarly to the socially constructed individual identity, regional 'selves' are created in the course of an ongoing interactive process and through the internalization of a multiplicity of conditions and situations. The identification is commonly attributed to a locality (as it was the case with Kaliningrad depicted in the media as an economic 'black hole' and a problem region), and is disputed or endorsed by local actors using a variety of tools. Hence, the identity of a locality is continuously re-negotiated depending on the ever-changing (extra)-local circumstances.

In the cases of Kaliningrad and Novgorod, local efforts directed to remodel and endorse territorial identities reflect the larger national and international circumstances. The greater importance on strong connections between the regions and the federal centre was manifested through consistent messages of invaluable contributions made by the respective localities to the development of the Russian state during different periods in the past; this, in contrast with the 1990s, when the regionalization caused weakening of the federal subject-centre relations and resulted in the localities being re-imagined without a single focus.

This analysis has also shown a considerable uniformity of the more recent locally produced messages that place stronger emphasis on the historical bond with the state. However, the connections with other entities should be mentioned, most notably, of Novgorod the Great with the Hanseatic League, the membership in which the city has maintained since 1993

following its ages old custom and has eagerly endorsed especially prior to the festivities of the New Hanseatic League held in the city in the summer of 2009

In the process of identity search regions (and their agents) have to place themselves within different frameworks that echo the circumstances localities deal with to advance their agendas the national level through the centre-periphery relations with the federal government or the international community networks through the participation in commercial and cultural networks and development projects Therefore, territorial identities represent constructions malleable by and for the particular sets of circumstances

The representations of the regions as historically connected to important external networks signify one of the strategies of the activation of regional identities, the way of reaching out to major extra-local actors the regions depend on for their development This conclusion appears to agree with Ray's suggestion that the category of the "other" (re-affirming in this study) is employed by territories in order to define and to energize local identity, to constitute or re-enforce it ³²⁶ In that way, regions that define themselves in terms of their historical relations with other entities may receive greater consideration by these same entities as they seek their support for regional development initiatives

Another feature of the construction of territorial identity is that each region has attempted to reinvent itself as unique, distinct from every other Russian region In this regard, the tasks that Kaliningrad and Novgorod had at hand were relatively easy to manage As Ray states,

³²⁶ Ray, "Towards a Theory of the Dialectic of Local Rural Development within the European Union," 356-7

territorial identities are based on local historical, cultural and/or landscape specificities,³²⁷ and, therefore, no two territories can be alike. So, what are the local characteristics used to the greatest extent in the reinvention of the two regions? Despite the fact that an entire assortment of resources – historical, cultural and architectural, has been utilized to the local advantage, in my view, history certainly represents the foundation upon which every other construction has been mounted.

Historical facts intertwine with the already existing objects of regional significance and often help to revive relevant historical narratives and to attach the added importance to these sites. For example, the regional airport Khrabrovo in Kaliningrad has become the focal point of the associated historical accounts of the infrastructural development of the region as the connecting point between Russia and Europe. In itself, Khrabrovo has not had a very long or a glorious past, but the history of its East Prussian counterpart, the airport of Devau, has been utilized by the regional carrier KD Avia to demonstrate the significance of the local connection to the world aviation and its achievements. This helped to provide the justification for further recent development and modification of the new airport.

In the course of interpreting the locally constructed representations, several techniques used by participating actors have been revealed. Among them, frequent mention of the individuals of superior scientific and cultural authority, well-known outside the regions but connected to them through their work and personal attachment, has become one of the common practices in Novgorod aiming to add greater power to the arguments of local actors. Again, in Novgorod, frequent referencing of the city's recognition as the origin of the

³²⁷ Ray, "Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity," 259.

Russian state in imperial Russia (according to the monument dedicated to the Russia's millennial anniversary erected in the city in 1862) is used as historical precedent to enhance the validity of the claims fashioned in the region today.

Furthermore, local actors have employed the resistance strategies to counteract and dispute some of the dominant discourses negatively reflecting on the images of respective regions. Even when the discourses themselves were left out of the discussions, their existence was implied through authors' positions taken toward them.

Finally, an interesting finding discovered in the data refers to the practice of historical revisionism in search for an 'injustice' or an 'enemy' that has caused the disadvantaged socio-economic or cultural-historical position of a territory.³²⁸ In the case of Kaliningrad, as the analysis demonstrates, settled comments about the Soviet period's non-civilized methods of dealing with the remaining German material culture depict the government of that time as the 'enemy' who caused the degradation of the regional cultural heritage, hence putting the locality at a disadvantage. In Novgorod, the image of the enemy is more historically remote and hesitantly articulated due to its controversial nature, as the region was placed in the politically and economically disadvantaged position following Novgorod's forceful addition to the duchy of Moscow and, especially so, because of the horrific destruction of the city by the army of Ivan the Terrible.

The analysis of territorial identities articulation in Kaliningrad and Novgorod has demonstrated that despite noticeable variations in the practices of the reinvention employed

³²⁸ Ray, "Towards a Theory of the Dialectic of Local Rural Development within the European Union," 356.

by local actors there exists considerable similarity in the general direction and dimension of the exercise significant for the overall well being of the regions. The consistently and positively formulated regional identity creates the essential precondition for the qualitative changes in the regional governing styles, the establishment of a healthy dynamics in the area of extra-local relations, and the improvement of the self-image of local residents.

The Invented Traditions

I set out to investigate the means by which the past and present are bound together and whether the processes that go on in the two regions can be characterized as the invention of tradition. By and large, the aspiration to analyze the political role of historical profession was one of the motivations behind this research. The discussion of the reinvented traditions contributes to the overall understanding of the role of history and historians in the exercise of devising regional identities to instigate local socio-economic advancement and helps to comprehend the ways in which the constructed localities are envisioned and enacted into existence.

The invention of tradition in both Kaliningrad and Novgorod the Great is an ongoing process; in both regions the history has been utilized to bridge local past and present, to revise or enhance the narratives of regional histories, and to construct positive environments for the socio-economic development. According to Hobsbawm and Ranger, the practices of tradition invention often seek to “*inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour ... which automatically implies continuity with the past.*”³²⁹ In Kaliningrad and Novgorod local actors

³²⁹ Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” 1.

employ historical imagery to support local development initiatives and, by selectively endorsing projects, establish certain continuity with past times and traditions.

In Novgorod the Great, the entire identity of the prosperous democratic republic, progressive and open to commercial relations with foreigners, has been built into the regional development strategy. Regional elites, using history as a tool, were able to initiate economic growth fairly early on after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the region came to be considered one of the most proactive and business-oriented in Russia, with numerous foreign commercial partnerships being established locally. In Kaliningrad, it was at the time of the preparations for the anniversary when, through the major physical makeover of the city, the new reinvention ideology actually manifested itself. The recently altered regional image, in addition to providing specific development projects with the focus, evidently influences the process of the reinvention of particular traditions; however, some of the inventions that have been freshly devised still require time and effort to become established and institutionalized.

In analyzing the processes by which traditions are constructed several common elements have been identified. Many of these ‘inventions’ are initiated through historical investigations that help to picture the locality and its residents in the past; the depictions are then connected to the present time by the discussions of the continuation of historical process in an attempt to create a vision of the present day localities as bearers of the past values and qualities. Other traditions are based on common understanding of the past experiences of the localities and their particular characteristics that may not be explicitly

stated in the particular project mission statements but that can be easily traced to the constructed representations from regional historical narratives.

Below is the overview of the more significant inventions, to summarize and highlight the most valuable, in author's opinion, findings.

