

## MARRIAGE AND MARRIN SELECTION OF KAZAN PHILISTINISM THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX TH CENTURY

<sup>a</sup>TATYANA V. BESSONOVA, <sup>b</sup>AIGUL F. KHANOVA

*Kazan Federal University, 18 Kremlyovskaya street, Kazan 420008, Russia*

*Email: <sup>a</sup>bessonovatv@list.ru, <sup>b</sup>info@ores.su*

**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the research of marriage behavior of Kazan bourgeoisie in the first half of the XIX century as a reflection of self-identification and values of the massive segment of citizens of pre-reform Russia. The age gap of marriage opportunities for women was widened. Philistinism became more open estate, which is proved by the expansion of the geography of participants in the marriage process. However, changing the marriage choice was an advantage in the direction of lowering the status of partners, marriages with representatives of the merchant class, small officials and other educated categories of the population were still rare. Thus, philistinism was still a fairly homogeneous category with traditional values and preferences, preserving the class identity of the urban population.

**Key words:** philistinism, marriage behavior, marriage choice, social values, class identity

### 1 Introduction

Bourgeoisie, being a massive segment of the urban population was the creator and bearer of the urban lifestyle in the aggregate of formal and informal characteristics. Some conditions such as legal, economic, social are factors which have effect on Bourgeoisie daily life. These daily life practices fit into the General behavioral model typical for this class, reflecting collective practices and ideas.

One of the most important events in a person's life was marriage. Marriage solved questions of inheritance of the property and the social status of children. Marriage, for men and women both, was proof of their "good quality", the prolonged unmarried state was perceived as inferiority. In the class society, marriage was a union that demonstrates the norms and criteria of social approval and social prestige, marriage was one of the foundations of social capital, the resource potential that allowed a person to achieve the desired life goals (Bourdieu, 2007, c.16). Marriage choice expressed the identity of a person, his values, which was especially significant in a caste-structured society. His personal values people checked with typical for his class lifestyle, which was a set of accepted in the community regulations, creating a sense of predictability, clarity of the world and their behavior in it, which contributes to the social comfort of man (Toffler, 2002, c.329-330).

Martin Dinges defined lifestyle as «a relatively well-established type of decision which are made by individuals or groups that make choices from the behavior offered to them by society» (Dinges, 2000, c.106). The study of the marriage behavior of Kazan bourgeoisie will allow reconstruct some parameters of values and life goals of the massive segment of the urban population of Russia of the studied period.

The purpose of this article is to study the marriage behavior of the Kazan bourgeoisie of the first half of the nineteenth century to identify the values and social norms of the middle-class. The relevance of this task is also determined by the fact that the country was gaining strength processes of bourgeoisie modernization. In Russia there were important economic, social and cultural changes which led to Great reforms. Bourgeoisie as an urban stratum of the population had to be one of the most sensitive to these changes by its definition. Reflection of the dynamics of social processes in daily life will allow us to see the degree, forms and features of changes in the public consciousness of pre-reform time, through the study of marital behavior in particular.

### 2 Methods

This study is based on micro-historical approach that is used in the history of everyday life. Micro-historical aspect makes possible a detailed analysis of the strategies of behavior of the

bourgeoisie. It helps to reveal the phenomena which in the integrity and interrelation allow understand the vital world of the citizen of pre-reform Russia. At the center of the study is Kazan - a large provincial city with a high degree of commercial and industrial development. Exploring the way of life of the Kazan bourgeoisie, we emphasize its quality as a way of life of the citizen, the most affected by the processes of urbanization emancipation. Thus, changes in social standards adopted in the urban environment can be traced through the prism of the marriage behavior of the Kazan bourgeoisie. The main source is the registers of births of all churches of Kazan concentrated in the National archive of the Republic of Tatarstan which in the studied period was the main document registering demographic events. This is one of the most stable documentary systems, since registers of births have a long period of information activity, they contain key information about the life of each person (Antonov & Antonova, 2006, p. 17). To study the mating behavior of the bourgeoisie were used metric books for 1810 and 1860, which allowed a comparative analysis of the marriage choice in the middle class environment, to identify the vector and rate of change.

### 3 Results and Discussion

Marriage has traditionally been regulated by the Church. In the beginning of XVIII century at the legislative level was stipulated a number of rules relating to matrimonial sphere. The most important innovation was the requirement of voluntary marriage. In 1724 decree proclaimed: "parents can not force their children, as well as the owners of their slaves, to get married without their own desire". The age of marriage for girls had been raised to 17 years old, but this law was rarely observed by society (Pushkareva, 2012, c.23).

The voluntary nature of marriage was not always true, especially for girls. There were cases of direct violence, which were dealt with in the prescribed manner. In 1784, the Old and New Tatar settlements tall hall received a letter from Major General Platon Meshchersky, that the soldiers of the third Kazan battalion Abdrakhman Abdrakhmanov got married with a girl from New Tatar Sloboda "illegally and against her desire". A significant part of officially voluntary marriages were also forced in fact, because almost always marriages were based on economic calculations. The main task to the girls was to get married. Parents tried to find husband for their daughters as soon as possible and solve the question of their prosperity. Marriage was the main indicator of "arranged by destiny."

