

European Scientific e-Journal

ISSN: 2695-0243



ISSUE 5 (5)

HISTORICAL VALUES AND PROBLEMS OF THEIR INTERPRETATION

EU, Czech Republic, Ostrava-Hlučín

ISBN: 978-80-907957-4-7

DOI: 10.47451/col-05-2020-005

GLOBAL SCIENCES IN THE NAME OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

EUROPEAN SCIENTIFIC E-JOURNAL

ISSN 2695-0243

DOI 10.47451

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“Anisiia Tomanek” OSVČ

EU, Czech Republic

2020

Historical values and problems of their interpretation. Collection of Scientific Articles. European Scientific e-Journal, 5 (5). Hlučín-Bobrovníky: “Anisiia Tomanek” OSVČ, 2020.

ISSN 2695-0243
ISBN 978-80-907957-4-7

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Trafficking in human beings for the purpose of labor exploitation: a historical aspect (in Ukrainian)

Abstract:

Human trafficking is a global problem. Forms of human trafficking that are not related to sexual exploitation, in particular, labor exploitation, are becoming increasingly widespread. The spread of this form of exploitation is due to the high economic benefits for organized crime. The article examines the main historical stages of the emergence of slavery in different epochs of world civilizations. It is concluded that during the formation and development of such types of management as hunting, fishing and cattle breeding, slavery was not advisable. The concludes that such a phenomenon as slavery was not inherent in primitive society. In particular, during the formation and development of such types of management as hunting, fishing and cattle breeding, slavery was not advisable. Slavery appeared with the emergence of the first civilizations.

Key words:

slavery, human trafficking, exploitation, historical stages.

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Торгівля людьми з метою трудової експлуатації: історичний аспект

Анотація:

Торгівля людьми є проблемою глобального масштабу. Все більшого поширення набувають форми торгівлі людьми, які не пов'язані з сексуальною експлуатацією, зокрема – трудова експлуатація. Розповсюдження цієї форми експлуатації обумовлено високою економічною вигодою для організованої злочинності. У статті досліджені основні історичні етапи виникнення рабства в різні епохи світових цивілізацій. Зроблено висновок, у період становлення та розвитку таких типів господарювання як мисливство, рибальство та скотарство рабство було не доцільним. Автор приходить до висновку що таке явище, як рабство не було притаманне первісному суспільству. Зокрема, у період становлення та розвитку таких типів господарювання як мисливство, рибальство та скотарство рабство було не доцільним. Рабство з'явилося з виникненням перших цивілізацій.

Ключові слова:

рабство, торгівля людьми, експлуатація, історичні етапи.

Постановка проблеми

Торгівля людьми є проблемою глобального масштабу. Все більшого поширення набувають форми торгівлі людьми, які не пов'язані з сексуальною експлуатацією, зокрема – трудова експлуатація.

Розповсюдження цієї форми експлуатації обумовлено високою економічною вигодою для організованої злочинності. Окремі проведені дослідження свідчать (Павленко, 2019) про те, що злочинна діяльність, пов'язана з нелегальною міграцією і торгівлею людьми, приносить організованій злочинності більший прибуток, ніж злочинна діяльність у сфері торгівлі зброєю та (або) наркотиками (Павленко, 2019).

Загалом, за оцінками Міжнародної організації праці, щорічний дохід організованої (транснаціональної) злочинності від злочинної діяльності, пов'язаної з торгівлею людьми становить понад 32 млрд. доларів.

Торгівля людьми існує з давніх часів і має глибоке історичне коріння, тісно пов'язане з рабством і работоргівлею. На ранніх стадіях ставлення до купівлі-продажу людей було досить ліберальним. Згодом суспільство усвідомило неможливість існування такої форми використання людей, яка порушує їхнє право на життя, свободу, особисту недоторканність, право вільно пересуватися, вибрати місце перебування і проживання (ILO global estimate of forced labour: results and methodology, 2012).

Таким чином, «рабство» й «торгівля людьми» – поняття взаємопов'язані (Клименюк і Клименюк, 2017).

Зважаючи на викладене *метою* даної статті є дослідити основні історичні етапи виникнення рабства в різні епохи світових цивілізацій.

У цьому контексті С. О. Павленко слушно зазначає, що: нукове пізнання предмета будь-якої галузі юридичних знань, неможливе без урахування історичного досвіду. Він дає змогу виявити найдієвіші напрями протидії злочинності, з одного боку, й уникнути застосування в майбутньому тих, що не виправдали себе, – з іншого (Павленко, 2018).

Аналіз останніх досліджень і публікацій

Теоретичною основою дослідження є роботи вітчизняних авторів О.С. Акуніна, Н.І. Бровка, Т.І. Возної, П.В. Горбасенка, Г.Г. Жуковської, К.М.

Іскрової, Н.В. Клименюка, В.А. Козака, Я.Г. Лизогуба, Д.О. Негодченка, А.А. Небитова, А.М. Орлеана, С.О. Павленка, В.М. Підгородинського, Ю.В. Раковської, О.П. Свінціцької М.С. Набруско, В.В. Пясковського, В.С. Філашкіна, К.О. Щербаковської, Т.М. Юденко та інші.

Важливе значення для розробки проблеми мали також праці зарубіжних вчених А.Л. Араухо (A. L. Araujo) “Спротив рабству в Північній і Південній Америці” (2013) (Araujo, 2013); Д. Браун (J. Browne) “У витоків рабства: тюремна експлуатація праці” (2017) (Browne, 2007); Т. Джефферсон (T. Jefferson) “Боротьба з рабством” (2017) (Pirzadeh, 2017) та інші.

Виклад основного матеріалу

Рабство, як явище виникло в сивій давнині, й існує в різних формах донині, незважаючи на те, що вважається злочином в усіх державах світу (Клименюк і Клименюк, 2017).

При цьому В.М. Підгородинський дослідивши еволюцію нормативного регулювання торгівлі людьми в історії людства дійшов висновку про те, що у первісних общинах, які вели звіроловний спосіб життя, рабства не існувало. Не існувало його на дуику дослідника й у пастуших племен, оскільки праця тут не дуже важка, а нагляд за рабами потребує серйозних примусових заходів. Але з часом, коли суспільство стає більш організованим, виникає необхідність в особливих заходах, спрямованих на те, щоб, по можливості, більш вигідно забезпечувати цю суспільну організацію їжею, виховувати дітей та ін. Рабство з'являється з появою землеробства і особливо розвивається у промисловому суспільстві (Підгородинський, 2009; Энциклопедический словарь, 1992).

Дж. Мор стверджує, що рабство є ровесником цивілізації (Solla & Fernanda, 2009). У своєму дослідженні «Рабство» він пише, що явище торгівлі рабами виникло внаслідок появи надлишкового продукту, який зробив можливою і вигідною експлуатацію інших людей. Тобто першопричиною появи торгівлі рабам послужили економічні фактори. Але оскільки ніщо не може існувати саме по собі, то до економічних факторів, в міру розвитку і еволюції людської цивілізації, поступово долучались соціальні, культурні, правові, релігійні та інші фактори (Лукач, 2016).

У свою чергу О.Л. Баженов зазначає про те, що виникнення примітивного рабоволодіння припадає на період соціально-економічного розвитку суспільства Меланезії, Тропічної Африки, Південної і Північної Америки, які стояли на початкових ступенях розкладу первіснообщинного ладу (Баженов, 2014).

Водночас, як слушно Г.Л. Кохан у дисертаційному дослідженні на тему: “Міжнародно-правове співробітництво в боротьбі з рабством і работоргівлею” (2002) (Кохан, 2002) завершений вигляд рабство набуває в епоху античності. На думку дослідниці головною ознакою класичного (античного) рабства є перетворення людини на об’єкт відносин власності (Кохан, 2002).

А. Валлон стверджує, що Греція стала першою країною де зародився інститут рабства. На острові Хіос знаходився перший та найбільший ринок рабів (Валлон, 1941).

Погоджуємося з окремими дослідниками про те, що (Одрін, 2019) певно, однією з ключових ланок у формуванні сучасних уявлень про роль рабства у Давній Греції були праці Мозеса Фінлі (серія статей, згодом опублікована у вигляді монографії “Давнє рабство і сучасна ідеологія” (Finley, 1980), в якій він сформулював ідею античного суспільства як «рабського суспільства» (slave society), яке цим самим протиставлялося давньосхідним «суспільствам з рабами» (society with slaves) Таким чином, Фінлі наголошував на фундаментальній ролі рабовласницьких відносин саме в античному суспільстві (Одрін, 2019).

Рабство в Стародавній Греції було закріплено звичаями давнини і було наслідком війн, а не майнового розшарування суспільства (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

Давньогрецькі філософи, підтримували думку про природне рабство, тобто приреченість деяких людей на рабське становище. Аналогічний світогляд характерний для вищих станів рабовласницьких суспільств (Кузищин и др., 2001); Казначеев, 2012).

Наприклад, давньогрецький філософ Арістотель визначав раба як: “...найкращий вид власності та найдосконаліше з усіх знарядь” (Дьяков и Никольский, 1952).

Рабами ставали боржники, полонені на полях воєн, покарані злочинці, покинуті діти, діти рабів (Клименюк і Клименюк, 2017). У Стародавніх Афінах, питома вага рабів питома вага рабів в Афінах становила від 30 до 35% населення. Переважну їх частину складали раби негрецького походження, оскільки рабовласники вважали, що рабам різного походження важче домовитися між собою. Однак, існують відомості про андраподистів – людей, які займалися викраденням вільних громадян з метою продажу їх у рабство. Центрами рабства, крім Афін, також були Хіос, Лесбос, Коринф, Егіна (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

Здебільшого праця рабів використовувалась у виробничій промисловості – в ремісничих майстернях, рудниках, каменоломнях, а залучення рабів у

сільському господарстві було звичайним явищем (Дьяков и Никольский, 1952; Остапенко, 2015), проте на першому місці було домашнє господарство.

Рабство Стародавньої Греції одержало назву “класичного”. За класичного рабства раби були позбавлені власності на засоби виробництва та розглядалися у процесі виробництва на одному рівні з худобою та знаряддями праці. Їх називали “знаряддями, що розмовляють”, підкреслюючи повну приналежність раба його хазяїну (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

Аналогічна ситуація була в Римській імперії. Так, правове становище раба у римському суспільстві характеризується виразами: “раби суть речі” і раб – “зброя, що говорить” (Черниловский, 1960).

Римські юристи у своїх працях визначали дуже цинічно статус рабів. Зокрема, знаменитий римський юрист Гай зазначав, що: “... раби, тварини та інші речі”. Схожу думку щодо визначення раба висловлював і відомий римський юрист Ульпіан, порівнюючи раба з іншими тваринами (Дьяков та Никольский, 1952; Остапенко, 2015).

При розширенні територій, окупованих Стародавнім Римом, рабами ставали цілі народи. Раби використовувалися не тільки для роботи, а й для розваг: як гладіатори чи для сексуальних послуг (Кузицин и др., 2001). Зокрема, найбільш вдало розкрив цю тематику Гельмут Хефлінг у монографії «Римляни, раби, гладіатори: Спартак біля воріт Риму» (Хефлінг, 1992). В римській історії відомо чимало повстань рабів, серед яких найбільшим було повстання Спартака. Тільки в Римі в часи імперії проживало біля 400000 рабів (Кузицин та ін., 2001).

Статус раба (рабство) передбачав стан повної залежності однієї людини від іншої, за якого ця людина (раб) була власністю свого господаря-власника; останній міг продати, купити і навіть вбити раба (Остапенко, 2015; Зайчук та ін., 2010).

На відміну від рабства Стародавніх Греції та Риму (класичного) відносини між рабовласниками та рабами країн Сходу отримали назву “східного рабства”.

Найбільш вдало на нашу думку особливості східного рабства охарактеризовано колективом авторів у навчальному посібнику “Історія економіки та економічної думки” (2013) (Макаренко та ін., 2013), зокрема:

- рабство не було вирішальним фактором суспільного виробництва та основною складовою трудових ресурсів. Головна сфера народного господарства – аграрна – залишилася практично поза рабовласницьким виробництвом. Праця рабів використовувалася для обробітку землі частково, переважно в системі державного і храмового господарства;

- процес формування та розподілу рабської сили контролювала держава. Основними джерелами рабів були військовополонені, злочинці та боржники;
- працю рабів використовували переважно для обслуговування рабовласників та будівництва суспільно необхідних об'єктів;
- східне рабство не було класичним, у ньому перепліталися громадські та рабовласницькі елементи (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

В епоху раннього середньовіччя торгівля рабами була в основному зосереджена на півдні та сході – у Візантії та арабському світі. Джерелами постачання живого товару були язичницькі території Центральної та Східної Європи та Кавказ. До кінця середньовіччя рабство в Західній Європі майже повністю зникло – спочатку поступилося кріпацтву, а потім щезло зовсім і було заборонене. У Східній Європі заборона рабства відбулася дещо пізніше, але інститут кріпацтва зберігався ще до середини 19-го століття. Торгівля рабами століттями процвітала в мусульманському світі, а це гігантські території від західної і північної Африки, Балкан до Індії і Південно-Східної Азії (Поляк та Маркова, 2000; Brace, 2004).

У колоніальній політиці європейських держав особливе місце займає Африканський континент (Макаренко та ін., 2013). Після відкриття Америки (1492 р.) (Поляк та Маркова, 2000; Brace, 2004) работоргівлю почали португальці, потім англійці, голландці, французи, данці, шведи. Центри работоргівлі були розташовані в основному на Західному узбережжі Африки – від Зеленого Мису до Анголи включно. Особливі багато рабів вивозили із Золотого і Невільничого берегів. Рабів продавали за європейські товари, зброю, тощо. Торгівля рабами була і на Східному узбережжі Африки, рабів звідти вивозили до Туреччини, Аравії, Іраку, Індії, Ірану й інших країн (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

У цей період работоргівля були офіційною політикою багатьох країн. Підтвердженням цього є низка європейських документів. Наприклад, згідно з мирним договором 1713 р. з Іспанією Велика Британія отримала легальне право на ввіз негрів-рабів в іспанські колонії в Америці (Валлон, 2005; Казначєєв, 2012).

О.С. Акунін зазначає, про те, що рабство існувало в Африці задовго до появи європейців, але воно носило в основному патріархальний (домашній) характер (Акунін, 2013).

Грунтовний аналіз наукової літератури (Аналиєва та Макаров, 2019;

Фостер, 1955) свідчить про те, що основною розповсюдження рабства пов'язують з тим, що територія Нового Світу була дуже велика, землі родючі, а клімат досить сприятливим для розвитку сільського господарства.

