

MATERIAL EVERYDAY LIFE OF KAZAN PHILISTINES OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

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Abstract

The Russian bourgeoisie of the pre-reform period was an urban stratum of the population, created according to the plan of Catherine II as a "middle class of people". The purpose of the article is to study the everyday material environment of Kazan burghers of the first half of the XIX century as a reflection of the way of life of the bourgeois class. Sources for the study of the topic were extracted from the funds of the State archive of the Republic of Tatarstan. The documents describes the property of the Kazan townspeople made with the transfer of estates in guardianship management or sale for debt. The article examines the thematic environment of the Kazan townspeople, both Russian and Tatar. Everyday objects are considered as status signs, visual elements of social identity. Analysis of the subject environment of Kazan burghers shows that they were inherent in the urban way of life with its way of life and values. Traditional daily objects and household innovations still existed together, which testifies to the complex mechanism of the process of self-identification of bourgeoisie, including due to ethnic and religious characteristics. However, the development of the way of life of the burghers coincided with the general socio-cultural trend characteristic of the Russian city of the pre-reform era – the assimilation of the norms of cultural everyday life, previously inherent only to the nobility. Things were largely social signs, they determined social appreciation, status, testified to the claims and values of the bourgeois. To some extent, it can be assumed that on this basis, the bourgeois life has received a stable cultural definition in Russian literature as an example of impersonal consumerism.

Keywords: philistines, daily life, material world, urban lifestyle, social status.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the structure of daily life the real world occupies a special place. A person lives in the world of things, being in maximum proximity with the objects of everyday reality. Obvious things, next to which a person's life passes, are perceived by him as trivial, saying nothing, elements of everyday life. However, it is this closeness to man that determines the anthropological content of things, through the objective world man is included in everyday, everyday reality. Jean Baudrillard highlighted that "everyday life is

from an objective point of view of totality poor and residual, but in another sense it is triumphant and euphoric in its quest for total autonomy and reinterpretation of the world "for internal consumption". [1, c.16]

The aim of the research is the study of objects of everyday use of the Kazan townspeople first half of the nineteenth century as a reflection of lifestyle. "A person eats, builds a house, dresses, because he can not do otherwise. But for all that he could eat, make a home and dress differently than he did... We are talking about the languages of culture with all that man brings, introduces gradually, unconsciously becoming a prisoner of these languages in front of his daily bowl of rice or his daily piece of bread". [2, p. 355]

The material-object world is a visually expressed text, analyzing which it is possible not only to reconstruct the daily practices of "internal consumption", but also to identify the features of everyday consciousness. From the point of view of everyday life, a thing is a symbolic measure of a certain desire. [3, p. 32] Things are not just a part of everyday reality, they give a clear idea of the bourgeois values, attitudes and norms, characterize the degree of status claims. The world of things created and kept by the person, to a certain extent reflects stereotypes of collective consciousness, and also desires and inclinations of the separate person that gives the chance to reconstruct some parties of daily life of the Kazan philistines.

2 METHODS

Methods and approaches used in microhistory were used to study the objects of everyday environment of Kazan burghers. Micro-historical focus of the study gives the opportunity to identify the microscopic phenomena which in its wholeness and interconnectedness allow a deeper understanding of the lives of citizens of pre-reform Russia. The main unifying factor micro-historical works is the scale of analysis, the choice of the object of study. The concept of the study is based on the idea that the bourgeoisie of Kazan is a local social community existing in its specific historical substrate, a unique multi-ethnic environment. As L. P. Repina pointed out, "the reality of human ties and relations can be understood only within the framework of social life, close to the individual, at the level of real social groups and social communities." [4, p. 78] Thus, it is microanalysis that provides an opportunity to reveal unique, inimitable signs of the past. [5, p. 294]