According to the data of the register of births of all Kazan churches for 1810, the majority of philistines married at the age of 21-25 years (13 persons), and 18-20 (11 persons). Girls married at a much earlier age. The largest number of brides were from 15 to 17 years old (22 girls out of 57 married, 38%). At such a young age, the girl was entirely dependent on her parents and hardly took an independent decision in such a serious question as the creation of a family. The difference in the marriage age also indirectly indicates the imposition of marriage on girls. Among the recorded marriages in 30 cases, the age difference was from one to three years, however, there were many marriages with a larger age range: in 12 cases, the difference was from 4 to 6 years, the same - from 7 to 10 years, in 7 marriage unions, the groom was older than the bride by 11-14 years, and in 5 cases the age difference was over 15 years. In the Church of Ascension took place the marriage of 35-year-old tradesman, a widower with a 16-year-old middle-class daughter. In St. Barbara's Church 37-year-old soldier married the 19-year-old philistine's daughter and a non-commissioned officer at age 40 married 18-year-old girl.

After reaching the age of 20, the number of marriages among philistines girls sharply decreases. In the early nineteenth century girls older than 20 years were considered as "outstayed bride", for which any marriage was a big success. As a rule, after 25 years only young widows, whose age did not exceed 30 years, got

married. In the register of births of 1810 only 3 cases when the girl married at the age from 21 to 25 years are recorded, and one maiden could marry in 31 years for the peasant of the Kazan district. The attitude to marriages with peasants among the philistines was quite dismissive. "To marry a bast-shoe maker" was not a great honor for a bourgeoisie girl. The reason for this decision was obvious: the girls sought to get rid of the unenviable fate of the old maid, albeit at the cost of leaving the urban environment (Zhirnova, 1980).

Marriage had a class character. The status of the wife was regulated by the status of the husband. In the early nineteenth century the absolute majority of Kazan philistine's marriages was inside its class. Among the 45 bourgeoisie, who married in 1810, 25 persons married Kazan citizens, others had married mostly with girls from the urban environment closest social circle – daughters of soldiers, clothiers, clerks. Only three of the marriages concluded with merchant daughters, and the same with the peasants. The rarity of marriages between merchants and philistines indicates the presence of a tangible barrier within the city's inhabitants. Despite belonging to the same class urban citizens, the philistines and merchants do not identify themselves as equal in status. This demonstrates the social status of the guarantors. Usually, persons, who was in close, friendly relations with the family acted as guarantors. According to the position of the guarantors, one can see the "inner circle" of daily contacts of Kazan bourgeoisie. In most marriages the guarantors were bourgeoisie. The other group of guarantors evidenced by the fact that one of them tried to include the most high-status friends. So, despite the fact that marriages between the representatives of the bourgeoisie and merchants were isolated, guarantors often were merchants, sometimes small officials. There were only a couple of peasants among the guarantors and no ordinary military ranks. So, when the marriage of bourgeoisie Ivan Vasiliev with philistine's daughter Praskovia Gavrilova guarantors was a merchant, a bourgeoisie, a collegiate secretary, and two merchant's sons. The most significant guarantors had a 42-year-old widower Stepan Vasiliev, who invited the titular counselor and land surveyor to the wedding.

A noticeable change in the marriage behavior of bourgeoisie happened to the middle of the XIX century. According to the birth registers of all churches of Kazan of 1860, the number of men who were married at the age of from 18 to 20 years has significantly reduced; from 96 persons who were married, only 15 belonged to this age group. Most of the men married at a more mature age, when they already had a profession and a financial position to support the family. The greatest number of marriages (54) was performed at the age from 21 to 25 years, which is half of the total. At the age of over 36, widowers were mostly married as before.

Early marriages for women became less frequent although they were still quite common. They make up about a third of the total number – of 126 marriages with philistine women in 39 cases the brides were from 15 to 17 years. Another third of marriages took place between the ages of 18 and 20 (45 cases). Marriages after 20 years were no longer uncommon. At the age of 21 to 25 years old, 17 girls got married, brides were from 26 years to 30 years in 15 marriages and there were only two widows. After 31-year recorded 10 marriages, six of them were made by girls.

By the mid-nineteenth century significantly increased the age range among marrying bourgeoisie. In the register of births of 1860 there are 175 marriages in which one of the sides were the Kazan bourgeoisie. The difference in age from 1 to 3 years was in a third of the marriages (54 marriages), from 4 to 6 years – 33 marriages, even more – 37 marriages were concluded with a difference in age from 7 to 10 years. The difference in age, which was 5-7 years in favor of men among the philistine people were considered normal. Couples in which the man was older than his wife by 10 years or more considered as unequal marriages (Zuev, 1992, p. 107).