Отже, розвиток сільського господарства був одним із основних чинників торгівлі людьми з метою трудової експлуатації.

При цьому варто зазначити про те, що колір шкіри не мав особливого значення, оскільки колоніальна влада окрім примусової праці афроамериканців широко практикували рабську працю індіанців та «білих людей» (Аналиева та Макаров, 2019; Фостер, 1955).

Рабство в нашій країні було розповсюджено ще з часів Київської Русі. Однак рабовласницькі відносини на зазначеній території існували в дещо іншій формі, аніж в античних державах. Воно мало патріархальний характер (раби входили у склад родини, яка ними володіла). Внаслідок такого взаємозв'язку інституту рабства із сімейним правом сам його характер був зумовлений характером останнього. Не варто недооцінювати і того факту, що з X століття на Русі було розповсюджено християнство, котре стало причиною послаблення рабства. Відмінною рисою проблеми рабства на Русі є і той факт, що рабський труд у слов'ян не став основною формою експлуатації. Не сприяли цьому економічні, кліматичні, географічні та інші умови. Раби виконували лише допоміжні господарські функції, а головною робочою силою були селяни громад (Обушенко, 2013; Рабство на Русі, 2012).

Законодавство часів Київської Русі визначало торгівлю людьми як кримінальний злочин. Зокрема, стаття 38 «Руської правди» Ярослава Мудрого встановлює відповідальність за крадіжку і подальший продаж челядина. Стаття 9 Литовського статуту (1588 р.) забороняла представникам нехристиянських народів купувати, поневолювати і закладати християн, які перебували на території Великого князівства Литовського. За такі дії винний втрачав гроші, які заплатив, купуючи християнина, а останнього треба було звільнити. «Соборним уложенням» (1649 р.) царя Олексія Михайловича, викрадення жінок і малолітніх дітей каралося смертною карою. «Зведення законів Російської імперії» (1826), складене за повелінням Миколи Павловича, передбачало за скоєння такого злочину (а також і за викрадення дітей) позбавлення майна, биття батоєм і заслання на каторжні роботи (Жуковська, 2015).

Головними загальними передумовами процесу міжнародно-правової заборони рабства та работоргівлі, які визначалися в XVIII-XIX століттях, були:

- 1) “промисловий переворот”, який означав докорінні зміни в техніко-економічному укладі суспільства, що робили рабську працю економічно не вигідною;
- 2) соціально-політичні зміни в світі, становлення та зміцнення базових засад буржуазної демократії (рівність, свобода, тощо);
- 3) формування та поширення в масовій свідомості політичної та моральної філософії, що обґрунтувала ідею свободи та рівності людей як їх природного права (Руссо, Вольтер, Монтеск’є та інші);
- 4) трансформація позиції християнської церкви, яка ставала все більш рішучим противником рабства (заборона рабства стала першим проявом рецепції прав людини церквою) (Кохан, 2002).

Проводити таку діяльність заборонено національним законодавством провідних країн світу, а також міжнародно-правовими актами, спрямованими на протидію різним виявам цих ганебних явищ. Тут можна назвати наказ від 2 березня 1807 року, який набрав чинності в США 1 січня 1808 року та передбачав заборону ввезення до країни рабів з Африки (Ингрем, 1896). Парламент Великої Британії 1811 року ухвалив закон, який визнавав кримінальним злочином торгівлю невольниками. За це карали засланням, яке згодом було змінено на смертну кару (Ингрем, 1896). Кріпосне право в Росії було скасовано 19 лютого 1861 року Царським маніфестом (Історія України, 1991). Президент США Авраам Лінкольн 1863 року видав прокламацію про звільнення рабів, а 1865 року до Конституції США було внесено відповідні поправки (Орлеан, 2003). Після скасування рабства в США світовий ринок збуту рабів істотно скоротився, але як рабство, так і работоргівля ще довгий час зберігались у Ліберії, Ефіопії, Тибеті та деяких інших країнах (Панов, 1993).

Висновки

Підсумовуючи викладене можна дійти висновку про те, що рабство – перша в історії людства форма експлуатації, за якою основний виробник матеріальних благ – раб належав рабовласникові поряд із знаряддям виробництва. Рабство мало різні форми. Патріархальне (східне) рабство – стан господарської діяльності, коли в умовах натурального господарства рабська праця не перетворилася на основу виробництва. Раб мав деякі права. Рабство античного типу (класичне) – основою виробництва є рабська праця. Раб вважався знаряддям праці, яке говорить (Макаренко та ін., 2013).

Отже, таке явище, як рабство не було притаманне первісному суспільству. Зокрема, у період становлення та розвитку таких типів господарювання як

мисливство, рибальство та скотарство рабство було не доцільним. Рабство з'явилося з виникненням перших цивілізацій.

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Urbanization as a cultural process and a value phenomenon (in Russian)

Abstract:

Urbanization and scientific and technological progress have increased the influence of the new social reality on the individual and society. There comes a historical period when the absolute majority of citizens of the entire planet will live in cities, which in itself is a global phenomenon. This will lead to a fundamental revision of the urban mentality, which is currently experiencing a period of strong influence of the outgoing traditional thinking. The article reveals the topic of the influence of urbanization on the formation of cultural and axiological aspects of mentality. The article discusses the issue of positive and negative changes occurring in the way of thinking of newly arrived urban residents, and inconsistencies in understanding between the rural and urban worldview. The actors of the formation of urban culture and values are considered, as well as the prospects for their further development. The author concludes that the clash of values of traditional society and urban society can be compared with the clash of the cults of tradition and the cult of innovation. These two main components of human psychology change places in the course of urbanization. It becomes obvious that the process of urbanization is not unlimited.

Keywords:

urbanization, culture, values, city, mentality.

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Урбанизация как культурный процесс и ценностный феномен

Аннотация:

Урбанизация и научно-технический прогресс усилили влияние новой социальной реальности на личность и общество. Наступает такой исторический период, когда абсолютное большинство граждан всей планеты будет проживать в городах, что само по себе является глобальным феноменом. Это приведёт к фундаментальному пересмотру городской ментальности, в данный момент переживающей период сильного влияния уходящего традиционного мышления. В статье рассматривается вопрос влияния урбанизации на формирования культурных и аксиологических аспектов менталитета. Обсуждаются мнения и взгляды об изменениях, происходящих в сознании жителей сменивших место жительства и прибывших для проживания в городскую среду, различия в ментальности сельского и городского населения. Рассматриваются субъекты формирования урбанистической культуры и ценностей, её влияние на развитие общества и государства, науку, технологии и инновации а также перспектива их дальнейшего развития в условиях процессов мегаполисизации. Автор делает заключение, что столкновение ценностей традиционного общества и урбанистического общества, можно сравнить со столкновением культов традиции и культа новаторства. Эти два главных составляющих человеческой психологии меняются местами в ходе урбанизации. Становится очевидно, что процесс урбанизации неограничен.

Ключевые слова:

урбанизация, культура, ценности, город, менталитет.

Введение

Урбанизация и научно-технический прогресс усилили влияние новой социальной реальности на личность и общество. Наступает такой исторический период, когда абсолютное большинство граждан всей планеты будет проживать в городах, что само по себе является глобальным феноменом. Это приведёт к фундаментальному пересмотру городской ментальности, в данный момент переживающей период сильного влияния уходящего традиционного мышления.

Существует целый ряд работ иностранных исследователей, в которых поставлена данная тема раскрывается, например, в таких как Шарон Л. Зукин – «Культуры городов»; Чарльз Лэндри «Креативный город», где он анализирует развитие культуры современного технологического общества в эпоху постмодернизма; также написанная совместно с Марком Пахтером книга «Культура на перепутье» о перспективах развития городской культуры. Взгляд Дэвида Хезмондалпа о формировании корпорациями общественного мнения городской среды раскрывается в книге «Культурные индустрии». В работе Уильям Митчелл «Я, плюс-плюс: Человек, город, сети» он затрагивает

передовой вопрос влияния современных технологий на культуру и ценности людей, и, соответственно, на все процессы глобализации.

Результаты исследования могут быть использованы в анализе аксиологических процессов городской среды коммерческим и государственным секторами, а также в планировании схожих исследований по теме культуры урбанизации.

Предметом исследования являются городская среда и урбанизационные процессы на нынешний период времени.

Цель исследования заключается в определении влияния урбанизации на общественную культуру и ценности. Из поставленной цели были сформулированы задачи:

- 1) определить нынешнее влияние городской среды на новоприбывших горожан и выявить вероятностные изменения в ментальных директивах;
- 2) выявление причин формирования данных культурных установок и перспектив их дальнейшего развития.

Урбанистическую культуру можно подразделить на 4 условных этапа его развития. На первом этапе городская культура выглядела как доиндустриальная земледельческая культура, с добавлением властных, ремесленных и торговых функций. На втором этапе происходит индустриализации, с середины XIX века и горожане получают возможность более интенсивного развития в социальном, политическом, культурном, образовательном отношении. На третьем этапе – урбанистическая культура начинает транслироваться на всё общество в целом, благодаря достижениям научно-технического прогресса, начиная со второй половины XX века. Некоторые аграрные страны мира проходят этот этап только в настоящий момент (Барышева, 2015). На последнем, постурбанистическом этапе во главу угла становится креативный потенциал общества, который формирует и развивает высокотехнологичную информационную культуру, и она совершенно стирает барьер между городом и сельской местностью, создавая единое культурное пространство.

1. Влияние городской среды на мировоззренческие, ценностные и культурные модели поведения новоприбывших горожан

«Город – это антропогенная среда обитания, созданный человеком ландшафт, где определены и обозначены культурные качества человека. С одной стороны, в городе человек создаёт сложную социальную и культурную реальность, отделяя себя от природы и подчиняя ее себе. С другой стороны, с появлением города человек вынужден существовать в определённых рамках и

условиях, которые неявным образом изменяют его собственную природу» (Акалелова, 2014).

Урбанизация способствовала изменению восприятия самоидентичности. Покидая привычную среду обитания, в которой всё расписано более традиционным мышлением и попадая в городскую среду, которая изобилует всевозможными сценариями поведения, ценностей, мировоззрения, палитрой разных субъективных реальностей индивид понимает, что окружение и происхождение, имеют влияние на его судьбу, но определяющее значение играет осознанный выбор одной из этих вариаций действительности. Именно поэтому, одну из главных ценностей людей в период миграции и урбанизации можно условно обозначить лозунгом «Стань кем хочешь стать».

Помимо этого город способствует как положительным так и отрицательным изменениям в мышлении приехавших граждан. Самой заметной является воспитательная функция, осуществляемая посредством контакта с новым окружением, которая подстраивает индивида под требования необходимого культурного минимума. Следующая функция – культурно-информационная. Благодаря ей индивид приобщается к культурным событиям, становится получателем, транслирует сам значительно больший поток информации. Из этой функции вытекает следующая функция – социально-коммуникационная, в которой индивид контактирует со значительным количеством людей, за счёт повышенной плотности населения городов. Последней, но одной из определяющих в судьбе индивида является образовательная функция. Город – это центр знаний и развития тесной социальной коммуникации. Получение академического образования, профессиональных навыков и опыта работы во многих сферах становится доступно в городе (Акалелова, 2014).

Стоит отметить, что скорость адаптации к урбанистической культуре зависит от возраста конкретного человека. Чем моложе – тем выше адаптация, и наоборот.

Из негативных функций города можно выделить значимые изменения в социальном поведении новоприбывших горожан, такие как:

1. Рост безразличия к проблемам и событиям не имеющим непосредственное отношение к индивиду. При первом контакте с городской безликостью, это вызывает культурное недоумение, но всё же по прошествии нескольких лет, происходит адаптация.
2. Коммуникативный ценз, который проявляется в значительно большей избирательности в общении, что обусловлено множеством контактов с

людьми. Каждый горожанин наблюдает вокруг себя, помимо большого числа незнакомцев, одних и тех же людей, с которыми он видится или взаимодействует по необходимости. Пример: соседи, коллеги, продавцы, пассажиры автобусов и т.д. И здесь наблюдается противоречие и разночтение в установках. В селе, неформальные отношения с окружающими – это норма поведения, так как там стоит вопрос взаимодействия и взаимопомощи стоит более остро в силу более экстремальных условиях. В городе – допустимо, но не столь необходимо. Во главе угла ставиться не создавать окружающим проблем и не навязывать свое общение, так как вопрос регулирования времени и тайм-менеджмент актуализируется в условиях городской суеты.

3. Снижение авраженности реагирования на социальную ответственность, по причине большей отстраненности в условиях города. Это сказывается на проблемах с оказанием помощи посторонним людям.
4. Снижение объёма доверительных отношений, с преобладанием более формальных, что повышает риск одиночества. Как ни странно, но в больших городах количество доверительных связей на человека, существенно ниже чем в селах. Это объясняется более дифференцированной системой взаимоотношений, чем в селе (Дончевский и др., 2016).

Помимо ценностных и поведенческих изменений, существуют культурные риски. Для представителей народов, чья языковая и культурная идентичность находится под опасностью исчезновения, миграция в города с иноязычным общением означает снижение использования родного языка и смешанной самоидентичности, не говоря уже о снижении рождаемости начиная со второго поколения горожан (Ефимов и др., 2015).

Также в крупных городах происходят две противоположные тенденции в восприятии городской жизни. Одна их часть стремится стать в составе обособленной группы, объединенной по определённому признаку (кондоминиумы, анклав, религиозные приходы, постоянные посетители концертов, ресторанов; трудовые коллективы, клубы по интересам и т.д.), за пределами которой находится безликий городской массив.

Эта обособленность близка к «домашним» городкам с небольшим населением, в которых практически все люди знают или имеют представление о друг друге. Психологически, это способствует обеспечению чувства безопасности, защищенности и причастности. Но отличие заключается в том, что жители небольших городов вынуждены довольствоваться ограниченным

выбором возможностей своего города, в том время как члены обособленных групп мегаполисов, пользуются всеми привилегиями крупного города, стремясь минимизировать его безразличность и безликость (Фролов и Суходольская, 2010).

Вторая часть горожан напротив стремится к разнообразию типов общения, к новым людям и постоянно меняющимся тенденциям. Они чувствуют себя защищено в толпе прохожих, отчасти потому что правила взаимодействия в толпе незнакомых людей менее сложные и витиеватые, чем в группах с более личностным общением. Возможно, стремление жителей сёл и малочисленных городов к переезду в мегаполисы обусловлены именно таким типом мышления. Ведь, помимо прочего, близкое общение в обособленных группах мегаполисов, в сообществе сёл и в «домашних городках» предъявляет требования к поведению всех её членов. Что-то осуждается, а что-то поощряется. В крупных городах практически нет поведенческого ценза, не считая радикального и опасного для общества поведение.

