

DAILY HOUSEHOLD OF KAZAN PHILISTINES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

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The article is devoted to the study of everyday household of Kazan philistines as a typical urban segment of the population in the context of bourgeois modernization. The study examined philistine household as the center of daily life practices, defining forms of existence of townspeople of studied period. Approaches to the study of this issue are based on methods used in micro-history and historical anthropology. Analysis of sources, most of which were first introduced into scientific circulation, made it possible to reconstruct the structure of household, the appearance and quality of houses, the zoning of internal spaces, features of consumer culture, the elements of public and private parts of philistine life. The study of philistine home ownership as an everyday structure showed that house carries meanings that reflect the perception of the world, which is characteristic for the traditional pre-industrial societies. At the same time there are new trends, gradually approaching philistine house to the house of citizen of the industrial age.

Keywords: history, philistinism, townspeople, everyday life, lifestyle, household.

INTRODUCTION

Social history in recent decades has become one of the research areas, experienced a significant transformation. The possibility of objective history is becoming one of the key methodological issues, in response to which P. Riker (2002) substantiates the need for turning to the man, “history from the first person.” History is objective, because developed and methodically comprehended by thinking. At the same time historical research - an “involved subjectivity” by which we mean that history is the history of people. The main vector of these changes was the transition from the history of structures to the history of mentalities. As noted by A. Y. Gurevich (1991), the central theme of history has moved from the “circumstances surrounding the human being to person in the historically specific circumstances”. This led researchers’ attention to the so-called “silent majority”, the massive layers of ordinary people. One of these categories is the Russian philistinism constituting the majority of the urban population of Russia in the late XVIII - early XX centuries. Kazan - the largest commercial and industrial city of the Russian Empire, the philistine population of which was the closest to the spirit which Catherine II put in the philistine class, creating it as urban citizens. Kazan philistinism - stable social group of people established in the specific historical conditions, localized in the space of an identified city, with its own identity, way of life which was typical

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for the urban population. It is no coincidence that the term “philistine” used by Catherine II to denote a new social class group was understood by contemporaries as “local resident”, “the citizen in general” (Bessonova, 2006). The study of everyday household of Kazan philistines of the first half of the XIX century will determine some of the characteristics of urban life, which is important for understanding of the economic and sociocultural processes taking place in Russian city of the pre-reform era. In the studied period the key process for social structures was the process of bourgeois modernization.

Modernization, understood as “a set of social, economic, political, cultural and other processes associated with the transition from the traditional (pre-industrial, agro-traditionalist) society to the modern industrial and emerging post-industrial society, based on innovation in all spheres of life” (Pantin, 2004), manifested in various spheres of life of the Russian society of the first half of the XIX century. Philistinism as an urban segment of the population was one of the most sensitive to these changes, which was reflected in daily life. The urgency of this task is also determined by the fact that the philistinism cultivating the values of everyday life of the little man, received strong cultural definition in the domestic literature. Philistinism has become synonymous with routine, conventional, which from emotionally-expressive side acquired meaning of philistinism; the term “philistinism” has acquired ethical significance outside the social classes.

The study of everyday life of Kazan philistines will allow to adjust the social portrait of the social class, abandoning stereotypes. The aim of the study is the reconstruction of household of everyday life of philistines of the city of Kazan of the first half of the XIX century.

Household daily life, along with labor, sociopolitical and cultural spheres makes the concept of “lifestyle” (Bestuzhev-Lada, 1980). This article is devoted to analyze the most intense areas of everyday life, including various aspects, such as household.

The study examined philistine household as the center of everyday life practices, defining forms of existence of townspeople of the studied period.

During the reconstruction tendency of gaining public component of philistine life and at the same time highlighting the sphere of private life, indicating the penetration of modernization trends in the environment of urban inhabitants was designated.

METHODS

The study was conducted as part of the history of everyday life, actively developing in historical science. In the approaches to the study of everyday life, there are many interpretations and methodological features that determined the variety of subject fields in this direction. As noted by the German ethnographer and anthropologist Carola Lipp (1993), “there are as many “everyday lives” as there are authors who study it”. In the article investigated household daily life of philistines

based on the analysis of everyday life practices related to home ownership as the basis of the material environment of human existence. For the reconstruction of the household aspects of the life of Kazan philistines, we relied on a number of approaches used in the history of everyday life. First of all, it is a micro historical direction concentrated on the study of the local world of separate city of the Russian Empire.

