

"Our Dear Kazan": Urban Initiatives and Imperial Legacies, 1774-1860

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Abstract

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This dissertation offers an early-nineteenth-century urban history of Kazan, a provincial capital located on the Volga River in the Russian heartland. Kazan was a city that encapsulated the Russian Empire in microcosm. Its past was colorful, dominated by the conquest of the Khanate of Kazan by the Muscovite army of Ivan IV in 1552. In the centuries that followed, it developed into a prosperous and celebrated provincial center, marked by rich ethnic, religious, and social diversity (encompassing Muslim Tatars, Orthodox Russians, German Lutherans, and “Old Believer” Orthodox dissenters, among others). It was linked into transnational trade routes and far-flung networks of European and Islamic intellectual exchange, and increasingly independent from the cultural and economic hegemony of the capitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow. This project chooses Kazan as the ideal site to explore empire at the small-scale. It moves the bureaucrats and their edicts to the wings of the stage, in order to foreground the

political, social, intellectual, and imaginative engagements of non-state actors—thereby re-conceptualizing empire as a web of relationships between imperial subjects and communities.

At the heart of this dissertation’s narrative lies a ‘turn to the city’ among residents of Kazan, marked by the emergence of new urban initiatives that were organized by non-state actors and distinguished by their sense of public engagement. This turn developed between 1800 and 1860, and is further contextualized by events from 1774 to 1800. Some of the initiatives that residents were beginning to pursue at this time were eminently practical, aimed at the material needs of city dwellers. Examples included the efforts of elite merchants to serve the “public good” by improving Kazan’s transportation infrastructure and social-services. Other initiatives were more conceptual, and wrestled with residents’ emotional and ideological concerns. These included the joint efforts of merchants and intellectuals to write the city’s history, and commemorate it with public memorials. And sometimes these two impulses came together, as can be seen in the dialectic between science-minded professionals who envisioned Kazan as a medicalized space that could be made healthy, and private citizens who sought tangible measures against endemic problems like polluted water and acute crises like cholera. The dissertation argues that residents’ turn to the city emerged, in large measure, as a response to the rapidly changing ideological, technological, and economic conditions of early-nineteenth-century Europe. Yet as it examines the aspirations and accomplishments of Kazan’s new urban initiatives, the dissertation is also careful to note their limits and failings, many of which sprang out of the legacies, both ancient and modern, that empire had bequeathed to the city. In this way, this project is able to shed light on the unique dynamics that resulted when familiar patterns of change in Europe were translated to the very different context of the contiguous, multi-ethnic Russian Empire.

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Note on Transliteration

In transliterating Cyrillic script, I have adhered to the post-2013 ICAO Romanization system. This has the effect of enhancing readability for non-specialists in the language, at a slight cost in precision, by omitting diacritic marks and hard and soft signs. In citing pre-1917 publications I have chosen to retain old-style grammatical endings as they appeared in the original documents (masculine adjectival genitive of *-ago* rather than *-ogo*, or an adjectival nominative plural of *-iia* instead of *-ie*, for example).

In transliterating Arabic script, I did not find the ICAO Romanization suitable, and so used my own variant, again avoiding diacritics and aiming for reasonable phonetic approximations of the original Tatar texts. When providing Tatar names, I have endeavored, where clear evidence is available, to transliterate the name from the Arabic script, as it would have been used in everyday practice. However, in the majority of cases, the Tatar names cited are only available through the prism of Russian documents, in which cases the Russianized Cyrillic variant is utilized.

In rendering German names, I have generally transliterated their Russianized forms, rather than providing the original German. Many of these figures, particularly those who appear most prominently in this work, were residents of Kazan who inhabited both Russian and German linguistic spheres, embraced Russia as an adopted component to their identity, and used the Russianized form of their names regularly. It therefore seems not only a matter of consistent practice, but reflective of the sensibilities of the majority of the individuals in question, to transliterate from the Russian.

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The conventions of the genre dictate that one conclude with family, but in truth, that is where it all begins. None of my family members know or care terribly much about Kazan or the historiography of the Russian Empire—other than what they have picked up via osmosis, I suppose. But it is our care for each other that sustains and lends meaning to all that we do. So thank you Emily for your vast patience and support over a long and weary process; and thank you Owen, and Lincoln for your home-movies, and drawings, and Skype calls to Russia. And thanks Mom and Dad, Bill and Karen, Laura and Blake for your long-distance cheer-leading. Without this nourishment, I could not have gone the distance.

Introduction: Turning to the City

In 1832, Konstantin Lebedev, a teacher, aspiring author, and recent university graduate from the Volga-river city of Kazan¹, published a story called “Tomb of Love” in the local literary magazine. It was set during the cholera epidemic two years earlier, and drew its readers into that horrific moment from its opening lines:

Not a cloud could be seen in the sky, a bright autumn sun blazed over the land, poison wafted unseen through the atmosphere. The bustling city had emptied: those who remained had shut themselves up at home, every communication was severed, acquaintance feared acquaintance and relation became a stranger to relation. A deep, funereal stillness reigned in the city; as if there was no Kazan, as if it had never existed.

Three times the moon had oozed across that doleful horizon, and three times thousands of Muslims, led forth by the mullahs, prayed to it, in an open field.

“Allah! Allah!” they cried, “Save us; we are dying! If indeed you cannot help us, we will begin to pray to the Russian God!” And their raucous calls of devotion resounded through the area, like the churn of the waves in a wrathful sea, repeated by the escarpments as an echo.

In my soul I became petrified, and looked with a kind of numbness on the victims, dying around me; I envied those who could weep. I looked at how they died around me, and prepared to die myself; but felt the need to look upon Kazan for the last time, to gaze for the last time upon a world which for me, seemingly, already no longer existed.²

As he wanders aimlessly about the city, grieving, Lebedev’s storyteller sees a youth throw himself on a fresh grave, inconsolable, mourning the death of his beloved. The narrator approaches to offer comfort, but the lad conceals himself in the darkening night, evidently preferring solitude. Returning in the morning, the storyteller finds the young man again at the

¹ V. I. Shishkin and F. F. Nureeva, eds., *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat, XIX – nachala XX veka: Bibliograficheskie ukazateli*, (Kazan: Izd-vo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1991), 51.

² [Konstantin] L[ebedev], “Mogila liubvi,” *Zavolzhskaia muravei*, 1832, vol. 1, no. 8: 426-427.

grave site, seemingly asleep, but in fact passed away to join his love in death. Yet, life goes on for the living, and it falls to them to commemorate such tragedies. “When spring breaks forth,” the narrator concludes the tale, “I will go to the cemetery, and lay roses and myrtle on the grave of the lad, naming that grave the *tomb of love*.”³

There was much that was old hat in Lebedev’s elegiac romance. In its themes, structure, and modes of expression it was indebted to the eighteenth-century sentimentalist oeuvre of Nikolai Karamzin’s “Poor Liza,” that remained popular in Russian provincial circles. Yet one thing was definitely new, and that was the way the author thought about the city. For here, the arc of the ill-fated couple is framed by another story of passionate and imperiled relationship—that between the narrator and Kazan. At the beginning, this pair, too, appears doomed; indeed, the city seems about to be erased from the pages of history itself. But the city survives, and as spring comes again, it becomes a site for remembering those who were lost. Kazan does an immense amount of work in this piece—it provides a raw, vibrant, evocative, and historically-situated setting for the action; it raises the tension and stakes of the situation; it is saturated with all the emotion that the stunned narrator himself cannot experience.

Just how great a shift of perspective this involved can be gleaned from a comparable sentimental tale from Kazan, Gavriil Kamenev’s “Inna,” penned thirty years earlier, at around the turn of the nineteenth century. Like “Tomb of Love,” “Inna” is a story of doomed lovers—a country girl and her beau from the city—who are first separated and ultimately reunited by death. “Inna,” however, is a timeless piece, with no connection to specific local events. Though set near Kazan, the action takes place in the bucolic locale of a small suburban village, separated from the

³ L[ebedev], “Mogila liubvi,” *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, vol. 1, no. 8: 429.

city by the Kazanka River. In fact, the city itself remains unnamed, identified only by its location at the confluence of the Volga and Kazanka, and the “proud bastion, and golden churches and mosques” which mark its distant skyline. Moreover, this is a story which invests none of its romance, sentimentality, or pathos in the city. Instead, Kazan serves a very simple, abstract purpose for Kamenev: as Inna “rivets her eyes on the city” day after day, waiting for a lover who has already died, its constant, unattainable presence on the horizon underscores the unbridgeable distance that separates the couple, both in life and in death.⁴

Many things were changing in Kazan in the first half of the nineteenth century, but this shift in the way that residents thought about and talked about their city was one of the most visible. And though this pattern is illustrated with particular clarity by these two stories, it was by no means a purely literary phenomenon. In a variety of ways, which cut across Kazan’s social and cultural diversity, residents were turning to the city, pursuing a variety of urban initiatives intended to address their practical needs and intangible concerns. This was a time when residents began to manage everyday issues like washed-away bridges, without the direction of state officials; to formulate collective responses to the problems of urban growth and industrialization; to call on their fellows to support ‘the public interest’ by donating to new social welfare programs; to open their own private hospitals in the face of imperial breakdown during the cholera disaster; and to write and memorialize the city’s history as a way of forging emotional ties with the empire. In all of these cases, Kazan itself took on new roles for its inhabitants. It became a unit of self-organization; an object of attention, study, and conscious affection; and a supplement or replacement for imperial governance, kin, and confessional community. It became

⁴ P. A. Orlov, ed., *Russkaia sentimentalnaia povest* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1979), 186-189.

a place that could both provide services and convey meaning. This shift was never absolute, and sometimes remained more aspirational than substantive; but it was a real phenomenon with vital consequences for the city's inhabitants.

I have chosen this 'turn toward the city,' and the initiatives that grew out of it, as the jumping off point for my exploration of Kazan, and they lead to a wealth of immediate questions, such as: What forms did this turn take and what were its limits? Who was involved and who was excluded? What inspired it? What were its effects? And what was its lasting significance? Nor can one follow this turn toward the city very far without being drawn into other aspects of urban life as well. It becomes necessary to ask how the city operated, what legacies it had inherited from earlier times and other places, what else was changing in Kazan, and what it was about residents' circumstances that made the city seem so necessary to so many of them at this moment. Many of the concerns which preoccupied city dwellers during this period are evident in the comparison between "Inna" and "Tomb of Love." These include the threat to urban cohesion posed by local perils and difficulties; the anxieties aroused by Kazan's ethnic and religious diversity; and the attribution of historicized significance to local events. Even the circumstances under which these stories were written shed light on changing times in the city; for while Kamenev was a talented fish in a very small educated pond—the so-called 'Kazan circle,' which looked to St. Petersburg for its literary inspiration and outlets⁵—Lebedev was a minor player in what had become a much more sophisticated and self-sufficient local intellectual milieu,

⁵ Margarita Sergeevna Tikhonova, "Literaturnyi kruzhok G. P. Kameneva v g. Kazani kontsa XVIII-nachala XIX vv.," *Istoricheskie issledovaniia: materialy III Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (Kazan: Buk, 2015): 114-117; Radik Salikhov, et al., *Zolotyie stranitsy kupechestva, promyshlennikov i predprinimatelei Tatarstana*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Ianalif: 2001), 45-46; A. N. Biktasheva, *Kazanskoe gubernatorstvo pervoi poloviny XIX veka: vremia vlasti*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2014), 130-131.

anchored by Kazan's new university, printing presses, periodicals, literary society, and unmediated access to contemporary European scholars, ideas, and publications⁶.

As this dissertation follows residents' turn to the city, with all the questions and themes that attend it, what emerges is the story of how a contiguous, multi-ethnic state like the Russian Empire actually operated at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and how it reacted to the changing circumstances of this period, all mapped out at the intimate level of a provincial city. Many of the new conditions that Kazan faced came from outside Russia, and ranged from the global trend toward urbanization and industrialization to the new ideas of national identity, societal progress, and scientific rationalism circulating widely across Europe. The challenges that attended these developments were not the kind that locals could simply ignore. Yet Kazan remained an imperial city, in its politics, diversity, and self-image. The legacies that empire bequeathed to the city, of both ancient and more recent vintage, powerfully conditioned the way residents responded to change, placing significant constraints on their field of action. Standing thus at a juncture between irresistible changes and immovable continuities, this dissertation uses Kazan as a venue in which to explore how empire worked on an everyday basis; how a city that blended elements of colonial periphery and metropolitan core coped with the pressures of nineteenth-century urbanization; and how European innovations found expression in provincial Russia's polyglot imperial landscape.

⁶ Shishkin and F. F. Nureeva, eds., *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat*, 5-8; V. V. Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo povolzhia: k istorii Kazanskogo obshchestva liubitelei otechestvennoi slovesnosti v 1808-1818 gg.* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1992); P. Ponomarev, "Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pressa (bibliograficheskiia zametki)," *Kazanskii literaturnyi sbornik, 1878* (Kazan: Tipografiia M. A. Gladyshevoi, 1878): 177-188.

The Choice of Setting: Early-Nineteenth-Century Kazan

The city selected for this study, Kazan, distilled much of the complexity and contradiction of the Russian Empire into just a few square miles. In quotidian moments, its nineteenth-century present sometimes seemed overshadowed by a momentous past. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the city had been the capital of the Khanate of Kazan, a successor state to the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde. The khanate was a multi-ethnic realm, ruled by a Muslim Tatar aristocracy. Regional politics during this period were fragmented, tortuous, and often inconclusive, but in 1552 they reached a decisive juncture. It was then that Muscovy, under Ivan IV, gained sufficient military and political advantages to besiege Kazan, storm its walls, raze it to the ground, and annex the surrounding lands. And this, in turn, (imperial propagandists and historians alike have often since argued⁷) was the moment when the Russian Empire truly came into being as a multi-ethnic polity. After the conquest, the city was rebuilt as a military outpost of the Russian state, and in the decades and centuries that followed, it grew into a thriving provincial capital. Serving as the administrative and commercial hub for a vast territory, its economy was based on the twin pillars of regional, national, and international trade, and the military-governmental apparatus. The city was home to all strata of society, from wealthy merchants and noble-born officials to peasant laborers and petty craftsmen. Peopled predominately by Orthodox Russians, it became the seat of an archdiocese and the headquarters for waves of Christian proselytization in the area. Yet it retained much of its medieval diversity; attracting, as it recovered from the conquest, many representatives of local ethnic and religious

⁷ M. Khersakov, *Tvoreniia*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1796), xii-xiii; Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), 21-27; Matthew P. Romaniello, *The Elusive Empire: Kazan and the Creation of Russia, 1552-1671* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 3-8.

minorities, most of whom gradually coalesced around the Islamic faith and a Kazan-Tatar cultural-linguistic identity. In time the city acquired smaller minority groups as well, including German Lutherans, Orthodox dissenters, and various others. Whether viewed from a political, social, ethnic, religious, or historical standpoint, Kazan truly was a city of empire—a place which focused all the legacies of Russia’s imperial past and present into a single urban microcosm.

And if, by the early nineteenth century, the epic days of dynastic struggle and bitter conquest lay in the distant past, the city still remained a witness to dramatic transformation. Many of the changes Kazan experienced now were akin to those sweeping all of Europe in the first decades of the 1800s, carried in on a tide of new economic and political conditions, new technologies and institutional practices, and new conceptualizations of state and society. All of Russia’s cities were affected by these innovations, to one degree or another, but Kazan had a way of accelerating and accentuating them, making their effects particularly accessible to historical study and analysis. Kazan was fairly typical, for example, in facing the challenges of rapid urbanization—its population having increased from roughly 26,000 in 1800 to 61,000 in 1850.⁸ But the problems of growth were multiplied by the city’s own particular complications, such as its low-lying, flood-prone topography that limited expansion and exacerbated overcrowding; or its increasing economic reliance on polluting, low-technology processing industries such as tanning and soapmaking. Kazan was likewise far from alone among Russian cities in beginning to deploy science and technology to address urban challenges, both old and new—challenges like the endemic diseases and unfamiliar epidemics that haunted all cities of the era. But the creation

⁸ K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 19; [Vladislav] Romishevskii, *Voенно-statisticheskoe obozrenie Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 5, pt. 1: *Kazanskaia guberniia* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Departamenta Generalnago Shtaba, 1850), 122.

of a university in Kazan and the importation of scholars from across Europe meant that residents had access to the latest advances and a comparatively cosmopolitan perspective when they tackled such issues. And certainly Kazan was in the mainstream when it began to struggle with how to accommodate the idea of nationalism within a multi-ethnic empire—indeed, by the 1830s and 1840s a three-way debate between conservative monarchists, Westernizers, and Slavophiles had been joined in full force on Russia’s broader intellectual stage. But this issue, too, took on a different valence in Kazan—a city which contained a higher degree of ethnic and religious diversity than almost any other in the Russian core provinces; and whose storied history further amplified the ambiguities and tensions inherent in contemporary national questions.

As local residents confronted these challenging times, their own understanding was that the city’s modern history had begun in the pivotal year of 1774—a moment that saw Kazan destroyed by rebellion, and then rebuilt and reorganized according to imperial decree. Following their lead, this dissertation incorporates selected events between 1774 and 1800, as a way of contextualizing subsequent developments. The core period of study for this project, however, focuses on the decades that followed, from 1800 to 1860, when the turn to the city itself can be observed unfolding. As it accompanies the residents of Kazan through the turn, this work asks what difficulties these residents thought the city might help them address, how they went about mobilizing urban initiative to achieve these ends, how well they fared in their efforts, what the outcomes were, and what we can learn from studying these events. After 1860, locals did not, by any means, stop looking to Kazan for either basic civic services or a sense of belonging. Yet, the experiences of urban Russia after the Great Reforms have been much more extensively studied⁹,

⁹ Mark D. Steinberg, *Petersburg Fin de Siècle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990); James West and Iurii Petrov, eds., *Merchant Moscow: Images of Russia’s Vanished Bourgeoisie* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel

and represent a comparative known quantity. This study therefore focuses in on the first half of the century, both to shed light on underappreciated developments from this period, and to trace the way those developments connected with the late-imperial period in Russia, and with the pan-European context more generally.

The complex set of interactions taking place in Kazan, between venerable patterns of imperial governance and early-nineteenth-century European innovations, was indeed revealing. It showed that Russia's cities were buffeted by many of the same substantive and conceptual gales that were shaking cities in Western Europe (and indeed worldwide) during this period. And it demonstrated that the residents of Kazan, like those elsewhere, rose to meet these challenges with initiative and resolve—thus disclosing a level of dynamism and a sense of public engagement in Russia's cities prior to the Great Reforms that has been underappreciated by historians. Yet this study does not fail to consider Russia's particular imperial legacies. The empire's overt policies clearly played a part in shaping how city dwellers responded to their early-nineteenth-century context; but so did a deeper set of imperial practices and attitudes, that had evolved over the course of centuries and, to one degree or another, been internalized by residents. Crucially, this study foregrounds the easily neglected fact that one of the ways that empire functioned was through the dense web of interrelationships between imperial subjects and

Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); B. V. Ananich, *Bankirskie doma v Rossii, 1860-1914 gg.: ocherki istorii chastnogo predprinimatelstva* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1991); Michael Hamm, ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1986); Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Alexander Morrison, *Russian Rule in Samarkand 1868-1910: A Comparison with British India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Natan M. Meir, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2010); Rex A. Wade and Scott J. Seregny, eds., *Politics and Society in Provincial Russia: Saratov, 1590-1917* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1989); Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Leopold Haimson, "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905-1917," *Slavic Review*, vol. 23, no. 4 (Dec. 1964): 619-642 & vol. 24, no. 1 (Mar. 1965): 1-22; Barbara Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work and Family in Russia, 1861-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

communities, which often short-circuited the official apparatus entirely. It is this interweaving of local initiative, state policy, imperial habitus, and international influences that makes early-nineteenth-century Kazan a case-study with relevance not only to the Russian Empire as a whole, but also to the transnational urban experience of the early nineteenth century.

Historiographic Engagements and Contributions

As this dissertation follows the residents of Kazan through the turn to the city, it pursues two major investigative threads. The first considers what the turn consisted of, what it accomplished, what it can tell us about residents' aims and views, and how it affected their beliefs and actions. This is an arc which emphasizes a variety of new forms of public engagement, the forging of local alliances and attachments, and constructive confrontations with the accelerating pace of change seen in the early nineteenth century. The second thread, by contrast, focuses on the limits of the turn, the issues and challenges that prompted it, and the obstacles that it faced. This is a perspective which highlights the persistence of patterns of division, and the role of imperial practices and institutions in perpetuating them. From the interplay of these two threads, several major themes arise—among the most prominent of which are explorations of the rise of public engagement in the Russian Empire; of the ways local study, advocacy, and attachment were manifested in the Russian context; of Russia's relationship with Europe and European modernity; and of the mechanisms and practices by which the empire functioned at a granular level. Each of these themes, in turn, brings this dissertation into dialogue with particular historiographic fields and conversations, both within the domain of Russian history, and beyond.

* * *

A central theme of this study—and one of the most striking aspects of life in Kazan in the early nineteenth century—is just how many of the urban initiatives pursued by local residents involved some sort of public engagement. As this dissertation will show, this was a time when merchants elected to local office began to wrestle with the responsibilities of serving the public interest; when private citizens began to spearhead new forms of social and charitable initiative; when the emergence of a periodical press, voluntary associations, open lectures, and literary events gave rise to a lively domain of public intellectual discourse; and when residents began to work consciously to create local monuments and collective memories for the city. These observations suggest new ways of looking at the wide-ranging historiographic debates about the nature of public life in imperial Russia. Historians have long been drawn by the question of whether the Russian Empire ever had a ‘public,’ and if so, when, and in what form. Indeed, the roots of such discussions lie in the contemporary ideological positions of rulers and intellectuals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To scholars of more recent times, the topic has offered a natural counterpoint to long-standing debates about the reach and significance of autocracy in the Russian setting, while also promising to shed light on the causes of the empire’s eventual collapse. These and other reasons have drawn historians to examine Russia’s imperial public from a number of different angles.

One popular approach to the topic has been by reference to Western European theoretical and conceptual models—such as those related to the public sphere and civil society posed by

Jürgen Habermas¹⁰, or those on middle-class formation articulated by figures like Eric Hobsbawm.¹¹ Although theories like these play an undeniably useful role in guiding historical research and interpretation, scholars have usually been quick to acknowledge that they translate rather awkwardly to the Russian context. Even as they have appreciated the vibrancy, self-awareness, and sophistication of late-imperial society, therefore, historians have remained hesitant to claim that that this society had developed the overarching bonds of class-consciousness necessary to make it an effective counterweight to the state.¹² In similar fashion, they have tended to assert the relevance of Western European social development models to the Russian case only with substantial modification—for example, by arguing that in place of the separate and often contentious relationship that existed between civil society and the state in the West, the Russian case was a variant in which the two were intertwined and mutually dependent.¹³ One rich body of work in this domain has come from the study of Russia's voluntary associations and related institutions.¹⁴ These are organizations which not only testified to the existence of private initiative and civic-mindedness in late-imperial Russia, but also

¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

¹¹ e.g. E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Making of a 'Bourgeois Revolution'," *Social Research*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 5-31.

¹² Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow and James L. West eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); West and Petrov, eds., *Merchant Moscow*; Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia*.

¹³ Nigel A. Raab, *Democracy Burning? Urban Fire Departments and the Limits of Civil Society in Late Imperial Russia, 1850-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Nathan M. Gerth, "A Model Town: Tver, the Classical Imperial Order, and the Rise of Civic Society in the Russian Provinces, 1763-1861," (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2014).

¹⁴ Joseph Bradley, *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Lutz Häfner, "'The Temple of Idleness': Associations and the Public Sphere in Provincial Russia: A Case Study of Saratov, 1800-1917," in *Russia in the European Context, 1789-1914: A Member of the Family*, Susan P. McCaffray and Michael Melancon eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 141-160; A. S. Tumanova, et al., *Samoorganizatsiia rossiiskoi obshchestvennosti v poslednei treti XVIII-nachale XX v.* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2011); A. N. Zorin, et al., *Ocherki gorodskogo byta dorevoliutsionnogo povolzhia* (Ulianovsk: Izdatelstvo "Srednevolzhskii Nauchnyi Tsentr," 2000).

revealed patterns of public engagement that can be traced back to the early decades of the nineteenth century, and even to the Masonic lodges of the eighteenth.¹⁵ Yet historians have also recognized that these institutions only developed with the grudging tolerance, frequent interference, and occasional support of the imperial apparatus, beginning with the Enlightenment program of Catherine II and extending right through the state oversight and sponsorship of the last years of the empire. In this way voluntary associations have seemed to embody the distinctive and somewhat paradoxical dynamics of public life in imperial Russia.

Meanwhile, scholars have continued to seek other manifestations of civil society that were compatible with the heavy hand of the Russian state—particularly in the period before the Great Reforms of the 1860s, and the opportunities it created for individuals and associations to create a certain amount of distance between themselves and the government. Hints of civil society, at least, can be glimpsed, for example, in the vast literature on the rise of the intelligentsia, and on the lines of elite radical and reactionary thought that these intellectuals pursued over the course of the long nineteenth century, often beyond the ambit of state control.¹⁶ And with a suitably relaxed understanding of civil society, a similar interpretive framing can be applied to histories that explore the role of government officials—the so-called ‘enlightened bureaucrats’—in laying the necessary groundwork for political, social, and ideological change in

¹⁵ Douglas Smith, “Freemasonry and the Public in Eighteenth-Century Russia,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1 (Fall, 1995): 25-44.

¹⁶ Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979); Isaiah Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2008); Alexander Martin, *Romantics, Reformers, Reactionaries: Russian Conservative Thought and Politics in the Reign of Alexander I* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1997); Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965); Marc Raeff, *Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The Eighteenth-Century Nobility* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966); Martin Malia, “What Is the Intelligentsia?,” *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 3 (Summer, 1960): 441-458; Anton A. Fedyashin, *Liberals Under Autocracy: Modernization and Civil Society in Russia, 1866-1904* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012).

Russia.¹⁷ Recently, Ekaterina Pravilova has articulated a creative variation of this idea, arguing that the Enlightenment ideology and practical political needs of Catherine sparked notions about public property which were then developed and expanded by state officials and intellectual elites during the nineteenth century, giving rise by the late-imperial period to a concept of the “public domain” in Russia that was widely-accepted and influential.¹⁸ And in still another approach to the general topic, historians such as Aleksandr Kupriianov have sought to trace the effects of the educational and urban reforms of Catherine II and Alexander I, arguing that over the early decades of the nineteenth century these programs gave rise to a ‘middle-class’ of sorts in Russia’s cities, which possessed at least a rudimentary sense of self-awareness and cohesiveness.¹⁹

The current study complements these various approaches by expanding our understanding of the role of non-state actors—especially those who fell outside the narrow band of intellectual elites in the capitals—in pursuing greater levels of public engagement during the period before the Great Reforms. Kazan certainly had voluntary associations and collective institutions of the kind historians have already connected with the development of civil society in provincial Russia as far back as the early nineteenth century. These included the local literary

¹⁷ W. Bruce Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia’s Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982); P. A. Zaionchkovskii, *Pravitelstvennyi apparat samoderzhavnoi Rossii v XIX v.* (Moscow: Mysl, 1978); Marc Raeff, *Michael Speransky: Statesman of Imperial Russia, 1772-1839* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1957); Marina Loskutova, “‘Svedeniia o klimate, pochve, obraze khoziaistva i gosподstvuiushchikh rasteniiakh dolzhny byt sobrany...’: prosveshchennaia biurokratiia, gumboldtovskaia nauka i mestnoe znanie v Rossiiskoi imperii, vtoroi chetverti XIX v.,” *Ab Imperio*, 2012, no. 4: 111-156; E. A. Vishlenkova, “Mediko-biologicheskie obiasneniia sotsialnykh problem Rossii (vtoraia tret XIX veka),” *Istoriia i istoricheskaia pamiat*, no. 4 (2011): 37-65; L. P. Burmistrova, *Provintsialnaia gazeta v epokhy russkikh prosvetitelei* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1985); Susan Smith-Peter, *The Russian Provincial Newspaper and Its Public, 1788-1864* (Pittsburg: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburg, 2008).

¹⁸ Ekaterina Pravilova, *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 35-54.

¹⁹ A. I. Kupriianov, *Gorodskaia kultura Russkoi provintsii: konets XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX veka* (Moscow: Novyi Khronograf, 2007); Alexander Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis: Constructing Imperial Moscow, 1762-1855* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

society, salon evenings, a “Club for merchants and foreigners,”²⁰ at least one European-styled coffee shop²¹, and the suburban recreation areas of ‘German-’ and ‘Russian-Switzerland.’ But while these did indeed play an important part in enriching and expanding the city’s intellectual and cultural life, what this dissertation foregrounds are other, less appreciated forms of public initiative. They include, for example, the elected city councilors and private citizens who (echoing, in simplified form, the more rarified debates documented by Pravilova in the capitals) evoked the idea of the ‘public good [*obshchee blago*]’ as they sought to improve the city’s physical and social infrastructure. They include the intertwined efforts of medical professionals and laymen to care for Kazan’s sick and to make the city healthier. And they include the partnerships between city promoters, intellectuals and merchants to write and memorialize Kazan’s history. Particularly notable here is the extent to which such efforts involved cooperation that extended across social boundaries, engaging a wide variety of nobles, clerics, merchants, *litterateurs*, and professionals. The limits of such engagement must be acknowledged. These individuals were mostly elites, at least within the provincial context. They continued to work within institutional settings and social parameters laid down by the government, and many earned their living from the state. The evidence is scant that they shared any sense of belonging to a collective ‘middle-class’ social identity. Yet as this study will show, they found motivation and common purpose in the pursuit of local objectives that fell outside the government’s sphere of interest and control; and together, they were able to achieve outcomes that had a meaningful impact on the lives of all the city’s residents.

²⁰ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 573, ll. 17-18.

²¹ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 2035, ll. 3-3ob.

Closely related to the topic of public engagement is the second theme of this dissertation, which centers on the role of local study in the Russian Empire. Though many of the urban initiatives documented in this dissertation were material in nature, others were more conceptual. This was a time when local promoters sought to make Kazan itself an object of contemplation and emotion. They worked to research the city's people and social rhythms, its artifacts and neighborhoods, and its natural and economic attributes. They labored to reimagine the city as a medicalized space; to write it into their literary works; and to document its history. In some ways this can be viewed as a very Russian narrative. From its inception during the early Soviet period, regional study, or *kraevedenie*, has generally been accepted as a robust and respected academic field in Russia.²² Moreover, recent work by Catherine Evtuhov has shown that the *kraevedenie* tradition had precursors in the imperial period, especially in the efforts of technocrats and scholars to compile expertise about the areas where they lived and governed. In the process, Evtuhov has demonstrated forms of decentralization in imperial Russia that have often tended to be overlooked.²³ Through the years, the practices of local study have found enthusiastic expression in Kazan, resulting in rich fodder for any scholar of the city.²⁴ And the Russian

²² Emily D. Johnson, *How St. Petersburg Learned to Study Itself: The Russian Idea of Kraevedenie* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

²³ Catherine Evtuhov, *Portrait of a Russian Province: Economy, Society and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Nizhnii Novgorod* (Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburg Press, 2011).

²⁴ To name only a small fraction of the most important works: In the imperial period, M. Pinegin, *Kazan v eia proshlom i nastoiashchem* (St. Petersburg: Knigoprodavets A. A. Dubrovina, 1890); N. P. Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani: Illiustrirovannyi ukazatel dostoprimechatel'nostei i spravochnaia knizhka goroda* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1895); M. V. Kazanskii, *Putevoditel po Kazani* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1899); S. M. Shpilevskii, *Ukazatel istoricheskikh dostoprimechatel'nostei g. Kazani* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1873); Nikolai Agafonov, *Kazan i Kazantsy*, 2 vols. (Kazan: Tipo-Litogr. I. S. Perova, 1906-1907); Evgenii Bobrov, "A. A. Fuks i Kazanskie literatory 30-40-kh godov," *Russkaia Starina*, vol. 118, no. 6 (Jun., 1904): 481-509, vol. 119, no. 7 (Jul. 1904): 5-35; N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago*

affinity for the locale has also found echoes in recent historiography, particularly in what Susan Smith-Peter has referred to as the study of the Russian Empire's "subnational spaces"²⁵—a trend to which the current work happily contributes.

Yet local study is far from a strictly Russian phenomenon, and historians like Evtuhov have situated *kraevedenie* and regional knowledge construction in the context of the broader literature on local history and local identity formation in Western Europe. This is a field that has become heavily weighted toward examining how the reshaping of regional memories served the cause of nation-building in Imperial Germany—or, to clutter up Alon Confino's concise formulation, how Germany's constituent locales and principalities were reimagined, in order to appear as metaphors for the new nationalist state.²⁶ Yet although imperial Germany undoubtedly provides a rich and compelling case study, its broader applicability has perhaps at times been too readily assumed. Even in neighboring states such as Britain and France, historians have shown that local study was ubiquitous in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, yet that it was turned to

Kazanskogo Universiteta za pervyia sto let ego sushchestvovaniia, 1804-1904, 4 vols. (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1902-1904). In the Soviet and post-Soviet periods: A. N. Zorin, et al., *Ocherki gorodskogo byta*; L. M. Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo: Sotsialno-ekonomicheskii portret, kon. XVIII-nach. XX v.* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011); E. A., Vishlenkova, S. Iu. Malysheva, and A. A. Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti provintsialnogo goroda: Kazan i Kazantsy v XIX-XX vekakh* (Kazan: Izd-vo Kazanskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, 2008); L. M. Sverdlova, *Kupechestvo Kazani: dela i liudi* (Kazan: Matbugat iurty, 1998); T. V. Bessonova, *Kazanskaia sukonnaia sloboda v XVIII - pervoi polovine XIX vv.* (Naberezhnie Chelny: Izd-vo Instituta Upravleniia, 2000); Iuliia Vladimirovna Mansurova, "Kazanskaia Admiralteiskaia sloboda v XVIII-XIX vv.," (Kandidat diss., Institut Istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, 2002); S. A. Frolova, *Istoriia odnoi gorodskoi usadby* (Kazan: Tsentr innovatsionnykh tekhnologii, 2009); M. A. Usmanov, ed., *Stranitsy istorii goroda Kazani* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1981); Bakhtiiar Izmailov, "Kazanskaia Tatarskaia ratusha (1781-1855 gg.)," (Kandidat diss., AN RT Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Tatarstan, 2009); V. V. Aristov, *Kazanskie nakhodki* (Kazan: Tatarskoe Knizhnoe Izdatelstvo, 1985).