В современном мире, всё чаще наблюдается такие явления как дауншфтинг, рурбанизация и субурбанизация. Горожане обуславливаясь личными мотивами переезжают в деревню, небольшой город или пригород, где жизнь протекает без суеты мегаполиса в размеренном ритме. Это также объясняется снижением стресса («поближе к природе»), который оказывает город на индивида и снижением финансовых расходов на проживание (Рабкин, 2015).

Согласно проведенным исследованиям ростовских ученых в области постурбанистики к важнейшим изменениям в ценностях относятся: «...ценность уникализации, приходящая на смену ценности унификации; ценность современного семейного трудо- и бытоустройства, замещающая ценность фабрично-заводской отчужденности; ценность человекоцентристского технологического и социально-бытового уклада, конкурирующего с приоритетами машинного производства и стандартами потребления, ценность социального капитала в противоположность городской разобщенности» (Дончевский и др., 2016).

Таким образом, ментальные изменения в жизни новоприбывших горожан, протекают на фоне меняющегося культурного-аксиологического фундамента урбанизации. В целом, переезд в город сказывается положительно, плюсы превышают минусы. К тому же миграция из сёл в города обусловлена двумя наиболее частыми мотивами: вынужденная миграция, когда в прежнем месте проживания нет возможности получить образование, нет перспективы для

себя или детей, безработица или угроза потери работы в будущем; мотивированная миграция, когда уровень жизни в месте проживания удовлетворяет жизненные потребности, но переезд сулит большую самореализацию. В обоих случаях, есть больше вероятности улучшить свою жизненное положение.

2. Акторы формирование культурной и ценностной идентичности

Началом исследования влияния урбанизации на общество было положено в конце XIX века, когда европейские нации столкнулись с кризисами разрастающихся индустриальных городов. И происходящее стало объясняться особым статусом города как социально-природного образования, живущего по внутренним законам (Рой и Чуканов, 1997).

Реакцией на кризис стало широкое распространение инновационных идей в градостроительстве, а вместе с тем выбор направления развития культуры городов. Отдельный вопрос о положении городских посёлков и малых городов.

В начале XX века, период начала противостояния капиталистических и социалистических идей общественного мироустройства многие предложения касательные решения социально-культурных проблем горожан, выдвигались именно представителями этих двух полярных точек политических мировоззрений.

В Европе становились популярны идеи жилья, в котором жители города могли более теснее контактировать друг с другом, трудиться, воспитывать и обучать детей и т.д. Индивидуальный мир стал ближе к коллективному. Это ставило по-новому вопрос об архитектурных структурах городов.

Ощущая потребность в простом и оригинальном решении архитекторы того времени, вдохновленные социалистическим экспериментом предлагали свои идеи по формированию городов, в которых должны будут жить люди нового социалистического мышления.

Так Тони Гарнье – отец градостроительного зонирования, выдвигал свою идею как будущее городского расположения кварталов, что в свою очередь должно было способствовать более рациональному жизненному укладу. Он предложил создать экспериментальный город во Франции, где все постройки будут продуктом массового строительства бюджетного жилья, поделенного на зоны проживания и досуга, административную, производственную и сельскохозяйственную зоны. Интересно что по его замыслу в городе не должно было быть места для духовных заведений и

органов правопорядка. По его мнению, социализм был способен так поднять самосознание горожан, что в них просто не было необходимости. Это пример того какими высокими ценностями должны были обладать люди, предположительно, в обозримом будущем.

Схожих с Гарнье идей придерживался всемирно известный архитектор, новатор, создатель архитектурного модернизма и функционализма Шарль Эдуард Жаннере-Гри, более известный под псевдонимом «Ле Корбюзье». Его идеи во много определили архитектуру XX века, стали революционными для передовых стран мира и к тому же из-за его политических предпочтений, Ле Корбюзье пользовался популярностью в СССР. Отчасти его проект «Лучезарного города» узнаваем во многих городах постсоветского пространства. По мнению архитектора социалистическое общество, проживающее в городах будущего, должно было изжить многие недостатки человечества, при помощи широкомасштабной системы рационального жизненного планирования начиная от многоступенчатого государственного воспитания детей заканчивая тотальным контролем над экономикой. Предположительно городское население должно было последовательно проходить по всем степеням осознания рациональной реальности, в конце которой принятие полного социального планирования было неизбежным. Города Ле Корбюзье были верхом унификации, что в свою очередь требовалось и от её жителей.

Совершенно противоположных мыслей придерживался один из сильнейших архитекторов США, человек широких новаторских взглядов Фрэнк Ллойд Райт, придерживавшийся сильных капиталистических позиций. Он считал что хозяином жилья может быть только тот человек, который обладает домом на земле, и является владельцем земельного участка, потому что жизнь в многоквартирных домах – это зависимость от других людей, в которой индивидуальность не может раскрыться в полной мере. По этой причине он продвигал идею качественного, но не «штампованного» жилья. Его идея широкой застройки пригородной территории домами на одну семью стали очень популярны в период после Второй мировой войны. Солдаты демобилизовавшись попадали под государственную программу льгот “ВI Bill” согласно которой они могли на выгодных условиях получить кредит на строительство дома в пригороде, получить образование и получать пенсию ветерана. Эта идея во многом определила нынешний облик США, потому что необходимость добираться до работы из пригорода стимулировало покупку машины, что в масштабах страны привело к автомобильному буму в стране.

Увеличение значения частного транспорта сократило значение общественного. Вся Америка покрылась широкими автомагистралями, эстакадами и прочей дорожной инфраструктурой. Но культурно это сказалось на ощущении личной свободы и независимости, что подтвердило умозаключения Ф.Л. Райта (Костарев, 2012).

К тому же США, являясь ядром капиталистического лагеря, не могли себе позволить заигрывание с социалистическими идеями доступного унифицированного жилья для всех граждан, активно возводимого в странах социалистического лагеря.

В данный же период времени европейские страны, страны Северной Америка, Японии, Кореи и Австралии стали развивать постурбанистические направления развития общества. Во главу угла встают творческие направления развития, на стыке которых появляются креативные подходы к экономической и культурной деятельности города (арт-сквоты, коворкинги, бизнес-инкубаторы и smart-территории). Постурбанизм определяет уход фокуса от промышленных подходов к многообразию различной деятельности, удовлетворяющей все потребности общества. Таким образом расширяется ресурсная база для развития города, создается конкуренция экономических стратегий, широкий спектр трудоустройства для молодежи (Дробышева, 2016).

Креативность в современной городской среде - это одна из ключевых аксиологических координат в жизни общества. Необычный, оригинальный творческий подход – это то что уже сейчас показывает свою эффективность на примере успехов «икон кремниевой долины» таких как Стив Джобс (основатель Apple), Билл Гейтс (основатель Microsoft), Марк Цукерберг (основатель Facebook), Ян Кум (основатель WhatsApp). До того как их продукт стал популярным большинству людей было трудно понять в чем именно его ценность.

Таким образом, начало XX века было обусловлено формированием у населения разных политических блоков идеологического воспитания, а урбанистическая культура формировалась как следствие этих идеологий. В капиталистических странах помимо государственной идеологии остаются сильными методы корпораций по регулированию потребительского поведения. Вероятнее всего, что в XXI веке благодаря вытеснению ценности креативности и творческого подхода уже не столько государства и организации будут направлять развитие культуры городов, сколько креативные группы самих граждан. Здесь как никак к месту будет высказывание Остина Клеона: «Все, что вы должны сделать, – это показать всем свою работу» (Клеон, 2014).

Заключение

Таким образом, столкновение ценностей традиционного общества и урбанистического общества, можно сравнить со столкновением культов традиции и культа новаторства. Эти два главных составляющих человеческой психологии меняются местами в ходе урбанизации. Во главу угла встаёт креативность и оригинальность, новизна решений. Консерватизм сдаёт позиции, но не уходит совсем, по причине ограниченности восприятия человеческим обществом новых идей и изменений за одно поколение. Большой процент людей, по разным причинам переселяются в города, тем самым меняют свой привычный образ жизни и мировоззрения на тот в котором собираются прижиться. Это вносит в их жизнь необходимость смириться с изменениями, если переезд в город вынужденная мера, и искать в нем позитивные стороны. То есть, видеть в «новом» – благое.

Тем самым мы подтвердили важность изучаемой проблематики, изучили историки, нынешнее состояние и перспективы дальнейшего развития.

Становится очевидно, что процесс урбанизации небезграничен. Однажды, достигнув предела в соотношении «село – город», вероятнее всего свыше 90% населения будут жить в городах. Система стабилизируется и придёт черед её консервации, что подразумевает под собой создание культуры, способной просуществовать значительное количество времени, эффективно выполняя функцию регулятора жизни общества в новом урбанизированном мире. До наступления этого момента должны появляться всевозможные вариации этой культуры из которых, естественным путём сохраняться самые эффективные. Они и будут определять жизнь общества в будущем. Вполне возможно, что после нескольких веков бурной новаторской деятельности начиная с промышленной революции XIX века, у человечества наступит «инновационные каникулы», в течении которых система культуры не будет меняться значительным образом по причине отсутствия необходимости.

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The Ostsee issue in the second half of the 19th century

Abstract:

In the second 19th century, one of the most acute issues in the internal Russian polemics was the question of the Ostsee (Baltic). This region had a kind of autonomy, being three self-governing Russian provinces. The indigenous people (who in the second half of the century before last acquired the names of Estonians and Latvians) were even legally considered second-class people. Russian publicists of the conservative direction, speaking out against the special order of administration of the region, largely contributed to the national development of local nationalities. This article shows the role and significance of Russian conservative publicists who fought against the German (Ostsee) orders in the region. The results of this struggle are also shown, during which it became possible to talk about the formation of the Baltic Nations from the totality of the lower classes.

Keywords:

Ostsee issue, Baltic provinces, Prussia, Katkov, Aksakov, Rohrbach, Moscow Vedomosti.

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Остзейский вопрос во второй половине XIX века

Аннотация:

Во второй XIX века одним из самых острых вопросов во внутрироссийской полемике был вопрос остзейский (прибалтийский). Этот край имел своеобразную автономию, являясь тремя самоуправляемыми российскими губерниями. Коренные жители (которые именно во второй половине позапрошлого века обрели имена эстонцев и латышей) даже юридически считались людьми второго сорта. Российские публицисты консервативного направления, выступая против особого порядка управления краем, во многом способствовали национальному развитию местных народностей. В данной статье показывается роль и значение русских консервативных публицистов, которые вели борьбу против немецких («остзейских») порядков в крае. Также показаны результаты этой борьбы, в ходе которой и стало возможным говорить о формировании прибалтийских наций из совокупности низших сословий.

Ключевые слова:

отсзейский вопрос, прибалтийский губернии, Пруссия, Катков, Аксаков, Рорбах, Московские ведомости.

Introduction

One of the most important issues of Russian life in the second half of the 19th century was the so-called *Ostsee Issue*. The three Baltic provinces of Estonia, Courland and Livonia (now the territory of Estonia and Latvia) were called the Ostsee region. The name was derived from the German name for the Baltic Sea, which the Germans call the East Sea (Ostsee). The Ostseisians, i.e., a special ethno-territorial group of Russian Germans, or rather the highest of the Baltic nobility, ruled the region. The Ostseisians were not a nation, but only a corporate system of privileged estates in the Baltic provinces. From the 13th to 17th centuries, they were the most dangerous opponents of Russia. After the annexation of the Ostsee region to Russia under Peter the Great, they were the most loyal category of Russian subjects for two centuries. The history of the Ostsee Germans began in the 13th century when the “dog-knights” conquered and actually turned into a slave state the indigenous peoples of the region – the Finno-Ugric tribes, whose descendants later became called Estonians, as well as the tribes of the Balts, the ancestors of the Latvians, close to the Slavs. In general, the Ostsee nobility had been fully formed until the 18th century, but in general terms, the vassals of the Livonian Order and the archbishops formed a class corporation soon after the conquest.

1.

After the Livonian war, the Order collapsed, but Sweden and Poland, which took possession of the Baltic lands, preserved all the rights and privileges of the German barons and burghers in inviolability. The barony also organically included representatives of some Swedish (e.g., the Wrangels), Scottish (Barclay de Tolly) and Russian families (e.g., the von Andrianov, von Baranov, and von Arbuzov families are known), who became one hundred per cent ostzeits. As early as the 17th century, pastor Hupel wrote that in this region “everyone who is not a peasant is called a German, and even if he cannot speak a word of German, for example, the English and Russians. To this class belong the landlords, the literati, the landlords, the free servants, and even the freedmen, as soon as they put on German clothes.”

Having annexed Livonia and Estland, Peter the Great retained all the old privileges for the local German barons and burghers, including the estate system of noble administration and court. Courland, which was annexed to Russia in 1795, also retained the old system of government, unchanged from the time of the Duchy of

Courland. The Ostsee Germans under Russian power ruled the Baltic States in the same way as in the 13th century.

In this region, there was a special legal regime different from the system of the Russian statehood and characterized by the dominance of the German language, Lutheranism, a special set of laws (of Baltic law), court management, etc. functions of internal administration was carried out by organs of the German nobility. The governor of any of the three Ostsee provinces, who was a representative of the central government, until the beginning of the first world war, was forced to build his official activities so as not to violate the privileges of the nobility.

2.

The struggle for the solution of the Ostsee issue in the form of the final incorporation of the region into Russia took place in particularly paradoxical circumstances, given that Alexander the Second, the Emperor of All Russia, whose mother was the Prussian Princess Charlotte (Alexandra Feodorovna in Orthodoxy), and who was married to Maria of Hesse and a firm Germanophile. In the reign of Alexander II, the dominance of the Ostsee barons continued to persist. There was a good example that an employee of the newspaper *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, edited by the leading Russian publicist M.N. Katkov, Latvian Krišjānis Valdemārs published an article under the title *Who rules Russia: the Russians themselves or the Germans?* It gave the following figures: Germans were 15% ministers, 25% of the State Council's members, 40% senators, 50% generals, and 60% governors. Since the governors ran Russia, this was the answer to the question. Since all empresses were German, it was natural that through their patronage the Germans infiltrated the higher administration. Katkov, having read the article with amazement, did not believe in these figures. Then he told the Secretary to check them out. The results of the audit showed that the German senators were not 40, but as much as 63%. However, Katkov published Valdemārs's article, replacing only the words of the empresses to the "higher officials".