This research focus allows to identify those microscopic events which in their entirety and interconnectedness allow us to understand the life-world of a citizen of pre-reform Russia. As noted by Z. Revel (1996) in micro-history “there is no any basic text or written theory”, it is inseparable from the practice of historians. The main unifying factor of micro historical study is the scale of the analysis, “narrowed and approximate to the object of observation perspective”. The source base of research was made by description of the property of Kazan philistines, created in the transition homeownership to guardianship management, as well as on the occasion of the sale of the estates of insolvent debtors. These documents are concentrated in various funds of the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan - The Kazan Tatar Town Hall Fund, The City Magistrate, Russian and Tatar Orphan’s Courts. Most of them are first introduced into the scientific circulation. Analysis of the sources of language was carried from anthropologically oriented positions that allowed to outline the cultural world of Kazan philistines through the reconstruction of philistine household. The method we used made it possible to see the unique, unrepeatable signs of the past, confirming A. Lyudtke’s (2005) opinion that “there is not only one Being of people, and there are many people who live permanently preserving and re-creating the differences of each other”.

RESULTS

The reality of human existence reflected in things. The world of things is the living environment which is formed by man in the process of his everyday life and reflects the social and national identity, mental attitudes, aesthetic priorities. Concentration of property, the objective world of man is the house - the living space, formed by the man in the given historical conditions in which the behavior strategies implemented in everyday life. Analysis of the material human environment which has been created, accumulated, and saved by him, allows to realize everyday behavior as a sphere of realization of hidden cultural codes that reflect the norms and values of a society (Lotman, 1992). Home is the habitat of man in which implemented his strategy of everyday life - a link to the picture of the world. “Building a house, a person creates a bulwark of bodily existence and the focus of the spiritual life, he arranges himself personally intimate corner on the ground, his sacred hearth, as though his outer self” (Ilyin, 1993). For the philistine house was the basis for the well-being, it was felt to be a reliable and stable shelter, the foundation of life - this explains the close attention to the characteristics of the

house. Description of the property enumerate in detail: what materials walls, doors, floors and ceilings are made of, how many windows, furnaces, doors, staircases in the house. Owning a house for a philistine has been the sign of social prestige, and not all of them were homeowners. According to the list of Kazan philistines, drawn up in 1858, of the 1527 philistine families only 352 families owned their own houses representing only 23% (NART. F.570. Op.1. D.1.)

Condition of houses, quality and size were greatly different. Philistine Catherine Ivoilova in 1826 laid the stone two-storey house with an entresol, covered with iron; there were 14 chambers, 20 doors, 34 windows with double glazing in it. The house had timbered ceilings and plastered floor, and the entrance to the courtyard was through the swing doors on stone pillars with arches (NART. F.26. Op.1. D.361. L.6.). Apparently, Michael Sinkov had very prestigious house, suitable for residence of noble family, in which titular counselor Zinoviev rented "5 big chambers on the top floor" (NART. F.114. Op.1. D.235. L.18ob.). At the other pole of the quality of housing can be put property of Gabriel Petrov, who had a "wooden outbuilding with an attic<...> in the outbuilding there are 3 windows without frames, there are no floors and stoves <...>. All signified structure <...> is in ruins, and has an uncomfortable situation for the residence" (NART. F.114. Op.1. D.3430. L.8-8ob). Philistine household was the center of life strategies determining the form of everyday existence and survival of a person of that era. "Home and equally fundamental, ie, commonly used forms of utensils, weapons, clothes and dishes belong to the totemic side of life. They characterize not a taste, but combat, life and work skills", - said Spengler (Spengler, 1995). Often there were home businesses - so it was in the yard of Ivoilova: 2 soap factories, a stone tent and a fat storage. Philistines the Zaitsevs built two tanneries with tanning and drying, in addition to them in the yard were two walled boilers with a brick hearth. A large part of philistines was engaged in petty trade and kept necessary tools for it in their homes. For example, in the property of Moussa Maksyutov described 16 cast iron weights of different weight, as well as two kinds of scales (NART. F. 139. Op.1. D.9. L.27). Kozma Lipin used two copper steelyards, scales with iron chains and numerous cast iron weights (NART. F.138. Op.2. D. 1. L. 22).

