

THE PHILISTINE IN RUSSIAN PROVINCE AT THE JUNCTION OF XIX AND XX CENTURIES: MODERNIZATION MEASUREMENT

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The relevance of the problem caused by the need to think over the nature of changing the era of “three revolutions” in Russia and identifying opportunities for its neomodernization based on the formation of the “middle class.” The purpose of the article is to examine the issues of social-cultural form of philistinism (urban inhabitants) and its place in the organizational and business structure of the provincial Russian city in XIX - early XX centuries. The leading approach was the paradigm of the “new socio-cultural history” allowing investigation of questions of philistinism history in a wide range of everyday and symbolic practices. It involves research strategy of social history, historical anthropology and cultural studies. The article revealed that inter-ethnic relations in the philistine environment were generally tolerant, helped by the structure of “moral economy.” It substantiated that the family management, the hope for a foster state policy, patriarchal order in family made basic personality of philistines close with a peasant social type. Modernization “measurements” of philistine-bourgeois strata in the historic cut of Kazan province allowed concluding of some of the opportunities for the modernization transmission. It is disclosed that the dominance of traditionalist features of philistine life activity served as a significant cause of failure and its inevitable consequence - revolutionary upheavals. Materials of this article may be used in teaching of historical disciplines, study of methodological and ontological problems of Russian society of the late XIX - XX century.

Keywords: philistinism ; urban middle classes ; modernization ; moral economy ; Kazan province.

INTRODUCTION

The new “window of opportunity” of historiography

Transmutation shifts and changes in the regulatory and value systems at the turn of the last and present centuries launched the process of changes in the structure, problems and methods of historical knowledge (Repin, 2011; Saveleyev & Poletaev, 2005). “The window of opportunity” opens in such periods of renovation of historical culture front of “visionaries of the past.” It allows you to take a new questioning with respect to those or other conditions or events with an impromptu of re-evaluation of the logical sequence and intersubjective empirical reliability, which, in fact, form the methodology (Toshtental 2014).

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The condition of successful reforms

One of the priorities in the light of new problem-epistemological representations is an in-depth study of the pre-revolutionary urban middle strata (middle class in Russia, 2003; middle class of modern Russia, 2008). Without this the “language” of the crisis experience of the first decades of the twentieth century remains insufficient clarification, when Russian society was in situation of failure of modernization, regardless of the intentions and aspirations of subjects of the revolutionary action manifesting different scenarios of progressive social development. Meanwhile, the implementation of one or another variant of modernization depends on the position of major groups, ability and willingness of traditional societies to join it. Relying on the deprived and marginalized groups one can successfully destroy. The condition of structural reforms – interest in changes from those strata that form the foundation of the community, i.e. bearers of traditional consciousness. The term “philistine” refers to the holders of traditional cultural principles, incorporated in organizational and economic system.

Philistinism - invariant of the “middle class”

By the beginning of XX century due to the erosion of class barriers in cities happened very diverse socio-cultural community, which was enshrined in law operated with the concept of “peaceful city inhabitants.” To catch the situation in which there was plenty of “urban inhabitants”, it is possible primarily through the analysis of the phenomenon of philistinism, which is the focus of social and cultural symbol of the Russian “philistinism”. Philistinism can be called national modification of the “urban middle class”, the level of development which is in accordance with the dominant economic and social theories appears as a significant indicator of modernization. The relevance of the study of the urban middle layers is enhanced due to the fact that in recent years this problem has acquired a distinct praxiologic value, as a result of striving of reformist forces to ensure the revival of the “middle class” designed to give the country a stable innovative development. It is vital and practical measurement of shape of “the middle strata” of Russian city of the early twentieth century; it reflects the possibilities and conditions of neomodernization of modern Russia.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The heuristic potential of the “new social and cultural history”

The leading approach is the paradigm of the “new socio-cultural history”, where the research strategies of social history, historical anthropology and psycho-mental interpretation of the everyday and symbolic practices synthesized. For disclosing the research theme formed discourse, combining concrete historical (ideographic), historical-genetic, historical and typological methods of historical knowledge. This

makes it possible to overcome the contrast between the realistic and nominalist installations and make the transition to the ideal-typical design. There is a mobilization theory of “moral economy”, which describes a traditional family-labor relations.

“Philistine” in the «case study» construct format

The article focuses attention on the “Philistine” of Kazan province, which is a representative object of the aggregate within a half a hundred provinces of European Russia in the early twentieth century. Laying of research “pits” into the local socio-cultural toposes gives hope for the release of historical thought from magic of macro-historical information emanating from the central parts of the bureaucratic hierarchy of the empire, as well as the imperatives of juridical-legal approach. Both still distort the real picture of the social space of Russian city.