Many Russian-born influential dignitaries were actually bribed by the Ostseisians. As an example, the former governor of Courland, and at the beginning of the reforms – the Minister of Internal Affairs P.A. Valuev, whose mother was a Baltic German woman, nee von Brinken, owned an estate in Courland. Valuev played a prominent role in the period of Great Reforms, but not in the Ostsee issue. The protection of the rights of the Ostsee barons remained unchanged for him at all times and in all the posts that he held. Another prominent figure of the era, actually the second person in the country at one time, P.A. Shuvalov was listed in matrikulas as

a Baltic nobleman. As a result, both of these prominent figures of the era of the Great Reforms took quite pro-German positions in the Ostsee issue.

Thus, the opponents of the Ostsee order had to overcome the stubborn resistance not only of the Ostsee nobility but also of the highest spheres of the Empire.

3.

Among the many paradoxes of Russian life in the century before last was the existence of a fairly free press under the autocracy. Due to the clear political circumstances, there could not be an open political struggle in the form of parliamentary debates or the activities of political parties in Russia at that time. The social and political struggle was carried on in the press, and, of course, there could be no official party press. Political programs and manifestos of various ideological trends were presented in the form of journalism “on the topic of the day”, fiction and criticism. Hence it is clear why it was ‘thick’ magazines that replaced the parliament, parties, and university departments of philosophy in Russia. However, some newspapers were also able to acquire a similar political significance. It is no accident that at that time, expressions such as the *Party of Moscow Vedomosti* were used to refer to conservatives or the *Direction of Sovremennik* for radicals. In fact, the role of party organs was played by the Slavophile newspapers *Moscow* and *Moskvich* (Muscovite), edited by Ivan Aksakov. The liberals were also represented by various editions. Finally, the serfs also had their newspaper *Vesti*, a favourite reading of the ‘wild landlords’. A fierce magazine war raged between these editions. The Baltic problems found the widest coverage on the pages of publications. At the same time, the radicals were interested in the Ostsee issue only as a reason for additional criticism of the German dominance in the state apparatus of the country. The liberals, paradoxically at first glance, were inclined to defend the Ostseisians, admiring their ‘civility’ and regional self-government. It is clear that the serfs were delighted with the power of the Ostsee barons and were not averse to establishing an oligarchic rule, in which the monarch would have resembled a ruler limited in his powers, like the Governors-General of the Baltic region dependent on the Ostsee nobility, in Russia. In such circumstances, the only fighters for the rights of the indigenous population of the Baltic States were the guardians (a literal translation of the Latin term ‘conservatives’). They were statesmen, whose views were expressed and rather even formed by Mikhail Katkov. Disagreeing with the ‘Katkovs’ on many issues of the Baltic, guardians supported the Slavophiles.

Of course, sooner or later the Russian guardians opposed the Ostsee dominance not only in the highest apparatus of the Empire but also with a special position in the Baltic States. The implementation of reforms in Russia and the growth of the national movement among the Baltic peoples raised the question of the need for reforms in the Ostsee provinces as well. The foreign policy situation – the strengthening of Prussia and the unification of Germany under its leadership – gave it a special sharpness. The reunification of Germany provoked the enthusiasm of Ostsee people, and for the first time in half a century, this circumstance of Russian rule in the region questioned the loyalty of the Ostseisians to Russia. In fact, back in 1848-1849, during the German revolution, the three Baltic Russian provinces were declared by the so-called Frankfurt Parliament to be part of the all-German Reich. At that time, the paper resolutions of this ‘parliament’ were not taken seriously. However, at that time, a new world power was rapidly rising in the form of the German Empire, and its claims to the possession of the “old German land” in the eastern part of the Baltic Sea had to be taken into account.

Thus, the Ostsee order became a threat to the territorial integrity of Russia. Conservative publicists opposed the Ostsee and not only did they engage in a confrontation with an influential group in the empire’s elite, but they also encountered opposition.

4.

Katkov devoted 155 articles to the problems of the Baltic region in the *Moscow Vedomosti*, the first of which was published in 1864, and the last in 1886. On the Ostsee issue, Aksakov’s *Moscow* had 32 editorials only in 1869. This already testified to the bitterness of the struggle for the Baltic issue.

Until that time, in Russian and world scientific literature, there was a tradition to consider conservatives as purely official propagandists or officials who did not have their face. Meanwhile, the persecution of the conservative press clearly demonstrated the relationship between conservatives and the government. Since the entry into force of the *Provisional Rules on the Press* on April 6, 1865 (valid until 1905), it was conservative newspapers and magazines that were most affected by censorship. So, the newspaper *Moscow* of Ivan Aksakov had 9 censorship warnings, 3 suspensions in one year, and finally was banned. The magazine *Citizen* of V.P. Meshchersky had 24 censorship penalties and was closed from 1878 to 1882. The *Moscow Vedomosti* of M.N. Katkov got 11 penalties. In 1866, Katkov was suspended from editing. The newspaper *Modern Izvestia* of N.P. Gilyarov-Platonov had 13 prohibitions for sale and was suspended several times in publication. The Slavophile

publications – the magazine *Russian Conversation*, the newspaper *Day*, and the Dostoevsky brothers' edition *Time* – were prohibited by censorship. The position of these publishing houses in the Ostsee issue largely contributed to the conflicts of conservatives in government censorship.

In the 1860s and 1870s, Germany actively promoted the idea of reuniting the Reich with the Baltic provinces of Russia by a number of the Ostseisians who emigrated to their 'historical homeland'. Thus, Egor (Georg) Sivers, an Ostsee poet, professor at the Riga Polytechnic (and great-grandson of a Russian admiral of Peter's time), in the 1860s made several critical articles in the *Baltische Monatschrift*, in which he emphasized the German character of the region. Julius Eckart, the editor of a German newspaper in Riga and the author of the book *The Baltic Province of Russia*, published in 1869 in German, wrote in the same spirit. Historian K. Schirren published a multi-volume extremely tendentious work *Historical Origins of the Collapse of Livonian Independence*. E. Kuttner published the work *Vocation of Prussia in the East*, which proved the rights of Prussia to the Baltic States and painted "the future of the German Ostsee provinces under Prussian rule".

Somewhat later, by the turn of the 19th and early 20th centuries, such plans were preached in Germany by a triumvirate of influential journalists, as well as university professors from the Russian Baltic States – T. Schiemann, I. Haller and P. Rohrbach. All three were considered the most widely read of German publicists. Schiemann edited the *Krestovaya Gazeta*, where Bismarck once worked, and Rohrbach was constantly read by Kaiser Wilhelm II. All three former Russian subjects wrote that Russia was outside the family of European peoples, their culture and civilization. Russian culture as such does not exist at all. Accordingly, it was impossible to treat Russians as white people. Russia should have been cut into pieces like an orange. In addition, since there are too many Russians, special measures should be taken to correct this situation in the future. Russian lands should become German, and the Slavs are only manure for the growth of German culture.

However, even these vicious Russophobes showed a hidden admiration for the Russians as a nation. Paul Rohrbach wrote that "apart from the British, history generally knows only two nations that have acquired a comparable national sense of self-worth, a similar providential awareness of their power – the Romans and, at least for a certain era, the leading classes of the Russian nation... [The Russians and the British] are accustomed, based on a long chain of their grandiose political and (real or imaginary) civilizing successes, to identify the cause of human development to a greater or lesser extent with their national position." (Rohrbach, 1911)

5.

The head of the Ostsee emigrants in Prussia was the former Deputy Chairman of the Livonia High Court, von Bock, who, according to I. Aksakov, “organized a whole system of agitation of public opinion against Russia in Berlin.” (Aksakov, 1887)

Standing at the head of the Russian national press, “the practitioner of Slavophilism” Ivan Aksakov immediately drew attention to the Ostsee problem. His literary legacy includes more than two dozen articles on the Baltic issue. On June 2, 1862, in the first Ostsee article *How to Understand the Baltic German Ideal of Russia*, I.S. Aksakov said that the ‘Ideal of Russia’, which is preached by Baltic Germans, was based on a deep, serious and sincere sense of statism, the sense of loyalty and devotion of Germans to the state of the Empire, not the Russian people: “the fact that loyal to the Russian throne, as we have seen, they are preaching at the same time, fight to the death of the Russian nation; the faithful servants of the Russian state, they do not want to know the Russian Land. For them, Russia exists only as of the Russian Empire, and not as Russia, not as the Russian Land, under the protection of which there may be areas inhabited by other nationalities”. Thus, the German ideal was “the embodiment of the abstract idea of the state, outside of the nation, such a Russia, in which there would be nothing Russian that stands out...”.

I.S. Aksakov also drew attention to the situation of the aborigines of the region. It was no coincidence that one of his articles in the newspaper *Day* of November 27, 1865, is called “*On What Basis is the Peasant of the Ostsee Region Deprived of the Rights that the Peasant Enjoys in the Rest of Russia?*”.

He was particularly indignant at the position of the Baltic Germans, expressed in the thesis that the Russians are barbarians, and the Germans are the enlightenment, the Russians are savages, and the Germans are civilized (Aksakov, 1887), and also statements of the European press about “oppression of Germans in Russia” (Aksakov, 1887).

I.S. Aksakov also drew attention to the striking similarity between the Baltic chivalry and the Polish gentry, as well as the claims of the Jews to ‘equality’, which meant the special domination of the Jews in all of Russia by analogy with the Ostsee provinces and the Western Region. As can be seen, any phobia always brings together some opponents. It should be noted that the demands of phobia are accompanied by the declaration of ‘rights’ and ‘freedom’.

Aksakov pointed out that it is difficult not to notice the analogy of the “Polish and German activities”. The similarity of the behaviour of Poles in the Western Region and Germans in the Ostsee region of the Russian Empire is striking:

- “both the Poles in the north-western provinces, and the Germans in the Baltic Pomerania are strangers and do not belong to the native nationality of the region”;
- “Germans and Poles are lords in the region, in which they represent a significant minority”;
- in their hands, “land property, social privileges and all the means of pressure on non-Polish and non-German masses of the people focuses”;
- in their environment, “the desire region to polonise Russians and Lithuanians, and Germanize Latvians and Estonians in Baltic provinces in the North-West” was dominated;
- “methods to translate native nationality in the Polish and German are almost the same: religion, school, the temptations of worldly benefits, threats, violence, persecution, humiliation...”;
- “the upper classes, composed of people of a nationality, which is alien to the edge, i.e., Poles and Germans, obscured, and in the Baltic seaboard, continue obscuring and now, the masses of the rural population from the Russian government”;
- “in these oppressed masses of the rural population, national hatred to their abusers – to the Polish gentry and German knights – is deeply implemented, a deep attraction to Russia and sincere faith in the Russian Tsar exist...” (Aksakov, 2002)

I.S. Aksakov emphasizes Samarin’s words that “those who preach the need to tighten, curb and besiege Russian society by moving the apparatus of police power against it, at the same time, flirt with the Polish gentry and silently give up when meeting with the Baltic chivalry...” (Aksakov, 2002)

The Jews also aspired to the same role of masters, like the Ostsee knights and Polish gentry in their regions. I.S. Aksakov did not ignore this problem. So, in 1862, in the first article on the Baltic problem, he found the “similarity of the German view to the Jewish one” striking at first glance with its paradoxical nature: “The Jews, just like the Germans, do not recognize the Russian nationality in Russia and still discuss the issue if (for the Germans, it has long been resolved negatively!) Russians are really the masters in the Russian land? In their opinion, the Jews are just as much the

masters of the Russian land as the Russians. 'This demand of the Jews ... is quite consistent with the German ideal of the abstract state.'" (Aksakov, 2002)

6.

Yuri Samarin continued fighting Ostsee philosophy. Having initiated the study of the Baltic issue in *Letters from Riga*, then he comprehensively investigated it in the issues of *The Outskirts of Russia*, published abroad in 1868-76, formulating the task of Russian policy in the Baltic States: guardianship and support Latvians and Estonians, the elements friendly to Russia, and their liberation from German influence. The fact that "Outskirts..." were released abroad is quite significant. By the way, Samarin received a reprimand for them personally from Alexander II. The appearance of this volume in Prague caused a scandal and a storm of indignation not only in the elites of St Petersburg. Y. Samarin, like twenty years ago, had to explain himself to the tsar.

The Ostseisians took the works of Samarin very painfully. Professor of the University of Dorpat, Carl Christian Gerhard Schirren wrote a whole book *Livonia's Answer to Mr Samarin*, in which he defended the inviolability of the former status of Livonia and the rest of the Baltic provinces. In the same year, 1868, the German nobility sent Alexander II an all-important address to remove the Samarin's 'slander'. It is interesting that shortly after the 'Livonia answer', he emigrated to Germany, where he died in 1910. Encouraged by the Baltic Germans, he began to search for documents relating to the history and upshot of the Northern War, as a result of which the Baltic lands gradually began to withdraw to the Russian Empire during the 18th century. According to Schirren's plan, evidence, extracts, and documents were to justify the Germans and thereby substantiate their claims to a special position in these provinces. However, as a result of many years of searching, the professor discovered too many unsightly facts and, as an honest scientist, admitted: "The Baltic Germans had more guilt than glory." Most of the huge archive collection had to be put on fire by the professor, so as not to inflict a serious blow to his fellow tribesmen.

In 1868, the book *On the Rural Life of the Livonian Peasants*, written by Friedrich Jung-Stilling, Secretary of the *Livonian Statistical Committee*, was published in Riga, where it was proved that in several western countries, the well-being of agricultural workers did not reach the Livonian level. Jung-Schilling noted that "the income of one married rural worker in Livonia exceeds the income of a whole family of Prussian farmers". He wrote that in Belgium, even a married rural worker received less than a single farmhand in Livonia "despite the fact that life is much cheaper here". Written by the Livonian scholar was largely true. Indeed, in many indicators of economic development, the Baltic provinces were ahead of some European states. However,

in general, this work of Jung-Schilling was aimed at proving the special role of the Ostseisians in the life of the region. The general implication was simple: only the Ostsee barons were capable of guiding the natives and bringing them to a high level of development and prosperity. In the United States, just before the Civil War of 1861-65, the slave owners of the South also wrote books about the fact that the Negroes on the plantations lived more affluently than the proletarians in the factories in the North. At the same time, convincing evidence and facts provided. So, Jung-Schilling's essay was a retaliatory blow in defence of the Ostsee claims.