The image of Kaliningrad as the major Russian transportation hub in the heart of Europe has instigated the development of the fundamental for the region related industries such as the passenger and cargo transport and has resulted in the improvement of regional infrastructure. It appears that Kaliningrad is being fit into the historically grounded image of its predecessor as the thriving centre of transportation, international cooperation and commerce, which, due to its geographic positioning, the region has always been intended to be. This consistently marketed vision of Kaliningrad as the heir to the centuries-old traditions has resulted in the widespread conviction that the region must recreate a similar model to successfully move forward, - the already formalized in the regional development plans notion. And while it is not discussed in the context of tradition continuity, the long-term development visions aim to place the region in the position of the developed transportation and commercial hub reflecting the historically-grounded image of the pre-war East Prussia.

In this regard, the efforts of the regional air carrier to expose the facts from the glorious past of the local aviation in an onboard journal, together with the recent achievements of the same air carrier, deserve mentioning. In the course of the exercise the general intent of the company's management becomes apparent: it aims, firstly, to revive the tradition of regional

aviation and, secondly, to facilitate regional transformation into an important transportation hub.

Throughout the course of this research, it has become evident that the invention practices in the regions under study represent the essential part of the processes surrounding the activation of the constructed territorial identities that define the extent of regional advancement possibilities. Through the concrete projects and undertakings of local development, through the physical transformations of localities, the activated territorial identities receive their material manifestation that, accompanied by the associated historical myths, contributes to the creation of the new and the reinvention of the old traditions.

One example of the created tradition is the historical connection of Königsberg-Kaliningrad to Russia, the ideological formation that has never before received the amount of attention it did throughout the pre-anniversary period. During several years, along with the creation of the associated historical narratives of educational visits to Königsberg of many famous Russians, some very tangible transformations conveying these and other historical findings have been effected in the city: new monuments, exhibitions, and museums have been created.³³⁰ One major physical connecting reference revealed itself in the inclusion in the city landscape of an Orthodox cathedral representing the solidified, government-approved cultural and spiritual connection to the Russian mainland in which, with the political facilitation of the architecture, the national ideology and the tradition of the Orthodox spirituality are being locally implanted and reinforced.³³¹

³³⁰ See Appendices A, B, D, E, F.

³³¹ See Appendix D.

In establishing Kaliningrad as the scientific and educational centre the Russian State University of Immanuel Kant has received its share of attention as the focal point of the efforts undertaken to reinvent the old traditions of the famous Albertina. In this regard, a number of steps were taken to elevate the university's status, to rapidly develop its material base, to improve the quality of the instruction, and to maintain and extend the already extensive network of international partnerships. The symbolic name change of the university in 2005 has already generated tangible results "*bringing with itself greater responsibility*" and affecting "*both the self-identification of the university and the election of its future advancement path.*"³³²

While the university website explicitly states that there can exist no direct historical connection between the Königsberg's Albertina and the Kaliningrad University, the continuous stream of references to the 'memory' of the university of Königsberg, to its history and its fame of one of the leading institutions of Eastern Europe in research and education, were used to model the vision strategic development of the RSU and to define the range of its scientific activities. In enacting its recently devised image, the RSU has been steadily advancing in several strategic directions implicitly suggested by the 'memory' and the historical experiences of Albertina: academic research, educational innovation and international collaboration in science and education.

³³² "From the History of the University," Russian State University of I Kant website, <http://www.kantiana.ru/about/history/> (accessed August 2, 2009)

By and large, the connecting references between the past and present are almost never explicit; more frequently, they are evident in the ‘memory’ of Königsberg referenced within the uses of ‘our city’ instead of Königsberg or Kaliningrad, within the discussions of the continuity of traditions of progress, tolerance and civility, within the statements describing local culture as combining Russian and European cultural variants,³³³ and in the construction of local residents as cultured and well-educated people, on average more so than anywhere else in Russia.

Shaped in this manner representation of the region, past and present, receives its substantiation in the discussions of the transformation of Kaliningrad into the pilot region of Russian-European cooperation and the national pilot region for testing of the innovative projects in the areas of medicine, education and information technology, in the accounts of the restoration projects of historical sites of German heritage, the projects essential for cultured and spiritual people, in the rapid transformation of the regional university that enhances the image of Kaliningrad in Russia and abroad, in the advancement of the regional aviation.

Overall, the period of the anniversary preparations marked the time when the active enactment of some of the invented traditions in Kaliningrad took place. The pre-anniversary alterations disguised, in a manner of speaking, the physical process of the reinvention under the surface of general repairs and modifications that, according to a local cultural worker, “*changed cultural signifiers*”³³⁴ in the city. Such a transformation of a locality is often

³³³ Baklanov, “East Prussian-Russian Style,” 8.

³³⁴ Peretiaka, “Myths and Reality of Kaliningrad Cultural Life in the Eve of the Anniversary,” 8.

achieved jointly by the physical change and the revised associated narratives of place, its particular neighbourhoods or sites of interest. Indeed the political context of such at times strictly architectural modifications is evident and has been previously discussed in scholarly literature. In this instance, the analyzed by Carl Schorske large scale architectural project of the Ringstrasse in Vienna in the end of 19th century, in reflecting the liberalism and constitutionalism of the ruling elites in combination with the cultural values of the middle class, presents a vivid example relevant to this discussion.³³⁵ Similarly, the depicted by Gerry Kearns political spectacle organized by the French president Mitterrand for the celebration of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, when the ideological agendas of the Socialist Party and its opposition guided both the physical transformations of the city of Paris and the production of the revised historically-grounded associations,³³⁶ can be employed as a pertinent illustration of an apparently universal pre-anniversary politics.

In the Novgorod region, the connections between the facts of local history and present development visions and particular projects are considerably more apparent than in Kaliningrad. The regional officials clearly articulate the historical assumptions upon which they base their arguments for business and community projects, special events, and other undertakings, for, differently from Kaliningrad, the history of Novgorod has for the longest time been considered an essential element of the national historical narrative.

³³⁵ Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, Division of Random House, 1981), 24-115.

³³⁶ Gerry Kearns, "The City as Spectacle: Paris and the Bicentenary of the French Revolution," in *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1993), 49-102.

Although the patterns of the constructed and enacted representations are markedly distinct in Novgorod and Kaliningrad, several similarities in the overall reinvention practices are evident in the two regions. For instance, in Novgorod as in Kaliningrad, during the anniversary preparations numerous steps were taken towards the solidification of the new constructions through the establishment of various cultural programs and institutions of federal significance in the regions, through special educational undertakings aimed to raise awareness of local history and its significance.

Several representations of the Novgorod region have already been activated prior to the pre-anniversary period, as they actually constituted the foundational principles of the local economic development already in the 1990s. These were largely related to the principles of local self-governance, entrepreneurial openness and educational advancement. However, similarly to Kaliningrad with its urgent search for the Russian connection, the accentuation of the Novgorod's historical lessons as immensely significant for the emerging Russian democracy were articulated and activated throughout the period of the anniversary preparations.

It was because of the enthusiastic support of the local elites the teams of local actors have worked in unison to reinvent the region as the birthplace of the state and to propel certain ideological perspectives agreeable with the idea of the centralized Russia. Attempting to transform the already widely publicized representation into an actual tradition, Novgorod's interest groups abundantly utilized the references to the previous recognitions of the region established in imperial Russia and the Soviet Union as the historical precedents providing the substantiation for the claims of the Novgorod elites.

Essentially, the depiction of Novgorod as the origin of the state and statehood is based on selective interpretation and the activation of the historical myth. As it has been noted previously, several significant historical facts were left out during the process of the reinvention: the animosity between Novgorod the Great and the princes of Moscow, the violent takeover of the city by the Muscovites, its consequent bloody destruction by the army of Ivan the Terrible and the repopulation by the natives from other parts of Russia have been either entirely overlooked or played down by local actors.