²⁵ Susan Smith-Peter, "Bringing the Provinces into Focus: Subnational Spaces in the Recent Historiography of Russia," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 835.

²⁶ Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Wurttemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

a dizzying array of different ends, most of which had nothing to do with nationalism.²⁷ And there are other ways to think about the connection between personal identity and the locale as well. One recent innovation in the field urban history has been to reconsider the role of cities in shaping residents' communal self-image. Here, too, narratives of national affiliation are being complicated by the consideration of competing ethnic, confessional, and local identities as well.²⁸

This study seeks to build on the observations of Evtuhov and others, by presenting a new perspective on local study in the Russian imperial context. The exploration of Kazan extends the story of local scholarship in Russia back into the period before the Great Reforms, and demonstrates how that scholarship operated in an urban setting. It also documents the interplay between the discourse of local study and attachment, and more practical efforts to improve life in the city for everyday residents. Perhaps more significantly, however, this project seeks to complicate and enrich our understanding of local study on the world stage. In some ways, events in Kazan paralleled the later German case described by Confino and others. Here, too, there was a disjointed empire in need of emotional unification; and the promoters of Kazan clearly hoped that the cultivation of local identity could build feelings of belonging toward the state as a whole. Yet there was much that was distinct in Kazan as well. The intellectual environment of early nineteenth century provincial Russia raised very different expectations and possibilities in the

²⁷ Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Clarisse Coulomb, "The making of a bourgeois identity? Urban histories and their historians in eighteenth-century France," in *The Crisis of the Absolute Monarchy: France from Old Regime to Revolution*, Julian Swann and Joel Felix eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 291-310; R. J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis," *Historical Journal*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Mar., 1983): 95-118.

²⁸ William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer, eds., *Nationalism and the Reshaping of Urban Communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Diane E. David and Nora Libertun de Duren, eds., *Cities & Sovereignty: Identity Politics in Urban Spaces* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011).

minds of local residents. And crucially, Kazan was marked by a far greater admixture of cultural diversity than most cities and regions of Western Europe. In Kazan, therefore, the application of local identity toward building allegiance to the state became less concrete and sure-footed. The city's intellectuals had no clear idea of what 'metaphor' they needed Kazan to project: their notions of the empire, as anything more than a system of personal loyalty toward the monarch, remained too underdeveloped. And at the same time, they sought to use local study and promotion to serve other needs—for, as their concerns about Kazan's divisions grew, the cultivation of local attachment appeared to them a viable way of encouraging civic unity and addressing common problems. These observations emphasize the point that local study is a tool that can be turned to any number of ends, serving imperial loyalty or civic exigency just as readily as nationalistic patriotism.

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Many of the challenges that spurred local intellectuals and *belle-lettrists* to study Kazan—and indeed that encouraged residents to turn to the city in various other ways as well—point toward the third theme of this dissertation: the exploration of the connections between Russia, Europe, and modernity. These are connections that can require some sleuthing in the case of Kazan. Though residents frequently discussed the proximate causes for the urban initiatives they pursued, they less often acknowledged the deeper systemic forces that were driving change in the city. Some of the impulses for change clearly originated in imperial reforms, regulations, and institutions, yet this is far from the whole story. Kazan was a place that was touched

meaningfully and directly by Europe—by European scholars, travelers, texts, and economic competitors. This dissertation makes the case, therefore, that much of the impetus behind residents' turn to the city lay outside the empire, in the changing European and global dynamics of the early nineteenth century.

Historians have long found the 'modern' to offer a useful conceptual framework for engaging with the questions about the extent, nature, and arc of Western influence in Russia. And where once modernization theorists treated Russia schematically, as a useful example of semi-European semi-backwardness²⁹, modernity has been handled with a much greater subtlety in recent decades, often as a way of understanding mass culture, identity formation, and self-fashioning³⁰. It has had a particular impact in the analysis of the early Soviet regime³¹, while its use in imperial studies has been less systematic, but perhaps even more wide-ranging³². As this rich diversity of works testifies, however, there is little scholarly consensus on when modernity

²⁹ Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). On the general critique of modernization theory, see: Tipps, Dean C. "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 15 (1973): 199-226.

³⁰ David L. Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis, eds. *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000).

³¹ Stephen Kotkin, "Modern Times: The Soviet Union and the Interwar Conjunction," *Kritika*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 111-164; David L. Hoffman, *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917-1941* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); Michael David-Fox, "Multiple Modernities vs. Neo-Traditionalism: On Recent Debates in Russian and Soviet History," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 55, no. 4 (2006): 535-555; Michael David-Fox, *Crossing Borders: Modernity, Ideology, and Culture in Russia and the Soviet Union* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

³² Marc Raeff, "The Well-Ordered Police State and the Development of Modernity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe: An Attempt at a Comparative Approach," *American Historical Review*, vol. 80, no. 5 (1975): 1221-1243; Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire and European Modernity, 1788-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity*; Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia*.

happened in Russia and what it entailed, raising questions about how much analytical value the concept, in itself, has to contribute (an issue far from limited to the Russian context³³).

As a result, this study has chosen to engage not with the wide umbrella of modernity, but instead with its particular manifestations in the early-nineteenth-century context of Kazan. It observes that as they sought to improve the city's hygiene and secure it from virulent new epidemics, residents grappled with problems of urban growth and crowding seen around the world at this time.³⁴ As they worked to diversify Kazan's economy by expanding its trading outlets and industrial base, local commercial leaders were integrated into larger patterns of shifting economic opportunities and challenges.³⁵ As they contemplated the city's history, its diversity, and its place in the empire, the musings of Kazan's intellectuals were colored by the compelling promises and incipient dangers conveyed by the surging rhetoric of nationalism.³⁶ And in all these cases, as they sought to respond to changing conditions, locals drew on novel

³³ Lynn M. Thomas, "Modernity's Failings, Political Claims, and Intermediate Concepts," *American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011): 727-740; Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Muddle of Modernity," *American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011): 663-675; Richard Wolin, "'Modernity': The Peregrinations of a Contested Historiographical Concept," *American Historical Review*, vol. 116, no. 3 (2011): 741-751.

³⁴ Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962); Pamela Gilbert, *Mapping the Victorian Social Body* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004); Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Pamela Gilbert, *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008); Sally Sheard and Helen Power, eds., *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race & Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003); David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).

³⁵ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1984); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

³⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006); Michel Foucault, *Space, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-1978* (New York: Picador, 2009); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); David A. Bell, *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2007).

theories and assumptions regarding scientific and social progress.³⁷ The resulting composite highlights not just how completely Russia was integrated into transnational networks of ideas and exchange, but also how those networks reached all the way into the empire's provincial outposts, often in unmediated form.

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Yet even if these examples highlight some of the limits of the empire's influence in the city, the fact that residents remained imperial subjects cannot be ignored. The fourth theme of this dissertation, then, is the many and varied imperial legacies that colored all aspects of urban life in Kazan, both directing and limiting inhabitants' civic initiatives. Empire worked at a number of different levels in Kazan. Its bureaucrats, regulations, and exactions dictated much that went on the city. It defined the institutional, social, and confessional frameworks in which local individuals and groups necessarily had to function. And over the centuries, many of the habits and experiences of empire had also become ingrained in residents' minds, shaping at a deep level the way they saw themselves, and the possibilities that they were able to imagine for their community. As it seeks to examine the way empire functioned in Kazan at the very small scale, therefore, this study comes into dialogue with the vast historiography that considers Russia *as an empire*.

³⁷ Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1970); Thomas L. Hankins, *Science and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

It has been over ten years since Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist, and Alexander Martin wondered whether the already long-running ‘imperial turn’ in Russian history might be leading toward “[i]mperial overstretch” and an inevitable backlash³⁸; yet still empire remains a productive focus for innovative research. In seeking to understand the how the empire’s administrative systems functioned, and the strengths they possessed, historians have explored the policies, institutions, and idiosyncrasies of imperial officialdom. Frequently they have spent more time in the periphery than the metropole, as befits an empire that was flexible enough to employ a range of strategies in managing diverse lands and peoples.³⁹ Beyond bureaucratic systems, scholars have also delved deeply into the elite toolkit of categories, constructs, and mentalités that always underpinned the empire’s ability to rule.⁴⁰ And another approach historians have adopted, particularly as a fresh way of considering the empire’s eventual disintegration and demise, has been to trace the experiences of minority groups, from both ethno-

³⁸ Michael David-Fox, Peter Holquist and Alexander M. Martin, “The Imperial Turn,” *Kritika*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Fall, 2006), 712. For more recent assessments of the field, see: Nicholas Breyfogle, “Enduring Imperium: Russia/Soviet Union/Eurasia as Multiethnic, Multiconfessional Space,” *Ab Imperio*, 2008, no. 1: 75-129; and Willard Sunderland, “What Is Asia to Us?: Scholarship on the Tsarist ‘East’ since the 1990s,” *Kritika*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Fall, 2011): 817-833.

³⁹ Mikhail Dolbilov, “Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire’s Northwestern Region in the 1860s,” *Kritika*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Spr., 2004): 245-271; Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002); Nathaniel Knight, “Grigor’ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 59, no. 1 (Spring, 2000): 74-100; John Doyle Klier, *Russia Gathers Her Jews: The Origins of the ‘Jewish Question’ in Russia, 1772-1825* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986); John P. LeDonne, “Regionalism and Constitutional Reform, 1819-1826,” *Cahiers du Monde russe*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 2003): 5-33.

⁴⁰ Elena I. Campbell, *The Muslim Question and Russian Imperial Governance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015); Willard Sunderland, *Taming the Wild Field: Colonization and Empire on the Russian Steppe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); Juliette Cadiot, “Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897-1917),” *Russian Review*, vol. 64 (Jul., 2005): 440-455; Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Alexander Morrison, “‘Applied Orientalism’ in British India and Tsarist Turkestan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 51, no. 3 (Jul., 2009): 619-647; Nathaniel Knight, “Constructing the Science of Nationality: Ethnography in Mid-Nineteenth Century Russia,” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1995); Seymour Becker, “Russia Between East and West: The Intelligentsia, Russian National Identity and the Asian Borderlands,” *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1991): 47-64.

national⁴¹ and religious perspectives⁴². The current study complements this literature by seeking to decenter imperial bureaucrats and policies, and instead focus on how empire operated as a web of relationships between the city's residents and communities.

As an ancient imperial conquest and a site of great ethnic and religious diversity, Kazan has been featured prominently in this historiography of empire, especially in discussions of religious diversity and state confessional policy. In his recent book on the history of religious freedom in Russia, Paul Werth charts a trajectory of imperial religious governance, in which a reasonably stable apparatus for legitimizing and administering minority faiths was created under the umbrella of the state between the late-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries; and then disrupted in the latter part of the 1800s by the growing politicization of religion. Werth describes this latter period of politicization as marked by calls for greater freedom of spiritual practice, the conflation of confessional and national identities, and a climate of rising mistrust between state officials and minority groups.⁴³ These developments have been explored in immense detail in the context of Kazan, resulting in divergent perspectives that offer a somewhat fragmented picture of local religious and ethnic dynamics. Robert Crews chooses the Volga-Ural region, including

⁴¹ Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001); Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Willard Sunderland, "Russians Into Yakuts?: 'Going Native' and Problems of Russian National Identity in the Siberian North, 1870s-1914," *Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 4 (Win. 1996): 806-825; Alan Fisher, *Between Russians, Ottomans and Turks: Crimea and the Crimean Tatars* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1998).

⁴² Nicholas B. Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Allen J. Frank, "Islam and Ethnic Relations in the Kazakh Inner Horde: Muslim Cossacks, Tatar Merchants and Kazakh Nomads in a Turkic Manuscript, 1870-1910," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, Vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. Anke von Kugelgen, Michael Kemper and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998): 211-242; Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780-1910* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁴³ Paul Werth, *The Tsar's Foreign Faiths: Toleration and the Fate of Religious Freedom in Imperial Russia*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4-5.

Kazan, as one of the primary sites for his study of the development of the empire's system of toleration, beginning with Catherine II. From this case study he draws a relatively benign picture of the imperial religious program.⁴⁴ Others, such as Robert Geraci, instead use Kazan and the surrounding region to explore the rising confessional tensions of the latter part of the nineteenth century, illuminating the fervent debates and bouts of chauvinism that led state governance, educational policy, and Orthodox proselytization to become deeply intertwined.⁴⁵ And still others focus on Kazan's minorities to highlight their search for autonomy, and both the consequences and limits of state religious interventions. This is true, for example, of Agnes Kefeli's study of the Christianized and syncretic Tatar peasants of Kazan Province, who largely succeeded in living out their own realities, while struggling to have them recognized by a state beguiled by the bureaucratic fictions it had created.⁴⁶

The current study complements this historiography through its intimate focus on the functioning of local systems in early-nineteenth-century Kazan. It argues that the early nineteenth century should more clearly be recognized as a transitional period in the empire's evolution. As Werth and Crews have noted, the state's minority religious institutions and practices of tolerance were stable and functional throughout this period. Moreover, events in Kazan highlight the fact that these policies were, to a certain degree, self-policing. Once the state set up the institutional and ideological frameworks for religious separation and toleration, local

⁴⁴ Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁴⁵ Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Paul W. Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827-1905* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ Agnes Nilufer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy and Literacy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014); Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*; Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity Among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

residents tended to replicate these patterns unprompted—when they organized private hospitals during a crisis, for example, or in their approaches to providing social welfare services. Yet at the same time, this was also a period when the city’s religious divisions began to raise questions. Local difference was becoming a topic of discussion, referenced most often as a fact of self-evident interest, but at times in more negative terms, as an issue that residents hoped might somehow be overcome. Moreover, as city dwellers worked to address common needs, confessional separation was also beginning to be a tangible source of friction and inefficiency. This was an issue that was, as yet, only rarely discussed; yet it was clearly evident, especially at a moment of stress like the cholera epidemic. One other key consequence of the city’s religious dividing lines was their tendency to inhibit the full development of the city’s new forms of public initiative. For, although many of Kazan’s Muslim Tatars demonstrated that they, too, saw value in forms of local engagement, their power to influence civic affairs and their access to critical institutions remained limited, diminishing their ability to enter productively and wholeheartedly in the turn toward the city. Together, these observations show that many of the acute issues of the late nineteenth century were already becoming apparent, in gradual and incipient form, as early as the 1820s and ‘30s, thus emphasizing the incremental nature of imperial change, and the long continuities that could span even dramatic inflection points like the Great Reforms.

As it has explored Kazan’s confessional dividing lines, this study has also been drawn to engage with the broader transnational literature on divided cities. Although this conceptual category can be extended to include cases ranging from the ghettos of medieval Europe to the red-line districts of twentieth-century America, the current project has focused on treatments of

the religious divisions within early-modern cities of Europe and the Mediterranean⁴⁷, and of racial divisions in the cities of Europe's overseas colonial empires.⁴⁸ Despite their differences, historians have identified some common dynamics of divided cities. These include the deployment of semiotic systems to create and enforce supposedly natural differences; inescapable economic and social interdependencies that threaten to undermine regimes of separation; competing efforts to assert physical and discursive control over urban space; and instability at times of crisis. What the case study of Kazan adds to this literature is a deeper sense of why urban dividing lines have tended to be so resilient. Unlike most divided cities in most times, Kazan of the early nineteenth century was a place where residents were engaged in local memory building aimed at bringing the city together, and where they gave voice to their hopes that the city's divisions—social as well as confessional—might somehow be overcome. It is therefore striking that even as they did so, these citizens continued to conform to hoary imperial patterns of categorization in a relatively unquestioning way. Their example supports the argument that even if long-standing urban divisions required active labor to construct and maintain, they also drew much of their lasting strength from habits and assumptions that gradually became internalized and naturalized. And as a consequence of this, we can conclude

⁴⁷ David Frick, *Kith, Kin & Neighbors: Communities & Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); Mier, *Jewish Metropolis*; Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco's Red City* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Robert C. Davis, *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁴⁸ Anthony D. King, "Colonialism, Urbanism and the Capitalist World Economy: An Introduction," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1989): 1-18; William Cunningham Bissell, "Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 2 (2011): 208-229; Rebecca M. Brown, "The Cemeteries and the Suburbs: Patna's Challenges to the Colonial City in South Asia," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Dec. 2003): 151-172; Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

that the toppling of social, ethnic, and religious barriers can often be expected to require even more effort than that expended to erect those barriers in the first place.

Finally, this project's engagement with empire feeds into a larger question; one which, for the moment, must remain speculative, and is posed as a matter of future research. This study of Kazan suggests that the subjects of a multi-ethnic, contiguous empire like Russia responded very differently to the challenges of the early nineteenth century than the inhabitants of either the comparatively homogenous proto-national states of Western Europe or Europe's far-flung overseas colonial empires. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, since the residents of Kazan were not only part of the European context, but also the inheritors of their own set of very distinct legacies. In recent decades, there have been efforts to explore the commonalities between Europe's great contiguous empires—Austrian, Russian, and Ottoman. It is compelling to think that just as mutual intellectual and societal genealogies have been teased out for states like Britain, France, and Germany, the same might be true for these three pluralistic imperial formations. Early forays into this field have been productive⁴⁹, yet for the present, this literature remains relatively conceptual, schematic, and high-level. This study inquires, therefore, whether Kazan might elicit similar examples in the Austrian or Ottoman case. It will be fascinating to see whether there was ever a time that the residents of Trieste, or Salonica, or any of the other myriad of cities in those two complicated states, turned toward the city, as they did in Kazan—in

⁴⁹ Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997): 19-29; Ronald Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity and Theories of Empire," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001): 23-66; Alexei Miller, *The Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008); Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

order to bring themselves together, to get things done, and to build a stronger link with their empire.

Sources and Methodology

In pursuing the most complete picture possible of urban Kazan, and especially in looking beyond the narrow perspective of state officials, this dissertation triangulates a wide variety of different kinds of primary source materials. First, it uses the archives of the organs of local self-government set up by the provincial reforms of the 1780s, found in the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan (NART) in Kazan. The records of these local political and juridical bodies allow us to trace not only their deliberations, actions, and changes over time, but also the attitudes and day-to-day realities of both the elite merchants elected to serve on them, and the city residents they governed. Particularly valuable are their legal files, petitions, and depositions, which represent one of the few ways that humble townsmen and peasants ever had their voices preserved in the documentary record. The most significant records of local governance are those of the City Duma (NART, fond 114, 1808-1857), the City Magistrate (fond 26, 1809-1858), and the Tatar Ratusha (fond 22, 1772-1852). These institutions all fell under the jurisdiction of the governor of Kazan province, so this study therefore also utilizes files from the Provincial Governor's Chancery (fond 1, 1811-1855), particularly those that document Chancery correspondence with the Duma, Magistrate, and Ratusha, as well as other documents related to matters of urban governance. These core materials have been supplemented by information from the archives of the Kazan Civil Court (fond 12, 1815), the Kazan Gunpowder Factory (fond 252, 1799-1847), the Kazan Merchant Bureau (fond 299, 1840), Plans of Kazan Province (fond 324, 1834-1868), the Kazan Provincial Statistical Committee (fond 359, 1836), the Kazan Provincial

Building and Roads Commission (fond 408, 1847-1862, and fond 409, 1824-1836), the Kazan Townsmen Bureau (fond 570, 1858), and the Committee on the Construction of the Provincial City of Kazan, formed after the 1842 fire (fond 820, 1842-1846).

While these archival records tell us much about daily life and local governance, they say less about how the small but growing circle of educated residents in Kazan imagined their city, and strove to shape its future. For this we must turn to the documents and publications of these individuals themselves. Fortunately as aspiring intellectual and literary figures, they left a significant textual footprint. Their books, articles, pamphlets, and journals spanned a great many genres; this project has consulted public lectures and talks, scientific and social-scientific texts, travel accounts, stories, novels, plays, poems, histories, human-interest articles, and didactic literature on domestic economy, safety, health, and hygiene, among others. Particularly important to this dissertation were the urban histories and medical topographies created in Kazan during this time. A handful of these works are available in the United States, however the greater number were obtained in the Rare Books department at the Lobachevskii Library at Kazan Federal University. These include a small number of manuscripts, including eighteenth century accounts from the headmaster of the Kazan *gimnaziia*, a local eighteenth-century recension of the Kazan Chronicle, and the nineteenth century records of the Society of Lovers of Patriotic Literature at Kazan University. More of them, however, were published on the local printing presses established soon after the turn of the nineteenth century (among these were the annual volumes of the scholarly journal of Kazan University, *Uchenyia zapiski Imperatorskago Kazanskago universiteta*, which began operating in 1834, as well as a great many other publications).

Kazan was also home to some of the earliest provincial periodicals in Russia, resulting in an additional set of sources that this dissertation taps into. Beginning in 1811, and interrupted only by a break between 1834 and 1838, a series of monthly, weekly or bi-weekly journals were published continuously in Kazan—starting with *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, and followed by *Kazanskii vestnik*, *Zavolzhskii muravei*, and *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*. These publications, intended for public consumption, were typically divided into “official” and “unofficial” sections, which reflected the dual impulses that motivated their formation. On the one hand, these journals supported the need of provincial bureaucrats for ways to distribute official notices and announcements, and on the other hand, they provided a venue in which academics and writers could publish their scientific and literary works, and strive to expand the circle of intellectual life in Kazan.

One particular goal of this project is to disintermediate the voices of Kazan’s Tatars, and to weave them into the broader tapestry of urban discourse. This is challenging, because relatively few Tatar-language documents survive from Kazan during this time period, and most of these are from spiritual and poetic genres which are difficult to turn toward the topic of everyday urban life. The official records kept by the Tatar Ratusha were normally taken down in Russian, by scribes trained in standard Russian administrative practices. However these files do include a small number of Tatar-language documents—usually in the form of petitions and complaints, wills, lists of personal property, or evidence used in judicial proceedings. To augment this sparse record, this dissertation draws on several other sources of Tatar materials. These include Tatar manuscripts located in the Oriental Manuscripts collection at NART (fond 10, 1815-1846), and in the Signs and Posters collection (fond 171, 1851-1859); as well as Tatar manuscripts written between 1781 and 1859 and works printed on the city’s Arabic-script

presses between 1842 to 1852 housed in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books at Kazan University's Lobachevskii Library. Together, these manuscripts, posters, and books begin to reveal a more textured view of Tatar life in the city than can be gained from the judicial records captured in the Ratusha archives—albeit a view that is fragmentary and eclectic. The texts range from business records, hajj journals, and fragments of histories and chronicles, to spiritual and mystical texts, folk tales, and manuals of good living. Some of the manuscripts cannot be definitively placed in Kazan in the first half of the nineteenth century; however it seems reasonable to believe they are representative of the types of literature current in the city at the time. And then third, in an effort to further enrich the body of sources available, this study relaxes its chronological framing somewhat to admit later works from local Tatar notables and historians Shihabetdin Marjani and Hussain ibn Amirkhan, whose sources and personal connections with Kazan dated back to the first half of the century.

Finally, a variety of ancillary sources have been utilized to round out this study. No history of the Russian Empire can be complete without referencing the imperial legal record, the *Polnoe sobranie zakonov*. The records of Catherine's legislative commission have also been consulted to better understand confessional relationships as they existed in Kazan in the eighteenth century. From the late nineteenth century, I have drawn on the vast historical riches of the 'thick journals' for a number of primary sources and reminiscences about Kazan. Supplementing these sources have been volumes published in Kazan in the late imperial period, and again in recent years, which offer additional documents and historical accounts. The memoirs referenced were most often written by former students and faculty of Kazan University, other educational professionals, and intellectually-oriented bureaucrats. Despite their authors' privileged position, these accounts offer a valuable source of details on urban life that would

otherwise be difficult or impossible to recover. Finally, as a means of visualizing, quantifying, and analyzing Kazan's urban landscape, this study has brought together a number of eighteenth and nineteenth century maps of the city, and a comprehensive property tax survey from 1819, tabulated and geocoded for use by GIS software.

Methodologically, this dissertation casts a wide net not only in its choice of sources, but also in the themes it engages and the techniques it utilizes. Every decision involves tradeoffs, and the embrace of breadth in this way was taken as a calculated risk, deemed necessary and worthwhile in order to develop a credible picture of how Kazan actually worked in the first half of the nineteenth century. This project drew much of its early inspiration from a number of very different works that each make heroic efforts to understand the everyday life of a particular society, along with its constituent systems and relationships, in a deep, concrete, and compelling way.⁵⁰ Models like these encouraged this project to take a detailed look at many small-scale and everyday aspects of life in Kazan, and as such it shares a kinship with certain conceptions of social history, as well as with the microhistorical approach. As the project proceeded, however, it became clear that local intellectual and literary culture also played a crucial part in understanding how Kazan was changing during this period. This realization prompted a gradual shift toward bringing the small-scale history of everyday life in the city into dialogue with the history of local intellectual discourse. In a very schematic way, then, this project might be conceived of as a melding of micro, social, and cultural history, which seeks to create a synthesis which is even greater than the sum of the parts. One final, complementary, methodological approach pursued

⁵⁰ Among others I would highlight: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2010); Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Public Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995); Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

by this project is the analysis of space and statistics. Although there is little reliable, detailed, systematized data on Kazan from this period, I did identify a particularly useful body of property tax records (as noted above). This allowed the construction of a granular snapshot of the city's physical, social, economic, and cultural topographies, in visual and numerical terms, at around the chronological mid-point of this study. As detailed in the 'interlude' that follows chapter one, this offered another valuable angle from which to view the city, as well as a novel way of interrogating and augmenting more traditional sources.

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is organized into thematic chapters. The first sets the stage for the study, by surveying the city as it existed around the turn of the nineteenth century. It describes Kazan's physical and built landscape, its historic legacies, and its human landscape of residents and communities, viewed in social, religious, ethnic, gendered, economic, and cultural terms. In the process, it highlights the interplay of cohesive and divisive forces that had long ranged across the urban landscape. Many of these forces were inherent in the natural setting, or in residents' physical proximity and their experiences of living and working side-by-side. But this chapter places particular emphasis on the role of imperial policies and categories in shaping urban life, and on the divisive tendencies often inherent in imperial rule. In total, the resulting scene serves as a backdrop, against which the changes of the early nineteenth century, described in succeeding chapters, will play out. The chapter is followed by a brief 'interlude' which considers how mapping was used in Kazan at the time of this study, and at interactive maps created in the course of this project as another way of exploring the city.

The second chapter looks at how local governance and a sense of serving the public interest developed in Kazan over the first half of the nineteenth century. This was a process initiated by Catherine's urban reforms in Russia, a program whose effects were often uneven and contentious. In Kazan, the premise and basic rhythms of self-governing institutions had become firmly established in Kazan by 1800, yet effective urban governance remained very much a work in progress. This chapter shows how, over the course of several decades, local leaders improved the city's infrastructure and expanded the range of its social services, while in the process learning how to manage city business and defend local interests. It argues that the practice of governing encouraged residents not only to articulate the idea of the public interest, but also to begin to actively pursue it. Yet, this chapter shows that the religious and ethnic categories of empire were applied unquestioningly to the city's new governing institutions, and demonstrates the serious limits that this configuration would impose on Kazan's Tatars as they sought full participation in the changes that self-government had brought.

The third chapter examines the efforts of local intellectuals and leading merchants to address questions of disease and public health in Kazan. This was a time when a growing number of educated citizens, particularly medical professionals, began to see Kazan a medicalized space, thus altering their notions of the city and its relationship with residents. This, in turn, led to new ideas about the effects of the city on residents' health, along with proposals for making the city less hazardous. But it took the cholera epidemic of 1830 to fully reveal the inadequacies of the imperial health policy, and to draw wider local attention to the problems of urban health. In the aftermath of the outbreak, medical professionals began to develop a more sophisticated understanding of Kazan's health needs, and to construct a more productive partnership with local merchant-politicians toward substantive action to improve the city's

health. The result is to highlight all the key facets of nineteenth-century urban change as they happened—the mechanics by which larger challenges came home to Kazan; the connection between images of the city and practical policies; the dynamics of dialogue between urban groups holding different perspectives; the role of wider networks of circulation in influencing life in Kazan; and the various ways that empire continued to affect all of these processes—even at a moment of crisis when the local imperial apparatus itself teetered on the verge of collapse.

The fourth chapter moves more firmly in the realm of ideas, by studying the efforts of local intellectuals to construct memories of the city's history. It demonstrates how residents, building on earlier antiquarian traditions, began to adopt new forms of public memorialization. In the beginning these were aimed at raising the city's position in the eyes of the empire. Over time, however, educated residents—motivated by a growing sense of concern over the city's imperial divisions and rising anxieties about the viability of empire in the face of rising nationalist discourse in Europe—began to pursue more systematic efforts at local collective memory making. They sought to persuade residents that they, themselves, were historical actors, and to thereby enlist natural sentiments of local attachment in the service of larger goals. The ultimate aim of this exercise was to promote cohesion—to find new ways of binding together the city's residents, and to use local affective ties to bind them all, in turn, to the empire.

The fifth chapter focuses on how the city's divisions, especially its religious and ethnic divisions, were imagined and discussed. It first explores the city's institutions of higher education and literary practices, examining the ways in which they encouraged residents to debate urban difference, while at the same time reflecting, and to a degree perpetuating, those exact same differences. Following this, the bulk of the chapter looks at the variety of viewpoints that educated locals actually adopted with regard to the city's dividing lines. This discourse

shows that many, though by no means all, residents saw Kazan's imperial divisions as problematic. Yet even those who hoped to see some form of cultural and social confluence in the city proved unable to articulate a coherent vision of how such a convergence might occur, let alone devise practical steps for achieving it. The result is to show just how deeply embedded these imperial differences had become—resulting in imperial policies and everyday habits so closely connected, that they formed a mutually-supporting structure very difficult to overturn.

Finally, the conclusion ties together these threads with some closing thoughts on the accomplishments and limits of residents' turn to the city, and on what their story has to tell us about the larger arc of Russian and transnational history.

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Chapter 1: Surveying the Urban Landscape

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when locals began to face new challenges and to look to the city for solutions, that city had already existed, in one form or another, for over five hundred years. Educated residents knew this perfectly well; so that when they sought to elevate both the idea of Kazan, and its relevance to daily life, they did so with the confident expectation that it already encompassed a wellspring of emotional and practical attachments which they could use and cultivate. Yet there were reasons that these residents sought to reframe and reimagine Kazan. Although the city had functioned to meet the needs of both the state and its people for centuries with reasonable success, it had rarely done so from a basis of cohesion and unanimity. On the contrary, Kazan's urban landscape constituted a whole field of forces, some working to bind the place together, but others tending to divide, fragment or disperse. Before the succeeding chapters in this study proceed to examine the changes taking place in the city during the first decades of the nineteenth century, therefore, this chapter will first stop to consider the pre-existing landscape—a landscape that helped determine how residents would respond to the changing times in which they lived.

Kazan's urban landscape was constructed from many layers. Above its topology and hydrology, its historical legacies, and its contemporary built-environment, were woven intricate social, ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural patterns. All of these elements had the potential to bring people together, or to push them apart. Many of the strongest forces working to separate people, neighborhoods, and community groups were imperial in origin—a fact very much in the nature of empire itself. The Kazan of 1800 had grown up alongside the Russian Empire; it had been destroyed and rebuilt by a Muscovite government just learning how to rule a multi-ethnic monarchical state, and then served as a key administrative center while that state matured over

long centuries into a vast and highly-capable imperial machine. Central to the functioning of that machine were categories, such as social estate, religion, and gender, which allowed the state to divide, structure, classify, and manage its population. This habit of regulatory categorization—what can be described as ascriptive governance—was adopted because it was highly functional. It allowed the state to co-opt existing elites and traditional hierarchies; tailor its incentives, threats, and policies for maximum effectiveness; and undercut any unified opposition.

Ascriptive governance was always a work in progress. In many cases its parameters did not emerge from any grand plan, but evolved organically, following the line of what worked. The empire of the late eighteenth century had taken centuries to learn to operate in the way it did; but as it did so, little by little, so did Kazan. Thus when residents of Kazan began to think about the city in new ways at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they did so squarely within this imperial context. This was a political context, to be sure, but it was social and cultural as well; since, over long years, the state's categories and governing assumptions had become generally accepted, and to a significant degree internalized, by local residents. The desire of educated locals to find ways of binding together their city around shared ideas and actions clearly arose in dialogue with the imperial realities they experienced in Kazan on a daily basis. A central goal of this chapter, therefore, is to examine how empire operated in this city, and how it constructed and reconstructed Kazan's urban landscape.

As it examines the workings of empire, this chapter will seek to both interrogate and complicate that understanding. When considering imperial categories, it is important to take them seriously—to recognize that they not only had practical legal and political ramifications, but that they had a very long genealogy, and a substantive impact on the way residents viewed themselves and their communities. One of the recurring motifs in this dissertation is how

important imperial categories could be in mediating the way individuals related to the world around them—coloring their feelings about the city and the communities to which they belonged; steering them to participate within particular regional, national, and international networks; and shaping their perceptions of the new challenges of the nineteenth century. By examining these categories, and the way they were inscribed over time onto Kazan’s landscapes, this chapter seeks to set the stage for subsequent chapters, as they explore the diverse perspectives of those residents who sought to see and interact with the city differently.