In 1864-1865, the officialdom of the War Ministry of 'Russian Invalid', backed by the Minister of War D.A. Milyutin, played an active role in the campaign against the Ostseisians, but after the highest displeasure, the newspaper was forced to soften its position.

Finally, M.N. Katkov actively spoke on the pages of his issues. In 1869, in the midst of the controversy caused by the 'answer' of C. Schirren, he pointed out to the Russian reader the essence of the Ostsee demands that "it is known that the Baltic policy has now developed, concerning the circumstances, a special political terminology. Baltic politics agrees to call Russia by Reich and allow for it Reichseinheit (Imperial unity), but it does not want to know Russia as a state and allow for it state unity. Reich can serve as a collective name for the totality of many states that are randomly connected with each other, as, e.g., there was an Assyrian or Babylonian monarchy, as there was a Mongol Horde on the Volga, as today's Turkey and Austria, which has no internal basis for its existence and can be erased from the European map every minute. Another thing is 'Staat'. This is the individuality that the people acquire through the hard and long work of historical development, this is a whole, living, organic unity." To the arguments of the Ostseisians about the rights that Peter the Great had secured for them, Katkov reasonably replied that "Peter the Great had several urban communities and knightly societies that owned land temporarily, in the Baltic region.

Where were the people of these countries? Where was that social organization, which in every state goes from top to bottom and in which the national life of the country is expressed? There were no people than in these regions, and there could be no question of any nationality. The native population did not appear at all. There was no mention of them. They were completely disenfranchised beings, devoid of any civil, even human significance. The knights preferred to command them in their dark languages, rather than to bring them nearer and equalize them with themselves using the German language. So, they thought a little about national unity between the various elements of their country. Does the supreme power now have in the

Baltic region? The former slaves, over whom their owners had the right of life and death, became, at least in idea, free beings. Numerous populations, which (at least in principle) got some civil rights, had come to light. From behind the privileged squads, who turn to the all-quickening sun and need the care, justice and mercy of an exalted and equal supreme power, the humbler of the proud and the comforter of all, appeared millions of people. Feudal orders were impossible. It requires a time-appropriate administration and a court that meets the highest requirements of citizenship and justice. Due to the diverse populations of the region, the issue of its state nationality arises. What government should be in this region – Russian or German? Which language should be the common, obligatory organ for all the diverse inhabitants of these provinces-Russian or German?” (Aksakov, 2002)

Conclusion

According to Russian conservatives, the solution of the Baltic issue was in the need to:

- adopt the Russian state in the Baltic region – management of the Russian model, common Russian law, Russian language as a state;
- equalize in the Baltic States in rights with the Germans, the indigenous population of the region and, in particular, in the first place, the Russians; to carry out land reform in the region – to give the land to the peasants on the Russian pattern of reform of 1861;
- introduce in schools the Russian language; to reform the court – the institution of the jury and election of local judges in the Russian sample;
- reform the city administration;
- support Orthodoxy in the region.

The liberal press, especially the *St Petersburg Vedomosti*, edited by Valentin Korsh, declared the Ostsee issue far-fetched, the Baltic aborigines were declared ‘European nations’, and M.N. Katkov, I.S. Aksakov, and Y. Samarin were accused of ‘chauvinism’ and ‘inciting national hostility’. As can be seen, Russian liberals have not come up with anything new over the past century and a half, blaming those who protect Russia’s interests in the same terms.

The efforts of the guardians gradually began to bear fruit. Despite the resistance of the Ostseisians, who were supported by the influential P.A. Shuvalov, the government of the Empire finally began a policy of final incorporation of the Ostsee region into the empire, eliminating its features.

The Slavophil and protective press of Russia supported with great joy the weakening of German influence in the region and the development of local nationalities. There was only one sceptic, the famous in our time (but almost unknown in that era) Konstantin Leontiev. He wrote that “in the affairs of the Ostsee region, it now seems to me that we should prefer conditional justice, i.e., the legality associated with the traditions of this region, to absolute justice, i.e., the right of the German barons to prefer the Esto-Latvian democratic movement. The names of the German aristocracy are associated with the military and political greatness of Orthodox Russia, and the Esto-Latvian movement is associated with nothing but liberal fashion... if we ... in the Ostsee region, instead of feudal Europeism, which gave the Russian Tsars so many good generals and politicians, we introduce egalitarian, i.e., liberal Europeism, which, apart from lawyers, accusatory correspondents, ‘real’ mentors, etc., has given nothing and cannot give anything, then what kind of Russification is this?” (Leontiev, 1996)

However, these individual statements were drowned in the common chorus of approval of government policy in the Baltic region.

The German ‘Baltic special life’ (baltisches Sonderleben) was gradually becoming a thing of the past.

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On the borders of Slavic identity: the search for self-determination and comparative analysis

Abstract:

Language as a collective memory of the people, the historical past of the language is the embodiment of the spirit of the people; this is what was common to Russian and Czech figures in the first half of the 19th century. The names and biographies of outstanding scientists, who have made a great contribution to the science of their country, their abilities are not only history but also scientific information, concepts and the search for new knowledge. The article is devoted to the development of scientific organizations of the Slavic peoples. The nation is constantly changing, and each historical epoch corresponds to its idea of the nation. By the end of the 18th century, the southern and Western Slavic peoples had been under the foreign yoke for several centuries. As a result of active activity, Slavic literary languages, scientific and cultural organizations emerged.

Keywords:

science, Russian Academy, Dictionary of the Russian Academy, Slavs, E.R. Dashkova, A.S. Shishkov, Slovenian language, buditeli, Y. Dobrovsky, V. Hanka, P.Y. Šafařík.

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На границах славянской идентичности: поиск самоопределения и сравнительный анализ

Аннотация:

Язык как коллективная память народа, историческое прошлое языка является воплощением духа народа; это то, что было общим для русских и чешских деятелей в первой половине XIX века. Имена и биографии выдающихся учёных, внесших большой вклад в науку своей страны, их способности - это не только история, но и научная информация, концепции и

поиск новых знаний. Статья посвящена развитию научных организаций славянских народов. Нация постоянно меняется, и каждой исторической эпохе соответствует своё представление о нации. Южные и западные славянские народы к концу XVIII века уже несколько веков находились под чужеземным игом. В результате активной деятельности возникали славянские литературные языки, научные и культурные организации.

Ключевые слова:

наука, Российская Академия, Словарь Академии Российской славяне, Е.Р. Дашкова, А.С. Шишков, «словенский» язык, будители, Й. Добровский, В. Ганка, П.Й. Шафарик.

Introduction

Language as a collective memory of the people, the historical past of the language is the embodiment of the spirit of the people; this is what was common to Russian and Czech figures in the first half of the 19th century. The names and biographies of outstanding scientists, who have made a great contribution to the science of their country, their abilities are not only history but also scientific information, concepts and the search for new knowledge. As information begins to be brought into the system, scientific organizations and academies appear. Such a system is very fragile, and it requires conditions that make it possible to create this new knowledge.

It should note the third factor: for the existence of science, initiative organizers, who independently, as well as in a long routine work with officials, authorities and bureaucracy, would be able to organize science and its institutions, are needed. Finally, as a sufficient amount of knowledge is accumulated, it becomes an element of school and university education, as well as becoming part of the culture of society.

As a result, science becomes an independent field of activity and is formed into an independent public institution. This is a complex way to obtain and preserve knowledge: from initiative individuals to building a system. This article takes an example of how the process of organizing science has gone from public and private hobbies to the formation of special institutions.

There is no clear answer to the question of the origin and essence of the nation, as well as national identity, cultural identity. The most recent and complex type of ethnic group is the nation. There is no single scientific definition of a nation, and literature is so very diverse. In addition, the nation is not something unchangeable. The urban upper classes and aristocracy were foreign (except for the poles), and the Slavic population consisted of the lower strata (the peasantry and the urban lower classes). The Slavs were only peasant societies, divided socially and religiously. Breaking the class partitions, the national intelligentsia and science began to form.

1. Creation of the Russian Academy

In Russia in the second half of the 18th century, this role was assumed by women. Ekaterina Romanovna Dashkova (1743-1810) was not only a friend of Catherine the Great, but also had a direct relationship to the formation of public associations, science, philology, and philosophy in Russia. After spending 8 years (from 1769 to 1771, and from 1776 to 1782) traveling in Europe, she was familiar with kings, scientists, and artists: from educators (Diderot, Voltaire) and scientists (economist A. Smith, historians (W. Robertson and A. Ferguson) to bankers and the Pope, with whom she discussed the Vatican Museum being created. In 1779, on the way back to Russia, she was at a reception with the French queen in Paris. She attended scientific meetings, participated in debates, and even wrote music.

E.R. Dashkova resumed cooperation with Catherine the Great in 1782, and on January 24, 1783, a decree was issued on the appointment of E.R. Dashkova as director of the *St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences*, and she headed the established *Russian Academy* from October. The Empress sought to achieve political goals: the national language, brought to certain norms, was an attribute of the state, and the existence of a dictionary of the national language was evidence of the high culture of society. The *Italian Academy of Crusca* in Florence, the *Spanish Royal Academy*, and especially the *French Academy*, known for their dictionaries and grammars, served as an attractive example (Kopelevich & Ozhigova, 1989), e.g., in France, in 1635, a decree of Richelieu established the *French Academy*, “to make the French language not only elegant, but also capable of interpreting all the Sciences and arts”. Given the success that followed in spreading the French language in America, Africa, and France, a similar decision was also made in England. In 1662, *The Royal Charter* approved the creation of the *Royal Society of London* (an analogue of the Academy of Sciences) with the aim of the same expansion of the English language in the conquered territories in the United States, Canada, Australia, Africa and Russia. The expansion of language capabilities, the special desire to direct the language of science in an academic way, were considered as the basis of national security for each country. “The creation of such an Academy demonstrated the importance of language culture. It was about the prerequisites for the preparation of the cultural elite of the Empire.” (Feinstein, 2002) The establishment of the Academy further contributed to the better implementation of the reform of public education.

Already in 1783, Dashkova prepared for publication the first academic collection of works by M.V. Lomonosov *The Complete Works of Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov, with the Introduction of the Life of the Composer and the Addition of Many of His*

Works not yet Printed Anywhere, published in 6 parts in St Petersburg in 1784-1787. A.A. Nartov developed translation activities. By the time of the 1810s, the result of this period was that educated Russia used the norms of the Russian language defined by the *Dictionary of the Russian Academy*. After the resignation of Dashkova, several presidents had been replaced, when A.S. Shishkov became the President in 1813. He recalled the circumstances, “I told the Emperor whether it would be desirable for him to entrust the Academy to me, saying that I was not asking for this for any of my benefits, but only out of zeal and love for the Russian language and literature.” (Shishkov, 1870)

In his long career, A.S. Shishkov believed that the *Russian Academy* was created to strengthen and protect the Slavic-Russian language and from the penetration of French and English languages and religions into it. The last 28 years of the Academy’s work were associated with his name, until the accession of the *Russian Academy* to the *Academy of Sciences* as the second department (Department of Russian language and literature, ORYAS). Alexander Semyonovich Shishkov (09.03.1754-09.04.1841), writer, literary critic, philologist, admiral, active participant in the events of his time, later state secretary, minister of public education, and the president of the *Russian Literary Academy*. He was born into a poor family of small-scale, as he wrote, “sufficient” nobility. At the age of 10, he was sent to the naval cadet corps in St Petersburg, from which he graduated with the rank of Midshipman in 1772. He made a three-year journey, during which visited Italy, Greece and Turkey. Literary fame was brought to him by the play *Slavery* (1780), which was based on a description of a real case: the fate of a Russian sailor who fell into slavery to Algerian pirates. The production of the play was attended by the Empress and her heir Pavel Petrovich, who donated significant sums for the ransom of the person in trouble. After the success of the play, Shishkov began to enter literary salons (The works of the society of lovers of Russian literature, 1812). Shishkov’s literary studies were interspersed with participation in military campaigns. Some time later, in 1793, he translated *Naval Tactics* from the French. In his collection of translations, Tasso’s *Vigils* and *Jerusalem Liberated*, Petrarch’s sonnets can be found. At the same time, Alexander Semyonovich translated I.G. Kampe’s *Children’s Library* from German. This translation made Shishkov a favorite children’s writer in Russia for a long time, until the middle of the 19th century. By order of the director of the *St Petersburg Academy of Sciences* E.R. Dashkova, this book was printed in the academic printing house (Kampe, 1783-1785).

In 1796, A.S. Shishkov was elected a member, and from 1813 – President of the *Russian Academy*, which he headed until the last days of his life. Since then, he has

been completely immersed in the study of the Russian language and history. Since 1805, the *Russian Academy*, on the initiative of A.S. Shishkov, has published *Works and Translations*, in which he puts his original and translated articles, his translation of *Words about Igor's Regiment* and extensive notes that explained the meaning of obscure and ancient words. In 1803, A.S. Shishkov published his work *Reasoning about the Old and New Syllable of the Russian Language*. The publication of the work was marked by contemporaries as the beginning of the struggle between two literary trends in the development of the literary language, whose supporters were called “karamzinists” and “shishkovists”. Minister of Public Education and chief administrator of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions (from 1824 to 1828).

2. Language as a collective memory of the people, the historical past of the language – the embodiment of the spirit of the people

In addition, Shishkov developed a plan to create an all-Slavic scientific center in Russia. He had a special idea of the people, a special cult of the people: the people were preserved in the language, its guarantor was the ancient Russian literature. In turn, if we abandon the national principles, it would mean the exclusion of the nation from the enlightened peoples.

The first thing he did was to draft a new Charter for the Academy, which was approved after some discussion on May 29, 1818. Shishkov, setting out the reasons for the need for a new charter, wrote that the Academy was designed to be “the guardian of the language from all bad skills that can damage and shake it, unfair interpretations and abuses introduced into it”. It was planned to continue working on various dictionaries: a dictionary of the Russian language, a comparative dictionary of all Slavic dialects, dictionaries of technical and verbal sciences, and Slavic scientists had to work in their creation. In the first third of the 19th century, more and more attention was paid to the commonality of Slavic languages. The directions of work on the dictionary were outlined – etymological and alphabetic. The first one, etymological, was supervised by the president himself. Subsequently, this method has received the name “wordrootology”, i.e., the science of word roots.

The strongest contacts were established with Slavic scientists even under Dashkova. The first Slavic correspondent A.A. Baričević (Baryšević), a gymnasium teacher, member of the Turin and Neapolitan academies, author of studies on the history and literature of Croatia. In 1784, during the reign of E.R. Dashkova, his books came to St Petersburg from Agram (now Zagreb).