The value of archival sources

The source base has been made from materials of the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan allowing to determine the characteristics and features of the urban middle class of Kazan province: fund 98 (Kazan City Council); Fund 199 (Kazan provincial gendarmerie management); reviews of Kazan Province in the period of 1890-1908 years and etc. In addition the memoirs, essays and literary works related to the study period have been involved as a source.

RESULTS

Philistine nature of the Russian city

Study of the situation of philistine masses suggests the interpretation of the concept of “philistinism”. Officially under the “philistinism” we mean the totality of all the members of the appropriate class. According to the population census in the Russian Empire in 1897 the share of bourgeois class was about one-tenth of the population; in cities the figure was significantly higher - up to 46%. Comparable data observed in the Kazan province, in cities where population of philistines was about 100 thousands, that is more than 40% of the population (Akkuratov, 2002). The situation is quite typical: the Russian cities were neither “proletarian” nor “bourgeois” but philistine. By the turn of the century, philistinism loses distinct caste signs, increasingly acquiring the status of representatives of the “soil” culture.

Philistinism in the “moral economy” system

In order to clarify the research object the “ideal type” of philistine has been isolated, for this marginal category and “rural” philistines eliminated: lumpen proletariat, few intellectuals, wealthy quasi-bourgeois. About the process of philistine’s social differentiation says the distribution of issued certificates for

“personal craft.” They were allowed to take place in the commercial and financial structures, the vast majority (over 70%) had a lower level. V.V. Bervi-Flerovsky (1938), as well as other literati, pointed to the scarcity of the prosperous bourgeois class, drawing the plight of the bulk of the inhabitants. Only a few rate (no more than 5-6%) of Kazan townspeople were involved in some form of commodity-market relations. Almost every middle-class urban family kept cattle, engaged in gardening and agriculture. Since the philistine economy had mostly natural-consumer nature, with the dominance of communal way of life, we should speak about the prevalence such structures as philistine “moral economy” (“economic morality”). Reliance on a foster state policy, the patriarchal order in a family, family housekeeping made psycho-mentality of the middle-class closer with a peasant one. This similarity was conditioned by peculiarities of the Russian urbanization: city acted not only as a culture-trigger, but as a “nearby” bulwark of social and economic traditionalism. Traditions of social class inferiority paralyzed self-administrative potency of philistines. So the percentage of philistines at the Kazan City Duma was insignificant, which affected the protection of class interests.

The ethical measurement of philistine society

A feature of the Kazan province was polyethnicity of the population that, however, “simulates” the multinational composition of the country in general. At the beginning of the XX century in cities of Russian province the Russians themselves amounted to about 86% of the total population, the representatives of the Tatar ethnic group was more than 10%, of the Jews and the Poles - in the order of 1%, etc. (Ethnic composition statistics of the population of the empire is not available, that is why this is an inexact data). Interethnic relations between Russians and Tatars can be, without much exaggeration, described as tolerant. This was facilitated by the “moral economy” structure, in which ethnic differences fade into the background, as well as the experience of a long historical cultural and economic interaction. So the urban reform in 1870 merging Tatar and Russian philistine communities initiated by the authorities (and this process was protracted and has not been completed) generally held without serious conflicts, though not without friction (Kaplunovsky, 2000). In their “business” aspirations representatives of the Russian and Tatar ethnic groups in the philistine community almost did not collide with each other because of the existing division of artisanal labor and differentiation of trading fields. However, the philistines of the Jewish origin were out of the total number because in their environment not moral and economic but religious and corporate regulators dominated that was in contradiction with the traditionalistic consciousness of inhabitants and formed in its mode of perception of the world. Russian-Tatar and Jewish philistine society workshop were divided by other circumstances, among which the primary role was played by the concentration, despite of paucity of Jewish people, significant share of the property, in particular,

due to the monopoly on the trade of precious metals and products made of them. So explicit malevolence to specialized carriers of Jewish business practices, flourished at the household level anti-Semitism, found a way out in the riots and pogroms, which often were directly lenient by gendarmerie authorities.

