

DOI: 10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1114

Citation: Bessonova, T., & Khanova, A. (2017). Clothes in Kazan Petty Bourgeoisie of the First Half of the 19 Century as a Marker of Sociocultural Identity. *Journal of History Culture and Art Research*, 6(4), 460-469. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7596/taksad.v6i4.1114>

Clothes in Kazan Petty Bourgeoisie of the First Half of the 19 Century as a Marker of Sociocultural Identity

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the study of a Kazan philistine costume of the first half of the 19th century as an integral feature of social quality in the conditions of the class system. This period in Russian history is the time of transition to a bourgeois society, during which the views on fashion and beauty changed, which was reflected in the dress and appearance of people. The main source that allows to recreate a philistine image of that period is the description of the Kazan philistine property, drawn up during the transfer to the trusteeship or sold for debts. The analysis of archival materials, most of which were introduced into scientific circulation for the first time, made it possible to reconstruct a Russian petty bourgeois suit and to present a visual image of an ordinary citizen and the townspeople of the period under study. The approaches to the study of this issue are based on the methods used in microhistory and historical anthropology with the use of lexical-semantic analysis elements. The study showed that philistine clothing is a social marker reflecting the social-cultural identity of an urban commoner, taking into account gender and ethnic-confessional features. The costume of an urban commoner as a whole retained a traditional image for Russia, which was formed during the era prior to Peter I, which was reflected, among other things, in lexical archaisms. In the first half of the 19th century the social-cultural mentality of a petty bourgeois remained generally at the level of a class-based mentality.

Keywords: Philistinism, Clothing, Social-cultural identity, Ethnic-confessional and gender traditions, Modernization.

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Introduction

A costume is one of the most vivid visual representations about a person. In Russia the clothes of the first half of the 19th century was a calling card, which, above all, informed about a social status of an individual. Class clothing was a formal sign of social differentiation, which made it possible to distinguish a nobleman from a bourgeois (Ginzburg, 1989: 79). The clothes informed the class, confessional and national identity, testified to social statuses, roles and a profession, promoted the self-affirmation of a man. R.M. Kirsanova, the Russian researcher of the costume history, noted the class nature of dressing was such a significant element of culture that the rejection of a class costume could put a person in an ambiguous position (2002: 168).

The visual representation of noble and peasant clothes developed quite full. Numerous examples of appearance contained in classical literature, a costume was pictured on the canvases of artists, folk clothing was the subject of interest among ethnographers. The idea of a philistine suit was much more scarce. The article made an attempt to reconstruct the clothes of a Kazan philistine of the first half of the 19th century, which will make it possible to supplement the understanding of the social-cultural mentality of an ordinary citizen.

The study of the Kazan philistine clothes will allow to determine some characteristics of an urban way of life, which is important for the understanding of the economic and social-cultural processes taking place in the Russian city of the pre-reform era. During the period under study the process of bourgeois modernization was the key one for social structures. Modernization, understood as "the totality of social, economic, political, cultural and other processes associated with the transition from the traditional (pre-industrial, agrarian-traditionalist) society to a modern industrial and emerging post-industrial society based on innovations in all spheres of life" (Pantin, 2004: 7), manifested itself in various spheres of Russian society life. Philistinism as an urban stratum of the population was to be one of the most sensitive to these changes. However, the change of views on fashion and beauty, which began in the era of Peter I, was still quite slow, affecting, first of all, the nobility and the merchant elite. The costume of the townspeople from the middle and especially the lower strata retained a traditional look for Russia in general, allowing the elements of the "overseas cut" only gradually (Volobueva, 2008: 27). A detailed examination of the Kazan philistine clothes will make it possible to clarify the correlation of traditions and innovations in the appearance of townspeople.

The urgency of this task is also determined by the fact that philistinism, which cultivated the values of a small man daily life, received stable cultural definitions in domestic literature. Philistinism became the synonym of everyday life, commonness, which acquired the

significance of philistinism with emotionally expressive coloring; The term "philistinism" acquired an extra-class, ethical meaning. The study of the Kazan philistine everyday life will allow to correct the social portrait of this stratum, refusing from the established stereotypes.

The purpose of the study is to reconstruct the clothes of Kazan philistines from the first half of the 19th century as a marker of sociocultural identity. Clothing is a social sign that defines an image. The description of a particular philistine property contains a detailed list of all clothing items of an individual, which gives an opportunity to present his completed appearance and get a fairly complete idea of sociocultural identification.