By the beginning of the 19th century, foreign Slavs had been under foreign rule for several centuries, and only Montenegro had full independence from the Slavic

lands outside of Russia. The rest of the peoples lived under the rule of the Germans and Hungarians (in Austria-Hungary) and the Turks. This did not help the Slavs to be interested in their identity, and even more so to pay attention to freedom in the national question. In addition to political and social, most foreign Slavs also experienced cultural humiliation. Their languages were reduced to the level of vernacular dialects, there were prohibitions on teaching in their native language. In the Ottoman Empire, religious oppression was added to this. Even at the beginning of the 19th century, assimilation and dissolution in the surrounding peoples of the Slavs seemed a matter of time. Most of the citizens of the Czech Republic and Slovenia spoke German, in the few cities of Slovakia and Croatia the Hungarian language prevailed, and Italian was practised among the inhabitants of the ancient cities of the Dalmatian coast. However, even among the Slavs who preserved their language and self-consciousness, disturbing processes took place. Among the Austrian Slavs, a noticeable layer began to make up various groups that switched to German language and culture, although they considered themselves Czechs, Slovenes and Croats. It was no coincidence that the famous Czech historian and philosopher J. Dobrovsky (1753-1829) considered the history of his people complete and wrote his books in German. He also published the first grammar of the Czech language, but in German.

A striking phenomenon of the era was the revival of the almost disappeared Slavs of Europe. In the Eastern Europe, this was manifested, first of all, in the cultural and ideological sphere, in public thought, in the views of advanced thinkers, writers, who in some countries bore the proud name of ‘awakeners’, or ‘buditelé’ in Czech. The Slavic peoples did not have their aristocracy (except for the poles, but they had a very large one), they did not have their bourgeoisie, to a certain extent even the middle urban strata (almost completely assimilated), artisans and the working class were absent. In principle, the Slavs were only peasant societies, divided both socially and religiously. Most of the educated people in the Austrian Empire came from the lower strata of society. Breaking the class partitions, the national ideology began to form. It was simple: the Slavs must be preserved as a community.

3. Example of the Czech people

It should be looked at the example of the Czech people, who had the most successful conditions in comparison with other Slavic peoples. The rise of national culture was favored by a background from the past: literary and cultural tradition, features of urban culture, and what is especially important-the existence of a network of lower (elementary) schools that used their native language, as well as secondary

and higher schools. At the same time, in the Czech Republic, since the 'Thirty Years' War, there was no own nobility, unlike other Slavs, who did not have their aristocracy and remained, in fact, peasant peoples. This was accompanied by political circumstances: The Czech Republic (Bohemia) in the Habsburg Empire had a certain territorial self-government, existing as a Kingdom, having the monarch of the Austrian Emperor. Thus, for the Czech rulers, the main thing at the beginning of the 19th century was not the struggle for independence, but the prevention of final Germanization.

The national revival began with the formation of national literary languages, with the struggle for the rights of the native language, its preservation and application in various social and cultural spheres. And it is impossible not to be struck by the fact that Czech, Slovak, and Slovenian, which have almost disappeared as spoken languages, have acquired a literary form and have really become the language of the people. The idea of Slavic solidarity began to spread rapidly, first becoming a form of national consciousness, and then the ideology of the Renaissance. Many European scientists (J.G. Herder, J. Dobrovsky, J. Jungman, J.B. Kopitar) were convinced that the Slavs are a single people.

In order not to talk about the national revival "in general", as an example, it should be cited the activities of two outstanding Czech 'awakeners', as they called the figures who awakened the Czech people.

The first is the name of the founder of the grammar of the Czech language. This is Josef Dobrowski (born 1753), who was not only the "Patriarch of the Czech national revival", but also ahead of his time. J. Dobrovsky was imbued with faith in the great destiny of the Slavs in the history of mankind. In 1792-1793, he made a trip to St. Petersburg and Moscow. Without the Moscow experience (Dobrovsky studied ancient Slavic manuscripts there), there would not have been a book *Instructions on the Language of Ancient Slavic Dialects*. The monuments of old Slavonic writing from Russian book repositories were rich material for his work. Dobrovsky's book aroused great interest and sympathy in the Czech Republic for Russia and the Russians. In turn, he was well known and appreciated in Russia. He was a member of the *Russian Academy of Sciences*; he is rightly considered the founder of Slavic and Bohemian studies (Frantsev, 1923).

A.S. Shishkov wanted to get acquainted with J. Dobrovsky very much. In 1809, he received the first volume of *Works and Translations Published by the Academy* (St Petersburg, 1805) and the first volume of the alphabet dictionary from Shishkov. They met in Prague in 1813. In 1822, the last, 6th volume of the second alphabet *Dictionary of the Russian Academy* was published. After studying it, I. Dobrovsky

responded with a review. He emphasized the great role of the Academy's members: "The *Russian Imperial Academy*, founded in 1783, thanks to the Russian dictionary, its first brainchild, has set itself a glorious, enduring monument. All the members of the Academy had to contribute to this work, and the publication of the dictionary was issued with a speed that does credit to the zeal of the members of the Academy." J. Dobrovsky approved the arrangement of words according to the alphabet principle, and considered the lack of old Russian words to be a disadvantage. He wrote that "a special advantage would have been given to this work if it were enlarged by all the Slavic words that occur in Nestor and other chroniclers". This remark pleased A.S. Shishkov, who sought to cover the language of the origins, and in the person of J. Dobrovsky found a faithful ally in the desire to cover the vocabulary of the "Slovenian" language.

In 1820, A.S. Shishkov wrote to J. Dobrovsky about the election of him and J. Nejedlý to honorary members of the Academy, and sent books. Together with the diploma of an honorary member, 49 books were sent to J. Dobrovsky. The Charter of the Academy of 1818 stipulated that "it is necessary for the Academy to communicate with many Slavic dialects by professors, bookkeepers and other learned people", who could also be elected foreign honorary members of the Academy (The collections of works and translations of Admiral A.S. Shishkov, 1818). 6 people were elected. Three of them are Slavic scientists: S.B. Linde, J. Dobrovsky, J. Nejedlý.

The idea of a comparative Slavic dictionary began to be implemented, and the need for constant contacts with scientists was also emphasized. It is known that scientists V. Hanka, F.L. Čelakovský, P.J. Šafařík, I.A. Jungmann, J. Kollar sent their grammar books and dictionaries to St Petersburg. So, a lot of material was accumulated for future work on the Dictionary. For 30 years, the Academy has been working on a plan to create a general Slavic comparative dictionary. Another correspondent of the Academy was V. Kopitar, who sent some of his works to St Petersburg, for which he was awarded a silver medal and cash prizes. Feedback was also established: on the recommendation of N.P. Rumyantsev, P.I. Köppen made a trip to the Slavic lands in 1821-1824. Relations were established with the younger generation of awakeners. Acquaintance with V. Hanka, J. Dobrovsky, F. Palatsky, J. Kollar, F.L. Čelakovský, V. Kopitar, V. Karadzic led to continuing contacts. Then the Academy decides to invite some Slavic scientists from Austria.

Other Czech figures also played an important role in the revival of Slavic literatures and peoples. Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861) was at the same time Slovak and Czech Slavist, poet, figure of national revival. He played an outstanding role in the development of the Slavs. He was born in the family of a teacher and an

Evangelical priest, and in 1817, he graduated from the University of Jena, where he was a brilliant student, and the University awarded him the degree of doctor of philosophy without protection. During the same period, he became imbued with the ideas of Slavic revival and Slavic reciprocity. In 1819-1833, Šafařík was a teacher and director at the Serbian Orthodox gymnasium in Novi Sad. At the same time, his first significant work *History of Slavic Languages and Literatures in All Dialects* was published in 1826. In 1823, a collection of Slovak folk songs “Písňe světské lidu slovenského v Uhřích” was published in Pest.

His first major work was *History of the Slavic Language and Literature in All Dialects*, published in 1826 in German. This was the first generalizing work, which gave a characteristic of the languages and literatures of all Slavic peoples and it caused a wide response in Slavic studies of that time.

In 1833, P.J. Šafařík moved to Prague, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1834-1835, Šafařík was editor of the Světozor magazine, curator (1841) and director (1848) of the Prague University Library. However, he did not have a permanent reliable position. In general, he held a modest position of editor, and mostly lived on the salary of the censor.

One of the main works, on which he worked in Prague, was *Slavic Antiquities* (“Slovanské starožitnosti”; in 1837, the first, historical and geographical volume was published). This work is considered by many to be a scientific feat of P.J. Šafařík. He carefully analyzed all available sources about the origin and history of the ancient Slavs, he justified their Indo-European origin and also showed their contribution to world history and culture.

Slavic Antiquities was translated from Czech into Russian, German, Polish, and became an encyclopedia of Slavic studies for a long time and the basis for further study of the history of Slavic peoples. The first Russian Slavists Sreznevsky, Preis, Grigorovich, based on Šafařík’s book, read their courses and used the materials in research activities.

The results of Šafařík’s ethnographic works were reflected in the book “Slovanský národopis” (*Slavic Ethnography*) (Prague, 1842). Also, P.J. Šafařík was engaged in the study of Glagolitic writing. In the last years of his life, he completely switched to studying the monuments of ancient Slavic writing. To solve the mystery of Glagolitic, he published several works on this topic. In 1858, he published his last work *On the Origin and the Homeland of Glagolitsa*. The *Russian Academy* awarded Šafařík a gold medal for his work, and scientific societies in Russia, Germany, Sweden, Serbia, and America elected him as a member. The scientist tragically died in Prague on June 26, 1861. He was buried in the Olshansky cemetery.

Of course, Šafařík was not alone in his activities. Václav Hanka (1791-1861) already knew many Slavic languages during his studies at Charles University. He created a circle for the defense of the Czech language. In 1813, he went to Vienna to study law. At the same time, he met J. Dobrovsky. Returning to Prague, he published the *Description of Russia and its troops* (1815, written based on information from Russian soldiers returning from the Napoleonic campaign home to Russia). V. Hanka was interested in the Slavic world, and in 1817, he translated Serbian songs into Czech. Seeking to awaken the nation, in 1817, he began publishing old Czech manuscripts of *Ancient Tales*, in 5 volumes, hoping that the new literature should be based on ancient monuments. In 1818, he opened and soon published the so-called *Kraledvorskaya Manuscript*, a collection of poems and songs of the 13th and 14th centuries.

In Russia, this work was immediately translated by A.S. Shishkov in St Petersburg and then A.I. Sokolov in Kazan and N.V. Berg in Moscow (1851).

V. Hanka kept in touch with many Russian scientists and corresponded with them, was elected a corresponding member of the *Imperial Academy of Sciences* and did much to popularize Russian culture, with which the Czechs were one-sidedly familiar. Hanka translated *The Word about Igor's Regiment* into Czech (1821).

His relations with Russia were active. He offered to strengthen the study of Slavs in Russia, for which he developed a plan for the establishment of Slavic departments in Russian universities. He was offered the position of librarian on good terms, but he refused to leave Prague. For his services in the field of literature and Slavic antiquities, Hanka received the order of Vladimir, the 4th class, from the Russian government, and in 1836 he also was awarded by the *Russian Academy of Sciences* a large gold medal. From 1848 until the end of his life, he taught old Slavonic and Russian languages at the Charles University. Hanka's reputation as a scientist was severely affected by the falsifications of historical monuments discovered after his death. Guided by the best intentions, he really embellished many historical information, created a whole list of fake historical chronicles. However, in our days, when almost all the historical data were composed in Ukraine, which still embellished the real history no longer seems to be something bad.

The interest in antiquities, the work and translation of the text of *The Word about Igor's Regiment* were what A.S. Shishkov, Y. Dobrovsky and Hanka did at the same time. Shishkov, heading the Ministry of National Education, decided to organize departments for the study of Slavic literature and history. His advisor was P.I. Köppen, a Slavist, bibliographer and statistician.

In February 1827, A.S. Shishkov, as Minister of Public Education, made a proposal to the Committee of the Organization of Educational Institutions on the need for special literature “uniform terminology, on the search and introduction of so-called technical terms existing in our language in educational books”. Further, he convinced of the need to teach the Slovenian language in high schools, that every educated Russian was not only decent, but even should have had at least some idea of the division of the Slovenian language into different adverbs and the main properties of these (Frantsev, 1902). A.S. Shishkov had planned to create in Russia of the *Department of Slavic Literatures and History* and to bring Slavic scientists to this.

Problems about the invitation of Slavic scientists, the creation of a common dictionary occurred in difficult circumstances: in the ranks of the Decembrists there was the *Society of United Slavs* and the Tsar regarded it as a Jacobin infection. He was afraid of the national liberation movements of the Slavic peoples. In addition, in 1834, František Čelakovský issued a condemnation of Russian policy in Poland. Later, the Academy provided assistance to Matica: Serbian and Slovak. Books were sent to Presburg, and J. Kollar’s *Daughter of Glory* book was purchased.

Not only Russian, but also Slavic scientists – Czech F. Čelakovský, Polish philologist S. Linde, Serb V. Karadzic – participated in the work on *The General Slavic Etymological Dictionary*. Historical research, which A.S. Shishkov encouraged to promote the strengthening of Russian statehood, was the forerunner of the Russian Slavophiles.

He attached special, not only scientific, but also socio-political importance to Slavistics as a means of satisfying foreign policy tasks, but he diverged from the supreme power in the perception of the problems of the Slavic world. He did not express the desire for expansion and seek to destabilize the European world, which Nicholas the First feared. Everthing that Shishkov sought, was only the cultural interpenetration of the Slavic peoples. The Academy had its foreign policy in the field of culture and science. The lack of understanding of this by the supreme power later became the reason for the closure of the Academy.

In 1835, the *General Charter of the Imperial Russian Universities*, according to which the departments of history and literature of Slavic dialects were established in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkiv and Kazan universities, i.e., the post of Professor-Slavist was introduced, who was obliged to teach Slavic languages, literature and history of the southern and Western Slavs, was adopted. In this connection, the Ministry of Public Education decided to send four candidates for these positions (P.I. Preis, O.M. Bodyansky, I.I. Sreznevsky and V.I. Grigorovich) to the Slavic lands to study the languages, literatures, and ethnography of related tribes.

Conclusion

Scientific societies represent a historically formed form of scientific organization, well understood by their creators: “The observations and experiments, made on the emerging peoples, show that among all means to contribute to the universal success of education, the most convenient can be the establishment of *Scientific Societies*, which, being animated and guided by the creative spirit of the government, strive to act together to one noble goal” (The works of the society of lovers of Russian literature, 1812).