Yet it is also important not to ascribe too much power to imperial categories. Kazan was always more than an atomized cloud of imperial subjects. For one thing, the empire’s framing was far from all-powerful. In fact, as we will see, imperial categories often did a poor job of reflecting urban realities; and even at the best of times they were in no way inviolate or unchallenged. Moreover, many of the disunifying forces in the city were not imperial at all. Factors as basic as river systems and flooding could sometimes undermine the city’s cohesion fully as much as imperial policy. And Kazan’s residents always had the agency to shape their own social environment as well. Very basic and elemental relationships—those of proximity, of economic exchange, of communal recreation—tended to cut across imperial categories, by fostering a greater sense of collective belonging in the city. Therefore, even as it examines the local dynamics of empire, this chapter will also situate them within a broader urban context, paying special attention to the ways that practices of everyday life could run counter to the imperial politics of categorization.

Kazan's Natural and Historic Legacies

The most basic challenges to Kazan's urban unity were those arising from its natural environment. The city's landscape had long been defined by the interplay of land and water. Kazan's origins are obscure (perhaps dating back to the thirteenth century), but even before it became the capital of an independent khanate in the early 1400s it was already an important regional population center and trading hub. Tatar legends about the founding of Kazan hint at some of the reasons why a city was built on this spot.¹ First and foremost, it lay at the confluence of the Volga, Kazanka, and Bulak rivers. The Volga (or Idil to Turkic speakers) had long been a crucial artery crossing the northwestern portion of the old Mongol Empire, and a gateway between the Eurasian heartland and the centers of learning and commerce in Central Asia and Persia. The Kazanka was a significant tributary that provided access to the agricultural hinterland east of the Volga. All three rivers were sources of clean water and valuable stocks of fish. Terrestrial factors played a factor in the city's location as well. Kazan was situated at the heart of a rich and varied region, containing an abundance of lumber, game, furs, and arable land. And the old fortress itself was located on a low promontory along the Kazanka, which made it more



Figure 1: View of Kazan, 1767

¹ N. F. Katanov, "Tatarskie Rasskazy o Staroi Kazani," *Izvestiia obshchestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom Universitete*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1920): 288-290.

defensible, and lifted it above the annual floods that swelled the surrounding rivers far beyond their usual banks. (Figure 1², though from a later period, gives a sense of this topography during the flood stage.)³

Yet, although these surroundings offered distinct advantages, they would also pose challenges for Kazan's leaders as the city developed. The Bulak was a minor barrier, bridged as far back as the sixteenth century⁴, but the Kazanka was a far different matter. The growing importance of suburbs on the far side of the river created challenges in maintaining the city's unity and economic vitality. As suggested by Kamenev's story "Inna," these issues were exacerbated by the vast flooding that occurred every spring, cutting off the city's access to important suburbs on both sides of the Kazanka, most notably the Admiralty district [*Admiralteiskaia sloboda*]. The patterns of Kazan's sprawl were dictated by this seesaw contest of water and land. Only discrete areas of ground that were elevated above the level of the floodplain were suitable for building, which encouraged the fragmentation of the city's outskirts into a patchwork of isolated suburban neighborhoods. Marginal areas, conveniently located and subject to inundation only in years of exceptional flooding, were perpetually tempting poor, land-hungry residents to build, thereby exposing them to eventual dispossession and dislocation. Yet higher areas posed their own challenges. East of the city was a series of hills, or 'mountains,' whose steep, rugged profile slowed urban expansion in that direction to a crawl. And wherever they chose to build, the residents of nineteenth-century Kazan were united in their complaints about the region's Eurasian climate. It was hot in summer and cold in winter, but worse was its

² Francois Denis Nee, *Cazan 1767*, engraving from a drawing by Nicolas Louis de Lespinasse (Paris, 1783).

³ Platon Zarinskii, *Ocherki drevnei Kazani* (Kazan: Gubernskaia tipografiia, 1877), 6-16.

⁴ S. G. Tomsinskii, ed., *Materialy po istorii Tatarskoi ASSR: Pistoverye knigi goroda Kazani 1565-68 gg. i 1646 g.* (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk, 1932); R. I. Sultanov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia Kazani: gorod i ego predmestia v XVI – XVII vekakh* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Magarif, 2004), 164-170.

tendency toward rapid and unexpected shifts in the weather. Most intolerable of all were the effects of the weather on the city's dirt roads, which alternated over the course of the year between choking clouds of dust and impassable rivers of mud, further impeding the city's lines of communications.⁵

Ancient Kazan not only bequeathed a physical legacy, but a historic one as well. For residents of Kazan looking back from the turn of the nineteenth century, there was one moment from the city's past that stood out from all others, carrying unmistakable symbolic significance—the conquest of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552. For decades before the 1550s, Muscovy and the khanate had been two of the primary actors in a complicated struggle for dominance over the Volga region. As their power grew and consolidated, Muscovy's rulers were gradually able to cultivate strongholds and allies in the region, and in 1552 Ivan IV leveraged these advantages to conquer and subjugate the khanate. The city of Kazan, which had been the khanate's capital, was besieged, stormed, depopulated, and destroyed. In its place a new city was built, centered on a stone fortress (the *kremel*), and conceived as the administrative center and military staging point necessary for the pacification and annexation of a still hostile region.⁶

The Khanate of Kazan had been a multi-ethnic state, made up of Tatars, Chuvash, Mordvins, Mari, and Udmurts⁷, and ruled by an aristocratic strata of Tatar elites. Most of its

⁵ [Vladislav] Romishevskii, *Voenna-statisticheskoe obozrenie Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 5, pt. 1: Kazanskaia guberniia (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Departamenta Generalnago Shtaba, 1850), 121-124; Nikanor Skandovskii, *O prichine peremezhaiushcheisia likhoradki v Kazani* (Kazan: Tipografiia pri Kazanskom Universitete, 1841), 4-5, 11; Konstantin Grigorevich Evlentev, *Kazanskie zametki* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1855), 20-21; Alison K. Smith, "Provisioning Kazan": Feeding the Provincial Russian Town," *Russian History*, vol. 30, no. 3 (Winter, 2003): 383-384.

⁶ Matthew P. Romaniello, *The Elusive Empire: Kazan and the Creation of Russia, 1552-1671* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 19-45; Renat Bikbulatov and Rafael Mustafin, *Kazan i ee slobody* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Zaman, 2001), 14-15; Andreas Kappeler, *The Russian Empire: A Multiethnic History* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Ltd., 2001), 21-30.

⁷ In the period of this study the Mari were commonly referred to as Cheremis, and the Udmurts as Votiaks.

population were Muslim or followed various traditional animist faiths.⁸ In the aftermath of the conquest, with defiance and unrest still simmering in the province, the Orthodox Russian newcomers viewed all of these local inhabitants as dangerous ‘others,’ whose tendencies to violence and disloyalty could be assumed. As a result, those residents of the old city who survived were driven off. The new Kazan boasted not only the stone *kreml*, but an outer wall of wood. The city within this wall was to be populated exclusively by Muscovites who had been induced or forced to relocate to this distant frontier, many of them musketeers [*streltsy*] who doubled as craftsmen and small proprietors when not called to military service.⁹ In practice, this makeshift Muscovite populace was slow to materialize and chronically insufficient to meet Kazan’s requirements, making the local inhabitants essential to both the functioning of the city and the establishment of connections with the surrounding territory. To fill these needs, a thriving ‘Tatar neighborhood’ arose within two decades after the conquest, situated just outside the city walls. It is likely that the ‘Tatars’ living there were comprised from a variety of local ethnic groups; however, over time they would converge toward a common Volga Tatar cultural identity that was linguistically Turkic and for the most part Islamic.¹⁰ Even long after the last embers of resistance in the province had been suppressed, Muscovite leaders remained suspicious of these native inhabitants; so although they tolerated the Tatar neighborhood’s

⁸ Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 25.

⁹ M. Pinegin, *Kazan v eia proshlom i nastoiashchem* (St. Petersburg: Knigoprodavets A. A. Dubrovina, 1890).

¹⁰ I. P. Ermolaev, “Gorod Kazan po pistsovoi knige, 1565-1586 godov,” in *Stranitsy istorii goroda Kazani*, R. K. Valeev, F. A. Litvina and M. A. Usmanov eds. (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1981): 10-13; I. Giliyazov, “Tatarskie slobody goroda Kazani vo 2-oi polovine XVI – seredine XIX vv.,” in *Das Mittlere Wolgagebiet in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Klaus Heller and Herbert Jelitte, eds. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994): 34-37.

existence as a necessary evil, they would continue to ban Tatars from entering within the city's wooden walls for nearly a century.¹¹

Kazan's early military governors not only built the walls and guarded the ethnic and religious purity of the Muscovite space thus enclosed, they reinforced their claim by sprinkling the area liberally with Orthodox cathedrals, churches, monasteries, and chapels. Beyond this, however, these warriors had little time or inclination for urban planning. Instead, the neighborhoods both inside and outside the walls developed organically, according to the needs of recent arrivals and displaced natives alike. After the first few decades, the city's growth slowed dramatically. Over time its open spaces filled in, and wooden buildings began giving way to stone, but only at a creeping pace. During the middle of the seventeenth century, the walls burned and were pulled down, but still growth in the areas beyond was incremental and largely limited to the Tatar neighborhoods.¹² In this way, Kazan demonstrated a variation on the pattern of major regional commercial and administrative centers in Russia. The traditional zones¹³ of *kreml*, *posad* [city center], and suburb were all present, but the suburb became an area largely dedicated to segregating the Tatar Muslim minority. The reign of Peter the Great marked a significant shift for Kazan in this respect, as the state sponsored the development of two major industries in the city's suburbs: a large cloth factory and a shipyard for the imperial admiralty.¹⁴

¹¹ "Proezd Oleariia chrez Kazanskuiu guberniiu v 1636 i 1638 godakh," in *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1844, no. 32 (Jul. 24, 1844): 473.

¹² M. Bogdanovskii, *Inzhenerno-istoricheskii ocherk osady Kazani 7060-7061 gg. (1552)* (St. Petersburg: Tip. V. A. Tekhanova, 1898), 2-7; Artemon Satsyperov, *Kazan s situatsiei [1739]* [map] (St. Petersburg: Avtolitografiia F. Kremera, ca. 1890).

¹³ J. Michael Hittle, *The Service City: State and Townsman in Russia, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 26-33.

¹⁴ T. V. Bessonova, *Kazanskaia sukonnaia sloboda v XVIII - pervoi polovine XIX vv.* (Naberezhnie Chelny: Izd-vo Instituta Upravleniia, 2000), 70-83; Iuliia Vladimirovna Mansurova, "Kazanskaia Admiralteiskaia sloboda v XVIII-XIX vv.," (Kandidat diss., AN RT Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, 2002), 111-114.

By the middle of the eighteenth century these undertakings had helped to grow and diversify the city's periphery.

As we will see, the haphazard spatial configuration that Kazan acquired after the conquest would be reshaped and regularized in the late eighteenth century. However, the city's turbulent origins left two other legacies that would prove more influential and enduring. First, the conquest not only made Kazan one of Russia's most ethnically and confessionally diverse cities, but also encouraged the development of a pattern of confessional segregation that would prove highly resistant to change.¹⁵ This spatial divide worked to reinforce and entrench cultural and religious differences, thus inhibiting efforts to bring the city together. And second, the dramatic imagery of the Muscovite conquest over the Tatar khanate in 1552 provided the raw materials necessary to create and sustain vivid, emotionally charged collective memories. This was a more ambiguous legacy. Later generations would take up these memories time and again, reshaping them to meet their need for fables about the making of empire, the triumph of Orthodoxy, and the melding of east and west. The fact that Kazan possessed this evocative past undoubtedly aided urban promoters in crafting shared conceptions of the city; however that past also encompassed images of violence, dispossession, and intolerance which could easily work to undermine civic unity if not handled with the utmost care.

The Imperial Reimagining and Local Remaking of Kazan's Built Landscape

In 1774 Kazan faced another obliterating conquest, this time at the hands of a motley band of Cossacks and peasant rebels led by a man named Emelian Pugachev. The Pugachev

¹⁵ I. P. Ermolaev, "Organizatsiia upravleniia v Kazanskom krae vo vtoroi polovine XVI-XVII vv.," in *Das Mittlere Wolgagebiet*, Heller and Jelitte, eds.: 11-16; Romaniello, *Elusive Empire*, 52-72.

rebellion was one of the blackest marks on Catherine II's long reign. Driven by a variety of very real grievances—which included the curtailment of customary rights and traditional ways of life, religious persecution, and the exploitive nature of serf labor—Pugachev gathered thousands of disaffected souls into a marauding army, and proceeded to expose the weaknesses in Russia's imperial edifice with merciless precision. By the time they rolled down from the Urals toward Kazan, Pugachev's band had already been ravaging the south-eastern frontiers of the empire for over a year, running circles around the string of bumbling generals sent to bring them to heel. Now his army, seeing an opportunity to strike at the Russian heartland, descended on Kazan and easily overwhelmed its hastily-prepared defenses.¹⁶ Although the raiders were unable to capture the *kreml*, where much of the population took shelter, the scene outside was one of plunder, fire, and wholesale destruction that left the town in ruins—its cramped, medieval urban layout obliterated. The devastation was accomplished in little more than a day, and when it was over the surviving residents who straggled back from captivity, flight, or concealment to survey the damage had no thought of transforming the city's appearance. On the contrary, their aim was simply to reweave the tattered threads of their lives by recovering what they had lost. They spent the first winter huddled in cellars, makeshift huts, or in the cloth factory, which had escaped the flames. Over the next two summers, they gathered wood and put up new houses in the old locations.¹⁷ Very quickly, the urban panorama of Kazan began to once again resemble that of the years before Pugachev's arrival.

¹⁶ John T. Alexander, *Autocratic Politics in a National Crisis: The Imperial Russian Government and Pugachev's Revolt, 1773-1775* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1969), 147-150; Alan Bodger, "Nationalities in History Soviet Historiography and the Pugačëvščina," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 39, no. 4 (1991): 561-566.

¹⁷ "Skazanie Kazanskago kuptsa I. A. Sukhorukova o prebyvanii Pugacheva v Kazani i o sostoianii eia v to vremia," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 44 (Oct. 30, 1843): 263-264.

As with so much else in eighteenth-century Russia, the impetus for altering this status-quo would have to come from above. Soon after coming to power, Catherine, inspired by the statist monumentalism and Enlightenment rationalism of Western Europe, had instructed her officials to draft master plans for every one of the empire’s provincial and county capitals. By 1768, the government’s urban planning commission had completed its design for Kazan (Figure 2¹⁸, also reproduced in larger form in the ‘interlude’ on mapping which follows this chapter). It featured straight, wide boulevards, and neoclassical stone edifices. For years, however, this blueprint remained almost entirely aspirational. The government lacked the means and will to put its ambitious urban plans into general effect, so that they were only actually realized when a

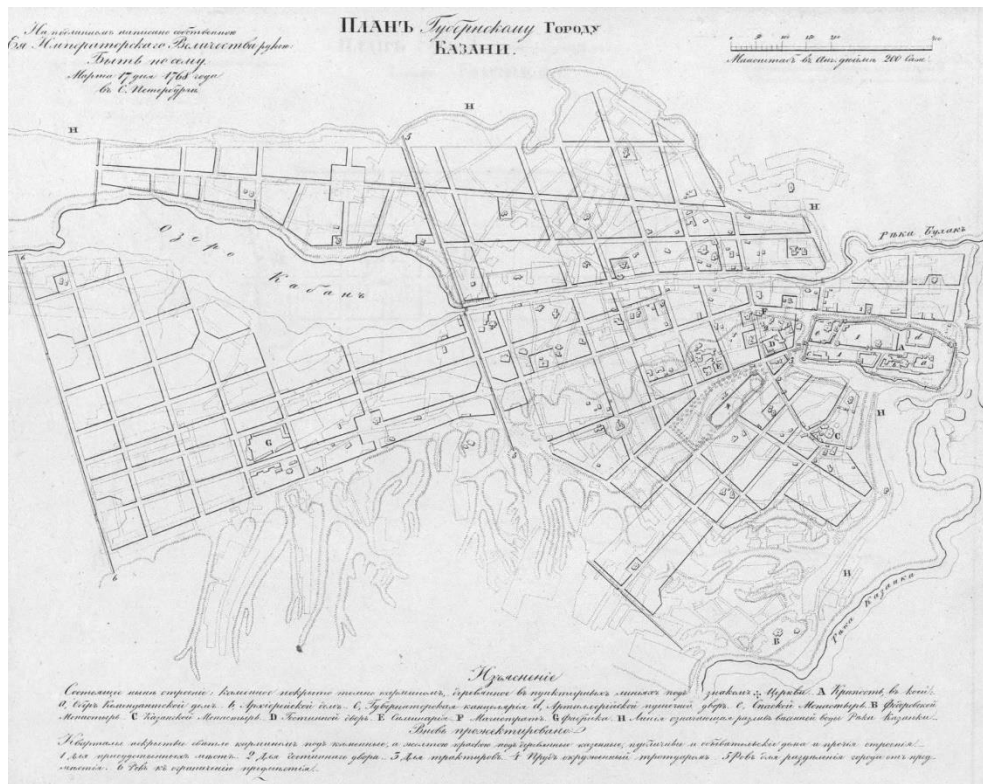


Figure 2: Catherine II’s imperial master-plan for Kazan, 1768

¹⁸ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda* (1st series), *Kniga chertezhei i risunkov* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1839), 113.

particular city was overtaken by some cataclysmic urban disaster, typically a fire.¹⁹ Unlike the majority of Russian cities, Kazan suffered just such a catastrophe in 1774, and therefore was ultimately redesigned to match Catherine's vision. Even after the way had been cleared for urban transformation, however, it almost did not happen. Locals later remembered that no one in Kazan even knew that a master plan for the city existed—a lacuna which apparently extended all the way to the top of the provincial administration. So it was not until the third year after the disaster, with rebuilding well under way, that Catherine's decree requiring that reconstruction conform to the government's master plan was finally received and acknowledged. Governor Platon Meshcherskii's response was to order that all the new wooden structures be demolished and the process begun again.²⁰

Reworking the city streets required difficult adjustments. "Whoever wanted to occupy their own lot," a merchant named I. A. Sukhorukov recalled, "was given only so much of it as accorded with the plan." To ease the process, the government offered some support, including generous loans, as well as quantities of materials, such as brick, lime, and wrought iron. The plan also required that buildings conform to sanctioned architectural forms. Sukhorukov, at least, seems to have interpreted this as making the city more Russian: "Citizens had to fill the lots with structures that conformed to the plan, rather than those like the Chuvash build."²¹ Grudgingly, but with little choice in the matter, residents complied with the government's dictates. In the short-term the pain was considerable; yet, many mid-nineteenth-century observers described the

¹⁹ Daniel R. Brower, "Urbanization and Autocracy: Russian Urban Development in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Russian Review*, vol. 42, no. 4 (Oct., 1983): 379-382; Alexander M. Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis: Constructing Imperial Moscow, 1762-1855* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 18-24.

²⁰ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevits, 1848), 142-146.

²¹ "Skazanie Kuptsa Sukhorukova," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 44 (Oct. 30, 1843): 264.

metropolitan redesign in markedly positive terms.²² The new city plan may have been imposed from above, and its implementation may have been disruptive, but its lasting effect was to enhance civic unity and pride. The new city's regularized architecture created a feeling of cohesion; its wide, straight boulevards facilitated urban communications; and perhaps most important, it served as a compelling testimonial that civic reinvention, underwritten by the collective efforts of the city's residents, had the potential for success. As such, it would represent a source of inspiration and encouragement for nineteenth-century reformers.

The Spatial Configuration of Kazan's Cultural and Social Diversity

Although the city had a new plan, it remained far from homogenous. As life returned to normal and the pace of growth in Kazan began to accelerate, the city's various neighborhoods and districts each continued to maintain and develop its unique character. Though the end of the eighteenth century and beyond, the dialectic between the area's historic past and Catherine's Enlightenment program continued to help drive and direct the city's development. In 1781, Catherine's government rolled out a series of provincial reforms which, among other things, introduced new administrative and policing policies, new practices and institutions of local governance, and new educational and cultural initiatives. Under this system, Kazan was initially divided into three wards, each of which had roughly 1,200 privately owned buildings in 1819. The old stone *kreml*, which had sheltered residents from Pugachev's marauders, remained the focal point of the city, and the heart of its imperial administration. In the early nineteenth century the *kreml* was the site of the governor's residence, government offices, and the military arsenal,

²² Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 146, vol. 2, 10; [I. M. Berezin?], "Istoricheskie ocherki Kazani: kakoi vid imela Kazan v XVI stoletii?," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1856, no. 33 (Aug. 13, 1856): 253.

as well as the historic Blagoveshchenskii cathedral and Spaso-Preobrazhenskii monastery. Immediately east of the *kreml*, nestled between the Bulak and the Kazanka, lay the first ward, a district roughly analogous to the old *posad* that once lay within the city's wooden walls. The first ward was the city's richest and most densely built, ostensibly representing the 'stone-built' portion Kazan (though in 1819 just over half the buildings were still entirely wood). It was home largely to government officials, professionals, and merchants of the wealthier sort, and boasted many of the city's prime thoroughfares—Voskresenskaia (Figure 3²³), Prolomnaia, and Voznesenskaia Streets.²⁴

Immediately outside the *kreml* gate lay the *gostinnyi dvor*—the prototypical shopping mall that had historically marked the center of a Russian city's commercial district. Kazan's *gostinnyi dvor* served as a symbol of the city's recent remaking: in 1774 it had been left in ruins (Pugachev had placed a cannon on the spot to bombard the *kreml*), and only rebuilt at the end of the 1790s thanks to an enormous 200,000 ruble gift from Paul I.²⁵ The complex contained 768 shops, of which about ninety percent were publically owned and contributed to the city budget, and ten percent were privately owned by wealthy local merchants and townsmen.²⁶ As Kazan grew, the centrality of the market to the city's economy was somewhat reduced, but its shops remained choice locations that earned high rents. In addition to the *gostinnyi dvor*, the first ward was also home to one of the city's storied garden and recreational areas, Black Lake, as well as

²³ Edward Turnerelli, "Tower in the market place, Kazan," *Views of Kazan, Drawn from Nature* (London: Lefevre, 1839).

²⁴ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 267-269ob, 286-299; E. Vishlenkova, S. Malysheva and A. Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti provintsialnogo goroda: Kazan i kazantsy v XIX-XX vekakh* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2008), 60-62.

²⁵ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 1785, ll. 4-8.

²⁶ L. M. Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo: sotsialno-ekonomicheskii portret (konets XVIII-nachalo XX v.)* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 77-79.



Figure 3: Voskresenskaia Street, ca. 1839

Kazan's new university and other educational establishments, various government agencies and institutions, and many of the largest and most historic churches.

Perhaps the most vibrant part of Kazan was its second ward, which lay to the south of the Bulak. Although not as wealthy as the first ward, the second still boasted many affluent residences, valuable properties, and large stone buildings. Its inhabitants represented a fairly even mix of merchants, petty officials, and prosperous craftsmen and tradesmen. It was also the most diverse part of the city, home to significant numbers of both Russians and Tatars, as well as to Orthodox, Muslim, and Old Believer houses of worship. The section along the Bulak was a highly commercialized area of shops, small manufactories, warehouses, and docks, anchored

near Lower Kaban Lake by one of the city's major trading centers, Haymarket Square. Behind the commercial district, were prominent boulevards, such as Uspenskaia Street and Tikhvinskii Lane, each lined by ranges of solid middle-class blocks. Finally, clustered on the periphery of the ward were shabbier but colorful neighborhoods like Mokraia *sloboda* (whose name, 'wet' indicated its propensity for flooding), and Iamskaia *sloboda* (where the city's rough-and-tumble coachmen had once congregated).²⁷ The second ward was not the place for the prim and proper, for stolid conservatives, or for ethnic and religious chauvinists; but to those residents who embraced the idea of Kazan as a free-wheeling commercial hub and crossroads between East and West, it had its own distinct charms.²⁸

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the third ward somewhat uneasily spanned the growing suburban tract of Fedorovskaia *sloboda*, located on the highlands to the east of the city center, and the densely populated lower-lying areas around the Osokin cloth factory. The highland portion was spacious and upscale. Located conveniently adjacent to the much-loved city theater, as well as near *Russkaia Shveitsariia* [Russian Switzerland], the city's favorite area for rural recreation, Fedorovskaia became home to many noble widows and retired bureaucrats who wanted access to the city's amenities without being immersed in its hustle and bustle.²⁹ The cloth factory district, by contrast, tended toward the proletarian. It played host to the city's largest grain market, but also to some of the city's less savory necessities—the butchers' row, the

²⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 333-355; Nikolai Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevitsa, 1847), 44-45.

²⁸ Konst[antin] Lavrskii and P. A. Ponomarev, "Karl Fedorovich Fuks i ego vremia," *Kazanskii literaturnyi sbornik*, 1878 (Kazan: Tipografiia M. A. Gladyshevoi, 1878): 489-490.

²⁹ S. Aksakov, *Semeinaia khronika i vospominaniia*, 3rd ed. (Moscow: Tipografiia L. Stepanovoi, 1862), 611-613; Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 27-28.



Figure 4: Lake Kaban, 1830: Tatar Neighborhood left, cloth factory right, university background right fish market and the painters' workshops. Around the cloth factory itself clustered hundreds of small wooden homes, densely packed and among the city's poorest.³⁰

As the city grew, its demarcations were adjusted accordingly. In the 1820s—reflective perhaps of its split personality—the third ward was divided in two. The boundaries of the third ward were shifted south to include not only the cloth factory, but also the Old and New Tatar neighborhoods on the other side of Lower Lake Kaban (Figure 4³¹). As a result only the poshest Tatar blocks remained in the second ward, while the third now contained the two urban populations that elites most often perceived as disreputable, unruly, and alien to genteel society: the poorer Tatar Muslims and the proletarian cloth workers.³² Along with these residential sectors, the Kaban area was also site of much of the large-scale industry that was critical to the city's prosperity, but placed its quality of life in jeopardy— tallow rendering, soapmaking, and

³⁰ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 405-432.

³¹ Victor Jean Adam, *Vue de la Ville de Kazan: du Cote du Sud* (Paris: Imp. Lith. de Englemann & Co., ca. 1830).

³² "Skazanie Kuptsa Sukhorukova," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 44 (Oct. 30, 1843): 262.

tanning.³³ The new fourth ward, which included the growing Fedorovskaia area as well as the outlying middle-class Podluzhnaia *sloboda* further upstream along the Kazanka, was by contrast dry, open, residential, and thoroughly respectable. And by 1830 a fifth ward was created, encompassing the city's several discrete suburban neighborhoods.³⁴ By far the largest of these was the Admiralty neighborhood, no longer a major hub for shipbuilding, but the site of a gunpowder factory, a depot for government lumber and military supplies, and home to many invalided and discharged soldiers.³⁵ Although not wealthy, Admiralty contained in microcosm much of the diversity possessed by the city as a whole. It had already been under the jurisdiction of the city for decades, as had the much smaller hamlets of Kozia *sloboda* and Grivka *sloboda*, but the fifth ward also included several county villages newly annexed to the city, most notably Iagodnoe *selo*, Igumnova *sloboda*, and Kizicheskaia *sloboda*.³⁶ Given the primitive state of Kazan's transportation system, these suburbs remained generally poor, and only loosely integrated into the urban economy.³⁷

Kazan and the Imperial Social Order

Although there were a variety of factors that complicated the pursuit of civic unity in Kazan—rivers and hills, ethnic and religious diversity, and neighborhood heterogeneity among them—many of the deepest divisions between residents arose out of long-standing imperial

³³ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 238-238ob, 299-311ob; Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 88-89.

³⁴ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2, 119-120.

³⁵ [Mikhail] Ry[bushki]n, "Istoricheskie vospominaniia vo vremia progulok iz Kazani k selu Verkhonii Uslon," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 15: 815-819.

³⁶ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 835, l. 2.

³⁷ Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 64.

political practices. As the Russian polity evolved from a set of compact feudal city-states to a sprawling, polyglot empire, one of the strategies that its rulers developed to deal with the complexities that emerged was an ascriptive approach to governance. By assigning all its subjects to rigid categories of social position (*soslovie*, or ‘estate’) and religious faith, the state sought to make the complexity of empire comprehensible and manageable.³⁸ These categories were not entirely immutable. In rare cases, for example, one could petition for a change in estate; and a non-Christian was typically welcome to convert to Orthodoxy. Similarly, the system of government ranks instituted by Peter I, while still aligned with the ascriptive philosophy, provided limited avenues for social advancement to those who rendered outstanding service to the state. But broadly speaking, the government discouraged social mobility in favor of governability. Life in the Russian Empire was therefore powerfully shaped by the estate, faith, and gender one was born into. Legal status, rights and responsibilities, and power relationships were all determined, at least in principle, according to these categories and the laws, regulations, and traditions associated with them. Russia’s ascriptive approach was far from unique in European experience, but it was noteworthy for the rigor with which it was pursued.

As arguably *the* spot where the Russian Empire was born, Kazan of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had played an important role as a laboratory in which the empire’s ascriptive policies could be honed and tested. By the eighteenth century, however, the empire had diversified and government policies had become more mature, so that this special role was less necessary. In 1708 Peter the Great abolished the Kazan Court Chancellery [*Prikaz*

³⁸ Gregory L. Freeze, “The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1 (February, 1986): 11-36; Juliette Cadiot, “Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897-1917),” *Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3 (Jul., 2005): 440-455; Elise K. Wirtschafter, *Social Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, IN: Northern Illinois University Press, 1997), 3-20.

Kazanskogo dvortsa], a department which had exercised authority over the region since the conquest.³⁹ In 1781, Catherine II's provincial reforms further integrated Kazan into the regularized system of governance for the Russian heartland, while abolishing the special juridical relationship that had long existed between the imperial Admiralty and many of the city's Tatars.⁴⁰ For all its diversity and unique history, Kazan was now seen by the government as firmly situated alongside the other central provinces of European Russia, and its citizens experienced the empire's ascriptive approach to governance in much the same way as residents of Russia's other major cities. These policies played a dominant role in shaping the contours of Kazan's social and cultural landscape.

Itinerant Elites—The Nobility and the Clergy

At the top of the social ladder at the turn of the nineteenth century were Russia's hereditary landowning aristocrats. Kazan Province had its share of them, and many maintained houses in town where they resided for much of the year. As elsewhere in Russia, the city's provincial grandees were most often associated with lavish balls and compulsive card playing, although at least a few could usually be relied upon to subscribe to a charitable collection or appear at a local cultural event as well.⁴¹ These nobles appeared frequently in the reminiscences of students who attended Kazan University in the early nineteenth century, for whom memories

³⁹ Romaniello, *Elusive Empire* 53-64; 204-205.

⁴⁰ N. P. Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii* (Moscow: Tretii Rim, 1997), 121-123; Aidar Nogmanov, *Tatary srednego povolzhia i priuralia v Rossiiskom zakonodatelstve vtoroi poloviny XVI-XVIII vv.* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo "Fen," 2002), 180-183; NART, f. 22, o. 2, d. 3, ll. 5-6, 7-8.

⁴¹ Ivan Alekseevich Vtorov, "Moskva i Kazan' v nachale XIX-go veka," *Russkaia Starina*, vol. 70 (April-Jun, 1891): 18; "Obiavlenie," *Kazanskaia izvestiia*, 1819, no. 4 (Jan. 11, 1819), 14-15; "Obiavlenie," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1820, no. 6 (Jan. 21, 1820): 22-23; "Otchet," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1820, no. 9 (Jan. 31, 1820), 35-36; I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 490-491.

of the friendships and diversions of Kazan's high society often stood in sharp contrast to the rigors of the academy.⁴² Yet beyond the sphere of rarefied entertainment, landed nobles occupied a rather marginal position in documents and accounts pertaining to urban life, suggesting that they were less than fully integrated into the fabric of the city. Strikingly, when longtime residents mentioned the nobility at all, what was often recalled was their freedom to flee to the countryside at the first sign of trouble, whether from unrest, disease, or fire. Prevailing social and political constraints required that criticism of the nobility be softened and diffused, so commentators were careful about singling out the aristocracy as a class for such behavior. Yet the outlines of the critique were still visible. In describing the excruciating wait as residents of Kazan anticipated Pugachev's approaching army, for example, one local historian wrote that "a multitude of noblemen and merchants hid themselves away in localities more distant from the theater of rebellion."⁴³ Similarly, during the 1830 cholera epidemic, physician Karl Fuks recalled: "Terror coursed through all the streets, and many of the well-to-do abandoned the city... [Around town] not a single carriage could be seen."⁴⁴ What completes the picture is that as each of these incidents unfolds, it is clear that many, if not most, leading local merchants remained to witness the danger, while noblemen, their families, and their households were conspicuously absent from the scene. Events like these made it abundantly clear to city-dwellers that even if an aristocrat might prefer the sophistication and vitality of urban life, he or she simply did not need Kazan as a source of refuge and livelihood in the way that its more humble residents did.

⁴² A. I. Ilinskii, "Za polstoletiiia, 1841-1892: Vospominaniia o perezhitom," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 3 (Apr. 1894): 28, 34-35; N. M. S[okovni]n, "Vospominaniia starago Kazanskago studenta, 1856-58 gg.," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 74, no. 5 (May, 1892): 275-277.

⁴³ N. P. Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani: Illiustrirovannyi ukazatel dostoprimechatelnostei i spravochnaia knizhka goroda* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1895), 457.

⁴⁴ Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani*, 492.