For the study of the subject-oriented environment of the Kazan tradesman used of the description of property, made by a transfer of estates in guardianship management, or in the case of a sale for debt. The documents contain a complete display of all movable and immovable property of individual burghers, which allows us to rely on the principle of rich description, the result of which is "to determine the value that specific social actions have for the actors themselves, and that this knowledge tells us about society." [6, p. 35] Based on the study of K. Geertz, who stressed that learning occurs through social interpretations of social codes, values clarification, and behavior seen as a signal with a certain sense, we can consider the subject-the material world of the Kazan townspeople as a text in which things are signs of social significance, because in everyday items people took their own life experience. [6, p. 20-21]

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The property of the Kazan philistines allows to add ideas of skills of survival and ways of obtaining means of livelihood. Many philistines had horses and various means of transportation that served as a source of income and ensuring own household needs. There are no wedding, no funeral, no holiday celebrations, no fun without sleigh. [7, p. 163] The philistine Yagoforov had the simplest set used in peasant life: a bay geld horse, a decrepit cart with shafts, a collar with a neck, a simple arc, a saddle, a bridle and reins. [8, L. 14], Stepan Pryanishnikov contained necessary harness and the working cart. [9, p. 50] However, among the vehicles of Kazan burghers are much more common means of transportation of urban type. Tikhon Piterskiy owned a second-hand, but nifty vehicles – year-old carriage with a leather pillow and urban sleigh with a cloth pillow. [11, p. 4] they were signed For expensive stacked clamp with harness and arc made from raspberry. Most likely the owner year-round traded in a carriage with such property. Burghers contained transport not only for transportation, but also for everyday economic needs. Mussa Maksutov had a simple sleigh closed Kyrgyz gray canvas. [12, p. 28-29] Philistine Chernov had an old cart, a simple wrought iron and painted with black paint the sleigh, and special wide sleigh, covered with bast. [13, p. 63]

Active philistine`s trade is also reflected on the list of things. Most of them owned by different weights and kettlebells. Eight two-pound weights, 3 poods, 2 half-poods, 2 ten-pound and 10 pounds of small ones, which were clearly required when trading heavy goods, had Ivan Uskov. [10, p. 23] the petty Bourgeois Chernov used iron weights with a yoke, two weights for Cup scales and folding copper scales for weighing of small goods. [13, p.63].

Some burghers were engaged in fishing, boat transportation, hunting. A rowing boat, old ship equipment and ravings were a property of Kozma Lipyn. [14, L. 22ob.] After the death of Ahmet Kartashov left a variety of hunting gear: "a gun, a bandolier, a wooden powder flask and a leather purse for shot, a dagger in a scabbard, a saddle with a leather cushion and a quirt" and even "two bowstrings and ten arrows with a quiver." [15, p. 9] In middle-class households also had and essential daily tools: one-handed saw, chisel, scythe, iron drill.

The main objective of the physical environment – the repletion of basic needs for sustaining life and comfort. However, in addition to the rational attitude to things as objects of consumption, there is an irrational connection of a person with everyday objects, which are perceived as status signs, visual elements of social identity. The most important component of the bourgeois worldview were religious beliefs. In property of all, without exception, the orthodox burghers were listed icons. The poor burghers had several icons on simple boards, the more wealthy had about 10 icons, some were made on cypress boards covering in silver or golden mounting. Especially a large number of icons had wealthy burghers Kozma and Avdotya Lipiny. There were 19 different images, and the icon of the Kazan Holy Mother had a "mounting and a crown of silver, gold-plated pearl vestments with different expensive stones on a cypress Board." [14, p. 24]

Among the heritage of Kazan burghers there is a lot of evidence of the preservation of the old traditions of everyday life. In daily usage of philistine`s everyday life there are still pieces of furniture and interior design, borrowed from peasant life: simple wooden tables, benches, wrought iron oak chests, caskets and caskets, upholstered in iron, in each house there were a tabernacle and case for icons. Since the

XVIII century, the main innovation in the development of urban interior was changing the balance of mobile and fixed furniture in favor of the first. [16, p. 114]