Less controversial but no less political, the conventional perception of Novgorod as the origin of the national cultural and educational tradition has been re-introduced from a slightly different angle: the contributions of the city-republic were put in the context of national significance, to accentuate the importance of Novgorod's input in the preservation of the national cultural and spiritual essence through the centuries.

To enhance the image of the national cultural centre a host of educational and cultural initiatives were adopted in the region. Among the already customary conferences and festivals emphasizing the significance of Novgorod the Great in Russian history, literacy and cultural heritage, one of the leading roles in constructing the image of the region as Russian cultural and educational centre belongs to the regional university, the perceived guardian of the educational legacy of the medieval republic. The aspirations to be viewed as such are explicitly and abundantly declared on the university website as a part of its mission and overall objectives, and clearly constituted in its anthem referring to the progressive prince Yaroslav the Wise and his tradition of enlightenment.

Contributing to the already established reputation of one of the major and most ancient cultural capitals of Russia, local government collaborated with the scientists, business leaders and local NCOs to enhance the image of the region and to substantiate it scientifically and most meticulously. The history and tradition of the city are referenced ubiquitously in most publications, both scientific and popular editions. The increasing attention has been devoted to various locally based cultural and scientific institutions and historical-archaeological sites considered essential resources for the development of the knowledge-based tourism, the real strength of the Novgorod land, according to the National Foundation for Tourism.³³⁷ Consequently, the strengthening of the position of Novgorod as the cultural capital of Russia (similar to the image of Kiyoto in Japan) is considered vital in boosting the regional tourist industry and in attracting the attention of the federal government and other potential donors willing to support various restoration projects.

Similarly to the construction outlined above, the reinvention of Novgorod as the historical centre of international cooperation has been well under way and has found its reflection in the regional policies of collaboration with foreign businesses prior to the anniversary preparations, nonetheless, the gathering of the New Hanseatic League in the city was used as a major opportunity to articulate and promote this ideological construct, both nationally and abroad to the foreign parties. Therefore, portrayed as the “open door” to Europe and Russia’s most important economic centre of the Middle Ages, Novgorod the Great aims to promote its own integration with European countries acting on behalf of the entire nation.

³³⁷ Vitol’, “Political will is there, the concept-will follow ”

Such an objective secures the support of the federal government and helps to promote the region as attractive for investors and tourists while facilitating its international connections.

Overall, the region has been considerably proactive in attaching historical underpinnings to the projects and undertakings of today. The customary openness to foreign capital has been reflected in the creation of favourable conditions for foreign investors that resulted in stable long-term business relationships, the progressive entrepreneurship - in the attention to the needs of small and medium-size businesses, in Novgorod's active participation in the New Hanseatic League and its partnerships with many European municipalities. Extending beyond a mere formality, these constructed characteristics, when activated, have the potential to tangibly contribute to local socio-economic advancement.

Another crucial for the augmentation of the regional status element is Novgorod's portrayal as the origin of Russian democratic tradition that may prove to become quite a marketable construction. Essentially, the revisions of local history seem to follow the transformations at the federal level. In the 1990s, when strong regionalization trends were in place, the democratic past of the city-republic was accentuated as the unique for Russia occurrence, unrelated to the country as a whole. However, together with the centralization tendencies of 2000s, the character of the representations has changed to reflect the unification and accord between the region and the federal centre. It is now being persistently suggested that the democratic tradition of the Russian state originated long before it did so in many European countries, and that it began in the Novgorod republic.

It does not appear in the data, however, that the enactment of the democratic principles has been viewed as the pressing priority at the regional level, although it may have been selectively practiced. Thus, as much as the accounts of the Novgorod's democracy have been utilized to construct the image of the present day region as open and progressive, they have mostly been used to link this ancient establishment to the post-Soviet ideological resurrection of the state, in an attempt to substantiate the new national idea with relevant historical myth of the home-grown Russian democracy.

According to Hobsbawm's categorization,³³⁸ some of the invented in Kaliningrad and Novgorod traditions may be assigned to the following groups:

In Kaliningrad, the traditions that establish the region as historically connected to Russia and as being typically progressive, in my opinion, pertain to the category of *social cohesion and group membership*, in reference to the mainland Russia and to the European neighbours accordingly. The re-invention of the city as the centre of science and education, from the position of the university, can be considered *legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority*, for the actors both within and outside the university have been joining their efforts to elevate its status and re-create it as the legitimate partner of European educational institutions, while the remaining enacted representation of the region as the historical centre of cooperation belongs to *socializing and inculcating beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour group*. However, on the individual level, all four discussed characteristics seem to be quite fitting into the latter group, for the practices of the re-

³³⁸ Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions,"9.

invention impact the self-identification of the local residents, with different traditions producing diverse effects among various community groups.

As for Novgorod the Great, as Dinello states, the act of moulding of the municipal identity is seen as a path to unity and common identity that “will lure investors to the region—a goal enthusiastically pursued by the administration.”³³⁹ In effect, all of the Novgorod’s reinventions discussed above represent various aspects of the articulated regional image; as such, all of them belong to the group of traditions that *enhance social cohesion and group membership at the regional level*. However, it can also be noted that all of these constructed representations also result in *inculcating beliefs and certain models of behaviour* among the local public, including regional authorities. This cross-characterization can be further continued. For example, the constructions of the city as the origin of the state and national democracy may be viewed as *legitimizing the institution* of national democracy, while simultaneously *raising the status* of the region within the country. The enacted tradition of the centre of international cooperation can also be considered *elevating regional standing* as the commercial hub and investment ‘paradise’ both nationally and abroad.

Overall, it can be concluded that the practice of tradition invention and renewal has been indicative of the enactment of the devised territorial identities in Kaliningrad and Novgorod the Great. In both regions the connectivity with the past values and qualities is the formulated by the local actors ideological construction used to focus strategic regional development and augment local spirits. These created notions, actively marketed by the regional interest groups, at times become powerful tools and, in combination with other

³³⁹ Dinello, “Can Novgorod’s Greatness Rub Off on Putin?,” 25.

inputs (such as the existing socio-political and economic factors), produce tangible repercussions in a way of specific national and regional projects, programs and institutions that help to further popularize and institutionalize the invented traditions.

The practice of tradition invention represents a useful aid in defining the range of local development capabilities and in providing the ideological substantiation for advancing particular regional industries. In some instances, when the invention mechanisms overlap with the directed movement towards certain development objectives, the constructed traditions may readily progress to the state of institutionalization and be easier accepted as such by the local public.

The Field of Historical Production

The concluding part of the analysis represents an attempt of uncovering the “forms of interest” attached to the field of historical production, since, as Bourdieu argues, “every [social] field, in producing itself, produces a form of interest ...”³⁴⁰ Although this discussion can be viewed only as an indication of the realities of the fields, I hope it has revealed some of the particular patterns evident in the practices of the local participating actors.

The division into subfields, different for Kaliningrad and Novgorod, is justified by precisely the forms of interest that can be attributed to each of them, for, even though the competition for symbolic domination within the subfields does go on, the actors’ motivations vary greatly, from collecting, organizing and disseminating knowledge of local history, to establishing the scientific field of history, while simultaneously developing the ‘objective’

³⁴⁰ Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, 85.

local historical narratives, to augmenting the status of the historical specialty in the academia and to emphasizing the significance of teaching history to local residents. Frequently, historians and other associated with the field actors pursue outright political objectives and get directly involved in some of the governmental and community undertakings; in other cases their motivations are more implicit and can be uncovered solely through the careful examination and interpretation of the relevant data.