The other elite stratum in Kazan society was that of the service nobility, who provided the backbone of imperial governance. Those at the higher ranks occupied positions of authority and importance, while those below them performed the day-to-day work of running the empire. Some of the service nobility were also members of the hereditary landowning class—most landowners' sons did engage in imperial service at some point, and when they did, the benefits of money, family influence, and hereditary pedigree helped to ensure the success of their own government careers. Yet for centuries Russia's old moneyed families had been insufficient to fulfil the empire's ever-increasing administrative needs, so opportunities existed for clever and enterprising commoners to rise into the ranks of the nobility through successful government service. Depending on the level of that success, a government official might earn noble status only for himself, hereditary nobility that extended to his heirs as well, or even heritable grants of lands and serfs from the government. Whatever their background or accomplishments, however, as long as they were in government service these men served wherever and in whatever position the government dictated. As a result of all these factors, the service nobles presented a highly variegated picture. Some were self-made men, while others coasted on their family connections. Some were immensely wealthy while others tried to keep up appearances on an inadequate government wage. Some had deep local connections, while others were itinerant transplants. Some were staunch conservatives while others were excited by new ideas and possibilities. The common thread is that this was a group of people that held a monopoly on the day-to-day governance of Russia, and who consequently enjoyed an elevated level of prestige and power over the empire's other citizens.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 37-49; P. A. Zaionchkovskii, *Pravitelstvennyi apparat samoderzhavnoi Rossii v XIX v.* (Moscow: Mysl, 1978), 24-60, 65-105.

As an important imperial administrative center, Kazan was home to many of the service nobility, and their numbers and diversity grew steadily over the course of the early nineteenth century. Traditionally most of them had been associated with the military, which maintained a strong presence in Kazan. They held officers' posts in the local garrison battalions, the admiralty installations and the arsenal. However, an ever growing share of Kazan's bureaucrats were dedicated to civil governance, and it was these that held a much more crucial and widely-acknowledged place in Kazan's broader urban tapestry. Their responsibilities were numerous. Imperial administrators verified and enforced that city residents properly fulfilled their collective obligations to provide army recruits, military quarters, and taxes. They also directed the committees and departments providing vital urban services—the postal service which maintained provincial roads, waystations, and mounts; the city police; oversight committees for local elections; the urban architecture, planning, and building committee; the local medical department; and statistical commissions, among others. Many of these roles were either new or greatly expanded under Catherine II and Alexander I; but the largest single area of government growth in Kazan was education. This era saw the establishment of the university, two *gimnazii*, and various preparatory, secondary, and primary schools, all of which required quantities of professors, teachers, and educational administrators.⁴⁶ By 1840, out of an official population of nearly 44,000, there were more than 630 government officials posted to Kazan. Of these, about 290 had military appointments, 220 had places in the civil administration, and 120 in the city's educational institutions. A total of roughly 150 had attained senior positions which entitled them to a place in the hereditary nobility. In addition to active government officers, Kazan was also

⁴⁶ A. I. Kupriianov, *Gorodskaiia kultura Russkoi provintsii: konets XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX veka* (Moscow: Novyi Khronograf, 2007), 17-80, 209-223; Biktasheva, *Kazanskoe gubernatorstvo pervoi poloviny XIX veka: vremia vlasti*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Rukopisnye pamiatniki Drevnei Rusi, 2014), 33-47; Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis*, 28-35.

home to a comparable number of retired officials and their widows, who lacked large estates and relied on their comparatively modest government pensions. To all these numbers must also be added the spouses, children, and sometimes servants that they typically brought with them to the city.⁴⁷

Government officials, particularly those of the civil administration, had an undeniable impact on the life of all residents, so the inhabitants of Kazan could not remain indifferent to their conduct and personalities. Whether they were aristocrats of long-standing or new arrivals to the ranks of the nobility, these bureaucrats tended to be jealous of their prerogatives, and to demand proper demonstrations of respect. Yet they were also human beings, and residents and officials alike sought and often found bases for building personal connections that complemented and softened their formal interactions. Active and committed civil servants could create the conditions for meaningful improvements in people's lives, while those that were stuffy, incompetent, and inflexible could cause substantial harms. The provincial governor, in particular, was seen as crucial in shaping not only the local administration, but life in the city more generally. Whether the governor was lax and ineffectual, frivolous and friendly, forward-looking and striving, or staid and puritanical, his personality was commonly understood to set the tone for the entire urban area.⁴⁸

Closely aligned with the service nobility were the ranking clergy members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Although the clergy belonged to an entirely distinct estate from the nobility,

⁴⁷ I[van] Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda Kazani, ili Pamiatnaia knizhka dlia zhitelei Kazanskoi gubernii* (Kazan: Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia, 1840), 124-136, 140-156, 174-180, 183-188, 389, 391.

⁴⁸ V. Nazarev, "Zhizn i liudi bylogo vremeni: Vospominaniia, nabroski, perepiska," *Istoricheskii vestnik*, vol. 42 (1890): 424-428; S[okovni]n, "Vospominaniia starago Kazanskago studenta," *Russkaia Starina*, vol. 74, no. 5: 276; . 'starozhil,' "Gubernator dobrago starago vremeni," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 131, no. 7 (Jul., 1907): 188-196; Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2, 119-120.

with different institutions, motivations, functions, and social imperatives, they were still participants in a large bureaucracy operating under the broad auspices of the empire, and as such senior members of the clergy shared many of the same experiences as the service nobility. They, too, were itinerant (although they tended to occupy a given post longer than a comparable administrator), responsible for a discrete set of duties dictated by the empire, and dependent for their career advancement on their superiors' evaluation of their performance.⁴⁹ Kazan offered many positions for senior clergy members. It was the heart of an archdiocese, one with special prominence given the province's large animist and Muslim communities, and the periodic outbursts of missionary activity they prompted.⁵⁰ The city was also home to a seminary or spiritual academy, Christian secondary school, several monasteries and abbeys, and dozens of cathedrals, churches, and chapels, so that in total there was perhaps one cleric for every two comparable government officials in the city.⁵¹ The religious estate held authority and responsibility for the spiritual life of the empire and its residents, and its members were therefore less likely than civil administrators and educators to engage themselves whole-heartedly in the secular affairs of the town. However, there were exceptions to this rule, as individual clergy members sought to play meaningful roles in Kazan's civic development.

All of these government agents, in their official capacities, undeniably contributed to shaping life in Kazan; yet, there was tremendous variation in the extent to which they became

⁴⁹ Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 49-60; G. L. Freeze, "Handmaiden of the State?: The Church in Imperial Russia Reconsidered," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 36, no. 1 (Jan., 1985): 82-102.

⁵⁰ Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 20-21, 27-30; Paul W. Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827-1905* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 74-79; Katanov, "Tatarskie Rassказы," *IOAIE*, vol. 30, no. 3: 288.

⁵¹ Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda Kazani*, 185-188; [A. I. Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani v 1844 godu," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1845, no. 34: 322-323.

truly integrated into the fabric of the city. A typical administrator sent to Kazan might have few prior connections with the area, and little say as to how long he might remain there. Such officials often deemed a provincial posting, even to a major regional capital, as neither professionally auspicious nor personally desirable. However, there was a minority among the service nobility and clergy who possessed the necessary inclinations, and achieved the necessary tenure, to put down roots in Kazan and cultivate a sense of personal attachment to the city. Most often these were professors and educational administrators, but they also included civil servants, government-employed professionals, bishops, and abbots. As some of Kazan's most educated, globally-connected and influential residents, these individuals would, as we will see, play an outsize role in the efforts to improve Kazan and cultivate its sense of collective urban identity.

The Middle and Lower Classes: Merchants, Townsmen, and Peasants

In addition to the noble and clerical estates, the Russian Empire apportioned its citizens into two other major estate categories—urban dwellers and peasants—each of which also contained further divisions and gradations. As was so often the case, the empire's ascriptive aspirations struggled when they came into contact with the messy realities of life. In principle the city was to have been peopled by representatives of the urban estate, neatly subdivided between higher-class merchants, and lower-class townsmen.⁵² In practice things were much more complicated. Within the urban estate, the distinctions between merchants and townsmen were far from clear-cut, since the correlations between official standing and financial prosperity were loose ones at best. Furthermore, the economic life of Russia's cities encompassed many people who were not members of the urban estate at all. Vast numbers of peasants were drawn to Kazan,

⁵² Hittle, *The Service City*, 216-224.

both by the opportunities of the city and pressures of the countryside. And the city also became home to many retired soldiers and their families, as well as others who, through one legal quirk or another, had fallen through the cracks of the estate system altogether. These commoners who were neither townsmen nor peasants were sometimes lumped together as ‘*raznochintsy*,’ or ‘people of various ranks.’⁵³ Thus, in Kazan in 1840, out of a total official population of almost 44,000, 8% were nobles, officials, and clergy, or members of their families; 13% were active duty soldiers and dependents; 38% belonged to the urban estate; 35% were peasants; and 6% were discharged soldiers, *raznochintsy*, and other marginal groups.⁵⁴ Relative to other cities in European Russia of the time, the proportion of residents in Kazan from the urban estate was significantly lower than average, while the number of peasants and soldiers was higher.⁵⁵ All of these official tallies may also have underestimated the true number of peasants who made their lives in the city.

Within the urban estate, a member could earn the rank of third, second or first-guild merchant by declaring and paying taxes on corresponding minimum levels of personal wealth. Each rise in guild level conferred successively higher social distinctions and commercial privileges. Crucially, all merchants and their families were also exempted from the army draft. Kazan residents who could not, or chose not to, declare the necessary capital to qualify as merchants were categorized instead as either townsmen or craftsmen (a distinction that had historical roots but limited practical significance by the nineteenth century).⁵⁶ Historians have described the dynamics of the urban estate in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Russia as

⁵³ Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 63-71.

⁵⁴ [Artemev?], “Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani,” *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 322-323; Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda*, 388-391.

⁵⁵ B. N. Mironov, *Russkii gorod v 1740-1860e gody* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1990), 80-85.

⁵⁶ A. A. Kizeveter, *Posadskaia obshchina v Rossii XVIII st.* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1903), 142-157; Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 4-10, 91-92.

extremely fluid—whether for good or for ill. There was a great deal of social mobility within the estate, as indicated by the fact that residents regularly transferred between merchant guilds and between merchant and townsmen status. There were other forms of mobility as well, for it was possible, though not always easy, to move away from one’s city of residence, or to transfer between the urban and peasant estates. Furthermore, across the urban estate as a whole, there was a distinct lack of economic specialization. Whether they were classified as merchants, townsmen, or craftsmen, city dwellers—men and women alike—refashioned their occupations regularly and with apparent facility in response to changing conditions and their own evolving fortunes. Historians have diverged on how to interpret these facts. Some scholars view them as evidence of a dysfunctional urban sphere, plagued by government interference, the threat of impoverishment, and economic unsophistication and inefficiency.⁵⁷ Others, however, see a brighter picture of economic and social dynamism marked by possibilities for upward mobility, wide-ranging entrepreneurialism, and diversity of economic opportunity.⁵⁸

For the most part, Kazan’s urban estate conformed to the Russian metropolitan template. The life of a merchant was unpredictable. The inadequacies of the imperial transportation network, vagaries of weather, and rapid shifts in markets and commodity prices all posed their own risks and challenges. Merchant and mayor Platon Sukhanov hinted at such realities in 1814, when he wrote a letter to *Kazanskiia izvestiia* [The *Kazan News*] in response to an article on local commerce by nobleman and journalist Dmitrii Zinovev:

⁵⁷ Daniel R. Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 9-39; Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 3-17, 31-52.

⁵⁸ Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 71-86; Mironov, *Russkii gorod*, 151-169; David L. Ransel, *A Russian Merchant's Tale: The Life and Adventures of Ivan Alekseevich Tolchenov, Based on his Diary* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), xi-xii, 47-48, 153-156.

The assessment of the esteemed author... that [Kazan merchants] would always aim for a profit on each transaction of ten percent, is made without any basis... No merchant can extrapolate and divine over long periods of time when laying in merchandise. Sometimes he will think that a supply will last a year, and it often happens that he runs out in a month or less, and the same happens in reverse Then with regard to making more than ten percent per transaction, this is also entirely unfounded: and in this I refer to the segment of people who know something about it. It will happen that this occurs, sometimes, in changing between different harbors, but it will also often happen that someone will sell at a loss for the same reason.⁵⁹

Both personal choices and the whims of fate could easily magnify these commercial uncertainties into life-altering events. The result was that urban dwellers of Kazan, like other Russian cities, were well acquainted with upward and downward social mobility.⁶⁰ This turnover was most symbolically potent, perhaps, when it occurred at the very pinnacle of the merchant hierarchy. Changes of fortune here were reflected by the registers of the merchants' guild, which revealed that of the twenty-one families holding elite first or second guild merchant status in 1809, only three—the prominent local dynasties of the Apanaevs, Kotelovs, and Krupenikovs—managed to maintain that position into the 1850s.⁶¹

Such a track record made it clear that Kazan's most privileged traders could not rest on their laurels, but similar fluidity could be observed at all levels of the urban estate. In the middle ranks, social mobility was recorded in the documents which certified the regular transfer of individual families between the status of merchant and townsman. Usually such rises and falls were gradual, but occasionally a precipitous decline and spectacular bankruptcy would send ripples across the city's commercial fabric. A representative example from the 1840s saw the

⁵⁹ P[laton] S. S[ukhanov], "Zamechanie na statii: o Kazanskoi torgovle, pomeshchennuiu v Kazanskikh Izvestiakh sego 1814 goda, v. N. 49 i 50," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1814, no. 52 (Dec. 26, 1814): 635.

⁶⁰ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 7-10, 18-19; Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 130-131.

⁶¹ Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 96-102, 110-118; I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 3 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 194-199.

default by a young merchant, Stepan Tushnov, on bills of exchange totaling nearly 15,000 rubles (at a time when the capital necessary to qualify as a merchant was 8,000 rubles and a high-ranking official might earn 1,000 rubles per year⁶²). The list of Tushnov's twelve reported creditors reflected the scale and diversity of Kazan's economic life: a German national, a Central Asian trader, an official from Astrakhan, and several merchants and townsmen each from Moscow and Kazan (the latter group including several Muslims). Merchants absorbed the bulk of the losses, but several townsmen were owed sums in excess of 500 rubles. The Tushnov family was riven by the default. Stepan, whose shop, house, and goods totaled less than 8,000 rubles, asserted that his widowed mother Natalia had provided an authorization guaranteeing his loans; she called his documents a fraud. All the while the disaster threatened to embroil Stepan's three brothers. In the end Stepan ended up as a penniless and isolated townsman, while his siblings, though evading direct responsibility in the case, undoubtedly faced serious consequences in their business affairs.⁶³

Even many of Kazan's least fortunate residents—the poor and elderly townfolk applying for a place in the city alms-house—had not always lived in poverty, but were among those whom circumstances had brought low. Townsman Andrei Mochalov, for example, had experienced his own fall from the merchants' ranks, though not with the same meteoric descent as Tushnov. “I stood as part of Kazan's third merchants' guild... for over twenty-five years, but endured the unravelling of my prosperity due to various unfortunate circumstances,” he recalled. “Now I have been a Kazan townsman for about thirty-eight years, and have paid the taxes and duties associated with that position with never any shortfall.”⁶⁴ Another resident, Anna Ivanova, may

⁶² Zaionchkovskii, *Pravitelstvennyi apparat*, 73-80.

⁶³ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 783, ll. 97-98, 440-442.

⁶⁴ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 6.

once have held dreams of rising in imperial rank along with her husband, a government petty clerk, before they were dashed by his early death. Instead, she related, “After my husband, copyist Iakov Ivanov, [passed away] I was left alone with no family, and for over thirty years have fed myself by the labor of my own hands.”⁶⁵ Applications like these certainly testify to the existence of insecurity and extreme poverty in Kazan and other Russian cities of the time. Moreover, as the accounts of residents in their sixties and seventies writing in the 1840s, they also suggest a continuity of urban experience that extended back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, if not earlier.

Misfortunes produced the most indelible documentary traces, but it would be unwise to paint the life of the urban estate in excessively bleak terms. Very few of Kazan’s merchants, townsmen, and peasants from this period left behind any personal testimony about their experience of life in the city, and when they did it tended to be functional rather than introspective. It was the practical documentary record of merchant-elites and unfortunate petitioners who found themselves at Kazan’s social extremes. But perhaps the overriding impression left by that record, even by accounts like Mochalov’s and Ivanova’s, is one of determination and perseverance. Far from seeing itself as a class under siege, the urban estate seems to have accepted the long-standing constraints under which it operated, and worked with energy and determination to survive, and perhaps thrive,



Figure 5: Illustration to the list of leading tradesmen, Guide to the City of Kazan, 1840

⁶⁵ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 75.

in the face of such obstacles.⁶⁶ This is a perspective which found visual expression in the stock illustration of contented revelers chosen to accompany the list of the city's leading professionals, tradesmen, and craftsmen in the 1840 *Ukazatel goroda Kazani* [*Guide to the City of Kazan*] (Figure 5⁶⁷). And it was an attitude which drew strength, not least, from the knowledge that every time a merchant fell from grace, an opportunity was created for some other entrepreneur able to muster drive, judgment, and a modicum of good fortune.

In confronting financial uncertainty, Kazan's merchants and townsmen, like those elsewhere in Russia, embraced a strategy of commercial flexibility and generalization. At the top, leading merchants preferred to diversify, both as a hedge against misfortune and as a way of best exploiting their large capital reserves, credit-worthy reputations, and official trading privileges. Two leading families, the Krupenikovs and Iunusovs, illustrate just how far a Kazan business empire could stretch.⁶⁸ Both families participated extensively in the wholesale trade in grain, tea, sugar, cloth, and household goods, turning over millions of rubles annually in markets stretching along the Volga corridor from Astrakhan and Saratov to Nizhnii Novgorod and Moscow.⁶⁹ Their business ventures had an international dimension as well: the Iunusovs had a foothold in the Central Asian and Persian trade, the Krupenikovs had been early investors in the Russian-American Company, and during the 1840s both families joined other Kazan residents in establishing a collective trading operation in the Chinese-entrepôt town of Kiakhta.⁷⁰ In Kazan itself, both families owned extensive, high-value commercial property—shops, silos, and

⁶⁶ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 38-50.

⁶⁷ Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda*, 246.

⁶⁸ Radik Salikhov, et al., *Zolotyie stranitsy kupechestva, promyshlennikov i predprinimatelei Tatarstana*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Ianalif: 2001), 76-77, 215-219.

⁶⁹ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 67-72; [A. I. Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani v 1844 godu (Prodolzhenie)," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1845, no. 38: 366-368.

⁷⁰ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 86-87; Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 48.

warehouses.⁷¹ In some of these shops they sold their own wares, with the help of hired sales staff and managers, while others generated substantial incomes as rental properties. Kazan's broad portfolio of low-technology industries—tanning, tallow-rendering, candle making, and soapmaking—provided yet another avenue for diversification. In 1819, Leontii Krupenikov owned a middling tannery, while Abdulkarim Iunusov owned one of the city's two largest soap factories.⁷² Nor did these exhaust the ways for elite merchants to prosper—many collected fees as franchise agents authorizing lesser traders to work in the city and surrounding countryside, or bid for government tax farms on commodities such as salt, tobacco, and alcohol.⁷³

Third-guild merchants, townsmen, *raznochintsy*, and peasants had progressively fewer opportunities to tap into lucrative regional and international markets, to franchise, or to distribute their wealth across many baskets; yet, they could still share in many of the same economic outlets as the merchant elite. Of some 120 factories in the city and surrounding county in 1819, over 40—including some of the largest tanneries—were owned by townsmen or peasants residing in Kazan.⁷⁴ Townsmen also owned several of the coveted shops in the *gostinnyi dvor*.⁷⁵ Townsmen, peasants, and *raznochintsy* worked as retail traders in city and county, as shopkeepers, as butchers and fishmongers, as innkeepers, blacksmiths, painters, fishermen, carpenters, factory-workers, watchmen, and day-laborers.⁷⁶ Townsmen with crafts or technical skills exploited them when possible, but in practice there were few limitations preventing members of the urban estate from pursuing whatever economic opportunities the city had to

⁷¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 267-269ob.

⁷² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 236-238ob.

⁷³ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 136-152.

⁷⁴ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 148-149, 236-238ob.

⁷⁵ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 267-269ob.

⁷⁶ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 77-105.

offer.⁷⁷ The wealthiest townsmen clearly had enough capital to have been recorded as merchants if they had so desired—in fact in 1819 at least twenty-five owned residential property which alone would have allowed them to qualify.⁷⁸ Some families evidently sought to turn the government's ascriptive system to their advantage, registering as third-guild merchant when the family had sons of military age, and falling back to townsman status to avoid taxes at other times. Bureaucratic delays could make this a risky game to play, however, and in any case renewed efforts by the government in 1825 to enforce the merchant-guilds' prerogatives made this a less viable strategy, triggering a rush to join the third guild.⁷⁹ Compared with the townsmen and petty merchants of the urban estate, local *raznochintsy* and especially peasants found Kazan's economic horizons to be far more circumscribed. A few city peasants were undeniably wealthy, and others occasionally petitioned successfully to register as townsmen, but these were rare exceptions. In general peasants, despite constituting one of the largest segments of the city's population, appeared only very sporadically in property-ownership records or rolls of skilled tradesmen and craftsmen, and most remained consigned to manual labor, domestic service, and factory work.

The results of the empire's ascriptive social policies, embodied in the estate system, were mixed; but their overall effect was to create and reinforce barriers that divided city residents. The ennoblement of government officials encouraged them to work to maintain and expand the social distance between themselves and other city residents—strengthening the cleavages already produced by the itinerant nature of government service and the often divergent educational backgrounds of officials and urban dwellers. Similarly, official limitations on the commercial

⁷⁷ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 131-132.

⁷⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 286-293ob, 333-340ob, 405-409.

⁷⁹ Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 110-113.

activities of peasants and *raznochintsy* not only fostered economic inefficiencies, but also incited civic conflicts over the enforcement of these privileges, while ensuring that a large portion of Kazan's population felt only tenuous connections with the city. Within the urban estate, the effects of government policy were somewhat more ambiguous. Because Tatar and Russian merchants and townsmen shared the same commercial rights and markers of social standing, the estate system served as a mutually-comprehensible language, helping the two communities to develop at least a basic set of common understandings. And across the urban estate as a whole, there was a sense of shared interests and outlook, encouraged by the broad—though not unlimited—economic rights granted to townsmen, and by the high degree of economic and social mobility that all urban dwellers experienced. Nevertheless, even these unifying tendencies should not be overstated. The social cachet and practical benefits of merchant status were high, and many merchants still perceived themselves as members of a quasi-noble caste set among the more common townsmen.

Empire in Microcosm: Ethnic and Religious Faultlines

The empire's ascriptive regime extended beyond social position to encompass religion as well. Long before the conquest of Kazan, the Muscovite state had already begun to incorporate communities with diverse ethnicities and faiths; yet, they remained sufficiently small and isolated that a façade of Russian Orthodox unanimity could still be maintained. With the annexation of lands containing large, interconnected, and culturally-sophisticated Muslim populations, first in Kazan and soon afterward in the southern-Volga and Urals regions, this policy became untenable.⁸⁰ In response, the expanding Muscovite kingdom grudgingly began to

⁸⁰ Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 14-19.

take the steps necessary to govern as a multi-confessional empire. In the early years, this largely took the form of benign neglect. Government leaders curtailed the overbearing efforts of Orthodox clerics to convert the conquered population, while local administrators began to turn a blind eye when inconspicuous mosques began to spring up in the region's Muslim communities.⁸¹ By the mid-eighteenth century, the government's acceptance of religious pluralism became more overt. Another round of oppressive Orthodox missionary efforts had triggered a renewed surge of restlessness among the Muslim population, bringing the issue of religious diversity into the open and suggesting that conversion efforts ran contrary to the state's



Figure 6: One of Kazan's first two sanctioned mosques: Apanaev Mosque, built 1768, depicted ca. 1839

⁸¹ G. N. Aidarova-Volkova, *Tatarskie slobody Kazani: arkhitekturno-gradostroitelnoe razvitie i metodologicheskie aspekty rekonstruktsii* (Kazan: Kazanskaia gosudarstvennaia arkhitekturno-stroitelnaia akademiia, 1999), 35-37; Romaniello, *Elusive Empire*, 146-158; Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 27-32; N. L. Rubinshtein, ed., *Istoriia Tatarii, v materialakh i dokumentakh* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskoe Izdatelstvo, 1937), 148.

interests. In 1744, even as the conflict continued to rage, the imperial Senate openly acknowledged the rights of Muslims to maintain at least some houses of worship. Soon permission was granted for two mosques in Kazan itself (Figure 6⁸²), and others across the province.⁸³ It was a small step, but only the first of many in what would ultimately be a sea-change in imperial policy.

Beginning with her 1773 decree “On the toleration of all religions,” Catherine II advanced this program substantially. During the 1780s, a state-sanctioned Islamic institutional apparatus, the Muslim Spiritual Assembly, was established, with official jurisdiction over all Islamic clergy in the Volga-Ural region.⁸⁴ These newly-regulated clerics were required, as their Orthodox peers had been since the early eighteenth century, to maintain parish registers of births, deaths, and marriages. By the early nineteenth century, therefore, every resident of Kazan was officially associated with a particular faith. Just as with the estate categories, there were very few ways to alter one’s birth designation—typically only by conversion to Orthodoxy—so that for the most part, official policy coincided with the vigorous societal conventions that existed against intermarriage, conversion, and apostasy. This system of religious categorization, with its long history in the region and increasingly rigid official trappings, did much to foster and sustain the notion, widely held in the city, that although nineteenth-century Kazan was complex and diverse, it was also bisected by one line that outweighed all others. As educator and journalist Mikhail Rybushkin succinctly expressed it, “[Kazan] can be apportioned into two parts:

⁸² Edward Turnerelli, “Tatar Mosque, Kazan,” *Views of Kazan, Drawn from Nature* (London: Lefevre, 1839).

⁸³ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda* (1st series), vol. 12 (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1830), 158; Aidarova-Volkova, *Tatarskie slobody Kazani*, 37-40.

⁸⁴ I. K. Zagidullin, ed., *Orenburskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie i dukhovnoe razvitie tatarskogo naroda v poslednei chetverti XVIII – nachale XX vv.* (Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2011), 3-5; Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 31-60.

Christian and Muslim.”⁸⁵ In popular parlance, the same divide was often recoded in ethnic terms; so that, in the words of a mid-century provincial handbook, “the residents of Kazan consist of two major tribes: Russians and Tatars.”⁸⁶

As this overlapping terminology already suggests, the government’s ascriptive religious designations, like its system of estates, failed to encompass the nuances of life in Kazan. In this case the result was that public perceptions about ethnicity and religion became perplexingly intertwined. In principle, ethnicity played a marginal role in the Muscovite state, a policy sustained by the Russian Empire up to the threshold of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ Until then, ethnicity, unlike estate or religion, was not tracked as an official category of identity. In the everyday practice of both citizens and officials, however, ethnicity and language remained far from unnoticed or unimportant. Here, too, the annexation of the Kazan Khanate had posed the Muscovite state with particular challenges, as its representatives encountered a level of cultural complexity they found bewildering. Soon after the conquest, local administrators identified at least two minority groups, Tatars and Chuvash, living in Kazan’s emerging ‘Tatar Neighborhood.’ Such ethnic identifications were haphazard at best—a Muslim or animist Chuvash-speaker might equally have been called ‘Chuvash,’ ‘Tatar’ or ‘*basurman*’ [Muslim].⁸⁸ From the Muscovite perspective, all of these terms did the same basic work of labelling someone as a linguistic, religious, and ethnic outsider. This reductive habit of mind proved resilient in Kazan despite its inadequacy for dealing with real-world complications. Gradually, the term ‘Tatar’ came to carry two partially overlapping meanings—referring both to members of the

⁸⁵ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 89.

⁸⁶ Romishevskii, *Voenno-statisticheskoe obozrenie*, vol. 5, pt. 1, 124.

⁸⁷ Cadot, “Searching for Nationality,” *Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 3: 441-442

⁸⁸ Tomsinskii, ed., *Materialy po istorii Tatarskoi ASSR*, 48, 183.

cultural and linguistic community of Volga Tatars, and to Muslims, especially Volga-Ural Muslims. Such imprecision was sustainable, in part, because the city's minority population did coalesce over time around a fairly homogenous Muslim-Tatar cultural identity, one which exerted a strong influence in Islamic intellectual and spiritual circles throughout the region. During the first half of the nineteenth century, roughly fifteen percent of the city's population fell into the category of Tatar, encompassing merchants, townsmen, and peasants.⁸⁹

Evolving popular perceptions of ethnicity were inevitably influenced by state practices. After the conquest, the rulers of the new province quickly found ethnicity to be an indispensable administrative tool—allowing officials to identify security risks, and to target the incentives and policies necessary to forestall rebellion among their restless new subjects. In response, the state began to shoehorn the concept of ethnicity into the estate system, giving rise to awkward new estate categories like ‘*murza* [Tatar prince],’ ‘government-service Tatar,’ ‘trading Tatar,’ or ‘tribute-paying Chuvash.’⁹⁰ Over the centuries, as imperial reformers worked to refine and rationalize the estates, these categories gradually disappeared again, folded into corresponding positions in the noble, urban, and peasant classes. By this time, however, the bureaucratic practice of singling out the Tatars as an ethnic and religious minority had become ingrained. When Catherine's administration restructured urban society and created institutions of local self-government with its late-eighteenth-century provincial reforms, it took this separation to its logical extreme by dividing most of Kazan's metropolitan institutions down the middle. Whereas Kazan's ‘Russians’ were to be overseen by the City Duma, its ‘Tatars’ would be led by the peer

⁸⁹ K. Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatory v statisticheskoi i etnograficheskoi otnosheniakh* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1844), 2-3; [Artemev?], “Statistika: o sostoianii Kazani,” *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 332-333.

⁹⁰ G. S. Gubaidullin, “Iz proshlogo tatar,” *Materialy po izucheniiu Tatarstana*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Biuro Kraevedeniia pri Akedemicheskoi Tsentre T. N. K. P., 1925): 83-85, 87-88, 93; Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 29-31; Nogmanov, *Tatory v Rossiiskoi zakonodatelstve*, 27-34.

institution of the Tatar Ratusha. Likewise, both Russians and Tatars would each have their own rosters and assemblies of merchants and townsmen, along with their own oral and orphans' courts.⁹¹ In principle the differences between the Russian and Tatar institutions were minor, and largely connected with allowing Muslims to resolve small-scale financial disputes and family-law matters according to Sharia law. But a major outcome of these regulations was to reduce interaction between the two communities, lending bureaucratic substance to the popular perception of Kazan as a city divided between Russians and Tatars.

These dynamics were further compounded by state policies encouraging the city's spatial division. As noted earlier, for security reasons, the residents of Kazan had been divided by the city wall in the years after the conquest—Russians inside and Tatars outside. Even as the region became more peaceful, the government used its regulation of property transactions to perpetuate this pattern of division, seeking in so doing to protect Orthodoxy's favored status, minimize local frictions, and maximize the city's governability. This spatial segregation was never absolute—Russians and Tatars rubbed shoulders in the city's commercial areas, the Admiralty neighborhood, and the parts of the second ward that represented the boundary between 'Russian' and 'Tatar' Kazan. Still, even in the middle of the nineteenth century it was the case that nearly every resident of Kazan had neighbors on either side who shared their identity as Christian or Muslim.⁹² Over time, this pattern of physical separation played its own part in confirming and naturalizing the sense of otherness that Kazan's Tatars and Russians felt towards one another. Spatial separation and ethnic difference tended to merge into a self-supporting whole, as

⁹¹ Bakhtiiar Izmailov, "Kazanskaia Tatarskaia ratusha (1781-1855 gg.)," (Kandidat diss., AN RT Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Tatarstan, 2009), 76-80, 102-105.

⁹² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 267-269ob, 286-311ob, 333-355, 405-432; Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 157-158.

expressed by one observer's comment that "the Tatars... [live] apart from the Russians and are sharply distinguished from them by appearance, customs, and habits."⁹³

Kazan's Tatars maintained their own perspectives on ethnicity and religion, although they generally shared in the basic conception of Kazan as a city fundamentally divided along cultural lines. Three intersecting identity systems were active in the Tatar community, with most members possessing some level of attachment to all of them.⁹⁴ First, Kazan's Tatars were largely practicing Muslims, with a sense of participation in the worldwide community of Islam.⁹⁵ Substantial numbers went on hajj pilgrimages to Arabia at some point in their lives, and along the way experienced the hospitality and spiritual fellowship of Muslims from Istanbul to Cairo to Baghdad.⁹⁶ Kazan's Tatars likewise participated in a rich intellectual network of Islamic texts, scholars, and students that circulated between Russia, Central Asia, and major centers of learning in the wider Muslim world.⁹⁷ Second, the community was comfortable, even in Tatar-language documents, with the use of 'Tatar' and 'Russian' as ethnonyms.⁹⁸ Such references reveal the existence of a Tatar identity that was, if not yet national, at least ethno-linguistic in nature. State policy undoubtedly played a role in promoting this way of thinking, not only because imperial categories and dispensations had traditionally been tied to Tatar ethnicity, but also because the Tatar community had found that petitioning the government collectively, as an ethnic group, was

⁹³ [N. P. Bogoliubov], *Volga ot Tveri do Astrakhani* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Gogenfeldena i Ko., 1862), 238.

⁹⁴ Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire, and European Modernity, 1788-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3-5.

⁹⁵ Galina M. Yemelianova, "Volga Tatars, Russians and the Russian State at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 77, no. 3 (Jul. 1999): 449-455.

⁹⁶ For one vivid example from Kazan in this time period, see: NBIL ORRK, no. T3593. On the broader topic of hajj pilgrimage within the Russian imperial context: Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj: Empire and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).

⁹⁷ Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 18-20; Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 43-44.