The study of men's and women's clothing among the representatives of Russian philistine society gives the opportunity to represent an image of a city dweller living in a historically real urban environment. During the process of reconstruction, almost full preservation of a traditional costume was revealed. The transition to European clothing among the provincial philistinism is indicated in the form of a tendency for separate clothing details with the preservation of an image as a whole. The penetration of the modernizing tendencies into the environment of provincial urban inhabitants was hampered by stable sociocultural traditions determined by ethnic-confessional and gender identity.

Methods

The study was conducted within the framework of everyday life history, which develops actively in historical science. There are many interpretations and methodological features that determined the variety of subject fields in this trend within the approaches to the study of everyday life. The German ethnographer and anthropologist K. Lipp noted that "there are as many common lives as there are authors who study it" (1993: 32). The presented article studied the everyday life of philistinism on the basis of clothing analysis as a social sign that determines identity.

In order to reconstruct the visual image of the Kazan petty bourgeoisie, we used such a perspective of everyday life history as a microhistorical trend, concentrating on the local world study of a separate city of the Russian Empire. This focus of study makes it possible to identify those microscopic phenomena that allow to understand the life of a city dweller during pre-reform Russia in their entirety. J. Revel noted that microhistory "has no any basic text, any written theory", it is inseparable from the practice of historians (1996: 107). The main unifying factor of microhistorical research is the scale of analysis, "the prospect of observation narrowed and close to an object" (Ginzburg, 2004: 294).

The source base of the study was the description of the Kazan burgher property drawn up during the transition to the guardianship administration, and also on the occasion of the debtor estate sale. These documents are concentrated in the funds of the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan, and most of them are introduced into scientific circulation for the first time (NART, F.138.Op.2.D.1). The analysis of the source language was conducted from anthropologically oriented positions, which made it possible to outline the cultural world of a Kazan philistine through the reconstruction of an appearance.

An everyday life is full of symbols, because everyday life is based on the repetition, habitual actions, words, gestures, which acquire the semantic meaning of the norm in their everyday life. The real world can be imagined as a system of signs that develop into a cultural code, the comprehension of which allows us to deepen the understanding of a person from the past. A man's being appears before us in the form of various texts, the most significant of which are the verbal ones. Yu. M. Lotman wrote that "A historian is doomed to work with material that was linguistically processed before him" (2002: 138). Lexical designations of individual items of clothes, textiles, flowers, accessories, ornaments, analyzed from the point of view of the lexical-semantic approach, allow to interpreting the petty bourgeois clothes as a system of symbols. Thus, the world of everyday things, an important part of which is clothing, is the generator of information about the historical past, in which the meaning of historical reality is encoded. An applied technique made it possible to see the unique signs of the past, confirming A. Ludtke's opinion that "there is no one Being of people, but there are many people who live, constantly preserving and recreating differences from each other" (Ludtke, 2006: 60).

Results

The reality of human existence is reflected in things. The world of things is that habitat that is formed by a person in the process of his daily life and reflects social and national identity, mental attitudes and aesthetic priorities. The most important part of the real world of a person is clothing, the study of which allows us to understand domestic behavior as a sphere of hidden cultural code incarnation reflecting the norms and values of a whole society (Lotman, 1992: 248). Clothing as a system of signs that forms an image, serves as a powerful impulse for self-identification, being a visual expression of a person's lifestyle. Lifestyle is a set of prescriptions accepted in the community, which organizes the principle of a person's life, creating a sense of predictability, understandability of the world and his behavior in it, which contributes to the social comfort of a man (Toffler, 2002: 337-338).

In order to reconstruct the clothes of the Kazan philistines, certain representatives of the urban inhabitants were chosen, since the clothes of one person allows one to represent his image - a sign system, and the selection of a suit is a choice of an individual behavior in a combination of stereotypes and individual decisions. The description of the townspeople Kozma and Avdotya Lipina (1819) was chosen for reconstruction, which allows one to get an idea of the social and the aesthetic values of the Russian bourgeois philistine of Kazan at the beginning of the 19th century (NART. F.138.Op.2.D.1, sh. 21-22).

Judging by the cost and the list of things, Kozma Lipin was a well-to-do man. However, he wore a simple caftan from an inexpensive blue nankin with lining - the favorite clothes of most townspeople. Another common item of clothing is a semi-caftan - a short-skirted caftan, more comfortable in everyday work, made of dark green nankin. The gown of blue nankin, which Lipin had, was not a home, but street clothes of the urban common people at that time (Fedosyuk, 2001: 112). Headgear was also traditional one for ordinary citizens. Lipin had a cloth cap with a kunim band, worn from frequent wearing. The hats made of lamb wool, shaped like a hood with small brims were very popular at that time. Such hats were a mass phenomenon in the peasant environment and among the lower urban strata; Lipin had two such badly worn hats. The sources mention malakhai often - fur caps with wide earflaps and a tightly fitting back. One of these malakhais is designated by the ancient name "treuhoi tchabak" in the document.