Almost all homeowners philistines had their own horses and vehicles, buildings and specific things give us information about it. Ivoilova had a horse stable with three confinements and coach house; widow Abzylilova had a horse, a horse harness and a sledge (NART. F.22. Op.1. D.361. L.6b). Klementy Gryazev had gelding with a cart, clamps and bridle (NART. F.26. Op.1. D.553. L.50) and Kozma Lipin built coach house in the yard, in which stood droshky and two trailers without wheels, sled and droshky without springs with all devices (NART. F.138. Op.2. D. 1. L. 22). Philistine Yagoferov kept a gelding in the stables, and a cart on the bus wheels in the coach house [NART. F.139. Op.1. D.16. L.14).

Moussa Maksyutov had several carts, ramshackle nature of which confirms their active use: Tatar cart with seat upholstered in patent leather, convertible old wagon, winter wagon with leather uppers, three simple sled and corresponding horse harness. The horse was not only a drawing force to ensure domestic economic needs, but also one of the sources of income of philistine. So, every year at the beginning of autumn in the City Council considered the philistines mass petition to resolve transportation of goods from the wharf Bakaldinskaya to Kazan and back (NART. F.114. Op.1. D.436. L.191). In winter, the philistines led fine grain bread trade in the Khlebnaya square directly from the sleigh (NART. F.114. Op.1. D.436. L.191). Significant earnings gave carting, especially during holiday festivities. But Ahmet Kartashev's property - two woolen blankets, saddle with the device, leather bag and whip, clamps and whips - suggests that he used the horse for riding, including hunting. Among the things of Kartashev we encounter British rifle, cartridge belt, a powder flask and a leather purse for a fraction, a dagger, and even a quiver of arrows (NART. F.139. Op.1. D.18. L.10). Almost all researchers have noted a significant role of agricultural activities in the lifestyle of citizens during the period. Thus, L. Koshman (2008) emphasizes that in the early 1860s. in 20 provinces of the Central European part of Russia and the Volga region, agricultural occupations marked in more than 2/3 of the cities. However, this is not typical for Kazan.

As noted by the Commission of the Kazan City Council, "there are quite a bit residents involved in the rural crafts in Kazan... such people only 142 ", despite the fact that there were 9816 males and 11955 female philistines in the city (Economic situation of urban settlements, 1863). This is confirmed by the description of philistine property. Thus, among the analyzed households Ivoilova had a barn, Abzylilova had two goats, Gryazev had 10 hens and 1 rooster. But in every home there were found some mandatory courtyard structures: barns and cellars, less sheds and storage sheds. Every family processed and stored necessary food and feed for the horses for a long period by itself. Many families had vegetable gardens and orchards that supplied products for personal consumption and for sale. But in the estate of Catherine Ivoilova the garden was not only planted with practical apple trees but also romantic acacias and limes and performed an aesthetic function. The appearance of homes mostly kept the traditional features typical for Russian cities. The vast majority of houses were made of pine wood of varying degrees of preservation, were covered with shingles, sometimes with boards, stone houses were done with iron wings. All houses had canopy and porch. However, in the shape of houses can be observed new trends. A notable phenomenon was the desire to increase the number of residential premises due to walls and superstructures. So, the house of Ivoilova had 14 "chambers", and on the second floor there was a mezzanine. The house of Zaitsev was separated into 6 chambers, the attic also was a living quarter - there was an impressive room with three windows

and a tiled stove. In the Yagoforov's house there were 2 rooms on the first floor, and on the second - four, the barn with a summer kitchen, which was located on the attic with a warm oven was attached to the house. This desire to increase the number of living quarters is explained by the active renting of property that served as a significant source of income of philistines.

Among the new developments should also be the application in the form of fashion houses for that time some architectural elements, one of which is the Italian window - semi-circular arched window divided into three vertical jumpers, which is a characteristic element of the architecture of Russian classicism of the second half of the XVIII - XIX centuries. This window was in the attic of the house of Petrov, on the steps leading to the second floor in Yagoforova's house, and on the second floor over the barn also.

An important element of everyday culture was a bath. If rural bath was an essential attribute of every village house, in the city to own a private bath used to be a symbol of prestige (Rabinovich, 1988). Russian and Tatar philistines built baths, but not every homeowner had one. From the sources it is clear that baths were put by those owners who had well-off homes. Thus, impressive bath with a waiting room, upper room and two brick heated sauna had Ivoilova, bath had also the owner of a two-storey house Lipin.

Thus, the tendency to reduce yard structures associated with traditional agricultural employment indicates the strengthening of the public part of life. There were much less facilities for processing of crops and maintenance of cattle - drying, sheds, barns; also the number of glaciers, cellars, baths became fewer. At the same time the scope of urban services gets developed, we see the process of opening life - philistines go to restaurants, visit the city baths, wash their laundry in public in the city lake. Trade gets developed, which reduced the need to create and store large stocks of food. Life becomes more diverse, complicated, full of different actions, processes and events, the space of everyday life becomes more complicated as well. However, these effects coexist with the preservation of the traditional isolation of household.