⁹⁸ e. g. NART f. 22, o. 2, d. 20, l. 5; N. F. Katanov and I. M. Pokrovskii, *Otryvok iz odnoi tatarskoi letopisi o Kazani i kazanskom khanstve* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago universiteta, 1905), 309.

an effective way to gain official notice.⁹⁹ But this ethnic Tatar identity had other roots as well, borne of shared language and cultural traditions.¹⁰⁰ Third, Kazan's Tatars had geographic and historic attachments which centered on the Volga basin. The Tatar community in the city had dense familial and economic ties to Tatar villages in the countryside.¹⁰¹ Moreover, factors such as a common history, shared beliefs, and similar experiences of imperial rule linked the Tatars to other minorities of the Volga region—especially the Mishars, Bashkirs, and Chuvash—in a regional identity that transcended ethnic divisions.¹⁰² It is of course true that for each of these three identity systems active in Tatar Kazan, a counterpart existed in Russian Kazan. Most 'Russians' in the city had ties to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Christian world, to the Russian ethno-linguistic community, and to the commercial sphere of the Volga River trade. But it seems that for the average Tatar merchant or townsman the significance of such linkages was much greater than for their Russian counterpart, perhaps because of their minority status, their relative mobility, and their stronger sense of engagement with areas of the world beyond the empire's borders.

Although it was common to observe that a clear distinction existed between Kazan's Russians and Tatars, there were still many city dwellers who did not fit neatly into these simplistic boxes. Occupying the most precarious position were Tatar converts to Orthodoxy. According to binary notions of the city, baptism presumably implied a change in ethnic identity,

⁹⁹ D. Polenov, "Istoricheskiiia Svedeniia Ekaterinskoi Kommissii dlia Sochineniia Proekta Novago Ulozheniia," vol. 2, in *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva*, vol. 8 (1871): 141-145; D. Polenov, "Istoricheskiiia Svedeniia Ekaterinskoi Kommissii dlia Sochineniia Proekta Novago Ulozheniia," vol. 10, in *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva*, vol. 115 (1903): 305-315.

¹⁰⁰ Damir M. Iskhakov, "The Tatar Ethnic Community," *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, vol. 43, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 12-20.

¹⁰¹ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 1-3, 23-25.

¹⁰² Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 4-9.

from ‘Tatar’ to ‘Russian.’ Unsurprisingly, however, reality rarely proved to be that straightforward. Barriers of language and cultural tradition made such a wholesale transformation impractical for most people. Nor were Tatar converts typically adopted without reservation by the Russian community, often being referred to as ‘newly-Christianized Tatars’ through many subsequent generations.¹⁰³ Still, the binary conceptions of the city did create intense pressure for converts to commit themselves to one side of the divide or the other. In this regard, the provincial capital was far different from the countryside, where families or whole communities often maintained an identity as Christian Tatars in a reasonably stable (and often syncretic) form over the course of centuries.¹⁰⁴ In the city, by contrast, the newly-Christianized gained collective visibility only at particular historical moments—such as the middle of the eighteenth century—when intensive Orthodox missionary work stirred up uncomfortable conflicts and transformations among the populace.¹⁰⁵ After such pressures had died down, the resorting process worked to erase the visible presence of a distinct Christian Tatar population in Kazan.¹⁰⁶ Some convert families favored a primarily Tatar identity, in which they remained listed on Orthodox parish registers, but maintained their Tatar linguistic and cultural heritage, and perhaps participated in Islamic spiritual practices to a varying degree. Others, especially those with greater professional or material dependence on the government, were able to secure undisputed membership in Kazan’s Orthodox Russian community.

¹⁰³ F. G. Islaev, *Islam i pravoslavie v povolzh'e XVIII stoletii: ot konfrontatsii k terpimosti* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 2001), 117-126.

¹⁰⁴ Agnes Nilufer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy and Literacy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 2-5.

¹⁰⁵ Islaev, *Islam i pravoslavie*, 180-194; Kappeler, *The Russian Empire*, 27-29, 31-32.

¹⁰⁶ Islaev, *Islam i pravoslavie*, 134-135, 194-196.

Kazan's Russians, meanwhile, represented arguably an even less homogenous and well-defined group than its Tatars. One of the major fault lines within the Russian community was religious. Ever since the seventeenth-century upheaval in the Russian Orthodox Church under Patriarch Nikon, Kazan had been home to a sizeable population of Orthodox dissenters. As with Kazan's Muslims, they had worshipped in the shadows for much of their history, but the Catherinian reforms allowed them to emerge into the open, albeit with strict prohibitions against proselytization.¹⁰⁷ In the early nineteenth century they totaled perhaps five percent of the city's population, concentrated among its merchants and townsmen.¹⁰⁸ The terminology used to describe them locally drew a sharp distinction between Kazan's two major branches of dissenters. Those that maintained their traditional practices but admitted the overarching authority of the Orthodox hierarchy were typically referred to as Old Believers [*staroobriadtsy*, literally 'old ritualists'], and had their own church in the second ward. Those who rejected the official clergy entirely were termed schismatics [*raskolniki*] or 'priestless' [*bezpopovtsy*], and congregated at a prayer house located south of the city.¹⁰⁹ Kazan's Old Believers were known for their business acumen and for the degree of mutual support and philanthropy that existed within their community.¹¹⁰ The more conventional were generally accepted by other residents as equal participants in civic life and institutions; several served as mayors of Kazan in the first half of the nineteenth century, and many more were elected to the City Duma or other positions of responsibility.¹¹¹ Yet all dissenters, and particularly the more radical *bezpopovtsy*, were

¹⁰⁷ Irina Paert, *Old Believers, Religious Dissent and Gender in Russia, 1760-1850* (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2003), 59-63.

¹⁰⁸ [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 332-333.

¹⁰⁹ Ilshat Rafaelevich Latypov, "Razvitie staroobriadcheskikh obshchin Kazanskoi gubernii XIX-nachala XX vekov," (Kandidat diss., AN RT Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, 2011), 50-58.

¹¹⁰ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 172-173.

¹¹¹ Nikolai Agafonov, *Kazan i Kazantsy*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipolitografiia I. S. Perova, 1907), 137.

periodically the object of government suspicion and surveillance, and at these times simmering tensions between local residents could boil over. During the 1820s, for example, private complaints alleged that an Old Believer named Savinov was driving up grain prices with malicious intent. The vice-governor cleared him of the charges, but warned that “the members [of the City Magistrate], being themselves engaged in commerce, are, in my opinion, prepared to undertake some action against the merchant Savinov.”¹¹² Rumor-mongering and score-settling like this, even if relatively uncommon, reminded dissenters that they were still outsiders among the urban population. So, much as with the Tatars, the feelings of attachment that dissenters held toward the city were always in tension with the simultaneous pull they felt from belonging to a farther-flung network of people united by their passionate spiritual beliefs, minority status, and periodic experiences of oppression.

Nor was this the only crack in the edifice of Russian Kazan. In fact, as Rybushkin’s more precise religious terminology acknowledged, many of Kazan’s ‘Russians’ were not Russian at all. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, and accelerating greatly after 1800, Kazan became home to a significant community of ‘foreigners’ [*inostrantsy* or *chuzhestrantsy*]—non-Russian European immigrants, especially Germans. Catherine had invited German peasants to resettle in Russia, and many German Lutheran villages had sprung up across the province during her reign. In the city itself, however, skilled European foreigners had already been arriving for decades, in a slow but ever-increasing flow attracted to Kazan by the westernizing efforts of Peter I and his successors. Most of these foreign city-dwellers were either merchants and craftsmen, or else

¹¹² NART f. 1, o. 1, d. 138, ll. 1ob-2.



Figure 7: St. Catherine's Lutheran Church, as rebuilt in the 1860s

educators and professionals in government service.¹¹³ A great many were Lutherans, who worshipped at St. Catherine's church (Figure 7¹¹⁴), established during the 1770s in what would later become the city's first ward. Kazan's Germans likely made up less than one percent of the population in the early nineteenth century, but they played an outsized role in public life because they represented a much greater proportion of the city's leading merchants and intellectuals.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ V. Dietz, et al., *Nemetskie uchenye: professora Kazanskogo universiteta* (Kazan: Nemetskii dom respubliki Tatarstana, 2004), 5-9; Edward Tracy Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia: Kazan, the Ancient Capital of the Tartar Khans*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), 185-186.

¹¹⁴ "Krikha Sv. Ekateriny," *Blog Artema Loki*, <http://lowkee.com/2011/12/12/1/> (accessed September 19, 2016).

¹¹⁵ [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 332-333; Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 132-133.

In popular discourse, these foreigners were tallied on the ‘Russian’ side of Kazan’s binary divide, due not only to their Christian beliefs, but also their European dress and customs. Yet they remained objects of suspicion and potential persecution. The experience of a watchmaker of Swiss origins named Iosif Fokht during the 1840s is illustrative. The governor’s office received a secret report, routed via St. Petersburg, accusing the third-guild merchant of illicit trading in gold from the mines in Simbirsk and the Urals. The informants claimed that Fokht had made off with an eye-popping 45 pounds of gold (worth perhaps a million dollars or more today), while hinting darkly at a conspiracy that also involved Fokht’s Swiss relatives. Seeking to unmask the plot, Kazan police began to subject Fokht to searches and surveillance that went on for years, a fact that soon became common knowledge in the narrow confines of metropolitan society. Fokht’s ordeal was recorded in his repeated appeals to the governor: despite more than fifteen years prior residence in the city, he wrote, he had suffered the sully of his honor, the undermining of his commercial credit, mistrust and rejection by his neighbors and customers, and the sight of his family brought to “extremes of fear.” After all that, the authorities wrapped up the investigation with the dry conclusion that “following six years of personal surveillance the police have noted no illegalities of any kind.”¹¹⁶ Many native Russians also suffered government and police persecution, but in this case Fokht’s international origins and connections appear to have spurred the authorities to unusual heights of paranoia, suspicion, and intimidation.

Kazan’s foreigners sometimes sought to avoid this sort of unpleasantness through determined efforts to assimilate into Russian culture; however, the extent to which they pursued this strategy varied widely. During the 1840s, some of the city’s foreigners in fact flaunted their

¹¹⁶ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 507, ll. 1-1ob, 15ob, 25.

differences by establishing a ‘German society,’ known for its dances and intellectual discussions.¹¹⁷ The German professors at the university, in particular, became infamous for their inability or unwillingness to learn to speak Russian.¹¹⁸ Attitudes like these reached a nadir when Professor Blossfeld told his medical students that “the brain of a German and the brain of a Russian are constructed somewhat differently... so that Russians are little-suited to cerebral work.”¹¹⁹ Yet such standoffishness was far from universal, and residents of the city appreciated European immigrants who worked to fit in. This was undoubtedly part of the reason that the German doctor Karl Fuks could rise to become one of the city’s most beloved personalities. In his eulogy for Fuks, journalist Mikhail Rybushkin recalled approvingly that although “a foreigner by birth... [he] quickly grew comfortable with Russian customs, aided in this by his unflinching neighborliness and kindness.”¹²⁰ Much as was the case for the Tatar converts, Kazan’s Germans found that existence outside the binary system could be uncomfortable, and that the pressure to conform to it was considerable.

Starting in the 1820s, rapidly-growing populations of Catholics and Jews began to call Kazan home as well. They came initially as army recruits, who had been drafted in Poland and Ukraine in the decades following Catherine’s annexations there, and posted to the Kazan garrison and cadet battalion. As late as the early 1830s, Polish prisoners passing through Kazan were still describing all of the “few hundred” of their fellow countrymen residing in the city as

¹¹⁷ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 133.

¹¹⁸ S[okovni]n, “Vospominaniia Kazanskago studenta,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 74, no. 5: 272; Ilinskii, “Za polstoletiiia,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 4: 27-28.

¹¹⁹ Ilinskii, “Za polstoletiiia,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 3: 51-53.

¹²⁰ “Pogrebenie Ego Prevoskhoditelstva K. F. Fuks,” *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1846, no. 22 (Jun. 1846), 219-220.

soldiers in active service.¹²¹ Eventually, however, when their lengthy terms of service finally began to expire, these soldiers and their families were granted an exception to the usual restrictions on the resettlement of religious minorities, and many chose to remain in Kazan, joining the ranks of the city's *raznochintsy*. By the mid-1840s, Catholics and Jews represented some three percent of the population, and their numbers were continuing to swell.¹²² The city's Polish community was beginning to diversify as well, in response to both opportunities in Kazan and ongoing turmoil to the west. The Poles at Kazan University during the late 1840s included several students and one professor, Klotyld Tkhozhevskii. A Polish doctor named Gross also practiced in the city, where he had been dispatched into professional exile for alleged connections with the national independence movement.¹²³

By then, they and the rest of the city's Catholics had gained the benefit of representation by a cadre of local clergy, sanctioned by the imperial spiritual apparatus. This was, perhaps, a dubious benefit—for, observers lamented, these priests often appeared more eager to serve the government and themselves, than God and their parishioners.¹²⁴ Yet the situation of local Catholics remained superior to that of Kazan's early Jewish community, which was still poorer and received even less official recognition. Jewish soldiers and cadets had to elect their own spiritual leaders, and designate private rooms or residences to act as synagogue. Local Jews could often receive the consent of their military commanders to observe religious holidays and dietary restrictions, but periodically their spiritual life was disrupted by bouts of Orthodox

¹²¹ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 132-133; Ia. Ia. Grishin, *Kazan i Kazanskii krai glazami polskikh ssyl'nykh* (Kazan: Tatar knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2008), 5, 48; I. E. Alekseev, *Evreiskii krest: istoriia obrashcheniia v pravoslavie evreev v Kazanskoi eparkhii v 1820-1850 gg.* (Kazan: Astoriia, 2005), 9.

¹²² [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 332-333.

¹²³ Grishin, *Kazan glazami polskikh*, 65-67.

¹²⁴ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 618, ll. 1-2; Grishin, *Kazan glazami polskikh*, 63-65.

proselytization or secret government orders to suppress Jewish practice.¹²⁵ In the decades after the Great Reforms, Kazan's growing Catholic and Jewish communities would come into their own, exerting an increasingly significant local influence. At mid-century, however, they were still in the early stages of moving from the garrison into the civilian life of the city, and popular perceptions of Kazan's ethno-confessional character were just beginning to take note of their presence.

Taken all together, Kazan in the early nineteenth century was a city painted in iridescent hues, but one which often chose to see itself in the black-and-white shades of 'Russian' and 'Tatar.' For local advocates working to advance shared interests and a common vision for the city, ethnic and religious diversity posed substantial hurdles. In many ways, Kazan's experience was akin to that of other diverse cities over the centuries, where distinctions of language, custom, and appearance encouraged urban communities to distance themselves from one-another. But there were also factors that made Kazan's search for cohesion particularly difficult. For one thing, many local minority groups had connections and experiences that tended to divert their attention away from the city and toward other affiliations. Then, too, the situation was complicated by the way that residents so often perceived the city as starkly divided in two. If Kazan's citizens had imagined their city as essentially pluralist, then individual confessional and ethnic differences might have seemed less striking, and taken on less significance. As it was, residents felt pressure to conform to either the Russian or Tatar sphere, and viewed the division between the two as particularly deep and meaningful. Above all, the imprint of the imperial government laid heavily on this cultural landscape. The empire had sought to regularize and control religious identity, had exploited ethnic difference as a mechanism of governance, had

¹²⁵ Alekseev, *Evreiskii krest*, 39-41, 175-177.

periodically singled out particular ethnic and religious groups for suspicion and persecution, and had institutionalized and given spatial expression to the division between Russian and Tatar Kazan. For all of these reasons, popular conceptions about the power and significance of cultural difference would prove highly resilient in the decades to come, complicating efforts to rally Kazan's citizens around shared visions of the city and collective actions on its behalf.

Working and Playing as One Urban Population

Despite the social, ethnic, confessional, and physical barriers that divided people in Kazan, metropolitan life still created many opportunities for connection and shared experience between residents. The most important medium for such interactions was the urban economy, which offered a pragmatic substrate upon which other, less transactional, civic relationships might be built. Kazan's economy was dynamic, productive, and multi-dimensional. It threw residents together in unpredictable and unmediated ways, often with little regard for the boundaries so carefully constructed and policed in other areas of city life. In 1840, Kazan's economy employed roughly 18,000 people, out of a population of nearly 44,000.¹²⁶ The city's prosperity depended heavily on three major external sources of income: government service, manufacturing, and trade. The government was directly responsible for about 30% of total employment—5% being government officials and clerks and 25% who were rank and file

¹²⁶ *Statisticheskie tablitsy o sostoianiiia gorodov Rossiiskoi imperii* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia K. Kraiia, 1840), 14-15; A. N. Zorin, et al., *Ocherki gorodskogo byta dorevoliutsionnogo Povolzhia* (Ulianovsk: Srednevolzhskii nauchnyi tsentr, 2000), 77-85. The figures cited rely on some estimates regarding family demographics, developed by cross-checking multiple statistical sources from the 1830s and 1840s with demographic data from later in the century. The results suggest that Kazan contained 7,400 married men (with only a negligible number being unmarried widowers), and 1,850 widows, for an aggregate of 9,250 'family households,' each containing an average of 3.8 people, therefore totaling 35,150 people in all. The remaining 8,800 are estimated to be single men. The numbers reflect, among other things, the greater tendency for men to remarry after the death of a spouse, and the fact that many more wives than husbands were found in the countryside and brought to the city.

conscripts in the army garrison, cadet battalion, naval facility, constabulary, and other city postings. Several hundred residents also received some kind of government pension.

Manufacturing was a growing segment of the economy throughout the nineteenth century, and by 1840 it accounted for perhaps 20% of employment. Wholesale and retail trade together employed merchants and shopkeepers representing approximately 10% of total employment. Outside of these three main industries, the rest of the city's workforce constituted the local service sector. About 15% of the city's workers were registered as skilled tradesmen or craftsmen of some kind; and the final 25% performed unskilled and manual labor of all sorts, such as domestic service, hauling and transportation (Figure 8¹²⁷), dock work, fishing, and construction.¹²⁸

Like other Russian cities, Kazan's populace was predominately male, highlighting the fact that most residents of Kazan participated in one of two distinct modes of life—that of families, and that of men living alone. Kazan's families came in a variety of configurations. The majority lived as a nuclear group consisting of a married couple or widow and dependent children; however, extended-family groupings were not uncommon, especially among the city's merchants and within the Tatar community.¹²⁹ In 1819, approximately two-thirds of families owned their own residence, offering them a limited form of security. The median house value was 200 rubles—an amount perhaps four times the yearly wage for a moderately-skilled worker such as a shopkeeper or blacksmith.¹³⁰ Some huts in the outskirts of the city were valued at as

¹²⁷ "Rybnoryadskaya, Kazan," Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rybnoryadskaya_Kazan.jpg (accessed October 1, 2016).

¹²⁸ [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 329-333; [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani (Prodolzhenie)," *KGV*, 1845, no. 38: 363-367; Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda*, 394-399.

¹²⁹ Zorin, et al., *Ocherki gorodskogo byta*, 21-23, 77-93.

¹³⁰ Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 114-122.



Figure 8: Fishmarket Square, late nineteenth century

little as 10 rubles. Across all of Kazan, however, the average valuation was much higher than the median, at over 1,500 rubles; with roughly five percent of the buildings worth over 10,000 and as much as 70,000 rubles.¹³¹ These high-end buildings often provided more robust and spacious accommodations for the owner, but they also typically incorporated apartments and shops that brought in substantial additional income.¹³² Construction of new houses in Kazan did not keep pace with population growth, so that ownership rates gradually declined until, by mid-century, less than half of families owned their own home.¹³³

¹³¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 286-311ob, 333-355, 405-432.

¹³² S. A. Frolova, *Istoriia odnoi gorodskoi usadby* (Kazan: Tsentr innovatsionnykh tekhnologii, 2009), 7-19, 29-32; Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 131-136; Diliara Suleimanova, *Interer tatarskogo doma: istoki i razvitie* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2010), 94-114.

¹³³ [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 330.

Of the unattached men who constituted the other major segment of Kazan's workforce, roughly half were soldiers, with the remainder made up largely of unskilled peasants who had migrated to the city on a seasonal or semi-permanent basis to find work, while leaving their families behind in the village. Much of the work they found in the city was poorly-paid, unpleasant, and back-breaking. However, actual unemployment among Kazan's healthy and able-bodied was rarely cited as a significant local issue, likely because this itinerant labor force had a great deal of flexibility to adjust to local conditions. Kazan's overall demographic trend over the first half of the nineteenth century was one of growth, but its population could fluctuate up or down by ten percent or more, year-to-year, as shifting economic fortunes attracted opportunity-seeking peasants from the countryside, or drove disappointed job-seekers back to subsistence farming in their village of origin.¹³⁴ While they remained in Kazan, these peasant-laborers sometimes boarded with a family, but most often rented space in the city's cramped apartments.¹³⁵ By mid-century the city had well over a hundred large, multi-apartment buildings capable of housing between 50 and 200 residents.¹³⁶ These were occupied by a mix of itinerant workers, transient government officials and poorer families. However new construction of these high-density apartment dwellings tracked with the slow overall pace of construction in the city. Accordingly, the figures suggest that much of the doubling in Kazan's population between 1820 and 1850 was accommodated simply by packing progressively more people into the same spaces, with perhaps a new wing constructed here or an outbuilding added there.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ M. Laptev, *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, sobrannye ofitserami generalnogo shtaba* (St Petersburg: Voennaia tipografiia, 1861), 575-576.

¹³⁵ Smith, "Provisioning Kazan'," *Russian History*, vol. 30, no. 3: 385-387.

¹³⁶ [Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani," *KGV*, 1845, no. 34: 330.

¹³⁷ Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh*, vol. 3, 43-44; Frolova, *Istoriia odnoi gorodskoi usadby*, 10-11, 18-19.

On the whole, Kazan's living spaces tended to reinforce, more often than mitigate, the city's divisions. As we have seen, government policy, social conventions, and long habits had resulted in a city that was sorted into (largely-Russian) Christian and (generally Tatar) Muslim neighborhoods. To a somewhat lesser extent, local residential arrangements also discouraged mixing between people possessing different degrees of status and affluence. The various wards of the city, and the neighborhoods within them, may not have been homogenous, but they were characterized by a good deal of clustering among people of similar levels of wealth and comparable estate designations. Even the gradual trend toward urban apartment living was understood at the time to exert a divisive influence, despite the fact that it encouraged closer physical proximity. According to this interpretation, the residents of Kazan's cramped apartments, especially its unattached men, lived a life of isolation, sundered from the beneficial social connections they would have enjoyed in a village or residential neighborhood setting.¹³⁸

Kazan's commercial activity, by contrast, was far more likely to encourage movement and exchange that spanned its urban divides. Some observers were alert to the way the city's economic life challenged its barriers—like doctor Karl Fuks, who took pains to point out that “local Tatars can be found amongst the Russians, with whom they also have many commercial relations.”¹³⁹ In economic terms, these relations included such things as shared retail spaces, joint trading ventures, and parallel manufacturing interests.¹⁴⁰ These endeavors could, in turn, also lead to the transfer of skills and ideas, as well as proximity and a certain degree of intimacy. Fuks, for example, added the small but evocative detail that “many of the rich Tatar merchants

¹³⁸ Smith, “Provisioning Kazan’,” *Russian History*, vol. 30, no. 3: 386.

¹³⁹ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 116.

¹⁴⁰ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 85-88; Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 7, 129-130; Bogoliubov, *Volga ot Tveri*, 232.



Figure 9: The church at the gostinnyi dvor

trading in the common *gostinnyi dvor* eat lunch in the nearby Russian taverns.”¹⁴¹ Another observer recalled that the bi-weekly markets were “crowded with Tartars and Russians, soldiers and women” (Figure 9¹⁴²).¹⁴³ Still, accounts like these only scratched the surface, for much of the mixing that economic activity encouraged went virtually unremarked. Tatars and Russian traders routinely wrote each other bills-of-exchange for vast sums of money. The *gimnaziia* and university employed a handful of Tatar instructors and admitted a modest number of Muslim pupils—yet also mentioned in passing by later student memoirs, almost unnoticed, were the

¹⁴¹ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 7.

¹⁴² Edward Turnerelli, “Tower in the market place, Kazan,” *Views of Kazan, Drawn from Nature* (London: Lefevre, 1839).

¹⁴³ Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia*, vol. 1, 190.

Tatar porters that helped keep the schools running.¹⁴⁴ Diverse groups of residents—Tatars and Russians; merchants, townsmen, and craftsmen—all bid together on government labor and materials contracts.¹⁴⁵ Records show that the naval yards and docks were multi-ethnic workplaces, as were the factories of the Bulak and Kaban areas, and the trading stalls of Haymarket Square.¹⁴⁶ Driven by long habits of cultural categorization, locals may have thought prosaic dealings such as these were hardly worth mentioning, yet taken together they provided the foundation for at least a modest level of awareness, understanding, and interaction between Kazan’s ethnic and religious communities.

Commerce also served to draw many women in Kazan from beyond the walls of the domestic sphere and into the economic life of the city. Although the specifics varied with time and locale, women had traditionally had a legal right to own property in Russia—a right which was entirely consistent with Muslim law as well.¹⁴⁷ In Kazan, women owned more than a fifth of the city’s real estate; and many also went further, engaging in a variety of active economic roles. At times this was no more than a hard necessity—widows, in particular, often had only their own labor to keep themselves alive. But whether by choice or necessity, many women in the city turned their hand to some kind of income-earning activity, including domestic service, craftwork, hawking and small-time trade, perhaps a place in a factory, and, in some cases, prostitution.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ S. M. Mikhailova, *Kazanskii universitet i prosveshchenie narodov povolzhia i priuralia* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1979), 51-55; Ilinskii, “Za polstoletiiia,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 3: 79-82.

¹⁴⁵ e.g. NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 933, ll. 3, 6, 8.

¹⁴⁶ Mansurova, “Kazanskaia Admiralteiskaia sloboda,” (Kandidat diss., 2002), 141-143; NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 286-311ob, 333-355, 405-432.

¹⁴⁷ Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 11-16.

¹⁴⁸ Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 175, 182.

Those who possessed capital had access to a range of more attractive opportunities. Most property owners in Kazan, male and female, probably earned at least some income from their holdings, however humble they might have been. But for those willing to take a risk, there was money to be made in commerce and lending as well. The risks are well documented, since most of the surviving records for these kinds of financial dealings relate to the court cases brought when business relationships unraveled. Still, they offer a glimpse into transactions which, in most cases, must have worked out positively for all concerned. Some women played at the level of large-scale and long-distance finance, like the unmarried daughter of a Moscow merchant, Varvara Grachova, who petitioned the courts in Kazan in 1819 for the repayment of 1,000 rubles loaned to a Tatar townsman, Khasan Gabbiasov.¹⁴⁹ On a more typical scale, perhaps, was the case brought toward the end of the eighteenth century by Katerina Ivanova, the wife of a low-ranking clerk in the provincial treasury, who sought 155 rubles from a Tatar named Akhmer Apsalemov. Soon after loaning him that sum, Ivanova had found that Apsalemov was insolvent. Not only could he not repay his own note, but he had also signed over to her a promissory note from another city resident, legitimately made out to Apsalemov but already discharged by the debtor. Ivanova's discovery of the fraud was corroborated by two witnesses, wives of lieutenants in the local garrison (and therefore at roughly the same social level as Ivanova). She did not submit her own petition for redress, however; that was done by her husband, the clerk, who brought along a townsman of his own to witness his signature. The shady dealings thus revealed did not sit well with the upstanding businessmen of Kazan's Tatar Ratusha, and they promptly had Apsalemov drafted into the army. As for Ivanova, the Ratusha informed her that she would

¹⁴⁹NART f. 26, o. 1, d. 263, ll. 1-1ob.

be reimbursed from the proceeds of the sale of Apsalemov's house. He would no longer need it, having been shipped off to a distant life in the barracks.¹⁵⁰

Some women also ascended into the ranks of Kazan's entrepreneurs. In 1819, local women (among them one Muslim) owned eight of the private shops in the *gostinnyi dvor*, and one in the grain bazaar. A certain Ana Kukarinova was the proprietor a mid-range tannery, and Russian and Tatar women also owned seven of the city's twenty-four soap factories, including many of the largest.¹⁵¹ The soap business could be treacherous, however, as evidenced by the sadly incomplete but nonetheless intriguing case of a would-be industrialist named Katarina Ivoilova. Ivoilova was the wife of a Kazan townsman named Gavriil (who was evidently still living). In 1820, she took out a loan of 15,000 rubles from the banking arm of the local Office of Social Welfare, in order to buy a soap factory and attached residence in the second ward. Much is unclear about Ivoilova's story, including her background, why she went into business without her husband, and the details of how she secured approval for the loan. But in the latter effort she was surely aided by a glowing property appraisal by townsmen Ivan Zhegalin and Meiglybai Iunusov, who valued the factory at 25,000 rubles. And it was indeed an impressive place, despite the fact that the property only covered about an eighth of an acre. The house was stone, two-storied, with fourteen rooms and thirty windows, plaster walls, two privies, and stoves in every room. The factory, with its 13 glass-paned windows, included four iron soapmaking kettles, two brick furnaces, wooden forms with iron bands, and a variety of tools and implements. Out back there were also storage sheds for ash, fat, and grain.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰NART f. 22, o. 2, d. 509, ll. 11-12, 14, 22-22ob.

¹⁵¹NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 236-238ob, 267-269ob, 273.

¹⁵²NART f. 26, o. 1, d. 361, ll. 3-3ob, 6-7, 32ob-33ob.

Sadly the wheels soon came off Ivoilova's venture. In 1821 she made the first payment on the loan, of 200 rubles. In 1822, however, she missed her payments, and the Office quickly moved to foreclose. To their consternation, when they had the factory appraised again by the city police for resale, it came in low, at just 10,000 rubles. After three public solicitations at that reduced price still found no buyers, the City Magistrate was called to investigate whether Zhegalin and Iunusov's original inflated appraisal had involved malfeasance or negligence. Their defense sheds light on the reason why Ivoilova's undertaking had so quickly gone wrong. The assessors testified that in 1820 the factory had brought in a "considerable income," but that in the few years since, demand and prices for soap had plummeted, so that "the takings that the proprietors received from these factories had fallen accordingly." The upshot, they concluded, was that no one was looking to get into the soap business anymore. It seems that like countless aspiring moguls before and since, Ivoilova had simply gotten into the wrong industry at the wrong time. Unfortunately her eventual fate is left unrecorded, but the Office of Social Welfare was still trying to unload the white elephant in 1827.¹⁵³ The bigger picture, however, is that in Kazan, women (even married women, even those of middling social status) could aspire to reach the heights of economic success; that as they did so, it was possible for them to gain access to sources of capital and support; and that involvement in the economic life of the city brought them into engagement with people from all of Kazan's social ranks, communities, and professions.

If commercial activity helped to bring Kazan together across lines of religion and gender, however, it did less to bridge the divides of social status. It is true that, as we have seen, there was a high degree of economic mobility within the urban estate itself, with relatively few hard

¹⁵³NART f. 26, o. 1, d. 361, ll. 3-3ob, 28-29, 32ob-33ob, 38-39ob.

lines drawn between the opportunities available to townsmen and merchants of various ranks. Between the urban estate and the service nobility, the conscripts, and the peasants and *raznochintsy*, however, there were significant restrictions imposed by the government which greatly limited the types of employment that each could pursue. Yet, there were other dimensions to urban life besides commerce. In fact, observers of the local scene placed a surprising degree of emphasis on the antithesis of toil: on public holidays, recreations, and diversions. One English visitor making this point attributed to Kazan a special “ardour in the pursuit of amusement,” that he felt stemmed from the city’s harsh climate and long winters. After all, he rationalized, residents could hardly be blamed for “seeking to banish dull care, when dull care would otherwise kill them.”¹⁵⁴ Many of Kazan’s recreations did indeed have no deeper function than sheer amusement. From the balls of the aristocratic elite to the rowdy fisticuffs of dockyard workers, they simply allowed narrowly-defined segments of the urban population to blow off steam in socially-acceptable ways. But what helped vault leisure pursuits to a place of prominence in local discourse is that so many of these pastimes served important cohesive functions as well, offering alternative methods for binding together city residents across the lines that divided them—especially the lines created by the imperial system of estates.

Among the most crucial uniting mechanisms were religious holidays. By their nature these events only included participants of a given faith; yet, observers cited both Muslim and Orthodox holidays alike for building connections between people from all estates and ranks, as well as between the various sections of the city. From a spatial perspective, the two faith traditions approached this unifying function somewhat differently. For Russian Orthodoxy, the essential ceremony was the icon procession. It forged links by inducing the physical movement

¹⁵⁴ Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia*, vol. 1, 213-214.

of vast and diverse crowds of believers, who passed between countryside and town, as well as between various urban parishes. The city's most celebrated annual procession was that of the miraculous replica of the Smolensk Icon of the Mother of God (Figure 10¹⁵⁵), remembered for “delivering Kazan from the plague” during the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁶

The icon normally resided at the Sedmiozernaia hermitage, located in the countryside about 12 miles north of the city.

Every June 24, however, thousands of city

residents, a “flood of humanity” of all estates, went on foot to Sedmiozernaia, spent the night out of doors in communal prayer and rest, and accompanied the icon back the next day to the Kizicheskii monastery near the Kazan suburb of Kozia.¹⁵⁷ On June 26, the icon entered the city proper, with great religious, civil, and military ceremony (Figure 11¹⁵⁸). For the next month, the relic would process from one church to another almost daily. In all, it resided at twenty-four different churches, crossing and re-crossing Kazan to visit every part from the rough-edged cloth district to the posh first ward, and from the humble suburbs to the grand cathedral inside the



Figure 10: Sedmiozernaia (Smolensk replica) icon

¹⁵⁵ “Icon of the Mother of God of Seven Lakes,” *Orthodox Church in America*, accessed September 27, 2016, <https://oca.org/saints/lives/2008/07/28/109022-icon-of-the-mother-of-god-of-seven-lakes>.