In houses of Kazan burgers in the first half of the nineteenth century most of the items were already a part of the details of city life, where the furniture had different functions. There are cabinets, chests of drawers and wardrobes, a variety of tables, chairs and beds. Material of manufacture, quality and finish depended primarily on the financial capabilities of the owners. So, philistine Chernov in the house had simple sound furniture: "triangular Cabinet and icon case under mahogany, five chairs with cushions, two tables of Linden wood, a linden chest with one drawer and two doors at the bottom, a wardrobe of linden wood with an internal lock, a simple linden Cabinet with 2 shelves and flap doors." [13, L. 63-64]

Tikhon Pitersky's furniture was poorer, "simple work", without varnishing, but among other things there was a sofa with a woolen small pillow. [11, p. 3-3K.] Interior decoration reflected not only the aesthetic needs of the bourgeoisie, to some extent it was a manifestation of imitation of merchants and nobility. The walls of the house of bourgeois Chernov were decorated with "ten different paintings in simple frames." [13, p.63-63] Tikhon Pitersky had six "pictures of historical different", and on the wall "two wooden candlesticks painted with blue paint with some gilding". [11, p. 3] Stepan Pryanishnikov had a wall clock with weights in a case, rare for the bourgeois interior of that time. [9, p. 50] many townspeople were present mirrors, which are firmly established in the homes of city inhabitants already in the early nineteenth century. [17, p. 126]

Contradictory situation when modern expensive furnishings emphasized social status, but at the same time the owner has not yet parted with the traditions of the still life is clearly visible in the description of the property of a wealthy tradesman Kozma Lipin, who died in 1819. Simple tables and chairs, chest and iron-bound caskets coexist with expensive furniture, which has a certain functional purpose. It can be assumed how these pieces of furniture could be grouped in the rooms. A large oak folding table and six chairs with leather cushions around it were obviously in the front room, which also quite fit a large mirror, a new carpet, two pawn tables and two chairs. Linden table and six chairs could be in the dining room, and in other rooms were still rare for the bourgeois interior of the bed: an oak double family bed, a single oak bed and a folding bed with iron screws. [14, L. 21-23] to match the furniture was and "12 pictures German painting". The designation of paintings as "German" show the attitude of the majority of burghers and merchants of the first half of the XIX century towards modern fashion as "a foreign, aristocratic and/or German". [18, p.582]

A special place in daily life was given to the bed, which carried a lot of meanings. First of all, the bed with its decoration showed the status of the owner. Not every citizen had a bed. The poorest burghers slept on mattresses stuffed with straw or wool, in their property there is no mention of bed linen. In addition, the bed, being a private space belonging to a certain person, became an element of private life, the value of which gradually increased in the daily life of the urban inhabitants. Individuality and isolation of personality, as well as aesthetic preferences emphasized bedding. The subject of special pride of wealthy burgers and the most important part of the women's dowry was duvet. Such bed in full decoration looked majestic. Lypyna had two huge quilts, both weighing two pounds, the headboard with pillows, triple sheeting with woodcarving, nine different textiles printed pillowcases and a blanket, and was covered by all this splendor bedspread on textiles printed lining. [14, p. 22-23]

The interior of the dwelling of middle-class Tatars was decorated in the spirit of Muslim traditions. A small place near the stove was covered with a curtain. There the housewife had to have dinner when there are guests in the house that nobody could see the woman. As K. Fuchs noted, the most necessary thing for all Tatars – a large copper basin for washing, over which hung two towels – one for the face and hands, the other for wiping feet. Jugs for ablution in men and women were separate. [19, p. 22] the interior of the Tatar bourgeois house was distinguished by the abundance of carpets: "one of length 4 feet, two chess, one Kyrgyz and stripes, the Siberian one simple, one a Persian rug". [12, L. 27ob.] Carpets lay on the floor near the table and on the wide plank beds, carpets also covered the chests that decorated the room, and often served as chairs. On these plank beds there was also a bed with lush feather beds and an abundance of pillows, separated from the room by a curtain of "Tatar textile". [19, p. 22-23]

However, urban life softened ethnic and religious differences. In Tatar philistines houses we also see the city interior with modern furniture and mirrors. Moussa maksyutov had "a sofa of Linden wood, sheathed with green velvet, 6 chairs of birch wood upholstered in black leather, 2 chairs with pillows, a wardrobe of simple wood, 2 small birch tables, a table of round Linden wood with a folding Board, two mirrors small in frames under mahogany with bronze". [12, L. 27ob.]