Evidently, the subfields of historical production play an essential role in the processes of territorial identity formation and the re-invention of tradition, albeit in different ways. The Kaliningrad regionology subfield represents a volunteer association where one's social network can be considered the greatest source of capital and, therefore, of the influence within the subfield. The seniority within the subfield is established over a period of time, through the considerable efforts made in the area of local historical discovery, through the persistent attempts to make these discoveries known to the wide audience, and through the creation of the regionologists' individual images as 'caring' and 'knowledgeable' about the history of the region.

It can be noted that the regionology subfield represents an influential information source that has been utilized in numerous undertakings of regional and even national significance. Its members have depicted Kaliningrad as the city "with history", have participated in the formulation of the city anniversary concept, restoration of historical sites, and the establishment of new museums and new exhibitions. The importance of the established by the regionologists pool of data mirrors their own expertise in the investigation of regional history, their role in the reinvention practices and their direct contribution to the physical

transformation of the region. Therefore, the efforts of the club members directed toward the promotion of local history simultaneously enhance the status of the club as the key depository of regional history-related knowledge.

The analysis of the Kaliningrad scientific subfield appears to uncover a somewhat different dynamics. Within the group of scholars specializing in history of the Baltic region and related disciplines, several key actors are easily identifiable. These prominent actors, whose contributions were discussed in the analysis section, have been instrumental to the establishment and the development of the regional field of history. In that, one of their main motivations was the creation of the academic field of historical investigation with the scientifically sound research base that would enable local researchers to produce ‘objective’ narratives of regional history. Importantly, the publications on the subject of local history already available in the early 1990s were considered either ‘unscientific’ or ‘subjective’ which, in turn, created an incentive to engage in historical revisionism and to re-interpret the history of the region ‘according to the perspective of its Russian population’.

The exercise of historical revisionism translates into an ideological practice of shaping territorial identity and, in producing the essentially new field of scientific production, endows its actors with the opportunities for accumulation of various types of capital. The scholars within the field were motivated to develop the academic field of history and its various specializations to define the margins of their professional affiliations and to re-establish the significance of their profession.

The vital role of key scientists in the establishment of the new disciplines in the educational system of the Kaliningrad region demonstrates their academic authority; it reflects their undeniable expertise within the area of regional history, their seniority and status within the field amounting to the accumulation of symbolic capital in the competition for academic domination and, subsequently, to their ability to establish the widely accepted representations of regional past. Without generalizing for the entire subfield, it can be noted that, as a part of the academic practice, some of these actors engage in such authority enhancing exercises such as the validation of scientific investigations through peer reviews, the compilation of strategic studies confirming the importance of teaching history, and active participation in the design and implementation of the regional educational programs.

The leading actors of the scientific subfield possess social (in the way of professional and personal networks), cultural (in the way of education and accumulated academic experience), economic (in a way of state and faculty recognition through financial support and state-sponsored research projects), and symbolic capital manifested in their ability to influence the direction of scientific investigations and to set the priorities for the regional educational policy in history and related disciplines, thus constructing and activating certain representations of local history. In their work, the scholars of history, in selectively mastering their research according to scientific methodology and objectivity, become capable of enhancing the reputation of the institutions to which they belong (i.e. by emphasizing their historical role for the Russian state), of boosting the significance of historical profession and of ensuring its longevity and long-term advancement.

Novgorod's historians have been even more active in the variety of social fields, from local political affairs to the areas of education, novel and screenplay writing. In my view, the key difference of Novgorod's historical field is precisely this applicability of its expertise to a diverse range of projects in many areas. While their Kaliningrad counterparts do take part in the regional public affairs directly related to the field of history, such as the restoration of monuments, the organization of museum exhibitions, or the contribution to the anniversary celebration planning, the Novgorod's historians appear to have been even more involved. The most well known in the region historians belong to the group titled "historians-community activists" as they participate (or have participated) in an entire range of regional undertakings. The "historians-community activists" referenced in the analysis have taken part in regional politics either directly or in a consulting capacity. It is this particular feature of the field of Novgorod's historical production that unmistakably differentiates it from the one in Kaliningrad: it is in the involvement of its foremost actors in the local political process.

One important characteristic that can be attributed to the 'activist' subfield is the variety of connections, or widespread social networks, of its actors that represent an important resource resulting in a position of field domination and the authority to pass judgments. However, it can also be noted that other types of capital the actors possess result in their extensive connections within and outside the field of history that has allowed a few of them to exert their influence with regard to the formulation and promotion of the regional image prior and during the pre-anniversary campaign. For some of them, the transfer of the accumulated symbolic capital between the two (or more) fields appears to work in the direction of enhancing their standing in all fields: i.e. historian, archaeologist, newspaper

correspondent and activist, thus allowing them to maintain their importance in articulating and activating the established historical representations.

Without a doubt, several of the activists-historians have gained considerable visibility as a part of the local cultural elite, albeit to different degree; and, accordingly, some of them have accumulated the scientific authority necessary to participate in the construction of historical narrative of the Novgorod region, the foundation of the territorial identity. Now, can we speak of comparable influences originating from the academic field of history?

Within the academic circles, the field of regional history has been long established in Novgorod the Great. The main difference from Kaliningrad appears to exhibit itself in the Novgorod's considerably more advanced stage in the development of scientific practice and methodology in the investigations of history. Despite this, the tactics of locating a strategic research 'niche' within the field may be compared with the efforts of a discipline consolidation by the historians of Kaliningrad. In this instance, the academic activity of Gennady Kovalenko, the head of the scientific research laboratory "Nordistica," is illustrative of an exercise of strategic positioning within the subfield. The overall academic activity of the laboratory directly responds to the widely accepted in the Novgorod region historically-grounded inclinations of close collaboration with North European countries. Kovalenko has enjoyed high visibility due to the urgent requirement in his research that has every so often underscored the significance of Novgorod the Great not only in the national, but also in European historical accounts.

In the course of the analysis, other local academic traditions aiming to enhance either the status of a discipline, of its practitioners and their investigations, became apparent. For example, the demonstration of the academic independence of the laboratory for the scientific research of culture is suggestive of the fact that the scientific investigations that go in this research laboratory are free from the outside political manipulations, and, in particular, were not affected by the pre-anniversary planning in the region. Instead it is emphasized that the director of the centre together with her colleagues regularly organize exhibitions and presentations of the new literature and meetings with the writers, as this is what the genuine ancient intellectual tradition of Novgorod the Great entails.

In essence, the act of following the genuine cultural tradition is considered to be ‘worthy’ of a true scholar, while admitting to giving in to the political pressures of the day is not. By emphasizing the independence from and the ‘disinterestedness’ in the local political circumstances, a scholar, therefore, enhances her own academic reputation and presents her discipline as the ‘science’ independent from the outside influences. Another example of the status enhancing practices are the common in Novgorod references to the persona of the academician Dmitry Likhachev, one of the most esteemed Russian intellectuals, his remarkable personal qualities, his profound appreciation of Novgorod’s history, art and culture, and his scientific stance regarding the significance of the region’s heritage for the Russian people. In so doing, the appeal of Likhachev’s scientific and individual impeccability is utilized to reinforce the arguments of the local actors.