¹⁵⁶ Bogoliubov, *Volga ot Tveri*, 234-235.

¹⁵⁷ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 64-67.

¹⁵⁸ N. Roze, *Vid vstrechi Smolenskoi Bozhei Materi v g. Kazani* (Kazan: Litografiia Petr Tabure, 1845).

kreml.¹⁵⁹ The icon procession was a ceremony which worked on several levels. Spatially, it created a visible web of connections linking Kazan's many Orthodox parishes and Christian neighborhoods, both rich and poor, into a larger whole. Symbolically, it recalled events that demonstrated God's care for the city of Kazan, and His willingness to work miracles to protect it. Finally, and perhaps most important, the procession brought large numbers of Kazan's believers together, regardless of their place of residence, estate rank, or economic fortunes, and imposed on them a certain uniformity of status. It turned the rich out of their mansions and carriages and into the streets, as equals among the weary, dust-covered crowd of pious supplicants to the community's common God.¹⁶⁰



Figure 11: Ceremony welcoming the replica of the Smolensk Mother of God icon to Kazan, 1845

¹⁵⁹ Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda Kazani*, 89-90; Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 118-119.

¹⁶⁰ Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia*, vol. 1, 206-207.

Perhaps surprisingly, the circuit travelled every year by the Sedmiozernaia icon included the Tatar area south of Lake Kaban. The Orthodox sites located there were a legacy of earlier times. During the eighteenth century, population shifts had gradually transformed this once-Christian precinct into part of the Muslim Tatar quarter, and by the early nineteenth century some of its Orthodox chapels were nearing disuse.¹⁶¹ Still tradition remained undaunted, and the Boris and Gleb church, at least, continued to operate and to host the icon's annual visit.¹⁶² No records exist as to how local Muslims received the procession of the Orthodox icon, accompanied by throngs of clergy and Christian faithful. When the church had been built centuries earlier, it was likely intended as a demonstration of the colonial appropriation of space; and the persistence of the icon ceremony could be interpreted in those same terms. However, given the visible decline of Orthodoxy in this area of town, and the distant-but-respectful ethnic and confessional relations then prevailing in Kazan, it seems possible that this scene conveyed as much pathos as dominance. Perhaps more than anything else it simply provided local Tatars with an interesting spectacle, and a welcome break in the monotony of daily life.

By the 1820s, Kazan's growing Muslim community was served by at least ten urban mosques. Like the city's Russians, its Tatars, too, were a population that was highly differentiated according to estate and wealth. They relied on two major religious holidays to help bind them together—Ramadan and Kurban (Eid al-Adha). Unlike the Orthodox procession, the essential pattern of motion in these holidays was one of gathering—of bringing the Muslim faithful together to elicit shared experiences of religious observance, self-denial, and celebration. Each day of the Ramadan month was marked by special prayer ceremonies in the city's mosques,

¹⁶¹ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 435, l. 1; Bikbulatov and Mustafin, *Kazan i ee slobody*, 27; *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda* (1st series), vol. 13, 342-343.

¹⁶² Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda Kazani*, 89-90.

along with a fasting regimen that was policed, when necessary, by vigorous social pressure. Noteworthy events during Ramadan included al-Qadr, an all-night vigil by the entire community held in the mosques; Zakat, a day that local tradition set aside for the public fulfilment of the religious duty of charity with the same name; and Khaid, the day of celebration that followed the end of Ramadan. Kurban had similar characteristics on a slightly smaller scale—it was a feast day, enriched by the generosity of the community’s wealthier members, and preceded by a period of fasting.¹⁶³ These holidays brought Kazan’s Tatars, of all ranks, out of their homes and into the mosques, where they would share rituals and experiences in common. By fasting, every Muslim in Kazan could demonstrate their commitment to upholding collective beliefs and values; and through charity, the affluent were encouraged to invest in the spiritual and material well-being of all members of the community. The characteristic gathering impulse of these holidays was most clearly evident when Ramadan fell during the summer months. At such times, at sunrise on the day of the Khaid celebration, the city’s thousands of Muslims might gather together outside town for a joint worship service, held “under the open skies.”¹⁶⁴

Both Tatars and Russians in Kazan also had other holidays, which, although not without a spiritual dimension, were commonly understood as essentially secular in nature. Despite the fact that these holidays retained a strong ethnic identification, their muted religious tones opened up opportunities for a certain degree of cultural exchange. The wintertime celebration of Maslenitsa, for example, offered many diversions for the city’s Russian revelers. They congregated on the frozen Lake Kaban, to ice skate, race, sled, and enjoy clowns and fire-eaters. Those from the upper-crust attended theatricals and masquerades, while almost everyone had the chance to eat

¹⁶³ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 89-98; Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 95-98; Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia*, vol. 2, 110-115.

¹⁶⁴ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 94.

their fill. When it came to the defining entertainment of Maslenitsa in Kazan, however, Tatars had a crucial supporting role. This was the wild ride about town. For an entire week the city was packed with thousands of Tatar sled drivers, many from the countryside. They offered prices that allowed even poor Russian city dwellers to indulge in an outing, and their daredevil antics and gaudily-decorated sleighs ensured an entertaining time.¹⁶⁵ Residents of Russian Kazan from every estate took part in the rides, appreciating them as both a “whimsical pastime” and an “age-old local custom.”¹⁶⁶ The holiday certainly did not place Russians and Tatars on an equal footing, but it did create opportunities for interaction, and encouraged both communities to see themselves as joint participants in a valued metropolitan tradition.

The Tatar and Russian spheres touched somewhat differently during the holiday of Saban. This springtime occasion brought Kazan’s entire Tatar community together in one place, to enjoy a week of feasting, wrestling, racing (Figure 12¹⁶⁷), prayers, and fellowship. Historically the Saban festivities had been held on Arsk Field to the north-east of the city. However during the late eighteenth century, as the city expanded, that area was appropriated and (as Mikhail Rybushkin candidly expressed it) “turned into a promenade for Russians.”¹⁶⁸ Saban was therefore relocated to the meadows south-west of Kazan, and, because of the annual floods that inundated that area, also set back several weeks to late May. The Tatar community seems to have borne no ill-feeling for the disruption. On the first day of the holiday, a herald rode throughout the city, proclaiming “Saban! Saban!” as an invitation for Kazan’s Russians to attend.¹⁶⁹ Large

¹⁶⁵ “Nechto o zdeishnei maslenitse,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1812, no. 10 (Mar. 9): 1-2; Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 136-137.

¹⁶⁶ “Maslianitsa,” *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 9: 48-49.

¹⁶⁷ Coqueret, “Konnoe Ristalishche Kazanskikh Tatar,” *Illustrations de Les peuples de la Russie* (Paris: D. Colas, 1812).

¹⁶⁸ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 95-98.

¹⁶⁹ Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia*, vol. 2, 97-110.



Figure 12: Tatar horse race in Kazan

numbers of them did so, enjoying the games and feats of physical prowess; some rich Russians even joined their Tatar peers in sponsoring prizes.¹⁷⁰ Russian hawkers were also often accused of selling wine and vodka, and thereby inducing both sin and disorder among the festival-goers.¹⁷¹ In this holiday, too, the power relations were clearly unequal. During Maslenitsa the Tatars had been hirelings; here in Saban the Russians appeared as the masters of the city's space, as spectators seeking entertainment, and as profit-driven sowers of discord. Yet while these vignettes point to inequities, they also demonstrate just how frequently Kazan's ethnic, confessional, and spatial boundaries were subtly permeated in the course of daily life in the city.

Although most diversions in Kazan were colored in religious or ethnic terms, those that were not were growing in number and prominence at the end of the eighteenth century, and they

¹⁷⁰ Evlentev, *Kazanskie zametki*, 11; Artemev, "Nechto ob uveseleniakh vo vremia Sabana," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1847, no. 25: 319-321.

¹⁷¹ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 102-113.

offered some of the best opportunities for building meaningful cultural bonds between Kazan's Tatar and Russian communities. New Year's festivities in Kazan, for example, although linked to the Orthodox calendar, were treated as a secular diversion for the entire city. *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti* [The *Kazan Provincial Gazette*] reported that during the 1843 celebration, the "gathered throng of well-wishers, made up of all the diverse administrators and multiethnic residents that come together in Kazan, made a lovely picture."¹⁷² Cultural events provided another outlet for mixing, at least among the educated and wealthy. Theatrical performances began in Kazan in the mid-eighteenth century, and a permanent theater building was constructed in 1798. Local Tatars quickly became enthusiastic audience-goers. A section of seats was screened off so entire families could attend without compromising their standards of modesty, and soon, Mikhail Rybushkin reported, Kazan's Tatars were "discussing [the performances] with a good degree of refinement."¹⁷³ When groups from the university or *gimnaziia* gave musical concerts in the city, Muslim students were sometimes counted among the performers.¹⁷⁴ When the Kazan "Club for Merchants and Foreigners" was proposed in 1847, its backers also included several prominent local Tatars.¹⁷⁵ Finally, there was at least a degree of mutual hospitality between the two ethnic communities, involving the exchange of invitations for dinner, tea, or a game of cards.¹⁷⁶ Sometimes these were quasi-formal affairs, held as a matter of good policy between city elites, and sometimes they were simply gestures of camaraderie or friendship between those residents most willing to test the boundaries of Kazan's ethnic and religious

¹⁷² "Mestnye izvestiia," *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 1 (Jan. 2, 1843): 2.

¹⁷³ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, 130-131; Vishlenkova, Malysheva and Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti*, 163-164.

¹⁷⁴ 'starozhil,' "Gubernator dobrago starago vremeni," *Ruskaia starina*, vol. 131, no. 7: 192.

¹⁷⁵ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 573, ll. 6ob-7ob.

¹⁷⁶ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1834), 115; Fuks, *Kazanskiie Tatory*, 121-123.

spheres. With respect to all of these forms of cultural encounter, their extent and impact should not be overstated. Such meetings usually took place among elites, and sometimes betrayed a certain awkwardness. More often than not, these encounters were organized according to the dictates of European culture, and were therefore coded as ‘Russian.’ Tatar elites were perfectly capable of navigating these waters, but did not always find them preferable or entirely comfortable.¹⁷⁷ On balance, however, the nascent but expanding space of secular culture in Kazan did provide many new opportunities for bridge-building by residents of goodwill on both sides of the perceived ethnic and religious divide.

Conclusion

It was during the first half of the nineteenth century that a broad array of city residents would begin to turn toward the city to help address the new challenges they faced. As we will see, these could all be described as metropolitan elites, in one way or another, but they remained a diverse group, encompassing Muslim Tatars, Orthodox Russians, and Lutheran Germans, drawn from a range of social estates and employments, including nobles, officials, clerics, educators, professionals, writers, and merchants. Together, they would seek to articulate and popularize a view of Kazan as a focus for collective action; a source of communal benefits; and a receptacle for emotions of pride, attachment, and aspiration. As they did so, these civic advocates would have to grapple with the complex web of convergent and divergent forces that was already operating in the city at the end of the eighteenth century. Many of the basic patterns of city life encouraged cohesion—these included the occupation of a densely settled and relatively compact area; the bottom-line mentality and deep interconnectedness of local commercial activity; and the

¹⁷⁷ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 130.

unifying experiences generated by shared holidays and amusements. However, Kazan also posed civic advocates with many particular challenges. Geographically the city was divided by rivers, floodplains, and hills. Historically, it had inherited a legacy of ethnic and religious heterogeneity, as well as a set of collective memories that testified to Kazan's historical significance, but also to experiences of violence and trauma. And looming above all these other factors was the long-standing imperial practice of ascriptive governance. The inhabitants of Kazan saw themselves as members of distinct estates, guilds, confessions, and ethnicities. Each of these categories worked to separate local residents into discrete groups. Many of them also worked to link the city's inhabitants into national and international networks—whether of scholarship, trade, or shared belief—which drew their attention and allegiance beyond the precincts of the city. The empire had not manufactured these categories from thin air, but it had given them definition, official sanction, and practical consequences, thus amplifying their potency and durability. Although the ascriptive approach to governance had long proven effective, it would begin to reveal troubling flaws over the course of the nineteenth century. To Kazan's civic advocates, however, it remained a powerful force, shaping and influencing all their efforts, and ultimately setting limits on what it would be possible for them to accomplish.

Interlude: Visualizing Kazan, ca. 1819

Among the many ways that this project has sought to explore Kazan, one important approach has been to bring together maps and statistics in order to visualize the urban landscape. Perhaps unsurprisingly, applying such techniques to early-nineteenth-century provincial Russia poses significant challenges—but this also means that even the nature of the sources available to attempt such an exercise can help shed light on civil and imperial governance in Kazan during this period. This interlude section will therefore begin by considering briefly how mapping was used (and not used) by government officials and city councilors in Kazan. It will then examine in some detail the major statistical source used in this spatial study—a comprehensive property tax survey of Kazan from 1819—and at how the information it contains has been encoded for the purpose of analysis. Next, this interlude will consider the composite statistical picture of urban confessional and gender dynamics that the survey provides. It will discuss how these property tax records have been geocoded, in order to develop an interactive map which allows the city to be visualized in physical, economic, social, and confessional terms. And finally, it will highlight a few of the particular insights that emerge from this spatial and statistical exploration of Kazan’s multilayered urban landscape.

Maps were far from new for Russia during the early nineteenth century. They had been in use since Muscovite times, in fact, with local maps of one kind or another dating back to the seventeenth century.¹ Yet in the provincial context, they were still rare enough and novel enough to generate significant local comment, and the practices surrounding their use remained very much a work in progress. From 1700 through at least 1850, the mapping of Kazan was nearly

¹ Valerie A. Kivelson, “Cartography, Autocracy and State Powerlessness: The Uses of Maps in Early Modern Russia,” *Imago Mundi*, vol. 51, no. 1 (1999): ren85-91.

always undertaken in support of state knowledge and control. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this technology had offered a way to catalogue a region that was, at least in the minds of imperial officials, still closer to the Russian frontier than the heartland. This was certainly the intent of one of the earliest extant maps of the city, drafted in 1730 by an army engineering officer named Artemon Satsyperov (Figure 13²). Its production was likely associated with the Kirillov Expedition, then involved in mapping and describing the empire's south-eastern borderlands, which were deemed to begin in Kazan and extend from there to the Kazakh steppe, hundreds of miles away. Within forty years, as we have already seen, maps had developed from being a way of understanding the present, to one of shaping the future as well. Creating an official urban plan allowed Catherine II and her bureaucrats to imagine an idealized version of the city, toward which they intended its inhabitants to strive. Strikingly, the official draft of the 1768 state plan superimposed its clean, classical lines directly on top of a faint rendering of the current maze of twisting alleys, little-changed since Satsyperov's visit—a juxtaposition which highlighted both the bold ambition and willful impracticality of this Enlightenment dream (Figure 14³). But even then, the empire's relationship with its maps continued to evolve. By the 1840s, city maps had become common enough that they could be used routinely, as a tool of everyday governance. Provincial officials of this time used mapping to track urban development, assess fire damage, and ensure adherence to state regulations with a new level of accuracy and sophistication.⁴

² [Plan of Kazan, 1730], *Kazanskii Kartograf: Karty Kazani i Okrestnostei*, accessed February 24, 2012, <http://tat-map.ru/Kazan/do1917/1730.jpg>.

³ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda* (1st series), *Kniga chertezhei i risunkov* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1839), 113.

⁴ NART f. 820, o. 739, d. 5; NART f. 820, o. 739, d. 149; NART f. 820, o. 739, d. 150; NART f. 820, o. 739, d. 151.

Drafting maps remained a specialized and time-consuming activity, however, for which few local residents, even the prominent merchants elected to serve as city councilors, had the necessary knowledge. Still fewer, perhaps, saw any need for them. At times the local absence of maps even became a topic of discussion. We have already seen that ignorance of the existence of an official imperial plan of Kazan in 1774 seems to have encompassed not just local residents, but provincial state officials as well. And as late as the mid-1830s, when the governor proposed that a new map be compiled to reflect recent changes in the urban landscape, it came to light that the City Duma did not even have access to the old official plan from 1768.⁵ Instead, lists and registers remained the preferred way for city councilors to keep track of the urban spaces they oversaw.

One noteworthy register of this sort was compiled by the City Duma in 1818 and 1819. The Duma's project seems to have been undertaken at the behest of the provincial governor, as part of an effort to readjust local property taxes in the wake of the devastating 1815 fire⁶ (a fire which, one witness later recalled, “destroyed almost half the city”⁷). The resulting archival record⁸ is not only very unusual, but also particularly valuable—allowing the construction of an extraordinarily detailed view of the city's built, social, and cultural landscapes, as well as all the interactions between them. While conducting my research in Kazan, I encoded this register into a database, and then later geocoded and exported it into GIS software. Equipped with these

⁵ NART f. 1, o. 1, d. 173, l. 16.

⁶ On the disruption to tax collection caused by the fire, see: NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 191, ll. 1-1ob.

⁷ Ivan Alekseevich Vtorov, “Moskva i Kazan v nachale XIX-go veka,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 70 (Apr.-Jun. 1891), 17.

⁸ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 216, ll. 267-269ob, 273, 286-311ob, 333-355, 405-432. When not otherwise cited, statistics and maps for the remainder of this chapter are based on the data from this collection.

analytical tools, I was able to follow the trail blazed by Satsyperov nearly three hundred years ago, as another outsider who turned to maps in order to better know the city.

In 1819, when the tax survey was compiled, Kazan was still divided into the original three wards (Figure 16). The first ward consisted of the downtown core north of the Bulak canal, along with Admiralty and the other outlying suburban neighborhoods. The second ward contained all of the city south of the Bulak Canal and Lake Kaban, including most of Kazan's Muslims. And the third ward encompassed the cloth factory district and the newer neighborhoods north and east of downtown. City councilors cataloged each ward separately, though according to a common template. The survey as a whole, therefore, consists of three separate ward registers, plus ancillary reports for the privately-owned shops in the *gostinnyi dvor* and the grain market [*khlebnyi bazar*]. Together, these registers list 3,753 individual properties. Of these, 3,591 (96%) include some kind of physical structure, with the remainder being vacant land.⁹ With a few exceptions, the survey does not list publicly owned buildings or land, presumably because these did not generate tax revenues.

For each of the parcels listed, the survey provides four valuable pieces of information. The first, the name of the owner, is especially crucial. From the name, the owner's gender can be determined with confidence, according to the grammatical rules of the Russian language. Similarly, the broad confessional affiliation of the owner—Muslim or Christian¹⁰—can also be

⁹ The small number of privately-owned vacant lots is unsurprising. Vacant land was normally reserved under the authority of the City Magistrate, and only released when a resident had a building plan for the site, with approval from the architects and planners in the Governor's chancellery. For one example of many, see the report of the city council to the governor regarding various requests for plots of land for building in February 1829: NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 132, ll. 10-11.

¹⁰ The few Jewish residents in Kazan at this time would generally have been enlisted men in the city's army garrison, and hence not property owners. It is possible that there was a Jewish property owner or two, though no example was clearly evident from the owners' names. With regard to Christians, it was not deemed feasible to

inferred, to a high degree of accuracy. Deductions of this sort must be undertaken with care, of course, but in practice there was little overlap between Islamic and Orthodox naming practices in Kazan at this point in time—Muslim names such as Rakhmet, Abdallah, Mukhamad or Nurali are easily distinguished from Orthodox names like Mikhail, Ivan, Semen or Nikifor, especially when both first and last name are considered.¹¹ In isolated cases these assessments might be incorrect; and it is also important to recognize that naming told more about an individual's official confessional status, than about his or her private spiritual beliefs and practices. Yet for this broad aggregate survey, the analytical technique is sufficient to obtain credible findings of practical value.¹²

The second piece of information listed for each property in the report is the owner's social-estate or official position. Unfortunately this data was compiled with a fair degree of variation. For active or retired government officials, the register normally provides the military rank or civil service position the owner occupies. For private citizens, it is usually the individual's official estate [*soslovie*] category.¹³ Women are typically listed as widow, wife, or daughter, along with their husband's, or father's, social position. Occasional notations include non-Russian subjects [*inostrantsy*], orphaned minors, out-of-town owners [*inogorodtsy*], and Old Believers [*staroobriadtsy*]. In an effort to systematize the data for the purposes of aggregate

reliably distinguish Old Believers, Dissenters, Lutherans, and perhaps Catholics or Armenian Orthodox, from Russian Orthodox by name, so they are all lumped together.

¹¹ Aided, in part, by the fact that Orthodox baptism required that a child be named after a Christian saint—a practice that had achieved near universal adoption by the eighteenth century. See: Daniel H. Kaiser, "Naming Cultures in Early Modern Russia," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 19 (1995): 273, 277.

¹² It is worth noting that the "bottom-up" results generated by this approach accord reasonably well with the proportion of the population that contemporary observers described as Muslim or Tatar. Likewise, the author's other work in the Kazan archives has supported, rather than cast doubt on, the idea that naming was confessionally-distinctive during this period.

¹³ Interestingly, "people of various ranks" [*raznochintsy*] is not a term that appears in these documents.

study, it has been encoded into standardized social categories—noble, *chinovnik* [government official on the Table of Ranks], professional [doctor, teacher, etc.], clergyman¹⁴, merchant, townsman [*meshchanin*]¹⁵, craftsman [*tsekhovyi*], peasant, worker, and soldier. To aid in visualization, these have been further compressed into four groupings: ‘elite’ (officials, professionals, nobles, clergy), ‘upper-class’ (merchants), ‘middle-class’ (townsmen and artisans) and ‘lower-class’ (peasants, workers, and soldiers). Such simplifications, however dissatisfying, are necessary in order to make data analysis possible; and despite introducing some distortions, they do retain meaningful information. Moving to the third data component listed with each property, this is a description of the physical structures on the site. This element is also quite variable, but it is generally possible to determine, at a minimum, the number of stories in each building, and whether it was built of wood or stone. And finally, the fourth piece of information for each property is its assessed value, in rubles.

The statistical data contained in the tax survey is of considerable interest in its own right—shedding light, if not on all of Kazan’s inhabitants, then at least on the roughly two-thirds of households that owned property. The 3,591 properties listed ranged in value from 10 to 70,000 rubles, with an average of 1,731, and a median of 200; while the relatively few empty lots were valued between 10 and 2,000 rubles, with a median of 100. From this it is clear that land value was a good portion of the assessment of most properties, but that at the high-end, a large well-constructed building could be worth many times the land it was built upon. The wide variation

¹⁴ No Orthodox clergy appear in this survey, perhaps because their housing was provided by the government, and non-taxable. However, several Muslim clerics are among the property-owners listed, as are a few workers at Orthodox churches and monasteries. These latter presumably did not belong to the priestly social estate; they were perhaps *raznochintsy* or peasants from villages owned by the Church, but in the survey they are only listed as workers at specific religious institutions.

¹⁵ One particularly challenging category to assess is the “trading Tatar” [*torgovyi tatarin*]—a designation applied to some of the city’s richest and poorest residents. In this study, the category has been tracked separately, but treated for the purposes of visualization as townsman, which offers the best fit in terms of comparative wealth and status.

between high, average, median, and low values also demonstrates vast inequality in wealth distribution, with a preponderance of assets held by a small portion of the population.

From a confessional perspective, the data shows that 21% of the city's property owners were Muslim, a figure which is appreciably higher than roughly one-sixth of the urban population that official statistics usually described as Tatar.¹⁶ Whether state tallies undercounted local Muslims, or Muslims were disproportionately likely to own property, remains unclear.

Interestingly, the median price of Muslim residences was 250 rubles, which slightly exceeded the median for Christians of 200 rubles (though the values are roughly equivalent from a statistical perspective¹⁷). From this we might infer that the lower and middle classes of Muslims and Christians had approximately equivalent household wealth. Among the more affluent, however, it is evident that economic opportunities for Christians far exceeded those for Muslims. The average value of Muslim properties was 871 rubles, whereas the average for Christians

Average Value of Property	
Elites & Professionals	
Christian	3359
Muslim	562
Merchants	
Christian	8151
Muslim	2150
Townsmen	
Christian	923
Muslim	593
Peasants & Workers	
Christian	140
Muslim	161

was 1,829. This discrepancy in upward mobility resulted partially from the fact that Muslims held very few government posts, and none of significant rank. But within most other social estates, as the table provided indicates, there was also a sizeable gap between the average values of Christian and Muslim properties. Only at the lowest levels of society did this effect disappear.

¹⁶ K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 19.

¹⁷ Over 300 properties were valued at either 200 or 250 rubles, with no values in-between. Therefore the difference in median values cannot be considered highly significant.

Another lens through which this dataset can be viewed is that of gender. We have already seen that women in Kazan had the legal right to own property and participate in the economic life of the city. Of course, in practice women still faced significant social, cultural, and familial barriers to accessing commercial and employment opportunities, which significantly disadvantaged them in amassing their own capital. Nevertheless, women did factor significantly in the Kazan property survey, owning a total of 21% of the properties listed. Of these women, 45% were widows; virtually all the rest were married, with only a handful of unmarried adult women owning property. Judging by property values, at least some women participated at all levels of the city’s economic hierarchy. Particularly striking is the fact that the average value of property owned by Christian women was roughly equal to that of men—thus highlighting the extent to which many elite women owned extremely valuable real estate. Among Muslims the situation was markedly different. In the city’s Islamic communities, women owned only 13% of the properties, and their average valuation was less than half that of men. Thus a pattern that saw Muslims shut out of the highest rungs of the economic ladder held doubly true for Muslim women. As with religion, however, such discrepancies disappeared at the lower and middle ranks of society. The median property value for Christian women was 250, and that of Muslim women was 200, indicating that beyond the sphere of the well-to-do, gender had no strong correlation to household wealth. The single major exception to this rule arises in the case of Christian widows. For them (but, interestingly, not for Muslim widows), we find a higher likelihood of impoverishment, with the median property value dipping to 100 rubles, far below the city norm.

Average Value of Property	
Christians	
Men	1823
Women	1805
Muslims	
Men	949
Women	433

In addition to statistical analysis, these tax registers also provide the data necessary to undertake a detailed spatial analysis of the city. Within each of the three ward registers, the properties are listed in sequential order, following along streets or around blocks. Groups of these properties are situated by reference to some combination of: neighborhoods; streets or cross-streets; landmarks such as public buildings, markets, and churches; and geographical features like rivers and hills. Between the three reports, there is some variance in the quality of the information conveyed—the first ward survey, in particular, organizes the properties into smaller groups, with more specific locational detail. For all three of the wards, however, it is possible to pinpoint each group of properties to a particular physical area, typically consisting of a few city blocks, by cross-referencing the description against a detailed city map from 1817 (Figure 15¹⁸). Such analysis is not foolproof, since the limited number and clarity of the landmarks provided leaves some room for interpretation and ambiguity. Nevertheless, the contemporary map and the tax register together provide a hybrid statistical and spatial view of the city that merits a high degree of confidence.

For this project, these geocoded tax records have been exported into a GIS system to generate a dynamic map of the city, in which various statistical metrics can be combined and rendered in a color-coded manner. The resulting visualizations can be used to explore a number of different questions. We could start, for example, with the very straightforward task of discovering what parts of the city contained the most desirable properties. The results, determined by mapping median property values (Figure 17), hold relatively few surprises—as might be expected, the most valuable properties (dark blue) were clustered in the city core, around the *kreml*. Yet this map also contains a few items of note. It highlights the significant

¹⁸ “Karta Kazani 1817 goda,” *Retromap*, accessed June 30, 2014, <http://retromap.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?t=5069>.

premiums attached to industrial properties (east of the city, along the Kazanka, and south, between the Old and New Tatar Neighborhoods), and to commercial water access along the Bulak Canal. It also illustrates the concentrated poverty of the cloth factory district (south-east edge of town), Admiralty (detached to the west), and the other suburban neighborhoods.

Another important question is whether the city's confessional dividing lines were as starkly drawn as observers tended to assert at the time. A map displaying Muslim ownership (Figure 18), aligns fairly well with this basic picture of two peoples living apart: property owned by the city's Muslims (magenta) was indeed tightly clustered in a few locations. Yet here, too, there are nuances to be found. Contemporary sources, for example, often cited the *gostinnyi dvor* as a domain of cultural mingling, which this map confirms. But less well documented is the mixed ownership visible in a number of other commercial areas, including the factories west of Lake Kaban, Haymarket Square, and the properties along the Bulak. Similarly, descriptions of the Admiralty suburb have varied rather widely, with some highlighting the role of Tatars and others eliding it.¹⁹ The map provides a picture which is complementary, and in some ways more precise. It shows that Muslims were a distinct minority in this area, with their property ownership highly concentrated near Zhirovka Street, in the Bishbalta section—evidence which points toward the conclusion that Admiralty replicated Kazan's cultural and spatial dynamics, on a smaller scale.

A third avenue of inquiry is to ask whether gendered patterns of ownership were consistent across all parts of the city, or followed their own distinctive spatial dynamics. A map highlighting female-owned properties (Figure 19) reveals that there was indeed a great deal of

¹⁹ Compare, for example, Iuliia Vladimirovna Mansurova, "Kazanskaia Admiralteiskaia sloboda v XVIII-XIX vv.," (Kandidat diss., Institut Istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani, 2002), 83-110 with Renat Bikbulatov and Rafael Mustafin, *Kazan i ee slobody* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Zaman, 2001), 133-136.

variation in patterns of gendered ownership. Within several neighborhoods that were reasonably self-contained and homogenous by property value (such as Admiralty, the cloth factory district, suburban Grivka, or the area immediately east of the *kremi*), there were some blocks or sections that had a much higher degree of female ownership (darker shade of grey) than others. The substantial participation of women in the soapmaking business and their relative absence from the tanning trade was reflected by the much higher level of female ownership along the west bank of the Bulak, as compared to that in the outlying industrial zones. Particularly striking was the extent to which women were excluded from the city center, and their contrasting dominance in the growing neighborhoods on the city's eastern outskirts. This kind of variability demonstrates that the economic, social, cultural and familial forces which determined real-estate ownership were subject to a significant gendered component.

Visualizing multiple statistical metrics in combination poses greater interpretive challenges, but offers powerful analytical opportunities in return. One topic we can investigate in this manner is how well social status correlated with property values (and, by inference, wealth). A map color-coding social rank and median valuations (Figure 20; city center detail: Figure 21) demonstrates that while there was a significant degree of correspondence between the two, there were also some important points of variance. Areas where the two metrics matched closely appear neutral—white, grey or black. Where social rank tended to outstrip property values, the city blocks are shaded toward green. This was the case in large sections of the Old and New Tatar Neighborhoods, where many Muslim merchants and townsmen held property worth relatively less than that of their Russian peers in other parts of the city. But similar conditions also held true in the city's eastern neighborhoods, where numbers of middling functionaries, widows, and retired officials lived in comparatively shabby circumstances despite attaining the

rank of nobility. Conversely, where valuation exceeded social status, the map veers toward purple. This is particularly evident along the central streets of Prolomnaia and Voznesenskaia, which ran parallel to the Bulak on its eastern side. In these blocks, which had some of the highest valuations in the city, prosperous townsmen owned between a quarter and a half of all the property, despite being no more than simple tradespeople in the empire's social imagination.

One of the most basic yet revealing insights to emerge from the combination of different statistical measures is simply how diverse Kazan's urban landscape was. Any single metric—whether it be confessional affiliation or property value, gender or social estate—generally varied across the urban space according to some discernable pattern. When multiple statistics are layered one atop the other, however, it becomes evident how loosely correlated they were. The result of this was that each neighborhood, and even each block, featured its own unique combination of these measures, and thus its own composite character. A sense of this variability can be gained by zooming in to look at social status, gender, and religion in the Admiralty neighborhood (Figure 22). Even though this suburb was marked throughout by low property values and a lower-class character, it unfolds in rainbow hues when considered according to these three metrics. Areas of high Muslim ownership (cyan) stand out clearly, yet these zones were not uniform; and even beyond the discrete Islamic quarter there were other small pockets of Muslim ownership which contribute to shadings of blue and lavender. Meanwhile, although Admiralty was dominated by former and current military personnel and their families, and so skewed male, approximately ten percent of the property owners were women (yellow). In lower-class, Christian areas this yellow shows through, but in other spots it adds to green and orange tones. And finally, although Admiralty had extremely few merchants and nobles, it was home to some townsmen and many low-ranking officers, which allowed for meaningful variations in

social status (magenta). By bringing these statistics together, this sort of map provides powerful evidence that even in a small, poor, and seemingly homogenous suburb like Admiralty, residents' immediate environs and daily experiences varied widely from block to block. This was a pattern that held true across Kazan writ-large, and one that serves to inject an appropriate note of caution into broad generalizations about life in the city.