4 SUMMARY

The study of the subject-material environment of the Kazan philistines first half of the nineteenth century leads to the conclusion that they were inherent in the urban way of life with their way of life and values. This is evidenced by the methods of livelihood, furniture and interior, the nature and methods of decorating the premises, which can be reconstructed on the list of philistine's property. The way of life of the Kazan bourgeoisie in the studied period had still many evidences of preservation of the former traditions of daily existence, characteristic for country life. However, the development of the way of life of the bourgeoisie coincided with the general trend characteristic to the Russian city of the pre-reform period – the assimilation of the norms of cultural daily life, previously inherent only to the nobility, which led to noticeable changes in the picture of the world of a large part of citizens by the middle of the XIX century.

On the base of the changes in bourgeois daily life was the process of imitation, which was complex and inconsistent. French sociologist J.-G. Tarde noted that "the social organism, is essentially imitative ... and imitation in societies plays a role similar to that of heredity in biological organisms... all sorts of similarities of social origin... represent the direct or indirect result of imitation in all its forms: role model-custom or imitation, fashion, imitation, sympathy, or imitation, obedience, imitation, learning or imitation, education, emulation or blind imitation conscious". [20, p. 13-14] The material world of human is diverse, it is the world of his own choice, since man himself acquires and renews the objects surrounding him, which testifies to social personal and identity. Things determine social appreciation, status, play an image role, testify to the claims, and, consequently, the values of the bourgeois. Things have a social nature, being the material embodiment of the sphere of desires. In the philistine's daily life traditional objects and household innovations still existed side by side that testifies to the difficult mechanism of process of self-identification of bourgeoisie. According to A. I. Kupriyanov,

direct hierarchical imitation of the lower classes of the higher in its pure form did not occur, the model of imitation was palliative in nature. Noble culture is gradually changing tastes of the merchants, and commoners, preserving the overall orientation towards traditional ideas, gradually adapted to the demands of fashion. [18, p. 467]

The distinctive features were preserved by the objective world of philistines Tatars, which has expressed ethnic and religious features, but on the example of the Tatar petty-bourgeois house we also see the processes of development of urban life as a certain way of life with universal characteristics inherent in one way or another to all urban inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

The history of everyday life makes it possible to "show the non-triviality of everyday things that hide deeper meanings" [21, p.12]. The analysis of the material environment of the Kazan burghers shows that the subject world of the bourgeois is variegated, modern things exist in it as separate inclusions, not creating an integral image, but being social signs. Fashion, as R. Barth noted, is a mass phenomenon, a collective imitation of emerging innovations. [21, p. 396] Already present in the life of urban dwellers, fashion has not yet captured the full bourgeois everyday life. Apparently, status things satisfied the needs of the philistine in social appreciation, and this ended imitation of the culture of the upper classes. Perhaps, to some extent on this basis, the bourgeois life has received a stable cultural definition in Russian literature as an example of impersonal consumerism, which is characterized by aesthetic primitiveness and vulgar embellishment. "Everyone gets the value, wholesale, ordinal, almost all available, but not allowing any aesthetic or artistic taste," wrote A. I. Herzen. [22] It is possible to assume that such sharp characteristics of petty-bourgeois life are explained by gradual and caution of acceptance of innovations by city inhabitants as process of formation of new sociocultural system occurs at different levels and with different speed – from daily life and individual strategies of behavior to the state ideology, and the international relations. [23, p. 119].

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