In the course of this research I have attempted to examine the processes behind the territorial identity formulation and enactment and to investigate the role of historical profession in the

processes encircling this regional reinvention. While the part played by the historians in the overall exercise is indeed central for without their contributions the entire process would effectively lose its legitimacy, the objective of the field analysis was mainly to reveal some of the practices and forms of capital frequently present within the fields. I also intended to investigate the potential of the internally formulated territorial identity. According to the conclusions of this analysis, such potential does exist, although the pressures applied externally hugely influence the formation of the regional image and, to a great extent, guide the internal politics of regional reinvention, together with the direction of local development, as per the diagrams below.

DIAGRAM A: KALININGRAD

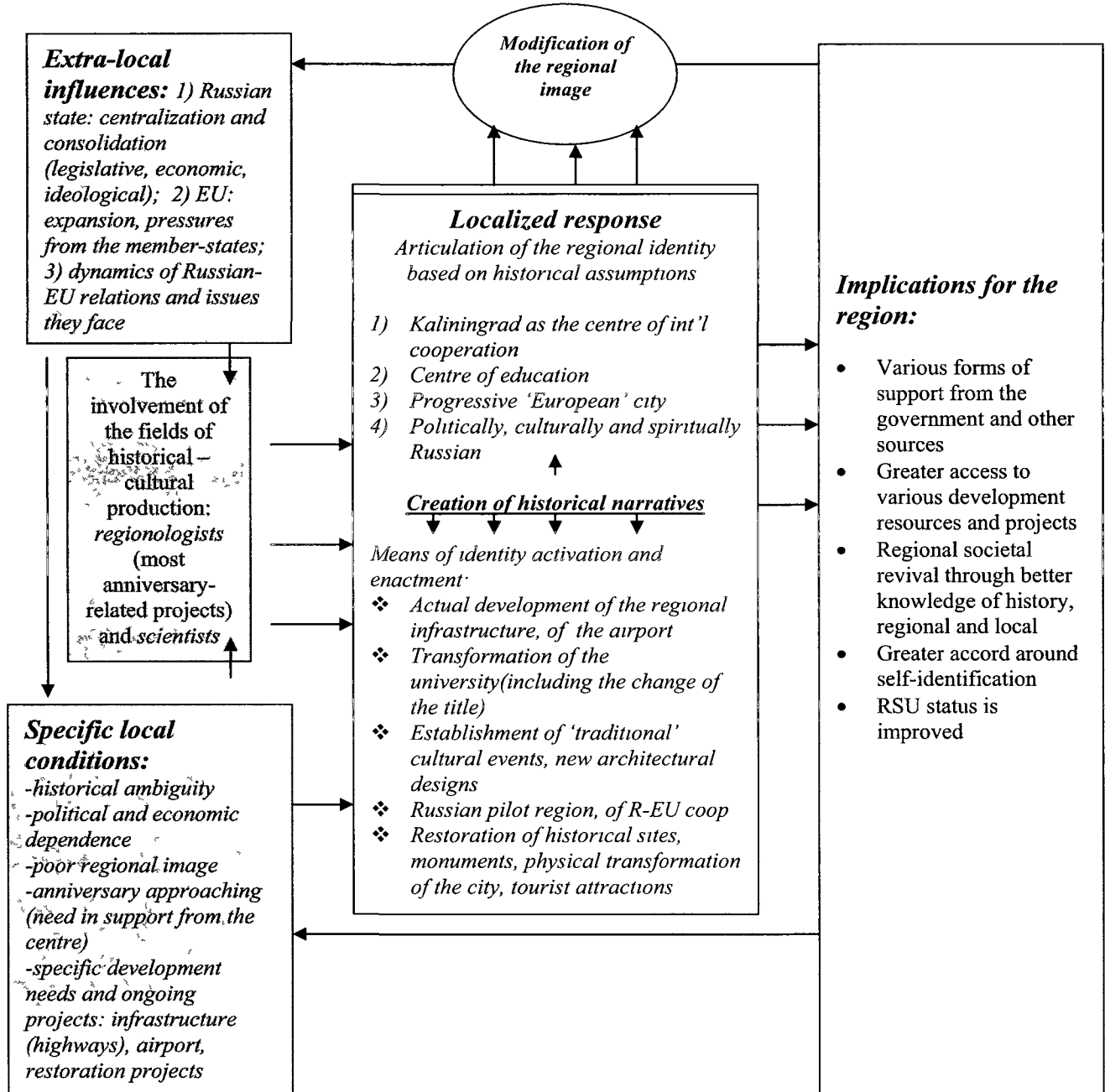
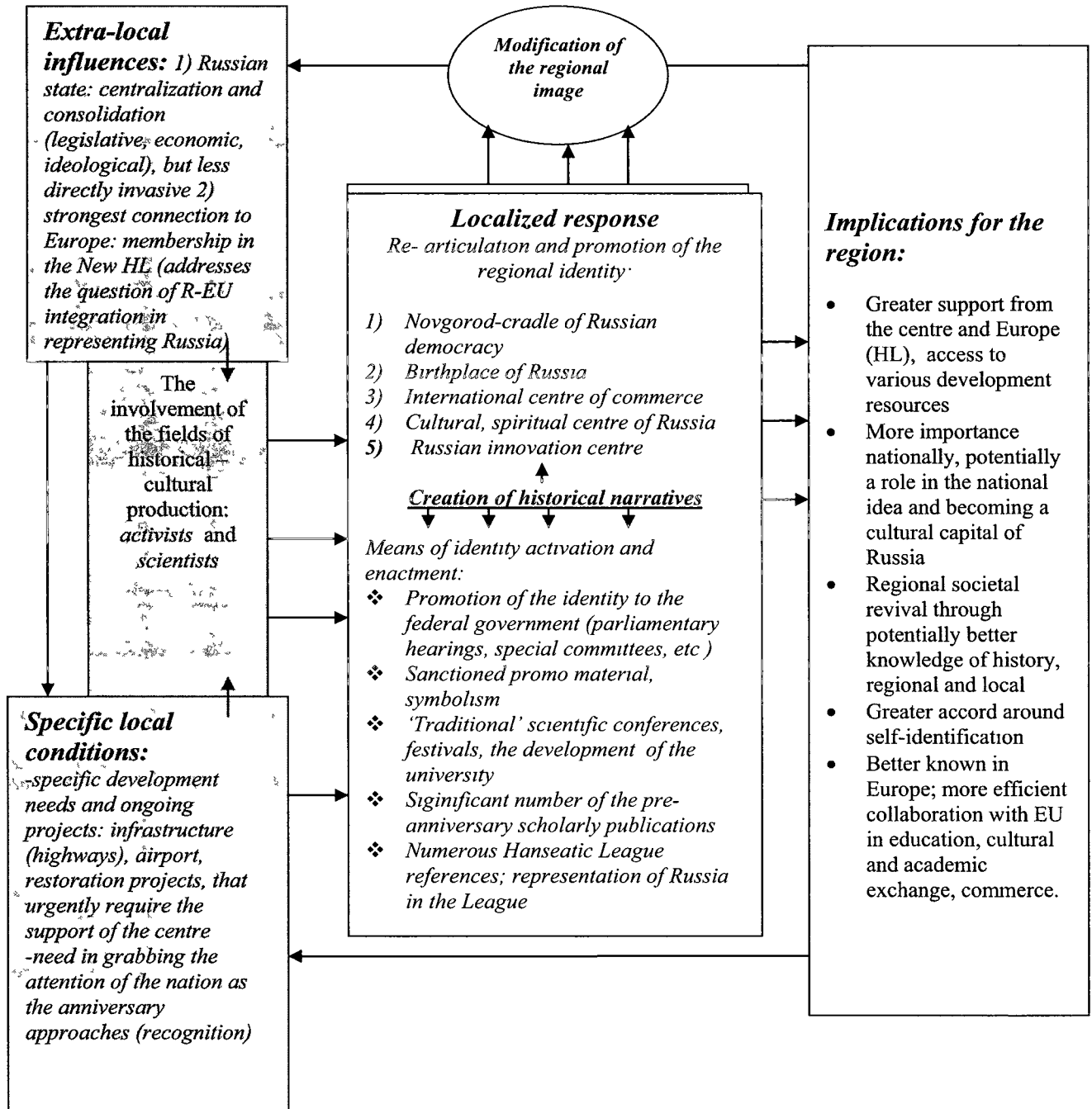


DIAGRAM B: NOVGOROD THE GREAT



Despite the reality of regional image construction that is, presumably, often articulated in relation to different sets of external-internal circumstances, the fact that it is formulated by the insiders indeed makes it 'local', representing a localized response to external challenges and conveying certain indigenous values grounded in common historical backgrounds and conditions. In the case of regional environments similar to the ones examined in this study, the more explicit and constructive is the articulation of historical underpinning behind the created regional identity, the greater may be the local accord around it and the benefits from the overall exercise, and the more significant it becomes from the perspective of internally formulated development strategies.