Thus, the philistine Lipin looked like a typical ordinary citizen in good-quality common folk clothes. You can supplement an image by other sources. The most important attribute of the top winter clothes was a sheepskin coat, and a family usually had several of such coats. The poorer commoners wore simple sheepskin coats with fur inside, but most of them had the sheepskin coats, covered with blue cloth on top. The petty bourgeois Zaitsev also had a more expensive sheepskin coat with fox fur (NART, F.26.Op.1.D.174: 3). Men wore goatskin or deerskin boots. A winter dress was completed by leather gloves or fur mittens made of wolf paws.

There were often the items of peasant traditional clothing. So, the property of many men had an armyak, often called by the ancient word "azyam" - the long-skirted cloth robes of dark blue or black color without fasteners with a large collar (NART, F.12.Op.31.D.24: 3). One of half-kaftan variants was represented by kazakin - a half-kaftan with a standing collar on hooks with the assemblies from the rear (NART, F.26.Op.1.D.174: 254). The outer clothing was tied with a sash, a long wide piece of cloth. They were made from dense cotton fabric, made of goat's fluff, there were also rare silk sashes, as a rule, monophonic, sometimes checkered. Trousers were represented by corduroys. Inventories also give us the opportunity to get a rare

idea of the petty bourgeois underwear hidden from stranger's eyes. Under the outer clothing they wore usually white linen shirts, the more expensive ones were made of cotton cloth, sometimes of fancy cloth, shirts were sewed from Ivanovo red coarse motley. They wore pants of white, blue, fawn or corporal colors, made of canvas or nankin (NART, F.139.Op.1.D.9: 9).

A female image can be represented by the list of things from Avdotya Lipina. When her clothes was described the compiler allowed himself to clarify that this is the "the best woman's dress" (NART, F.138.Op.2.D.1: 24). Avdotya Lipina had a large number of various dress items. The first place in the inventory is represented by a traditional sheepskin coat, but not from a sheepskin, but of Kamchatka beaver fur, covered with dark green cloth. Among the available six fur coats, the most expensive one was the fox one, covered with a crimson damask, a heavy silk or woolen cloth with a woven pattern (Ozhegov & Shvedova, 1995: 889). Another coat of squirrel fur was lined with a crimson garniture cloth. It is a very dense silk fabric, crease-resistant and durable, which was very popular among merchants and clergy (Kirsanova, 1995: 86). Four fur coats were made of lambskin: one long fur coat with a fox collar, lined with blue nankin, the other one is without a collar covered with the cloth of sand color, and also an old fur coat and a shortened one, made of blue cloth. For warmer weather, Lipina had a new camel overcoat and a cloth waistcoat with sleeves, a semi-caftan of blue cloth, and a holodnik - an old Russian name for the upper light clothes, that is, a garment without a lining of canvas, which was worn over the head and was worn during 16th century - 17th centuries, and was also encountered in a number of places during the 19th century (Sudakov, 1991: 109).

Sarafan was a widespread popular women's clothing. Lipina had three elegant sarafans of festive crimson color. The most expensive one was the one with a plain structure, gold braid and 25 gold covered silver buttons. Another similar sarafan was made of grezet - this ancient word denoted a woolen fabric with an etched pattern of the same color (Dahl, 1988). The third one among the elegant sarafans was trimmed with a gold braid and 22 silver buttons. Two everyday sundresses were sewn from blue and green nankin and decorated with silver buttons. Finally, she had a simple calico brown sundress, most likely to use as home clothes. A shirt with sleeves was put on under the sarafan, and a padded jacket on top. The most elegant quilted jacket was white with a gold braid, which, apparently, looked spectacularly over a crimson sarafan. Two simpler quilts of crimson and green color were decorated with a gold braid, and the third one with "a silver galloon on the dark earth".