Philistines house is not fortified homestead any more, as it used to be in the Middle Ages, house is not necessarily in back of the yard, but overlooks the street. However, in all the mentioned sources house enclosed from the street and from the yard by fence of log wood house which fenced it off and created sustainable private space. All doors are fitted with brackets and iron gates. Windows shuttered, opening and closing of which performs an important symbolic function to separate morning and evening hours, indicating the time of day and night (Rabinovich, 1988). But in addition to the temporal sense shutters were also a symbol of the house fenced off from the outside world, confined or enclosed private life of philistine. As noted by Jean Baudrillard, a division of inner and outer space, their formal opposition converted the traditional space into something closed-transcendental (Jean

Baudrillard system of things, 1999). In this regard, the organization of space of philistine courtyard and house allows to say about another significant saving of features of the traditional culture.

The house is located on the border of two worlds - the private life and the life of society, and the nature of public and private weave reflects the social structure of his era. "On the one hand house belongs to person and represents his holistic world of things. On the other hand house connects people with the outside world being in a certain sense a replica of the outside world reduced to human dimensions" (Tsivyan, 1978). Despite the desire to close the privacy from prying eyes, the separation of the private and public sides of life typical for modern man, has not happened yet. Philistine house was important center of economic functions, it has been combined with production and other means of earning a living, so public and private life of philistine was quite intertwined. This conclusion is supported by the structure of house space. Zoning of the internal space of house is a reflection of the process of separation of private and public life, when house gets rid of the economic functions and becomes an important center of private aspects of life. Correspondingly allocated zones accessible to outsiders and secluded areas where private life proceeded - a bedroom, office, nursery. In the descriptions of philistine houses described in detail the internal structure consisting of separate "chambers", "rooms", but their functional purpose was almost never specified. It can be assumed that with all the attention to home, these quarters had clearly fixed degree of publicity and available sources, we do not find space, dedicated expressly for privacy. Zoning space was carried out by utilitarian principle: sources note the presence of the entrance hall, closets, places for cooking. Selecting areas for private life we meet only in the Lipin's house: one of the rooms in his house named bedroom (NART. F.138. Op.1. D.21. L.30). However, we can observe the beginning of the process of functional separation of space. As mentioned above in philistine houses there were many interior walls, rooms, cubbyhole, but their purpose has not yet been recorded in the single semantic definitions. Food was cooked in ovens - all referred to the brick oven for concocting. Heating practically everywhere has been presented by the Dutch tiled stoves, sometimes there were several of them in the house; only in Gabriel Petrov's house there was a Russian stove. Tile stove was an important element of the fashion of interior decoration and in the period of study it was not only for rich citizens, but also for the middle class (Rabinovich, 1988). But own sources of drinking water in households has not been described, no one had one, except Ivoilova, who enjoyed a well dug in the yard. This was an essential feature of quality of life, because the problem of safe drinking water has been one of the most acute in Kazan. Residents took water directly from the Volga, but even well water was of poor quality, dirty and with a lot of lime impurities (Vischlenkova, 2008). An important aspect of everyday life were household sanitation facilities. So the appearance of underwear is a sign of isolation hidden from all eyes the

intimate sphere, the “necessary place” - a delicate sphere of privacy as well. Most households, which have been described, in general did not have designated buildings that indicates the known archaic domestic behavior of philistines. But also in this aspect of daily life appear changes: in described households marked latrine at the porch in the Yagoferov’s house, while Ivoilova had two full lavatories, one wooden boardwalk, and other capital stone.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Thus, examining the philistine house as a structure of everyday life, we are witnessing contradictory phenomena. On the one hand house carries meanings that reflect the perception of the world, which is characteristic for the traditional pre-industrial societies. The house fenced off philistine from the outside world, was the focus of both private life and economic activity, private sphere of everyday life has not been allocated as a special area. At the same time, new trends are evident: philistine life is becoming more open, and not all life processes occur in the interior of home.