In addition to the conclusions outlined above, I would like to mention several points with regard to the methodology and further research.

As it has already been demonstrated in the scholarly literature, similar to the examined in this study instances represent considerably fertile grounds for the analyses of the politics of the territorial identity formulation and the related practices, as they tend to clarify the actual and perceived (extra-) local circumstances and the connected to them localized reactions.

With regard to the quality of the collected data, I presume that the utilized material in its variety was overall adequate and considerably well suited for the examination of the general tendencies and processes under study. However, further systematic data collection, with the possible inclusion of a greater number of primary data sources such as the interviews with some of the actors within the historical and other fields, including regional politicians, and workers of the cultural industry would have complemented the variety of sources used in

this investigation. Concerning the analysis of the regional fields of historical production, as it has been previously indicated, this study represented an attempt to provide a glimpse into the dynamics present within the relevant subfields and, certainly, further thorough data collection and investigation would be necessary to provide a more complete overview of the historical fields in Kaliningrad and Novgorod the Great.

The limitations of the study, together with the requirement for a more systematic approach to the data collection and the expansion of the variety of used sources, are constituted by the potential uniqueness of the selected cases and the associated conditions and, in part, by the chosen theoretical framework that, although has provided a considerably solid foundation for this investigation, might require the additional connecting elements allowing to produce more readily applicable to the field of international development conclusions and generalizations.

With reference to the areas of further inquiry, while this investigation has confirmed the general involvement of the historical profession in the essential processes surrounding territorial identity formulation and its impact on the development strategies and relative socio-economic advancement of the two regions, the more explicit connecting references between the constructed identity characteristics, their actual enactment and the specific development strategies and achievements would allow to build stronger cases and recommendations relevant to the development field in general. Furthermore, the investigation of the discursive field of regional architectural production would be helpful to uncover how physical form contributes to the social process of identity formation and the associated practices of power in the two regions. Throughout the course of this investigation,

I have indicated several findings that for me provided a sufficient justification for further inquiry into the political role of architectural sites and the reinvention (or revival) of associated with them narratives. In this potential future inquiry the methodological framework could include Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field operationalized by Kim Dovey and Neil Leach³⁴¹ to analyze the field of architecture and its social effects.

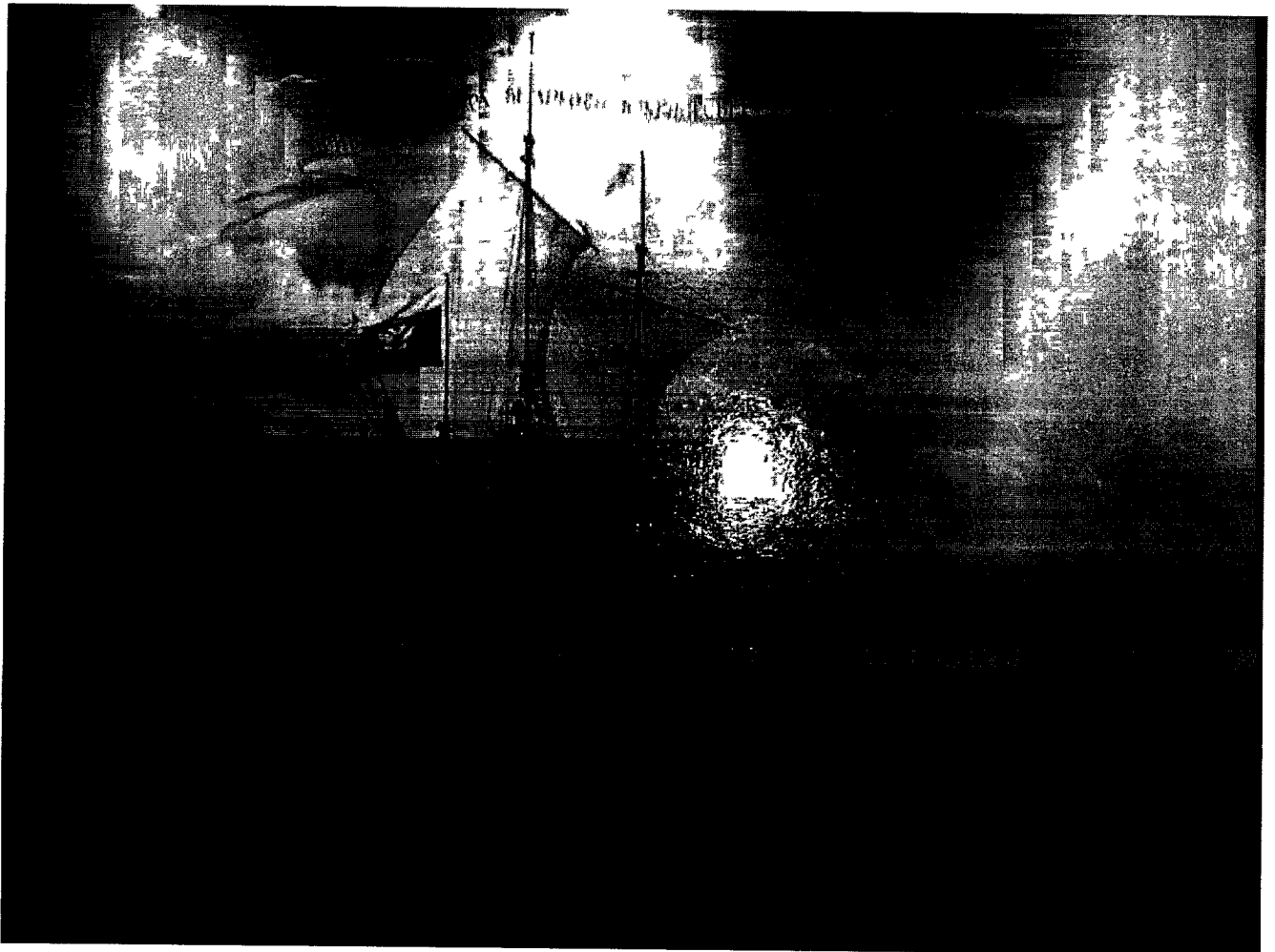
³⁴¹ Neil Leach, "Belonging Towards a Theory of Identification with Space" In *Habitus A Sense of Place*, ed Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (Aldershot (UK) Ashgate Publishing Company, 2002), 281-298.