The religious factor in philistine class

As you know, an ethnic community is closely linked with religion, because the religious foundations, shrines and ideals have historically provided both individual identity and social integration. The society conditions, which are regulated by tradition, behavioral patterns of individuals based on a set of values and religious orientations, refracted through the prism of status and caste positions. Of course, religious maxims act as ideal but it is unattainable by definition, so following them inevitably implies a certain cultural and behavioral "backlash". However, under the traditional system deviation from the religious orders does not leave this pre-modern area and finds a kind of theodicy in the format of the same traditional attributes. Adherents of Islam and Judaism invariably remained committed to religious settings, differently was in Orthodoxy, which was the official state religion. Visiting temples and religious rituals increasingly acquires the character of the rites. Among philistine layers the loss of credibility of the Orthodox Faith gaining strength, more precisely, to the religious structures that were directly related to the legitimization of the autocratic state. Priests related to the lower-ranking clergy - by their sense, and in the organizational and administrative terms were "servants of the sovereignty" - were in a unique situation: they illuminated policy of the government, such as the Russian-Japanese war, and they themselves have participated in informal conversations with parishioners listening to critical comments about the authorities, often joining these attacks. At the same time at the insistence of "curators" of the Gendarmerie Corps informed on laity. In general, the lower ranks of the secular clergy by their standard of living and socio-cultural signs appeared in the same brackets with philistinism. To a certain extent, it can be assumed that not only the church officials, priests and parishes of the city poured into the philistine mass in social and cultural terms.

Philistinism and power

One of the key characteristics for evaluating the psychodynamics of inhabitants at the turn of XIX-XX centuries is the relationship of philistinism and the government. Autocratic regime sought to control all the manifestations of life of philistines to keep them within the limits of traditional culture. By the turn of XIX-XX centuries the attitude between philistine and authorities gradually cease to comply with state-paternalistic order. A manifestation of this was the specific type of protest (hooliganism, blasphemy, vituperation of the state authorities, etc.) and socialist agitation of students and artisans of bourgeois class, participation in the Black

Hundred movement. This philistine class constituted voluntary members of the Black Hundred groupings, took part in the massacre of intellectuals and students during the riots in Kazan on 17-21 October 1905. However, the philistinism in general has demonstrated passivity and indifference to issues of public life. It is obvious that the manifestations of discontent in the philistine environment can lead to acts of pogrom-rebellious nature under certain conditions.

DISCUSSIONS

Philistine as an objectionable figure for the “legend of power”

In the Soviet period, the study of philistinism was an “uncomfortable” theme, because the inhabitant figure threatened to undermine the “legend of power” of the Russian city of the early twentieth century. In the western Russian studies of the second half of the twentieth century middle class topic has not received significant coverage. So philistines are not considered in “Russia under the old regime” by R. Pipes (Pipes, 1993). Some revival in the study of the theme observed in the 1980s - early 1990s in connection with the rotation of the socio-structural history to historical anthropology. Due to the absence in the Western science tradition of studying the “inhabitants” social historians had to start by identifying the social position of philistinism (Hudson, 1984; Hittle, 1979; Haimson, 1988; Brover, 1990; Schmidt, 1994).

The role of the philistinism in the new ideologemes

Changes in the ideological and political situation in the late XX - early XXI centuries have allowed Russian historians to intensify the study of urban middle classes and entrepreneurship (Bukharaev & Akkuratov, 2002; Galimova, 2013; Kaplunovsky, 1998; Kaplunovsky, 2000; Kobozeva 2014; Odintsova, 2011; Ushakov, 2014). Now the philistinism often came to be regarded not as a retrograde force standing in the way of social progress, but as the source of the emerging middle class in the process of modernization. We can note the open, high mobility of philistinism, and similar features, bearing the imprint of the new political mythology. So the evolution of the urban middle classes is a controversial issue that requires further study, including the question of the relationship between traditionalism and modernization potentials of philistines.

CONCLUSION

Socio-cultural image of philistinism

As a result of the research there is an image of philistine, inscribed in the traditional system of moral economy, crushed by an autocratic political system, which is the same philistine recognized (for the time) as a legitimate in the legal, spiritual and religious aspects. Reigning-statist core of social consciousness finds a manifestation

of philistinism in prestige, which in some philistine environment were the Black Hundred organizations (such as the “Union of the Russian People”), relying on the monarchist, chauvinistic and anti-Semitic ideas.

Tradition VS innovation

In terms of known legitimation of individualized property and expand the country's commodity-market coordination in the initial stages of the twentieth century at the philistinism were some opportunities to be included in the processes of modernization, gaining status and role of the “middle strata”, capable in the long term to approve the order of democratic capitalism. However, these opportunities did not destined to become a social reality. Due to the philistinism rooted in the traditional culture preference was given to preservation of status quo, which was one of the reasons for the failure of modernization, it helped create the conditions for Russia's troubles of the early twentieth century.

Recommendations

Materials of this article are valuable for teachers of historical subjects, researchers in the field of methodological and ontological problems of the Russian society of the late XIX - XX centuries.

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