Everyday functionality is adjacent to the fashionable trends and aesthetic needs, the separation of private life and awareness of its importance begins. Philistine house slowly approaches the home of citizen of the industrial age. These findings are consistent with the opinion of the Russian ethnographer M.G. Rabinovich (1988), the study noted increase in openness of everyday life of ordinary citizens of the studied period. These results were obtained due to the micro-scale of historical research. Among the variety of these approaches, we relied on a number of works, most closely corresponding to the aims and objectives of the study. Heuristic research of E. Le Roy Ladurie (2001) about individual medieval village demonstrated the possibility of disclosure of everyday existence of “little people”. The daily life of the inhabitants of Montailou is presented as a “subtle world of behavior patterns”, which are determined including by home environment. Ladurie opened a wide perspective of studying the life of “unremarkable people”, showing that “the average person is, in the end, a historical person”.

The first study in Russian science of everyday citizens in the locus of the city was held by A.B. Kamensky (2007). It is extremely important position of the scientist, who does not attempt to update any conceptual direction of research, whether microhistory, local history or the history of everyday life. As noted by A.B. Kamensky (2007), perspectives and approaches to studied subjects were formed of sources complex, which dictated angles, features and other aspects of the studies. The scale of one, this time the capital city, also became the basis of the study of O.E. Kosheleva. Studying the daily urban residents of St. Petersburg, the author examined life practices and strategies of behavior of ordinary citizens as part of the process of adaptation of the population to the global processes taking place in society. The city is presented as a an environment, in which modernization

solutions of authorities refracted into actual practice to adapt to the new government, a new residence, new world of the Petrine Russia.

Considering the nature and specificity of homeownership, O.E. Koshelev (2006) draws attention to the discrepancy between appearance of mass building the city of “Amsterdam” model which existed in the imagination of Peter I. For example, everyday household decisions is a struggle between the government and the actual practices of residents, during which urban household has received a specific combination of Russian domestic traditions with the prescribed by the authorities parade European appearance of the city. To some extent, this phenomenon we have found in our study of Kazan, although more weakly expressed. The daily behavior of citizens as a response to pulses of authority has become an object of research studies of Z.M. Kobozeva (2013). Samara philistinism of post reform Russia is reconstructed as a social identity, every “little man” is presented as an active subject of historical action, active builder of personal life. However, the daily behavior builds up as a response to macro-processes taking place in society and, above all, as a response to the challenges of authority. Considering the story associated with philistine house and farm, Z.M. Kobozeva (2013) in relation to the second half of XIX c. concludes that the philistine way of life filled with meaning inherent to urban middle class, and modernization has changed the traditional philistine world, filling it with new urban values. Thus, Kazan as the environment determines an important social feature - it forms an urban lifestyle. Exploring everyday household of Kazan philistinism, we emphasize the quality of it as a way of life of citizen affected by urbanization processes of emancipation. This example will allow to develop the idea of the peculiarities of the Russian city as a result of the communication between authority and population, in which the daily practice of the citizens can be quite unexpected “replica” of this dialog. Thus, fully agreeing with the position of Z.M. Kobozeva, we believe that the research of philistine lifestyle in the microcosm of the city allows to deepen understanding of macrohistorical processes.

Through everyday behavior of ordinary people refracted state solutions turned into actual practice survival. City, as an environment of everyday existence of philistine, shaped his life. At the same time philistines, representing a majority of the citizens, filled the life and development of the city with real content. Kazan philistinism appears a holistic social organism, functioning in real historical space. Houses and streets acquire a particular meaning and sociocultural contexts for philistines, creating an anthropological image of the city. Understanding the city as a social entity based on the concept of Louis Wirth (2005), who first identified the urbanism as a lifestyle. Especially important his conclusion that the city should not be viewed from the standpoint of the individual sciences; city, first of all, a special form of human association, a special way of human group life. This idea is the basis of studies of the outstanding Russian historian P.G. Ryndzyunsky (1976)

who defined the essence of the Russian city of the second half of the XVIII century as “the creation and distribution of a specific way of public life, other than common in rural areas of the feudal regime and more favorable for commercial and industrial activity”.

The study of everyday household of Kazan philistinism as an example of a household puts a new perspective of research - the study of urban space. City appears not just a scenic backdrop, against which there were historical events. The city and its inhabitants - an indivisible whole, a unified way of life. The construction of identity is determined, among other things, by urban space. Urban space - a cityscape, outlined by areas and streets and sealed by a complex network of social relations, this intertwining of physical and social space that effects on the formation of the way of life of middle class. Urban space is filled with signs of status, prestige, power, humiliation, exile. Markers of meanings and connotations were living areas, houses and streets, places of work and recreation. The study of urban space as a promising task will allow to combine physical and social limitations of philistines for a deeper understanding the problem of social class identities.

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