Marriages with a significant difference in age were not a solitary instances. Almost 15% of marital unions (26 cases) age difference

ranged from 15 to 25 years. As in the beginning of the century, in an unequal marriage was often entered a young girl. Thus, 36-year-old widower Gerasim Semenov married a 17-year-old bourgeoisie daughter. The difference in the age of the merchant Denis Mikhailov Kuterin, who entered into the 3rd marriage in 41 years with his 16-year-old wife was 25 years. The biggest age difference was in the marriage of a retired non-commissioned officer Afanasy Vasiliev. He married for the 3rd time in 50 years to the 20-year-old bourgeoisie girl. Despite the fact that the "overstayed" girls much more often than in former times, could arrange their fate, the parents tried to marry off their daughters as early as possible. Widows and girls agreed to an unequal marriage to avoid an unenviable fate of the unbuilt singles. Marriage after 25 years was considered a great success, in this case, the status of the groom and his age did not matter much. An example of this is the fate of the girl Avdotya Petrova, who at the age of 39 married a 60-year-old retired soldier.

Generally, philistines preferred to retain the same class creating a family. Of the 96 persons, whose marriage was recorded in the register book of 1860, 44 persons married Kazan bourgeoisie, another 4 men married on philistine's daughters from other cities. Bourgeoisie traditionally took wives of maidens and widows from a close social circle – daughters of manufacturer, soldiers and non-commissioned officers, craftsmen and bishops. However, there has been some expansion of the marriage circle in social and geographical aspects. Three philistines took to wife three the daughters of a merchant of the third Guild. More often marriages were concluded with peasant women, which made up a fifth part of all marriages (20 persons). The geography of residence of philistine's brides also expanded. Along with the cities and villages of the Kazan district in the register book appeared Yaroslavl, Samara, Vyatka, Simbirsk and Kostroma districts.

#### 4 Summary

Thus, in the first half of the XIX century, gradually increases the openness of the bourgeoisie as a class, which is reflected in marriage choices. According to the researchers, the bourgeoisie, peasantry and merchants were the main social groups in the marriage circle (Platonova, 2013, p. 24). However, the marriage of the Kazan merchants with the bourgeoisie women continued to remain single. A tendency of erasing class boundaries between the merchant and the petty bourgeoisie, marked by Y. M. Goncharov, in the marriage behavior of the Kazan bourgeoisie have not shown themselves (Goncharov, 2002, p. 192-193). The study of the marriage choice of Kazan burghers shows that the main social group in the marriage circle was burghers, then close to them in status layers of the urban population. They were not only the basis of the marriage circle, but also wider friendly ties. Other categories of citizens – merchantry, small officials, "protointelligence" in marital choice was a minimal amount. The marriage choice of the Kazan bourgeoisie shifted towards lowering of the status, in it there were more peasants, and persons of higher class accessory remained still extremely little. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in the analysis of the status of guarantors. In the close circle of everyday communication the Kazan bourgeoisie prevails (418 persons), but among other categories there are already a lot of ordinary soldiers and lower military ranks (65 persons). Merchants, as well as other persons of higher social status in comparison with petty bourgeoisie, as witnesses are extremely few. Among the guarantors are also seen representatives of the educated society, as before, in small numbers and representing low categories: collegiate registrars and secretaries, clerks and clerks, retired teacher and University student. A much larger proportion of the guarantors than at the beginning of the century, began to occupy the peasants of different categories (128 persons).

The geography of the guarantors is a sign of the strengthening of daily contacts with residents of other regions. Most often they were nonresident burghers, both Kazan and other provinces, as well as peasants, and very often they were not countrymen of the bride and groom. Apparently, close contacts with them developed in the process of joint economic activity, when trade Affairs forced Kazan burghers to go to the neighboring counties and

beyond the province. On the other hand, the increasing modernization processes contributed to the acceleration of urbanization and Kazan attracted the population of villages and small towns.

### 5 conclusions

Social attitudes and social behavior to some extent be explained through demographic processes (Imhof, 1975, p.18) the Mating behavior of the Kazan bourgeoisie in the first half of the nineteenth century had certain changes that indicate the development of modernization processes in the country and liberalization of attitudes of ordinary citizens in the sphere of family relations. However, this process among the Kazan burghers was observed only as a trend. The petty bourgeoisie still retained caste identity, which was manifested in this important life issue as marriage. Approved in society remained marriages with burghers, or other representatives of the urban population, close to the social status. Bourgeoisie was still a fairly homogeneous category with traditional preferences. On the other hand, marriage behavior has become more free, which means that society has already been acceptable to atypical phenomena previously. This was reflected, first of all, on the age of marriage and the age difference between spouses. Women began to feel much more comfortable, the age of the "old maid" ceased to be an insurmountable obstacle to creating a family. The circle of marriage choice has expanded towards mixing with peasants, mainly with those who were already connected with the city and city life. Thus, marriage behavior is gradually approaching the practices usual for the citizens of post-reform Russia (Engel, 1994, p.24), and the bourgeoisie remains a strong backbone of the urban population, not eroding, and absorbing close to him in the way of life of the population. Despite the increase in the number of marriage unions with the peasantry, the status of a citizen for the burghers remained the most important value.

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