APPENDIX A

Painting “The Arrival of Peter the Great in Königsberg on 7 May 1697”

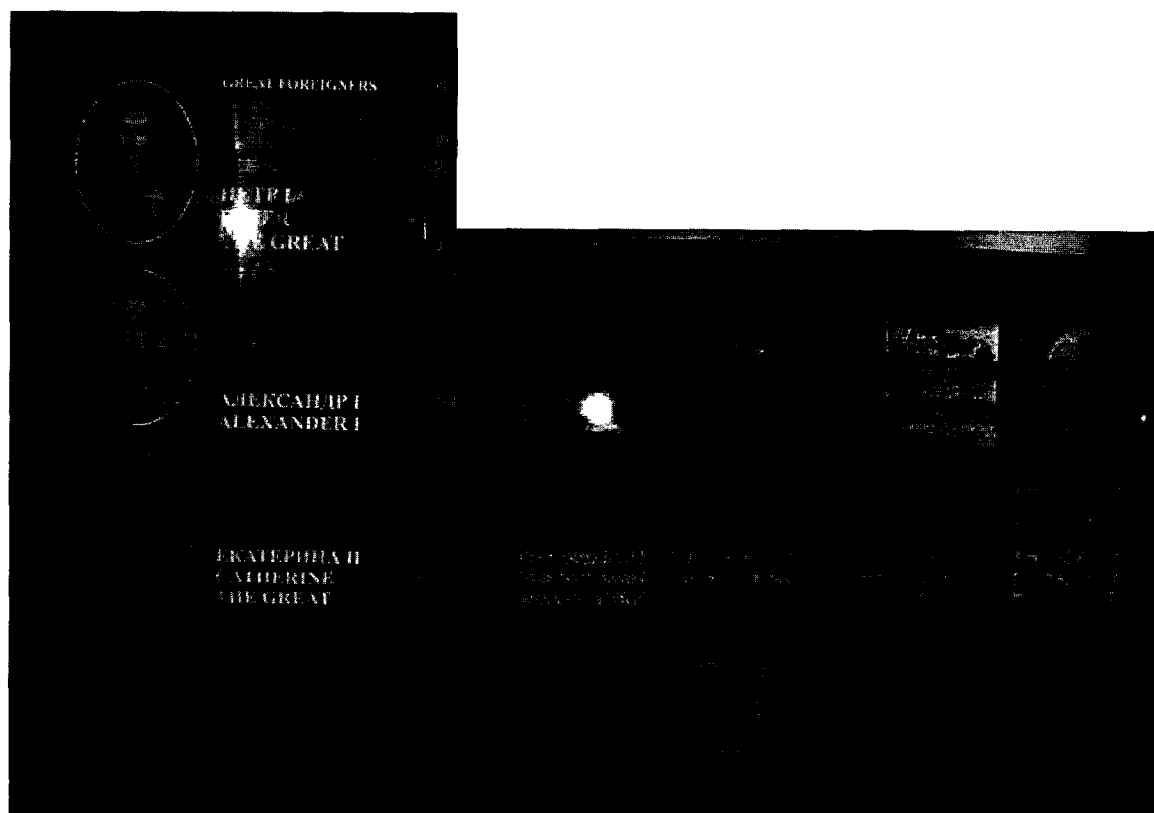
Author: E. H. Bogdanov

Completed: Moscow, 2005; photograph taken by the author in July 2008, in the Museum of Diplomacy, Kaliningrad.



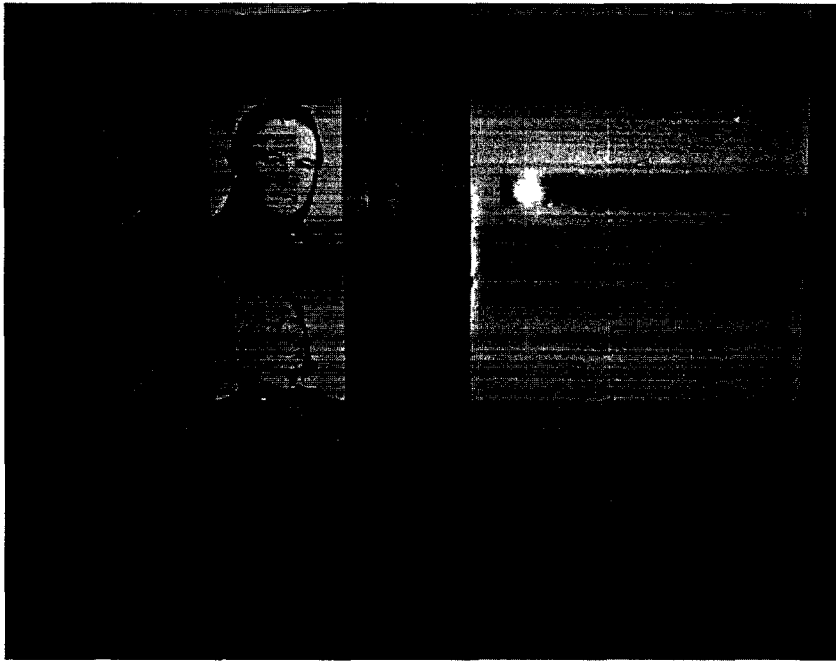
APPENDIX B

Stands of the exhibition “Great Foreigners” in the Museum of Diplomacy in the Royal Gates; photographed by the author in July 2008, Kaliningrad.



Peter the Great
Alexander I
Catherine the Great

Vytautas the Great
N. Copernicus
F. Skorina
M. Mazvidas
J. Kokhanovski
Sigismund III Basa
Wladislaw IV Basa
V. Rastrelli
V.I. Suvorov
K. Donelaitis
A. V. Suvorov
Napoleon I



L. Reza
Stendhal
I.S. Turgenev
F. List
A. Rubenstein
V. Maiakovski

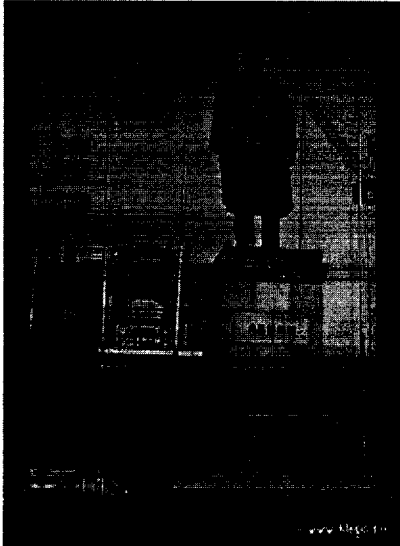
APPENDIX C

Official Anniversary Emblem of Novgorod the Great. Source:
<http://www.novgorod1150.ru/jubilee/symbols>

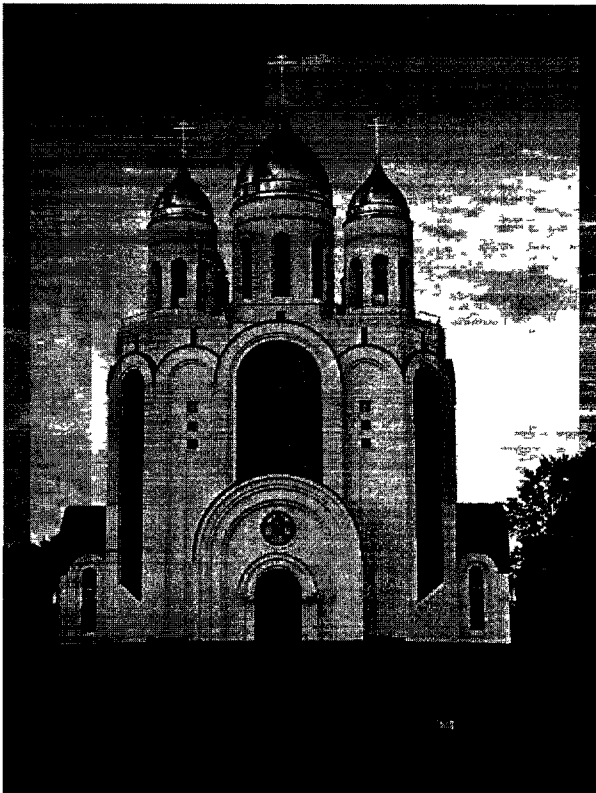


APPENDIX D

*During the Construction of the Orthodox Cathedral. Source:
<http://www.klops.ru/upload/img/pnews/2009/608/3.jpg>*