Figure 13: Satsyperov map of Kazan, 1730

[Plan of Kazan, 1730], *Kazanskii Kartograf: Kary Kazani i Okrestnostei*, accessed February 24, 2012, <http://tat-map.ru/Kazan/do1917/1730.jpg>

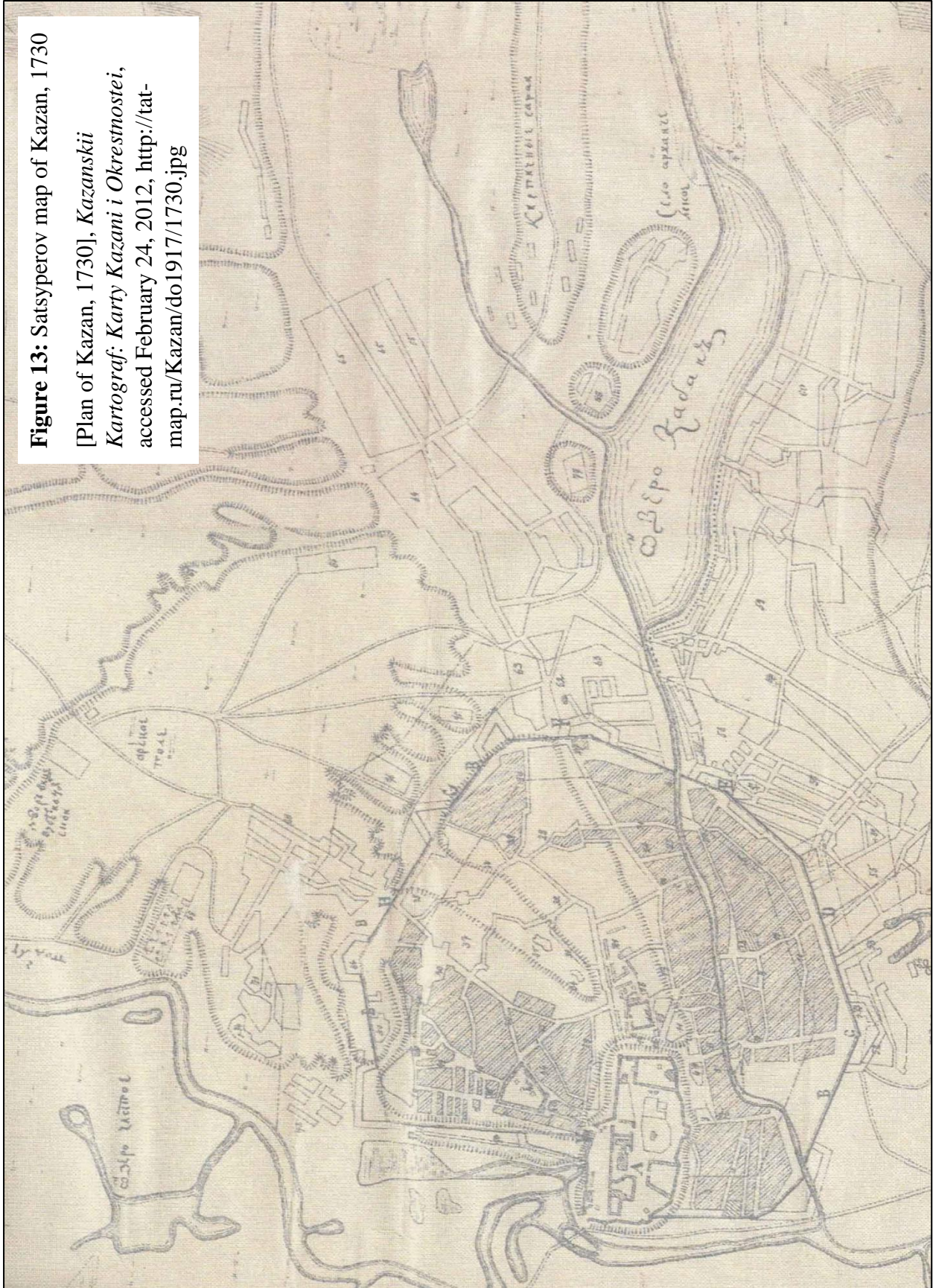


Figure 14: Imperial plan of Kazan as decreed in 1768.

Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda (1st series), *Kniga chertezhei i risunkov* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1839), 113

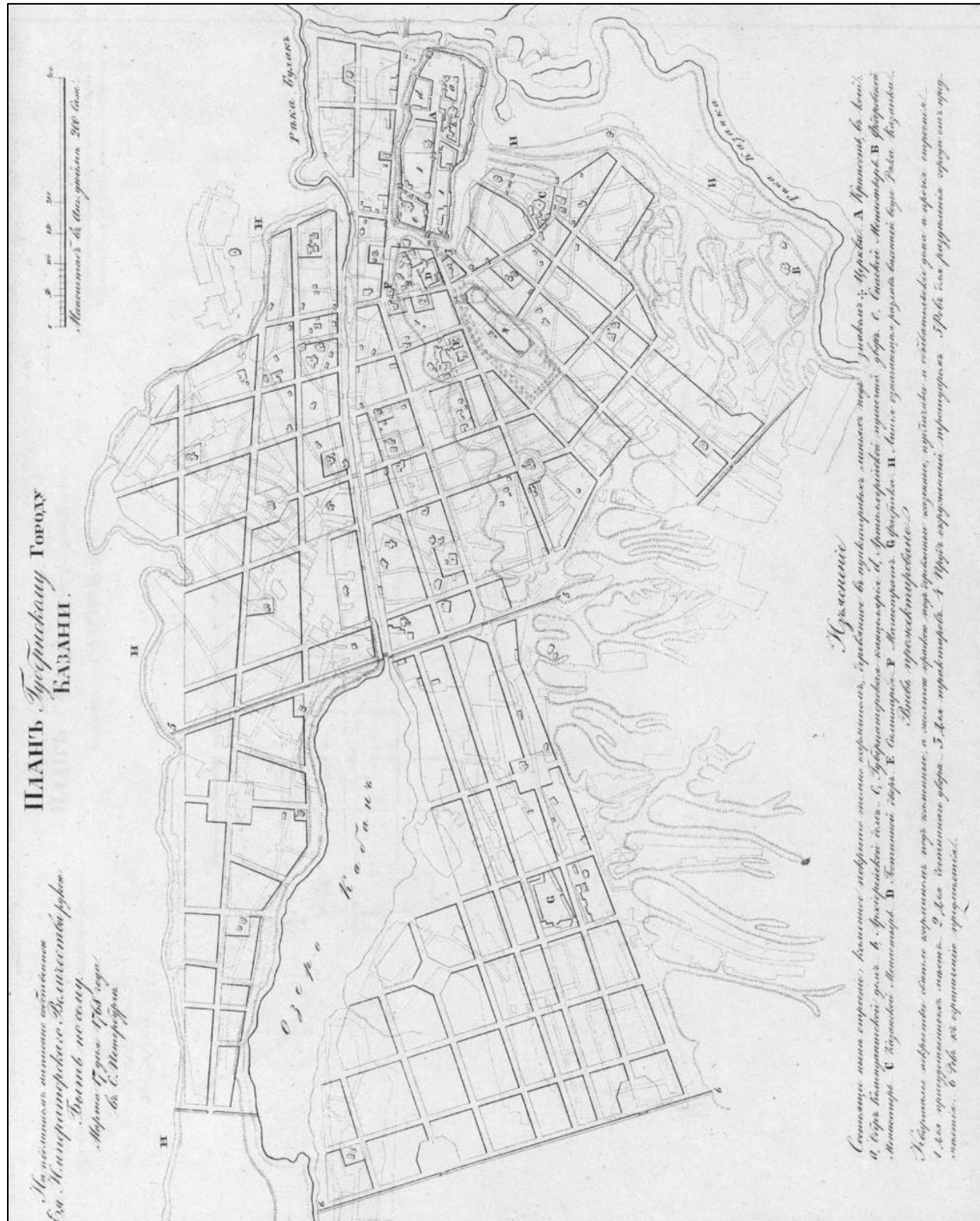


Figure 15: Map of Kazan, 1817

“Karta Kazani 1817 goda,” *Retromap*, accessed June 30, 2014, <http://retromap.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?t=5069>

This map was used as a primary reference in the geocoding of the property tax data and design of the electronic map of Kazan, ca. 1819.

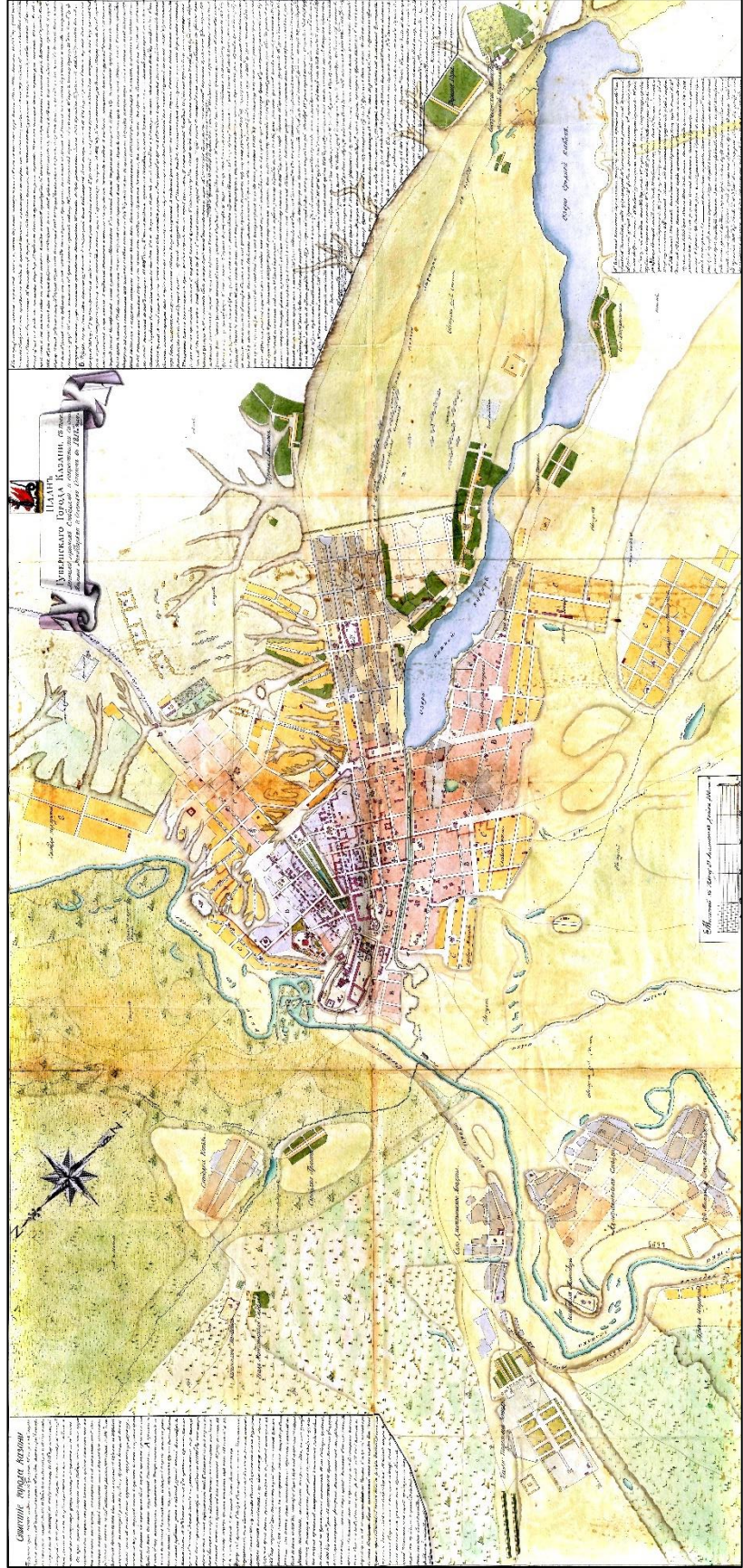


Figure 16: Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of City Wards

The first ward is marked in off-white, the second in pink, and the third in red.

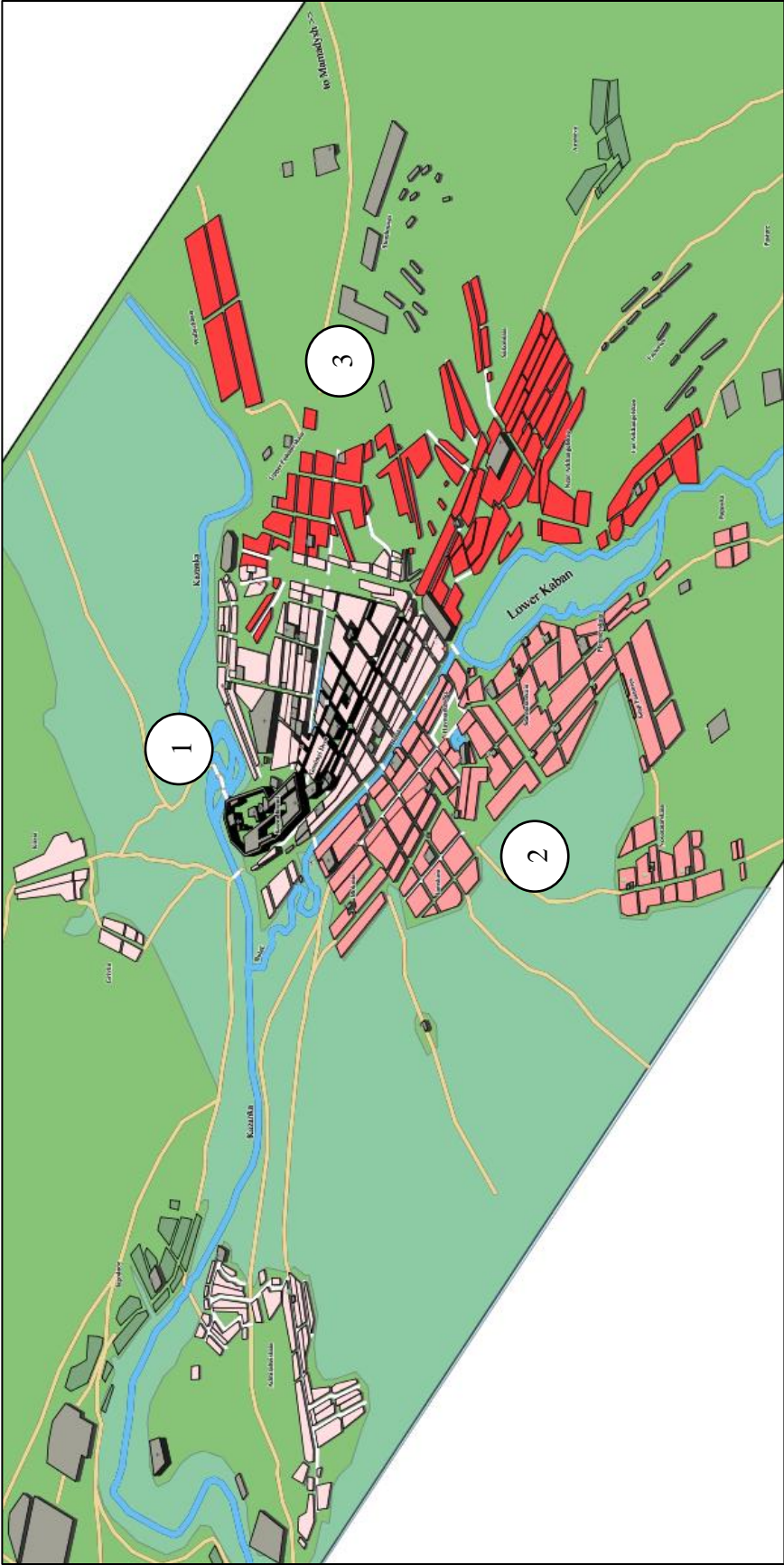


Figure 17: Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of Median Property Value (blue)

This map shows the median property value within each block of properties. High-value properties were concentrated in the downtown, and the industrial areas on the edges of town. The Tatar neighborhoods and Russian areas south of the Bulak, as well as the newer areas northeast of the city center had middling valuations, and the low end properties were located in the cloth factory district, Admiralty, and the other suburban neighborhoods.

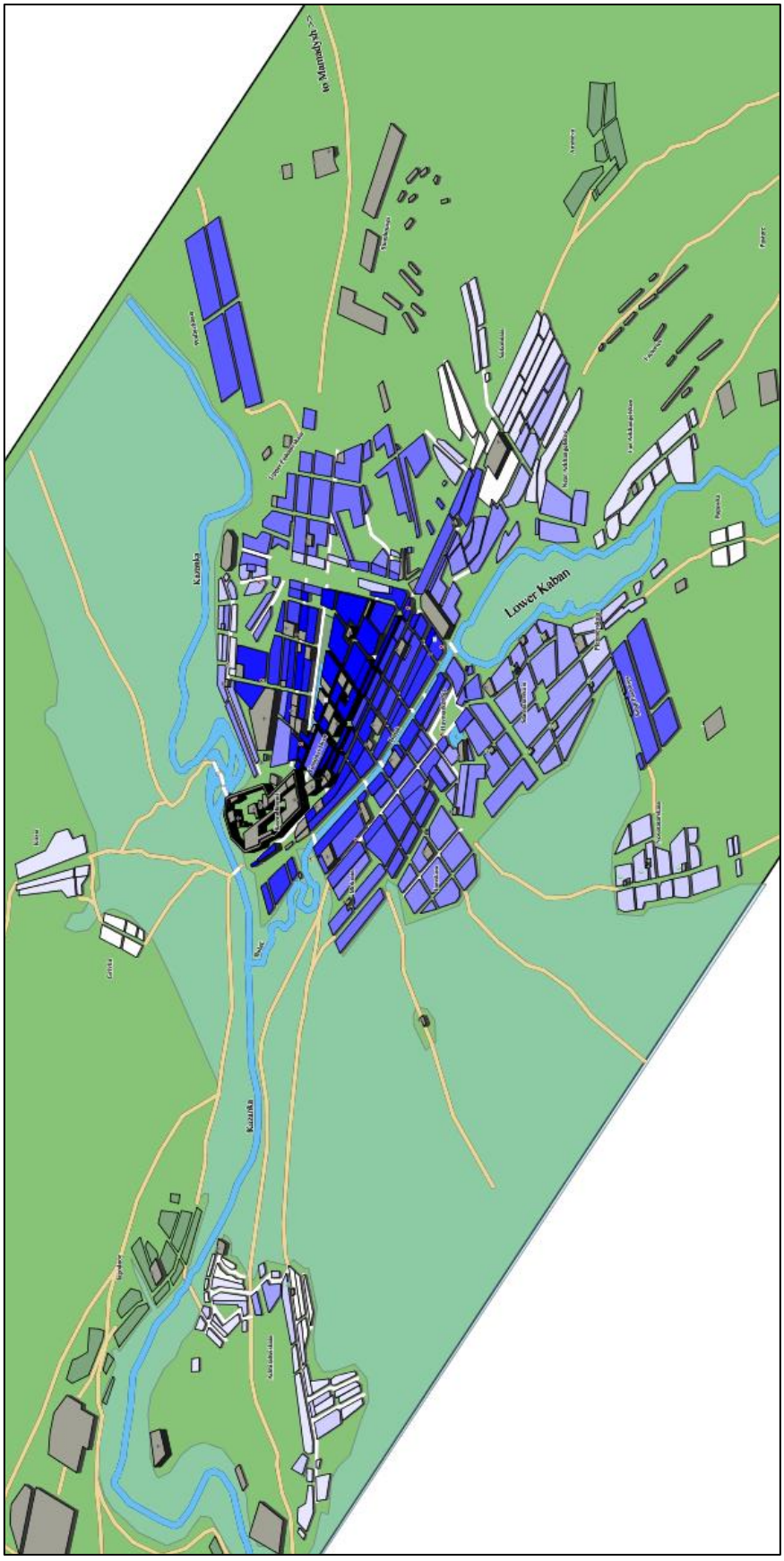


Figure 18: Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of Muslim Ownership (magenta)

These property tax records provided a way to test the idea that Kazan was spatially divided between Muslims and Christians. It confirmed that, to a great extent, property ownership was segregated. Even within mixed areas, co-religionists tended to be concentrated together. Among the most mixed areas were the commercial and industrial zones, the Admiralty suburb, and the boundary area in the second ward.

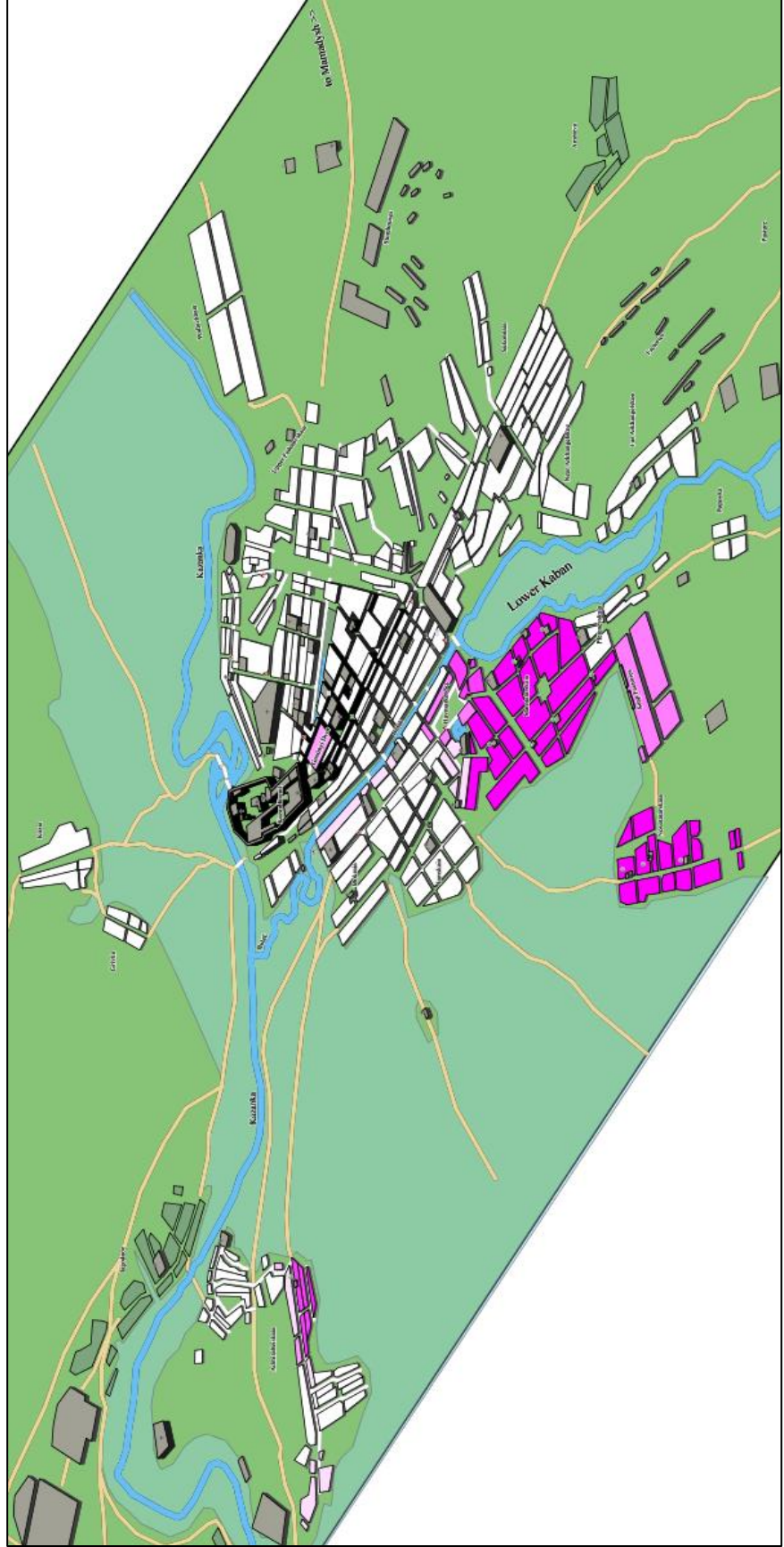


Figure 19: Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of Female Ownership (grey)

Gendered patterns of ownership were much less well defined than confessional patterns. In virtually no area of the city did women own more than fifty percent of the properties (these are shown by the darker shades of grey). Women were relatively excluded from the city center, but did have a significant ownership stake in the commercial district south of the Bulak. Still, the highest concentration of female ownership was in newer portions of town to the north and east

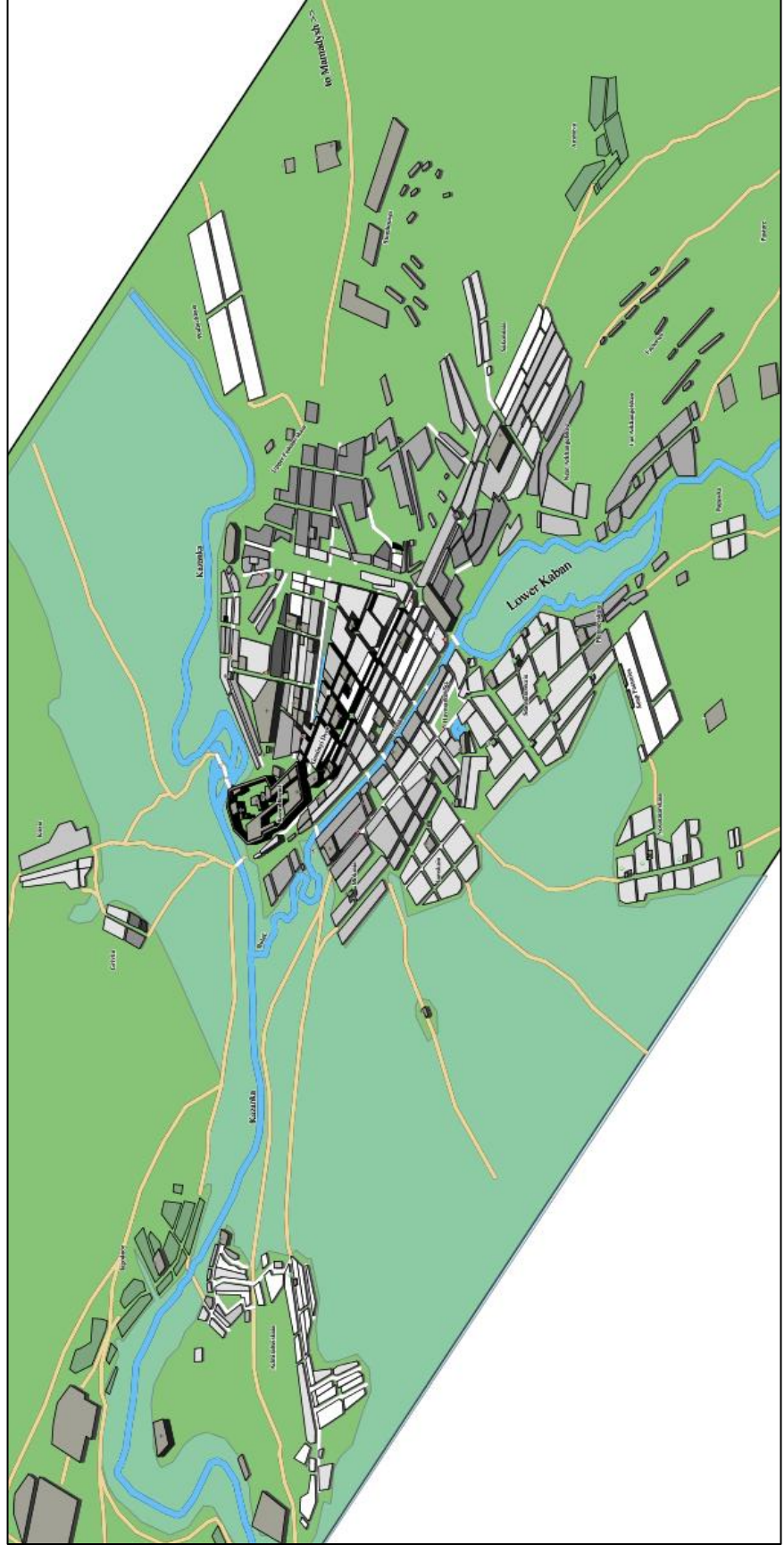


Figure 20: Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of Social Status (green) vs. Median Property Value (magenta)

This map compares social estate (broadly sorted into the categories of elites, upper-class, middle-class and lower-class) against median property values. In places with a neutral color, ranging from grey to black, the two aligned. In areas shaded toward green, the owners had a relatively high social station relative to their wealth. In areas shaded toward purple, the opposite was true: the owners possessed a greater degree of property wealth than their social station might have indicated.

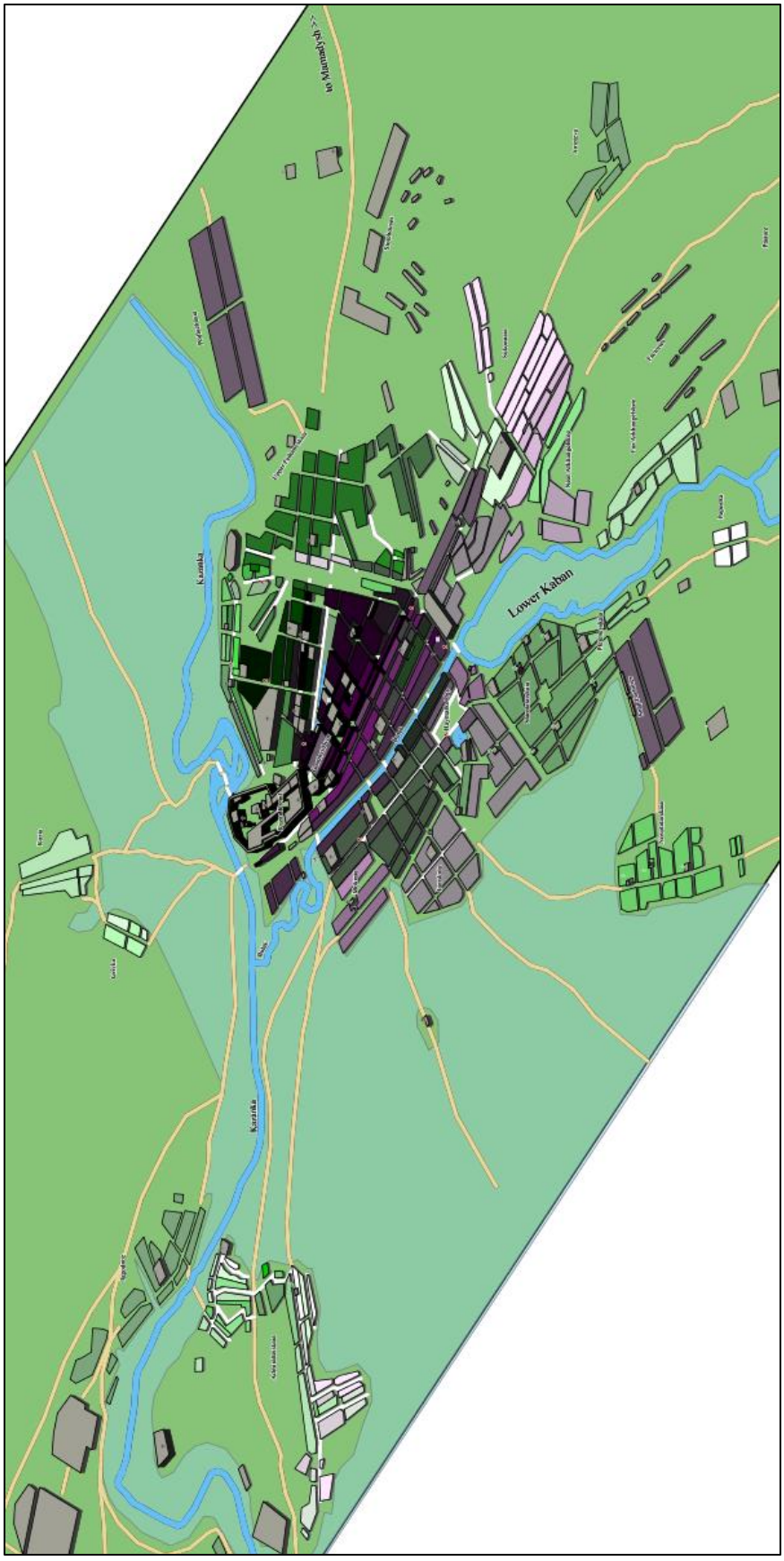


Figure 21. Kazan, ca. 1819: Map of Social Status (green) vs. Median Property Value (magenta) - Detail
Identical query, focused in on the city center.