A particular attention was paid to the headdress. Avdotya Lipina had several copies of an old veil, which was a light cover coming down from head to waist, and was used on solemn

occasions (Orlenko, 1996: 311). Headscarf was an everyday dress, and Lipina had 22 of them, both new and worn ones, of different fabrics and colors: scarlet, green, yellow, cherry, brown, white, both one colored and with an "etched" pattern or fringe. Scarlet ribbons, belts and a stock of buttons served as a smart addition to her clothing, and 20 zolotniks of silver buttons and 56 zolotniks of silver gold-plated ones allowed to decorate many sundresses (zolotnik is an old measure of weight equal to 4,266 g.).

Thus, Avdotya was a well-to-do bourgeois woman who wore a variety of clothes of good quality and of corresponding value, which corresponded to the traditions of the ordinary Russian urban population. Unlike her husband, who was much more modestly dressed and more comfortable for daily activities, his wife was the showcase of the family, her clothes emphasized the wealth. The social status was also represented by a large number of jewelry, as was indicated by many everyday researchers (Shulus et al., 2009: 190). Lipina could display a golden ring with a green gem, four silver rings with pearls, jacinth, a green and a cherry gemstone. Gold earrings were trimmed with pearls, turquoise and emeralds, and two pairs of silver earrings were gilded and trimmed with pearls, cherry and green gemstones.

A fancy dress during that period was the lot of the aristocracy, however, Lipina also had some stylish things. An expensive cashmere shawl worn by Avdotya was a status thing of the upper classes (Orlenko, 1996: 320). Two shirts had muslin sleeves, which were worn by the dandies and the women of fashion (Dahl, 1988). Chepets, embroidered with gold and pearls, was not only an expensive item of clothing. During the 18 - 19th centuries this ancient headdress was worn by upper class women, and it was a foreign innovation for merchants and townspeople (Fedosyuk, 2001: 117). And a snuffbox, decorated with enamel was an absolutely unexpected accessory for a traditional philistine image.

In general, the clothes of the Kazan burghers, both men and women, emphasized their belonging to the traditional urban culture. This is evidenced by eyewitnesses. In 1847 Kazan historian Nikolai Bazhenov wrote: "Natural petty bourgeois and the impoverished petty merchants who follow the domestic tactics of merchant life more or less... In general their life is modest, tinted by old times, with their grandfather's goblet and strong locks. The modesty of life that is not exalted from antiquity is obviously proved by the beards" (Bazhenov, 1847: 130-131).

Conclusion

Thus, examining the clothes of the Kazan philistines, we observe contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, a traditional costume-image is preserved almost completely. The burghers of a provincial city wore common-folk clothes identifying their belonging to their class and

nationality. This is manifested in the names of certain types of clothing, original ancient fabrics, the usual range of colors. The attention is drawn to the presence of archaisms in the designation of garments: the sources mentioned azyams and armyaks, holodnik, treuhoy chabak - the terms already obsolete by the 19th century. The functional differentiation of clothes was almost absent. Only in some cases it is possible to separate a holiday dress from an everyday one, it is difficult to make assumptions about home clothes. Living in a city and meeting with noblemen, officials and the merchants in fashionable clothes, the petty bourgeois, nevertheless, considered a common folk dress quite decent and worthy (Kupriyanov, 2007: 482-483).

The whole appearance of the Kazan philistines testified to the strength of the established social and aesthetic norms. Even wealthy philistines who could afford to have considerable expenses for clothes did not go beyond the bounds of tradition. According to researchers, this cultural situation is typical for peasants, ordinary citizens and even the merchants of the first half of the 19th century. European clothing was the part of lifestyle only for upper classes. The process of conventional form change passed slowly, manifesting itself in a cautious use of certain fashionable details.

These conclusions coincide with the opinion of the Russian historian L.V. Koshman, who explored the way of citizen life of the 19th century. A petty-bourgeois costume as an aesthetic ideal and social sign showed that the preservation of traditions was a significant social value (Koshman, 2008: 260). N.L. Pushkareva showed in her research that only in the second half of the 19th century the clothing of the townspeople began to change rapidly in accordance with the fashionable trends (Pushkareva, 1995: 86). Studying the history of Russian fashion, K. Ruan noted that women adopted the European fashion quickly (Rouen, 2011: 14). However, as can be seen from the previous analysis, during the first half of the 19th century innovations appeared only as the markers even in the women's clothing of the petty bourgeois. Innovations were allowed with caution, so as not to leave the category of an own class. T.O. Volobuyeva proved in her study that the adoption of a European costume as a mass city clothes, was evident only in the 1880s. During the first half of the 19th century the social-cultural mentality of the petty bourgeois remained generally at the level of a class-based mentality (2008: 33).

Acknowledgements

The work is performed according to the Russian Government Program of Competitive Growth of Kazan Federal University.

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