The Completed Cathedral (photographed by the author in July 2008)

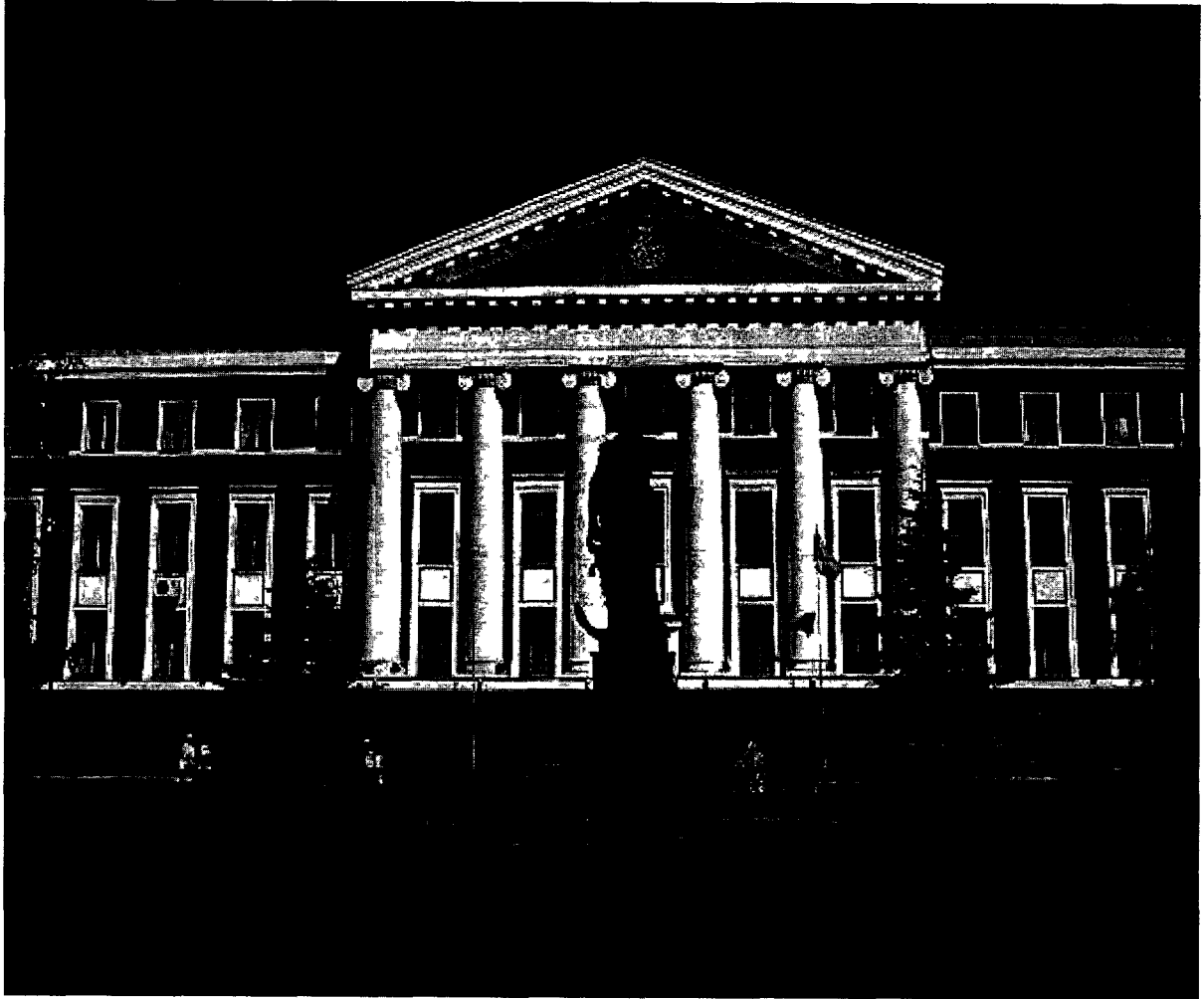


Source: <http://eng.kremlin.ru/events/chronicle/2006/09/111225.shtml>



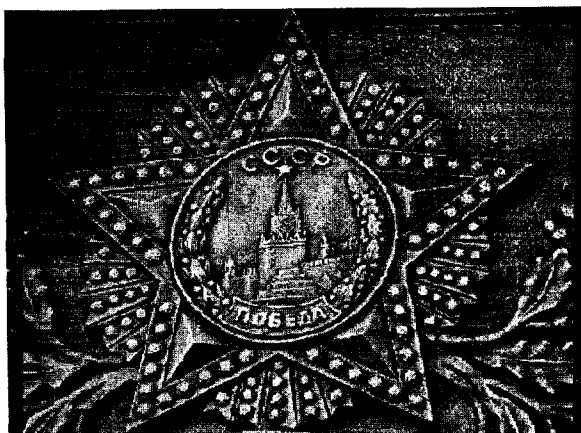
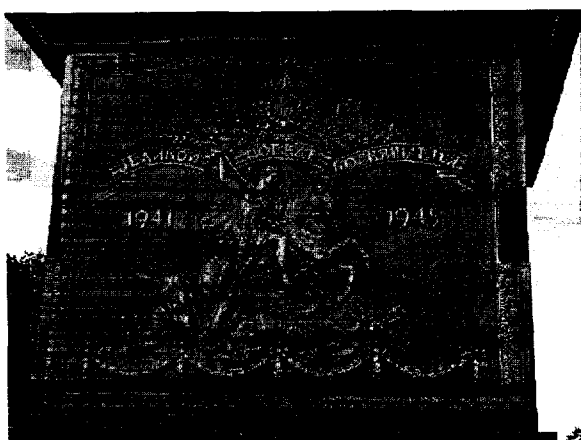
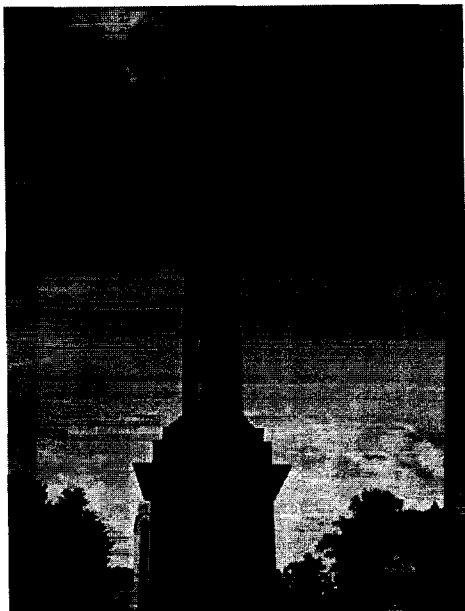
APPENDIX E

The monument to Peter the Great as the creator of the Russian Navy – in front of the Regional Baltic Fleet HQ; photographed by the author in July 2008, Kaliningrad.



APPENDIX F

Victory Square monument dedicated to the Russian-Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945); photographed by the author in July 2008, Kaliningrad.



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