Attaching importance to the language of the people, A.S. Shishkov emphasized that “a learned language always requires some difference from the common language to acquire importance. He sometimes shortens, sometimes copulates, sometimes changes, sometimes chooses the word.” (The collections of works and translations of Admiral A.S. Shishkov, 1818)

In conclusion, it should be noted that:

1. Shishkov showed by the experience of his biography and scientific activity that the administrator’s organizational abilities do not prevent him from combining the authority of a statesman on a national scale, and also not to impose his opinion on the authorities.
2. Slavic peoples without barricades, parliamentary debates, beautiful phrases and spectacular gestures, thanks to such modest figures as J. Dobrovski, P.J. Šafařík and V. Hanka were able to survive in this world as a nation. So, by the beginning of the revolution of 1848, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire had already developed literary languages. In the future, the Slavic idea became a means of preserving their culture and fighting for their rights.
3. The idea that since ancient times the Slavic peoples had a Slavic identity along with an ethnic one, influenced the development of linguistics and science, as well as the emergence of the idea of Slavic reciprocity.
4. Having briefly considered the formation of the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the first half of the 19th century, it can be noted that although neither cultural nor political unification of the Slavs occurred, a single Slavic language did not develop, but this idea played a role in awakening the national consciousness of the Slavic peoples.

Thus, the processes of nation formation are closely connected with the national culture, the formation of cultural centers, the spread of education, the press, etc. At the time of the formation of a nation, the problem of language – its dissemination, the creation of norms of the national literary language – plays an important role. Therefore, the study of culture should be combined with lingue-social problems. If

Slavic historians, literary critics, and linguists are already conducting comparative typological studies, since separate national histories and literary histories already exist and are sufficiently developed, and linguistic material has been accumulated, then this cannot be done concerning the history of culture.

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An alternative view of the fateful periods in Russian political history

Abstract:

Russian historical science has developed a certain approach to the interpretation of the most important periods of the formation and development of the Russian state. To a large extent, it relies on such absolute authorities as Karamzin, Klyuchevsky, Solovyov, Rybakov, and Platonov. However, with the development of scientific knowledge, a number of provisions established in Russian political history have been criticized, on the basis of which new hypotheses arise. The article considers various points of view on the fateful periods of Russian history that changed the vector of its development, analyzes the factual evidence base of existing scientific theories and put forward scientific hypotheses. The author concludes that without dismissing these two approaches to understanding the Soviet period, it is necessary to pay attention to the pendulum movement in the political drift of Russia. The analysis of historical material shows that the pendulum movement occupies a significant place in the political drift of Russian society.

Keywords:

periods of Russian history, vector of development of Russian history, new hypotheses of fateful periods of Russian history.

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Альтернативный взгляд на судьбоносные периоды в российской политической истории

Аннотация:

Российская историческая наука выработала определённый подход к трактовке важнейших периодов становления и развития Российского государства. В значительной степени она опирается на такие абсолютные авторитеты, как Карамзин, Ключевский, Соловьёв, Рыбаков и Платонов. Однако с развитием научных знаний ряд положений, сложившихся в российской политической истории, подвергся критике, на основе которой возникают новые гипотезы. В статье рассматриваются различные точки зрения на судьбоносные периоды российской истории, изменившие вектор её развития, анализируется фактологическая доказательная база сложившихся научных теорий и выдвигаемых научных

гипотез. Автор делает заключение, что, не отвергая два подхода к пониманию советского периода, необходимо обратить внимание на движение маятника в политическом дрейфе России. Анализ исторического материала показывает, что движение маятника занимает значительное место в политическом дрейфе российского общества.

Ключевые слова:

периоды российской истории, вектор развития отечественной истории, новые гипотезы судьбоносных периодов российской истории.

Introduction

Russian historical science has developed a certain approach to the interpretation of the most important periods of the formation and development of the Russian state.

To a large extent, it relies on such absolute authorities as Karamzin, Klyuchevsky, Solovyov, Rybakov, and Platonov. However, with the development of scientific knowledge, a number of provisions established in Russian political history have been criticized, on the basis of which new hypotheses arise. In this article, it is offered an author's view of the discussion in this issue.

It is necessary to distinguish five periods of political history; the idea of which science is ambiguously interpreted in Russian. It also seems that these periods are the most significant on the historical path of Russia. These are the Tatar-Mongol invasion, the *Time of Troubles*, Peter's reforms, Russia's movement towards the constitutional rule, and the Soviet period.

1.

One of the main moments in the history of Ancient Russia is the so-called Tatar-Mongol conquest. It is generally believed that the Horde came from the far East from China or Mongolia, captured many countries, conquered Russia, swept to the West and even reached Egypt and planted the Mamelukes dynasty there (Nosovsky & Fomenko, 1999).

However, this understanding has many claims. If the Mongol conquerors (the Horde) moved from inner Mongolia, then they had to go a huge distance in 1223 (the battle of Kalka) – more than ten thousand kilometers. Moreover, it had to be a movement not only of horsemen but of the entire Horde, including women, children, provisions, weapons, etc. To consider that the Mongols at this time led a nomadic lifestyle and drove their herds of horses as the food supply ran out, it is difficult to imagine how they moved in one direction from East to West.

It should be taken into account that before the conquest of the Russian principalities, Genghis Khan (born Temüjin Borjigin) subdued the peoples of Siberia. In 1241, he began the conquest of China. He managed to conquer only the Northern part of it. In 1218, Genghis Khan's troops began a campaign in Central Asia. By 1221, his 200-thousandth army conquered it. In the autumn of 1220, Mongol troops defeated Northern Iran, invaded Azerbaijan, won a victory in Georgia, the Mongols went to the North Caucasus, defeated the Polovtsians, and invaded the Crimea, reached the fortress of Sudak.

As a result of the campaigns of the Mongol conquerors, a huge empire was created. It was a very motley conglomerate of peoples, with different levels of development. At the same time, if to analyze the peoples, enslaved by the Horde, as sedentary, nomadic peoples, it is obvious that most of them – China, Iran, Georgia, Russia – were sedentary and at a higher level of development concerning the conquerors at the time of inclusion in the Empire. Of course, there are examples in world history when nomadic peoples prevailed over sedentary ones. However, this was, firstly, short-lived, and secondly, it was not the nomads who imposed their culture on the defeated settled peoples but rather the defeated ones. In the case of the Tatar-Mongol invasion, this pattern looks completely different. The term *Tatar-Mongol yoke* described a historical period of two and a half centuries, has taken root in history and public consciousness. Throughout this period, there was no major cultural assimilation.

The Horde did not establish its control in Russia. Initially, the unit of taxation was a plow, plough. In 1257, the Horde began a census. At first, the tribute was collected by representatives of the Horde. Then a system of pay-off was introduced, i.e., rich Eastern merchants brought the cost of tribute in advance to the Treasury of the Horde, then took it back.

The baskaks, who had their armed detachments, watched the gathering of tribute. Through the baskak system, the Horde sought to maintain its power in Russia. Russian princes, who received a 'label for reigning' from the Horde, directly managed the Russian lands. In Russian historiography, the point of view was established that the Horde did not destroy the system of government in the conquered lands, but used it to its advantage.

Alexander Nevsky, Grand Duke of Vladimir from 1252 to 1263, supported the union with the Horde, helping the baskaks in the census. The Horde needed to organize the collection of tribute. This is the official point of view, which has been established in Russian science concerning the management of Russian principalities

during the *Tatar-Mongol yoke*. However, many points in this historical paradigm are questionable.

Could the khans of the Horde so trust the Russian princes that it was practically necessary to give them to collect tribute, i.e., the most important element of government? Management of any territories and peoples is impossible without written decrees and certificates. What language were they written in? It turns out that it was in Russian. The mentioned 'labels on the reign' were also written in Russian.

It is important to look at the attitude of the conquerors to the religion of the conquered nations. By the time of the Mongol invasion of Russia, the Byzantine branch of Christianity – Orthodoxy – was established in the Moscow principalities. The Horde not only did not persecute Orthodoxy in Russia but also supported it. During the period of the *Tatar-Mongol yoke* from the 13th to 15th centuries, the number of newly built Orthodox churches and temples exceeded their number for a comparable period, since the adoption of Christianity by Kyiv. It is an amazing fact of Russian history. The intolerant attitude of one religion to another, even to the point of mutual destruction, is well known. It is enough to recall the Crusades of European chivalry in Palestine in the 13th century, which was then under the rule of Muslims, for the *Liberation of the Holy Sepulchre*. Conversely, European and world history knows no examples when the conquerors supported the religion of the peoples they conquered.

2.

So, there are only some doubts about the approaches to the *Tatar-Mongol yoke* that have taken root in Russian history. The current version of ancient Russian history was most likely created in the mid-18th century, based on sources written or edited by Miller in the early 18th century. Klyuchevsky wrote that “fast forward to another era, to the first years of the reign of Empress Elizabeth. At the Academy of Sciences, Gerard Friedrich Miller, a visiting scholar, worked hard on Russian history. He spent almost ten years travelling through the cities of Siberia, analyzing the archives there, travelled more than thirty thousand versts and brought to St Petersburg an immense mass of documents written off there in 1743” (Klyuchevsky, 1983).

However, history, like any other science, is constantly enriched with new versions, revised, new hypotheses are put forward. This fully applies to the understanding of such a fateful period of Russian history, rooted as the *Tatar-Mongol yoke*.

The next rather controversial period in Russian history is the *Time of Troubles* (*Smuta*). At the same time, this period and all the events that took place within it, influenced a huge impact on the further course of the historical process in Russia. Despite the fact that this period occupies a small historical time (1601-1613) and its study is based on a fairly well-known documentary basis, many aspects of this problem have not yet been sufficiently studied.

First, it is necessary to present the material that does not cause many objections. Two years before the new century, in 1598, the childless Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich (the last of the Rurik family) died. Under Fyodor, the government was concentrated in the hands of Boris Godunov. Most of the political forces of that time, which influenced the election of the new sovereign, were interested in Boris Godunov. “For Godunov, there was a Patriarch who owed everything to him; for Godunov, there was a long-term use of the tsarist power under Fyodor; everywhere – in the *Duma*, in prikazs (an administrative, judicial, territorial, or executive office functioning on behalf of the palace, civil, military, or church authorities), in regional management, there were people owe him who could lose everything if the ruler would not have become a king. For Godunov, it was that his sister, although imprisoned in a monastery, was recognized by the Queen of the government and everything was done according to her instructions. Finally, for most, the reign of Fyodor was a happy time, a time of rest after the previous reign, and everyone knew that Godunov ruled the state under Fyodor” (Solovyov, 1960).

Only two years of Boris Godunov’s reign were called calm by his contemporaries and historians. In the first year of the new century, the troubles began. First of all, it is necessary to imagine what socio-political and economic events contributed to this.

In 1601, as a result of a bad harvest, a terrible famine occurred in Russia. Cholera joined the famine. Famine and pestilence were followed by robberies: people fleeing from starvation formed gangs to feed themselves with an armed hand at the expense of others. Against this background, there are rumours about the impostor. Who was the impostor False Dmitry (or Pseudo-Demetrius)? Historians of the past and present have been studying quite closely all the issues related to the appearance of an impostor on the political scene. As S.M. Solovyov noted that “rumours, opinions about the impostor went and go different” (Nosovsky & Fomenko, 1999).

In historical science, there are two versions:

- Dmitry was the runaway monk Grigory Otrepyev, an impostor;
- Dmitry was the son of John the Terrible, Rurikovich, therefore the rightful heir.

The first version is the most famous for four centuries, developed and described, both in historical and fiction. It included in the school course of national history. It should be focused on the pros and cons of the version. Of course, the head of the state should have been the Tsar, the direct heir of John the Terrible, the anointed of God. This attitude was fully consistent with the religious mentality of the people. This attitude was reinforced by the fact that False Dmitry fought for the throne of his father, i.e., restored the violated justice. On June 20, 1605, he entered Moscow and was proclaimed tsar. However, as his image was being dissipated, and the contradictions between the Polish gentry and the Russian boyars and nobles became more acute, a conspiracy developed. At the head of the conspiracy were the princes: Shuisky, Golitsyn, Kurakin. On the night of May 16-17, 1606, the detachment, attracted to the side of the conspirators, entered Moscow and occupied all 12 gates of the Kremlin. False Dmitry was killed.

A different view of the figure of Dmitry was offered by G.V. Nosovsky and A.T. Fomenko. “From the very beginning of Dmitry’s struggle for the throne, everyone who saw him recognized him as a tsarevich. Polish aristocrats, the Polish king, Russian boyars and, finally, his mother, tsarina Maria Nagaya (by this time, the Nun Marfa). While still in Putivl, Dmitry sent out letters everywhere, calling the Russian people under the banner. In Putivl, Dmitry summoned the real Otrepyev and showed him to the people”.

Why have historians refused to believe the numerous claims of contemporaries that Dmitry was the real son of Ivan the Terrible? The authors of the monograph *Russia and Rome. Whether We Understand the History of Europe and Asia Correctly* gave an answer to this question. “Let us recall that Russian history was finally written under the Romanovs. The Romanovs specifically declared Dmitry an impostor. What for? The answer is simple. Dmitry, who became Tsar, and had a royal origin, had a son. Romanov historians called him by the ‘young thief’. After the death of Dmitry, he was supposed to succeed him. However, the Romanovs were eager to power themselves. They usurped the throne, even with the living son of Dmitry. Consequently, the election of Mikhail Romanov as Tsar was illegal. The only way out of this situation for the Romanovs was to declare Dmitry an impostor. However, there was still one obstacle – the son of Dmitry. The problem was solved very simply: the Romanovs hung it on the Spassky gate.” (Nosovsky & Fomenko, 1999)

3.

The issue of the duration of the *Time of Troubles* is interesting. The established view is that this was a short period (1601-1613). The upper limit of this time is

associated with the *Zemsky Sobor*, which elected Mikhail Romanov to reign. However, it seems that the consequences of the *Time of Troubles* were still felt for a long time. Of course, as a consequence, there was a process of strengthening the Russian state in the 17th century.

In the middle of the century, new important features appeared in the economic and social structure of Russia. The national all-Russian market was beginning to take shape. Its formation meant overcoming the economic isolation of individual territories and the emergence of a single economic environment.

Having an established state, there were new opportunities to deal more effectively with internal turmoil. Here it should be returned to the topic of the *Tatar-Mongol yoke*. To look at this period from the point of view of the internal struggle of political forces but not the reflection of an external enemy, then a completely different picture emerges. The struggle for several centuries was between the Muscovite state and the Horde but not coming from the East (the Tatar-Mongol invasion), it was 'fragments' of the older empire (*Tartary* or *Great Tartary*), which was represented by the Cossacks who settled on the outskirts of Muscovy.

Such a reconstruction of events is presented by the authors of the monograph *Russia and Rome. Do We Understand the History of Europe and Asia Correctly* by G.V. Nosovsky and A.T. Fomenko.

4.

It is necessary to return to the events of the 17th century. It is believed that about 60 years after the accession of the Romanovs to the Moscow throne, a major rebellion broke out in the country, today called the Razin uprising. It is also called the peasant war. Allegedly, the peasants and Cossacks rebelled against the landlords and the tsar. Razin's main military force was the Cossacks. The uprising covered a vast territory of Russia but was eventually suppressed by the Romanovs.

Razin's force acted under the banner of the *War for the Great Sovereign* against the traitors of the boyars in Moscow. However, who was, in reality, this *Great Sovereign*, in whose name the Razin letters were drawn up? It is unlikely that Alexey Mikhailovich Romanov was him. Then who was he? In the reconstruction of V.G. Nosovsky and A.T. Fomenko, the so-called Razin uprising of 1667-1671 was a real and difficult war that lasted 4 years. With the Moscow side, Prince Dolgoruky was appointed voivode, his headquarters were located in Arzamas. Razin was the voivode of the Astrakhan troops. This approach was based on the fact that even after the *Zemsky Sobor* of 1613, which elected Mikhail Romanov to the Kingdom, Muscovy included the Northern part of the lands along the Volga River. Southern Russia and

even the Middle Volga formed another state, with its capital in Astrakhan, where their tsars were. By their origin, they belonged to the old Horde dynasty.

Apparently, the Razin's people considered the Romanovs illegitimate rulers. That is why they were called thieves and traitors. The constantly repeated statement by them that they were fighting against the boyars for the tsar, apparently means that the boyars of the Romanovs were not recognized as legitimate kings. In Astrakhan, obviously, there was a tsar, whom the Razin's force considered "the great sovereign of all Russia".

It should be emphasized that the attitude of Western Europe to these events was exactly like a war for power. V.I. Buganov wrote that "the uprising in Russia, led by Razin, aroused great interest in Europe, especially in the West... Foreign informants ... often looked at events in Russia in a very peculiar way – as a struggle for power, for the throne. Razin's uprising was called the *Tatar Uprising*." (Buganov, 1995)

Thus, if to adhere to an alternative point of view on the Razin uprising, it can state that this was the last major confrontation between the two states and the end of the *Time of Troubles* in Russia.

5.

It is necessary to fast forward to the first quarter of the 18th century, the reign of Peter I (1689-1725). This historical period is characterized by profound transformations that covered all spheres of economic and socio-political life in Russia. All these numerous reforms can be grouped into the following areas:

- economic reform;
- reform of the army, military affairs;
- reform of public administration;
- estate reform;
- social reform;
- reform of education, science;
- diplomatic reform;
- land reform;
- church reform.

It should be understood that all these reforms were carried out at a specific political time. The category of 'political time' is used to emphasize the presence, content and influence of political events on the socio-political life of society and the

further course of history within the framework of physical time (Orlov, 2019). Based on this understanding, it is necessary to approach the analysis of Peter's reforms.

It should briefly discuss the reform of public administration. In 1704-1708, Peter abolished the *Boyar Duma* and established the *Commission of Ministers* (the council of prikazs' chiefs).

In 1711, the *Governing Senate* was established. The main difference between the *Senate* and the *Boyar Duma* was that it did not limit the legislative power of the tsar but was a legislative institution. The members of the *Senate* were appointed at the discretion of the king.

Summing up the consideration of the topic of Peter's reforms in general, it should be noted that there have long been two diametrically opposite approaches in assessing of the transformations and the personality of Peter the Great. One is based on the need for deep reforms that were objectively overdue. Moreover, the emphasis was on the inability of Russia to overcome backwardness and crisis phenomena independently without the help of Europe. Therefore, the measures, by which all Peter's reforms were carried out, are justified or recognized as inevitable. Another approach comes from the artificiality and violence of Peter's reforms for Russia.

At the same time, the following results of the Russian history of the 18th century, recognized by historians of all directions, are indisputable:

- the establishment of an absolute monarchy of the Western European model, the external expression of which was the adoption by Peter I of the imperial title on October 22, 1721;
- the annexation of new lands to Russia (part of which was previously rejected), access to the Baltic Sea, the foundation of the new capital of the state – St Petersburg;
- intensive development of industry, the appearance of the first manufactories and mining enterprises;
- construction of the army and navy on the Western European model permanently;
- stronger influence of Russia on the policy of European states.

The reform of state administration, of course, established absolutism in Russia, primarily because the tsar, and later the emperor, alone decided all issues of state administration, and the state administration bodies performed the formal role of advisory institutions. This political vector remained in Russia throughout the monarchical period.

The longevity of the public administration system, created by Peter I, is far from obvious. Already in the reign of Catherine I (1725-1727), the *Senate* was transformed into a *Secret Supreme Council*, represented by aristocrats (Dolgoruky, Golitsin) and “nestlings of Peter’s nest” (Menshikov, Yaguzhinsky, Tolstoy). It was the Council, not the monarch, which became the main governing body in Russia. The *Supreme Privy Council* decided to invite Anna Ioanovna to the Russian throne after the death of Peter II, accompanied by a demand to accept the conditions that significantly limit the autocracy.

It is very difficult to assess Peter’s reforms from the point of view of their effectiveness. The criteria that are quite difficult to work out, need. It seems that such a criterion could be the attitude of the ongoing reforms to serfdom.

Peter’s reforms did not create prerequisites for the liberation of the peasants from serfdom and its weakening. Taxation, recruitment, service in the army and navy, assigned serfs to manufactories were based on the relationship of serfdom. The development of manufacturing production was hindered by the lack of a free labour market. Many of Peter’s reforms ‘stalled’ precisely because of the entrenchment of serfdom in the social and political life of Russia. This tendency far outlived the reign of Peter I and was especially aggravated in the reign of Catherine II (1762-1796). It was observed a certain contradiction in Peter’s reforms. All of them were supposed to lead Russia to the European path of development. However, Europe had long been freed from the serfdom of its peasants by the beginning of the 18th century, but Russia did not even embark on this path.

6.

Perhaps, the most difficult periods for historical analysis are non-long periods of the turn of Russian society towards constitutional construction. The movement towards constitutional rule took place at various periods in Russia:

- at the beginning of the reign of Anna Ioanovna (1730), the development and attempt to adopt conditions that introduced some semblance of constitutional rule and limited autocracy;
- during the Decembrist movement (1821-1825);
- the first experience of Russian parliamentarism of the first four *State Dumas*, in which the party of constitutional Democrats took part.

Attempts to turn Russia’s movement along the constitutional path were made with a frequency of about once in a hundred years. Each such attempt occurred at a specific political time but did not lead to the adoption of a constitution. As soon as

the autocracy collapsed and the socio-economic and political conditions changed (the Soviet period), the constitutions of 1918, 1922, 1936, and 1977 were adopted.

Then it is necessary to take a closer look at Russia's attempts to transition to a constitutional system. The first such attempt occurred during the reign of Anna Ioannovna in 1730. With the death of Peter II (grandson of Peter I), the direct line of his heirs was interrupted and the *Secret Supreme Council* decided to offer the Russian throne to the niece of Peter I – Anna Ioannovna, the daughter of John, Peter the Great's half-brother.

In historical literature, as a rule, it is noted that the conditions significantly limited the power of Anna Ioannovna. This is certainly true. Thus, without the consent of the *Supreme Privy Council*, the Empress could not declare war and make peace with other states, grant military ranks above colonel, etc. All domestic and foreign policy, according to the *Conditions* (an 18th-century constitutional project in Russia), was also carried out by the *Supreme Privy Council*. The delegation of the Council went to Courland, where the Dowager Duchess Anna Ioannovna lived and handed her the *Conditions*, which she signed. However, upon arrival in Moscow and accession to the throne, she broke them declaring herself an absolute monarch.

In historical literature, this conflict is usually presented as a struggle between the future empress of Russia and several aristocrats, i.e., it is reduced to a private, interpersonal confrontation. At the same time, there are deeper contradictions between the Russian aristocratic families and the nobility, especially the officer corps. Nobles received land, serfs, privileges from the monarch, served the tsar, completely depended on absolutism, aristocrats, heirs of boyar families sought to revive the old order, where the first role was played by the boyars. Relying on the wider representation of the nobles, Anna Ioannovna rejected the *Conditions* and ascended to the throne as an absolute monarch.

Of course, it is impossible to consider the *Conditions* as a full-fledged *Constitution*. It is legitimate to analyze it only from the point of view of limiting absolutism and expanding the number of people taking part in public administration.

The next stage on the path of constitutional construction in Russia was the *Muravyov Constitution*, developed as part of the preparation and implementation of the Decembrist movement. The participation of Russian officers in the war of 1812-1814 caused the Decembrist movement in Russia. In 1816, the first society *Union of Salvation*, headed by the colonel of the General Staff N.M. Muravyov was formed. In 1818, the *Union of Prosperity* appeared in Moscow. In 1821, after the split, the *Southern Society* led by P.I. Pestel and the *Northern Society* in St Petersburg led by N.M. Muravyov emerged.

Pestel's *Russkaya Pravda* was the first Republican program of the Russian revolutionary movement. Drawn up in the form of a mandate to the provisional supreme government, which should be formed after an armed coup, it provided for the destruction of serfdom, estates, the introduction of equal rights and obligations of citizens before the law. Military settlements were destroyed. In the structure of state power, the principle of separation of powers was introduced.

The *Constitution of Muravyov* in many sections, especially of a general democratic nature, coincided with the *Russian Pravda*. At the same time, when proclaiming the equality of citizens, a certain property qualification was introduced to choose a particular state position. Russia was represented in the form of a federation consisting of 13 powers, 2 regions and 569 counties.

The supreme legislative power was represented by the *People's Assembly*, which consisted of two chambers – the *Supreme Duma* and *House of People's Representatives*. The *People's Assembly* was elected for 6 years with the renewal of one-third of each chamber, every 2 years. The law passed by the *People's Assembly* must have been approved by the emperor, who was the head of the executive branch. In fact, the *Muravyov Constitution* offered a model of a presidential republic.

Using the pretext of taking a new oath to Nicholas I instead of Constantine, who had given up power even before the death of Alexander I, the Decembrists raised an uprising on December 14, 1825, in St Petersburg, on the Senate Square. It was suppressed by the evening. As a result, 5 people were hanged and 121 were exiled to Siberia.

History, as we know, does not know the subjunctive mood. However, it can be made a certain assumption and assume that in the event of the Decembrists' victory and the introduction of the *Muravyov Constitution* in Russia, a limited constitutional monarchy would have developed and serfdom would have been abolished. An additional analysis of the reasons for the failure of the Decembrist movement, which did not allow the implementation of the *Muravyov Constitution*, is required.

Another period of Russian society's movement towards the adoption of the *Constitution* is rightfully considered the first experience of parliamentarism. The activity of the first *State Duma* went in the direction of limiting the absolute monarchy. However, it should be noted that the existing point of view in Russian historical science, according to which with the establishment of the first and subsequent *State Dumas*, Russia became a limited monarchy, seems erroneous. Russia ceased to be an absolute monarchy only after the February revolution of 1917.

The borrowing of the provisions of the *Muravyov Constitution* in the modern constitutional strategy in Russia requires further research.

The Soviet period is subject to an ambiguous interpretation in Soviet historical science. Since it lags behind our time by an insignificant distance by historical standards, and certain age groups of the Russian population directly lived in this society, it becomes obvious that various researchers pay special attention to this historical time.

The Soviet period of Russian history after the collapse of the USSR is considered by the authors from different angles. If in the 1990s, the overwhelming number of publications on various issues of the Soviet period were mostly negative, then in the 21st century, this trend began to change. In the public consciousness, an objective, balanced approach to covering the events of this period is increasingly being established. Trying to explain this trend, some researchers of this issue believe that there is a distortion or falsification of certain facts or events, while others note that this process is based on people's nostalgia for the past, which is always seen as rosier than it really was.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to note that without dismissing these two approaches to understanding the Soviet period, it is necessary to pay attention to the pendulum movement in the political drift of Russia. The analysis of historical material shows that the pendulum movement occupies a significant place in the political drift of Russian society. The pendulum movement was set both from above and from below through the protest movement of the masses, which led to an alternation of order and chaos in the social and political life of Russia (Orlov, 2016).

The pendulum movement in the political drift of Russian society has been repeatedly manifested. The internal policy of the state can be taken for the 'point of reference', around which the pendulum movement of society takes place. In Russia, there is a tradition of 'pendulum', i.e., alternation of reformist and conservative policies. This is especially evident in the reform activity of Alexander I (the first half of his reign, before the Patriotic War of 1812-1814), which was replaced by the conservative policy of Nicholas I. The reformist policy of Alexander II was replaced by the conservative policy of Alexander III. This tradition was broken only by Nicholas II. Upon assuming the throne, he declared: "Let everyone know that I will preserve the principles of autocracy, as firmly and steadily as my unforgettable parent preserved them."

It should be noted that the tradition of the 'pendulum' in domestic politics was also manifested in the Soviet period. After more than 20 years of totalitarian Stalin's

regime, there was the 10th anniversary of the Khrushchev thaw, which was then replaced by Brezhnev stagnation, followed by Gorbachev's 'perestroika'.

This tradition had a deep meaning. Without reforms, problems accumulated in society, without solving which it would have been impossible to develop progressively. At the same time, it was impossible to continuously carry out reforms, because:

- 1) huge resources were required;
- 2) a permanent reform process could lead to a change in the ruling regime.

The established tradition of the 'pendulum' solves this problem. It seems that the tradition of the 'pendulum' will continue to manifest itself in the political life of Russia in the future. *Thus*, it acts as a certain regularity, based on which it is possible to analyze the Soviet period.

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European Scientific e-Journal

EU, Czech Republic, Hlučín-Bobrovníky

Publisher
Anisiia Tomanek OSVČ

Right to conduct publication activities
IČO: 06463371

Date of Issue
December 26, 2020

European Scientific e-Journal

ISSN: 2695-0243

ISSUE 5 (5)
December 26, 2020

EU, Czech Republic, Ostrava-Hlučín

ISBN: 978-80-907957-4-7

DOI: 10.47451/col-05-2020-005