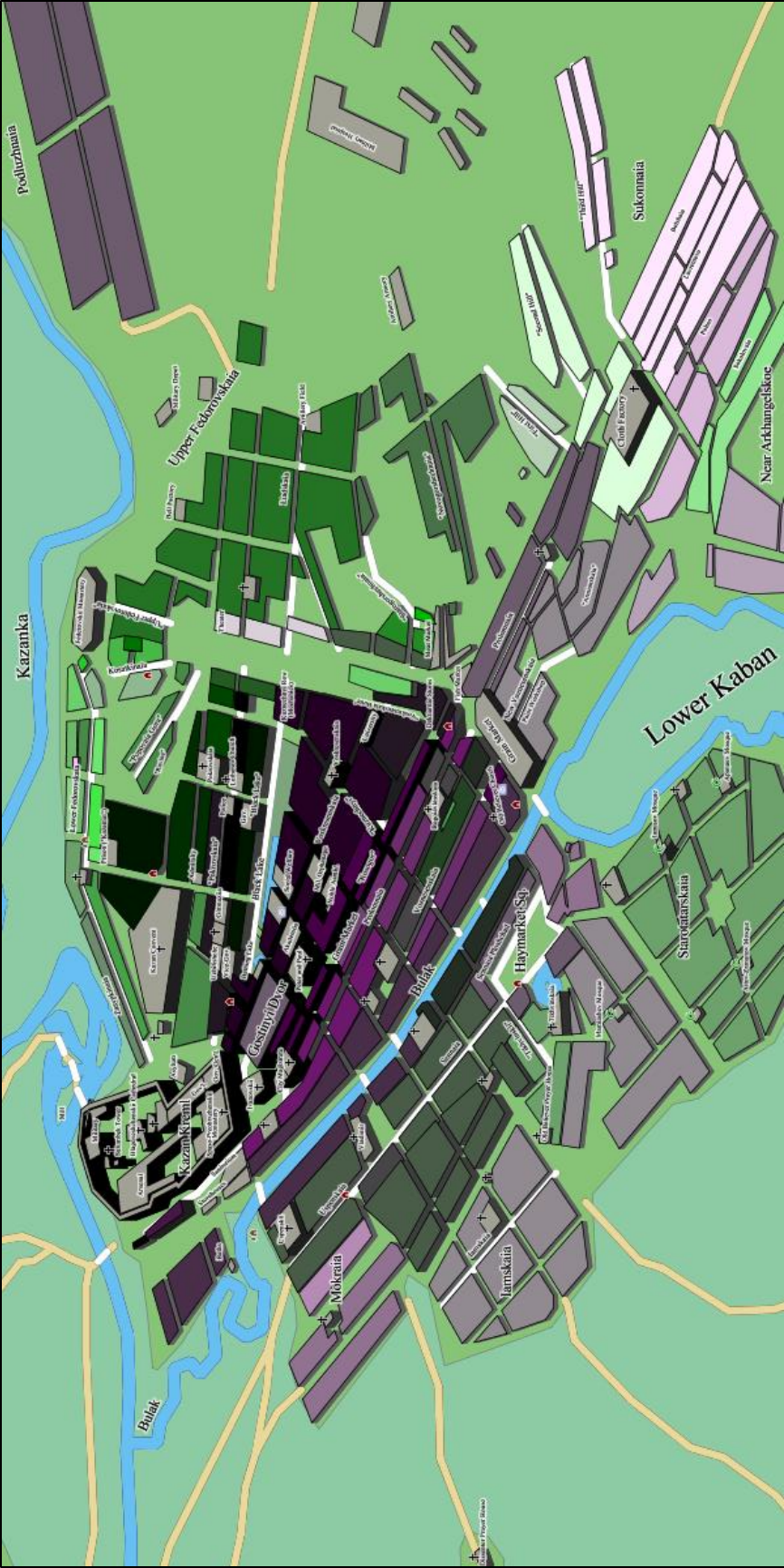
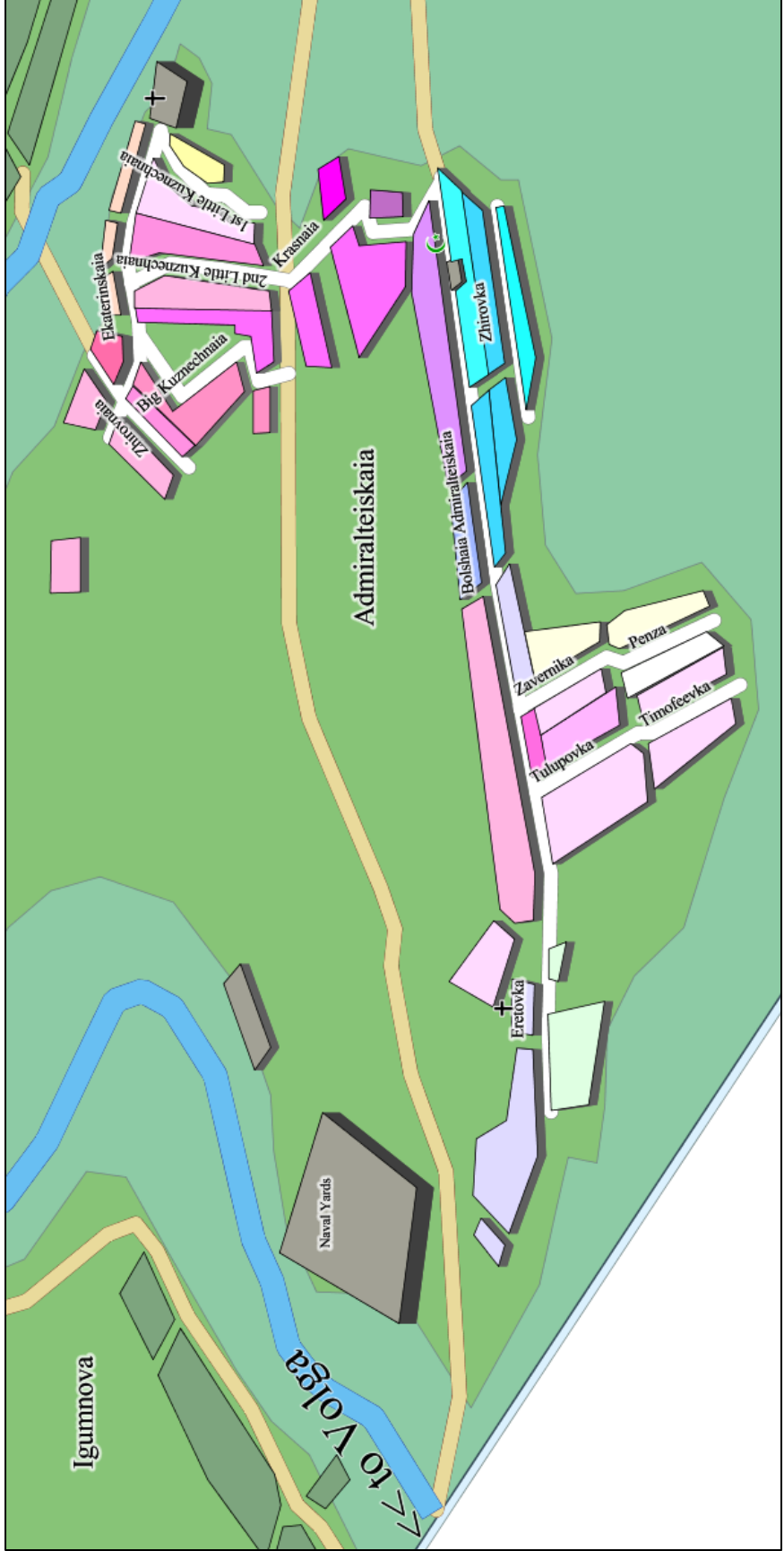


Figure 22: Admiralty Suburb, ca. 1819: Map of Muslim Ownership (cyan), Social Status (magenta) and Female Ownership (yellow)

The Admiralty neighborhood was, in its own right, an incredibly diverse space. It was poor—the property owners were low ranking army officers, retired soldiers and government laborers. Still, it boasted a fair amount of female ownership and a sizeable Muslim population. Here, Kazan’s pattern of confessional segregation was reproduced. On the other hand, the area contained a high degree of variation when considered on more than that single metric.



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Chapter 2: Serving the Public Interest

Ever since its reestablishment after the conquest, Kazan had faced the usual challenges of cities in the pre-industrial age. Most visible were the moments when the city was wracked by crisis—epidemics of plague or smallpox; or the fires that posed a constant menace to Russia’s wood-reliant construction. But even in the good times, prosaic decisions still had to be made as to what could be built where, how to ensure people and goods could move through the city, and how to mediate the conflicting agendas of people living in close proximity. Thus Kazan had always had public spaces, infrastructure projects, and urban initiatives, even if often in rudimentary form. Until the last years of the eighteenth century, however, the regulation of city life was directed entirely by state administrators, in accordance with the needs of the state first, the preferences of local bureaucrats second, and the interests of private residents only as an afterthought. Long experience had accustomed residents to working within this framework—so that while it was true that individuals and groups were always striving to push the boundaries of the system in pursuit of particular advantages, and also that the state was simply unconcerned with large areas of daily life and left them unregulated, nevertheless most residents accepted and expected that imperial officials would take the initiative when it came to directing collective action on behalf of the city.

In the early nineteenth century, however, two factors came together to disrupt this long-standing status quo in Kazan. First, the empire itself, inspired by Enlightenment-era visions of civic engagement, as well as the bottom-line costs and complexities of metropolitan administration, created new elected institutions of local governance in Russia’s cities. The intent behind these institutions was to coopt private citizens into taking on more responsibility for the minutia of urban management. Once created, however, they gained a life of their own, offering

new avenues for local engagement and initiative to Kazan merchants who were so inclined. And second, the city faced emerging problems of a practical nature. Many of these problems were rooted in simple urban growth, following patterns that could be observed in cities around the world at this time. Though Kazan's population might rise or fall substantially from year to year, the trend-line throughout the nineteenth century was tilted sharply upward. In total, the number of inhabitants more than doubled between 1800 and 1850, a climb of over 130% that was driven by the increasing bulk of the state apparatus, the demands of Kazan's far-flung trading empires, and the rising tide of industrial entrepreneurialism in the city. Behind all these population statistics lay the movement of people, and the upending of personal, familial, and communal relationships. And the difficulties of growth and dislocation were, in turn, further compounded by long-standing local complications such as flooding, fire, and disease.

This chapter will describe how Kazan's merchant-politicians navigated these new opportunities and demands. In the early years, local leaders had to learn how to provide basic urban services effectively, and how to communicate and defend their priorities against imperial interference. Such experience had to be gained on the job, often through trial and error. As this basic competence was achieved, however, they were able to turn their attention to larger questions about what constituted local interests, and what services it was necessary, appropriate, and desirable for the city to provide to its residents. Gradually, over the course of decades, civic-minded private citizens began to play a role as well, helping to steer the agenda of the city's councilors and spur them to action. Taken together, it is a story which demonstrates that residents' turn toward the city was never just a visionary exercise pursued by intellectuals. Kazan's merchants were practical people, and although they did not create the institutions of local governance, they saw their potential, and breathed life into them. Building on this

foundation, a growing number of residents began to express new expectations for the city, coming to view it as a source of viable solutions to tangible civic needs that had been left unmet by the imperial state.

In seeking to define and deliver municipal services, local leaders also increasingly chose to frame their efforts as service to their fellow residents [*sograzhdane*] or to the public good [*blago obshchestva*]. This was a particularly noteworthy development, given Ekaterina Pravilova's finding that in the elite salons of the capitals during this same period, imperial intellectuals were beginning to debate the nature of the "private," "state," and "public" spheres, and the ideal relations between them.¹ Clearly these two phenomena bore some relation to each other, but they should not be equated. The erudite debates of St. Petersburg and Moscow were not reproduced by the residents of Kazan, whose thinking on the subject remained rather basic and down-to-earth. In this sense, it would be a stretch to claim Kazan as showing evidence of a "public sphere," in the manner intended by Jürgen Habermas², or a politically-aware "bourgeois class" as understood by Eric Hobsbawm³ Ultimately, however, it is unnecessary to draw rigorous parallels to Western Europe or to make broad claims about the nature of civil society in Kazan, in order to assert the significance of the change taking place there. This pronounced shift in the

¹ Ekaterina Pravilova, *A Public Empire: Property and the Quest for the Common Good in Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 35-52.

² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). In the late-imperial Russian context, see also: Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow and James L. West eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 367; Joseph Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 4 (Oct., 2002): 1094-1097; Lutz Häfner, "'The Temple of Idleness': Associations and the Public Sphere in Provincial Russia: A Case Study of Saratov, 1800-1917," in *Russia in the European Context, 1789-1914: A Member of the Family*, Susan P. McCaffray and Michael Melancon eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 143; Nigel A. Raab, *Democracy Burning? Urban Fire Departments and the Limits of Civil Society in Late Imperial Russia, 1850-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 11-18.

³ E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Making of a 'Bourgeois Revolution'," *Social Research*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 5-31. See also: Clowes, Kassow and West eds., *Between Tsar and People*, 3-11.

rhetoric and policies of local leaders—away from an eighteenth-century approach centered on the rights and perquisites of specific imperial estates, and toward a focus on serving, at least in principle, ‘society,’ ‘fellow citizens,’ and the ‘public good’—signaled a sea-change in thinking about the city and its potentials. And although this change was undoubtedly connected with contemporary Russian and pan-European intellectual discourse, it was also closely associated in Kazan with the developing practice of everyday governance.

Yet, if this is in some ways a narrative of greater local assertiveness and public-mindedness, then it remains also a tale of how profoundly intertwined civic advocacy and imperial rule actually were, and how imperial institution-building and local habits could combine to reinforce, rather than undermine, ascribed social and cultural categories. There is certainly irony in the fact that the elected governing bodies set up by the empire might so quickly turn around and sabotage particular imperial directives; yet, as this chapter will show, it would be simplistic to posit the relationship between local self-government and the provincial administration as oppositional. These were separate institutional systems, each of which had its own interests, but also had the capacity to aid and legitimize the other, and this often how they operated in practice. And far and away the most striking irony to this story is how completely and unselfconsciously the new city government sidelined and disempowered the city’s largest minority group, Kazan’s Muslim Tatars. When it created these governing institutions, the imperial administration reflexively divided them along the existing confessional boundaries. And as self-government began to operate—despite the fact that civic leaders and simple laborers and contractors alike proved perfectly able to work together across cultural boundaries when necessary—few residents gave any evident thought to challenging the basic primacy of this categorizational system. The result was to discourage the involvement of local Tatars in the

executive functions of self-governance, robbing them of equal access to city resources, channeling their civic impulses toward inward-looking private and communal activities, and undermining the potential benefits that all might have enjoyed had Kazan's governing institutions been organized with the capacity to undertake truly inclusive citywide initiatives.

Implementing the Imperial Vision of Local Governance

Local governance came to Kazan as part of a package of urban and provincial reforms undertaken by Catherine II. The goal of that larger project was to rationalize and reorganize Russia's cities and towns, and it would culminate in the Charter to the Cities in 1785. In the case of Kazan, however, the critical changes were introduced a few years earlier, with the provincial reform decree of 1781.⁴ The reform was embodied, first and foremost, by the city council, or Duma. Organizationally the Duma was paired with the City Magistrate—a local juridical institution that nominally dated back to the reforms of Peter I, but which was now entirely reorganized. Together these establishments were intended to provide a measure of self-government to the city's 'Russian' community.⁵ A third institution was also created by these reforms, the Tatar Ratusha. The Ratusha was conceptualized as an analogue to the Duma and Magistrate for Kazan's Tatars; however, as a practical matter, its activities were largely limited to the judicial sphere.⁶ There were several reasons for this. Both imperial officials and members of the Russian majority in the city were hesitant to share tax revenues with the Muslim minority;

⁴ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevits, 1848), 30-31.

⁵ N. P. Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii dorevoliutsionnoi Rossii* (Moscow: Tretii Rim, 1997), 121-123. For more information on the pre-Petrine administrative history of Kazan, which laid the groundwork for the system that prevailed through most of the eighteenth century, see: Matthew P. Romaniello, *The Elusive Empire: Kazan and the Creation of Russia, 1552-1671* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012).

⁶ Bakhtiiar Izmailov, "Kazanskaia Tatarskaia ratusha (1781-1855 gg.)," (Kandidat diss., Mardzhani Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Tatarstan, 2009), 77-80.

as one Ratusha member noted succinctly in 1819, “[the Tatar Ratusha] has had none of the city revenues, and has had no benefit from them.”⁷ Then, too, the governance of the city as an integrated economic and spatial whole was not a task that lent itself to the confessional silos that the state sought to maintain. Finally, Tatar Muslim culture and custom tended to privilege the role of private philanthropy and patronage over that of governing institutions in ensuring civic and social well-being. The result was that there was no real Tatar executive function in the city during the period covered by this study, although, as we will see, the responsibilities of the Duma were matched to some degree by private initiatives undertaken by prominent Tatar community leaders.

Sweeping reforms such as these required urban dwellers to modify their existing practices in significant ways; as a consequence, the implementation of the project encountered substantial delays and resistance in cities across Russia. Even when the new institutions of local self-governance did begin to function, moreover, they remained firmly subordinated to the provincial governor or county executive, in accordance with supremacy of autocratic and imperial authority in the Russian state. Traditionally historians have tended to view this arrangement as essentially dysfunctional, a view articulated in its most acute form by Alfred Rieber, who dismissed the institution of the City Duma as a “vestigial appendage of the central [state] bureaucracy.”⁸ More recently, historian Aleksandr Kupriianov has been in the forefront of those disputing this interpretation, arguing that as a practical matter, “power in the city was shared between officials and the upper ranks of the city’s elected self-government, and for the most part responded

⁷ L. M. Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo: Sotsialno-ekonomicheskii portret, kon. XVIII-nach. XX v.* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 273-274.

⁸ Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 15.

remarkably well to the realities of provincial life.”⁹ Building on Kupriianov’s insight, this chapter will demonstrate that not only did city merchants gain access to the levers of local power through the institutions of self-government, but that the very process of governing opened up new fields of activity for those merchants—teaching them to become more effective at coordinating and implementing local action, and fostering among them substantive and actionable conceptions of the public interest.

The scope of local self-government, as embodied in Kazan by the Duma, Magistracy, and Ratusha, encompassed many parts of city life, including the assessment of local fees and taxes, the regulation of local trade, the oversight and upkeep of the urban infrastructure, and the resolution of civil and financial disputes between residents. The Duma consisted of six councilors [*glasnye*], elected to three year terms. One councilor, designated as mayor [*gorodskaia glava*], served as the Duma’s chief spokesman and public face. Other members oversaw the accounting of public funds, authorized public outlays, and took charge of specific projects or tasks at the direction of the body. Councilors were drawn from the city’s merchant estate [*kupecheskoe soslovie*], elected by the estate’s representative body [the *kupecheskoe obshchestvo*], and confirmed by the provincial governor.¹⁰ As we have seen, the merchant estate was a fluid one, with membership dictated by the possession of sufficient personal wealth to merit inclusion, along with the willingness to subject such wealth to state taxation in exchange for the benefits that membership in the estate conveyed. Families regularly moved between the

⁹ A. I. Kupriianov, *Gorodskaia kultura Russkoi provintsii: konets XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX veka* (Moscow: Novyi Khronograf, 2007), 209-210.

¹⁰ Boris Mironov, *A Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*, vol. 1 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 381-388; Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii*, 121-123.

ranks of merchants and townsmen as their financial fortunes rose or fell.¹¹ Thus the Duma—like most other urban governing bodies across time and space—was made up of local economic elites, whose political decisions were likely to support their own interests and their favored position, but whose commercial, social, familial, and emotional ties to the larger metropolitan community tended to soften the hard edges of parochialism and self-interest.

The introduction of local governance seems to have been just as gradual and uneven in Kazan as elsewhere in Russia. The records for this period are sketchy, but a pair of imperial senators reported in 1787 that they “could not find a City Duma anywhere in Kazan Province.”¹² Despite these teething problems, however, the system had settled into a sustainable equilibrium by the early 1800s. The triennial election of councilors generated little comment, and the records of the Duma, the Magistracy, the Governor’s Chancery, and contemporary observers offered few reports of councilors shirking or evading their responsibilities (something that was much more common in other cities¹³). Though the fates of the city’s merchant elite regularly ebbed and flowed, their makeup remained constant enough on a year to year basis to maintain a reasonable

¹¹ Although the current study does not concur with Alfred Rieber’s overarching argument that Russia’s merchants before the industrialization of the late nineteenth century were “passive and submissive,” “paralyzed,” and “hesitant to take collective action,” his research does outline many of the concerns merchants shared as a social group, and points to the high degree of mobility into and out of the estate during this period: see in particular: Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs*, 20, 23-24, 29-32, 49-50. Mironov’s *Russkii gorod* expands on the question of social mobility in Russia’s cities with considerable statistical detail. Mironov sees the extent of mobility within urban estates as considerable, albeit the “tendency to increasing social movement... was not linear but cyclical.” For example, regarding the townsman [*meshchanin*] estate: B. N. Mironov, *Russkii gorod v 1740-1860e gody* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1990), 154-160.

¹² E. P. Lezina, “Vlast na mestakh: Formirovanie sistemy voevodskogo upravleniia v Mordovskom krae v XVII-XVIII vekakh,” in *Krestianin v miru i no voine: Sbornik materialov III Merkushtinskikh nauchnykh chtenii*, N. M. Arsentev ed. (Saransk, Russian Federation: Tipografiia Krasnogo Oktiabria, 2005), 251.

¹³ Kupriianov, *Gorodskaiia kultura*, 214-223. For one example from Kazan, of a merchant requesting that his son be excused from service, in recognition of the family’s hardship and his own 28 years of service in various positions, see: I. K. Zagidullin, et al., *Istoriia Kazani v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 125.

degree of continuity in the membership of the Duma and Magistrate. Open quarrels between the Duma and the governor were rare exceptions, rather than the rule.

Yet if the legal parameters and procedural mechanics of Duma rule were consistent throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, institutional correspondence reveals that the assumptions, ambitions, and effectiveness of local leaders were very much in flux over these decades, as they learned practical governing techniques, reached understandings with state officials, took on new projects, and harnessed the energy of an increasingly civic-minded urban population. This chapter will look at two periods in the Duma's history, and for each of those periods at a particular issue that consumed an outsized share of the Duma's attention at the time. First, it will examine the Duma's struggles with the city's transportation infrastructure in and around the decade between 1810 and 1820, including specific crises involving local bridges, docks, and ferries. Second, it will look at the Duma's involvement during the 1840s in the creation of the city's first public house of charity, serving impoverished elderly and disabled citizens. Together, these two episodes help to chart a trajectory of local governance in the first half of the nineteenth century that bent toward greater managerial effectiveness, increasing independence from the state, provision of a wider array of city services, and the engagement of a more public-spirited populace. Finally, however, the chapter will contrast both these episodes against comparable private initiatives within the Tatar community. The result is to show that Tatar leaders in the city shared many of the same impulses and capacities as its Russian councilors, but also to emphasize how imperial difference was maintained and reinforced by the institutional structures and practices of self-government.

The Struggle to Keep Kazan Moving

Kazan was a city whose rhythms and patterns of life had always been shaped by water. The confluence of the Volga, Kazanka, and Bulak rivers made the city an ideal regional transportation hub, but they also impeded everyday movement around town, threatening to divide the growing Kazan into a conglomeration of isolated neighborhoods. These issues were exacerbated by the seasonal flooding of the Kazanka, which turned the lazy river into a maze of lakes and swamps a mile or more across. As a result, one of the first challenges that the City Duma took up in the first part of the nineteenth century was the maintenance and development of the city's transportation infrastructure—particularly its bridges, docks, and ferries.

The basic challenges entailed were, of course, nothing new to residents of Kazan at the turn of the nineteenth century; in fact the city had centuries of experience in dealing with river and flood. What was new was how the response to Kazan's transportation needs was organized and led. Traditionally, responsibility for such tasks had rested with the province's imperial administration, and was understood chiefly as a matter of security and military preparedness.¹⁴ Even as the particular forms of imperial rule changed over the course of several centuries, this basic pattern persisted in Kazan, right up to the provincial reorganization of 1781.¹⁵ When the City Duma was founded, however, local transportation was one of the items that fell under its portfolio. Because few of the Duma's records survive from before 1806, the council's initial efforts to maintain the city's transportation infrastructure remain somewhat obscure. As we will see, later records indicate that the Duma had taken over the tasks of providing bridges, docks, and ferries before 1806, and perhaps as early as the 1790s. Given the venerable history of

¹⁴ Romaniello, *The Elusive Empire*, 60-62.

¹⁵ Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii*, 105-107.

imperial control in the city and the scattered historical facts that are available, however, there is every reason to believe that the transfer of authority and responsibility from imperial officials to local politicians involved a good deal of delay and disorder, and that in the early 1800s many details still remained to be ironed out.

This section will focus on three specific incidents that occurred between 1808 and the early 1820s. These episodes demonstrate that transportation-related issues posed significant challenges for the Duma, marking this as a transitional period during which the parameters of the new metropolitan order were still being negotiated. Furthermore, they highlight two distinct sources of uncertainty that the Duma faced as it attempted to navigate these unfamiliar waters. First, the precise scope of the services the Duma was to provide to the city, the division of responsibilities between civic leaders and Tsarist administrators, and the sources of funding were still being hammered out—or to put it another way, a consensus was emerging as to the duties, rhythms, and reach of self-governance in Kazan, but it had not yet fully solidified, and its boundaries were still being questioned and probed. And second, the Duma was still learning how to perform its duties effectively, and to manage its heavy reliance on contracted suppliers, necessitated by the lack of permanent local civil-service institutions. Even as this section describes the obstacles local government faced, however, it will also highlight the ways in which such obstacles were being gradually overcome, so that in time the management of the city's transportation infrastructure would be routinized, and cease to be a central preoccupation for the Duma.

Learning Urban Governance: Maintaining the City's Bridges

The first major transportation challenge the Duma faced arose in 1808, and involved the management of the city's bridges. The incident illustrates the state of self-governance in the early years of the nineteenth century—revealing the procedural mechanisms the Duma used to handle routine tasks, the challenges the Duma faced meeting even basic civic responsibilities, and the extent to which the Duma had not yet established clear boundaries with imperial administrators. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, crossings had existed over the Kazanka River, which separated the city center from important suburban neighborhoods to the north and west.¹⁶ In 1808, the major bridge across the Kazanka was located in a convenient central location, just to the west of the *kreml* (Figure 23¹⁷). However, Kazan's dramatic seasonal changes posed unique challenges in maintaining such a crossing. In winter the bridge was



Figure 23: Floating bridge over the Kazanka

¹⁶ Both the main Kazanka bridge itself *and* the road leading to it are absent in city maps from the 1730s, suggesting that it was built only in the mid-eighteenth century: Artemon Satsyperov, *Kazan s situatsieiu [1739]* [map] (St. Petersburg: Avtolitografiia F. Kremera, ca. 1890).

¹⁷ V. Turin, *Vid Kazanskoi Kreposti* (Moscow?: Lit. A. Iastrebilov, ca. 1834).

unnecessary—the frozen rivers allowed faster and less restricted transit for sleighs and sledges than any road. But with the spring thaw, the breakup of the ice and the torrential floods that followed threatened to carry away any structure over the channel. The solution was to make the bridge removable, constructed of sturdy ropes, beams, and planks that could be moved to safety until the danger subsided.¹⁸

By 1808, oversight of the Kazanka bridge had passed from imperial officials to the City Duma. This was a weighty responsibility, for the bridge played a significant role in ensuring the city's cohesion and economic vitality, and it was a delicate structure requiring ongoing maintenance and attention. The Duma's response to these challenges was to hire a caretaker. In March of 1808, the city contracted with an itinerant peasant from Vladimir province, Maksim Kalintsov, to watch over the bridge for the year. Before the impending ice-break, Kalintsov was to dismantle the bridge and stow the components in a sheltered place safe from fire. During the floods, Kalintsov was tasked with operating sluices and clearing debris, to ensure the bridge's approaches were not undercut by the water, and that the Bulak canal remained clear so that Lake Kaban could continue to drain. Once the waters had receded, Kalintsov was to replace the bridge, making any repairs necessary. For the balance of the year, Kalintsov agreed to maintain a watch over the bridge, "by day and by night." Should any damage accrue to the structure through his negligence, the caretaker was to make all necessary repairs without asking the Duma for materials or labor. Kalintsov's wage for this work was set at 250 rubles, with 100 to be paid in May, and 150 in September.¹⁹ Such compensation, especially in return for only nine months of

¹⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, l. 1.

¹⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 1-1ob.

work, compared very favorably to the annual wage for moderately skilled workers during this era of roughly 50 rubles per year.²⁰

There was nothing in either the negotiations or the contract itself which indicated this was a new innovation. On the contrary it is reasonable to suppose that the Duma engaged a caretaker each year, as a matter of course. The detailed way in which the contract enumerated Kalintsov's duties, the extensive list of dangers that it warned might arise during ice-break and flood, and the care with which it attempted to isolate the Duma's treasury from liability all give the impression of experience earned in the school of hard knocks. The transaction fit a pattern that recurred frequently in the records. The Duma's regular practice was to identify specific projects or tasks, and to assign one of the body's six elected councilors [*glasnye*] to address them. Depending on the nature of the work, the councilor might choose to contract the project out—whether on a per-project, annual, or multi-year basis—or to purchase labor and materials and oversee the work directly. Examined from year to year, it becomes clear that there was a fair bit of continuity in whom the Duma chose to employ for a given type of activity. For example in May 1808, the same year that Kalintsov tended the bridge, the Duma gave out a contract to clear the bridge and the road leading up to it of branches and deadwood. The work went to Ermolai Zimin, a peasant from the village Tsaritsyno *selo*, located just north-east of Kazan. Zimin would perform more work for the Duma in June, hauling building materials. And then in January 1809, at the time of an Orthodox procession, when the Duma again needed someone to remove the ice from the bridge and clear branches from the road, it once more called on Zimin. In a similar fashion, as

²⁰ E. Vishlenkova, S. Malysheva and A. Salnikova, *Kultura povsednevnosti provintsialnogo goroda: Kazan i kazantsy v XIX-XX vekakh* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2008), 121. Regarding wages, however, the data can be hard to reconcile. One potentially contradictory point is that in 1808 councilors were paying 60-80 kopeks per day for manual laborers. This price may have reflected the challenge of attracting occasional workers, however, or a markup paid to the hiring overseer: NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 16ob, 24ob.

we will see, the same individuals often won consecutive contracts to run the city's ferries. It seems that when the councilors found someone they could work with, they were likely to stick with him.²¹

The individuals the Duma chose to hire spanned a wide range of personal and social backgrounds. Zimin and Kalintsov were both peasants—the former owned by the royal family [*udelnyi*] and hailing from the immediate area, the latter noble-owned [*pomeshchichii*] from far off Vladimir province.²² The Duma also routinely hired townsmen and craftsmen, who might come from Kazan itself, nearby villages, or county towns in the province.²³ Among those that the Duma solicited to bid on contracts were the members of the city's Tatar community.²⁴ Most of the individuals who secured sizeable contracts with the Duma, regardless of their background, were entrepreneurs of some substance. As we have seen, Kalintsov's compensation indicated that his position commanded a substantial premium, whether because it entailed particular expertise and responsibility, or required the infusion of additional labor and materials. At a minimum, Kalintsov was expected to possess sufficient funds to support himself until the Duma made its payments in May and September (and in fact Kalintsov didn't actually receive the last of his money until January 1809²⁵), as well as to finance the purchase of materials and hiring of labor if maintenance was required on the bridge. There is no evidence that Kalintsov was required to put up surety, but in the future, as we will see, the Duma did begin to seek collateral from recipients

²¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 6, 16ob, 28. These examples also highlight how responsive the Duma was to the needs of Kazan's Orthodox celebrations. In September 1808, for example, we see councilor Ivan Urzhumtsov requesting reimbursement for 12 rubles spent to hire crews to level and clear the roads prior of the procession of the Sedmiozernaia icon from Kazan to the surrounding parishes: NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, l. 19.

²² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 1, 20, 28.

²³ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, l. 27.

²⁴ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 933, l. 6.

²⁵ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 1, 26.

of long-term contracts. It might be a stretch to call the Duma's infrastructural projects 'big business,' but they were significant economic activities, which required a good bit of care and financial investment from both Duma and employee.

Kalintsov's 1808 contract might have passed with little remark, like so many other local projects, but for the storm of April 4. That night a "harsh gale" precipitated a flood of water which overwhelmed the gates upstream. The resulting torrent "ripped away two sections of the bridge, along with the ropes, mangled them, and carried them down into the Volga, at the same time destroying a great many boats." The city councilor responsible for overseeing the Kazanka crossing, Kandratii Zorin, judged that there was nothing Kalintsov could have done to save the bridge—at that late hour, there had been no way to rouse enough people to even make the attempt—and he persuaded the Duma to allocate money to buy building supplies for repairs, while Kalintsov would supply the labor.²⁶ The repairs were begun, but on June 6th, Zorin reported that all was still not well on the Kazanka. With Kalintsov's work all but completed ("just at the peak of our hopes," Zorin wrote), and with the head of the city's police force there to observe the achievement, another freak rainstorm struck. The Kazanka and its tributaries rapidly filled, threatening the mills and sluices there. If those mills succumbed, Zorin feared, they would throw water and debris downstream that would again demolish the bridge. He quickly rounded up 40 men and dismantled it once more. As of the 8th, he reported, "already we have begun to mend and replace it in its location."²⁷

As the presence of the head of Kazan's city police at the bridge site suggests, state officials had become alarmed by the transportation crisis and doubtful of the Duma's response.

²⁶ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 7.

²⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 11.

Both police headquarters and the governor's office had already been peppering the Duma with reprimands and exhortations, and on June 10th Governor Boris Mansurov dispatched another note, conveying his continued dissatisfaction with the situation. "[T]ravelers and residents of the city face difficulty and great danger in crossing the Kazanka due to the unfinished bridge" he wrote. Furthermore, he urged the councilors to take advantage of the subsiding floods to bring the city's other bridges, then "covered with water," into proper order.²⁸ Over the next few weeks, a flurry of activity ensued as the Duma responded vigorously to the governor's concerns. By June 16th, Zorin had finalized his work on the Kazanka bridge, with the cost of repairs reaching the impressive sum of 480 rubles. Councilor Kaftannikov took the lead on repairing the causeway and bridges on the south-west side of the city, including those leading to the Admiralty suburb, the Volga docks, and the New Tatar neighborhood. The Duma also asked the police to remind those city residents who had rented hayfields across the Kazanka, near Kizicheskii Monastery and the village Iagadnoe *selo*, of their contractual obligation to maintain the dykes and bridges there.²⁹ By July the crisis had passed, and traffic was moving freely through the city and across its many waterways.

In the big picture this was a minor incident in the life of the city. Yet it was also a revealing moment in several respects. First, it provided a practical demonstration of the transportation challenges posed by Kazan's environment and spatial configuration. Second, it illustrated the basic rhythms and methods of governance adopted by Kazan's City Duma. Third, it highlighted the difficulties faced by the Duma, given the lack of any permanent civil-service arm, and the necessity to administer the city by contract. Finally, it showed the extent to which

²⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 10-10ob, 13, 14

²⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 14, ll. 16-17, 18. The enterprising Tsaritsyno peasant Ermolai Zimin also put in yet another appearance here, as one of those Zorin sub-contracted to haul materials for the Kazanka bridge.

both city councilors and imperial officials at the beginning of the nineteenth century understood the Duma to be subordinated to imperial authority. The image of the imperial police chief overseeing councilor Zorin, who was overseeing caretaker Kalintsov, who was overseeing the hired laborers captures something of the rhetorical postures struck by the participants in this sequence of events. Yet this perspective can also be somewhat deceiving, for as the next incident will reveal, the Duma was far from incapable of independent thought and action.

Playing the Bureaucratic Game: the Imperial Dock and Black Lake

The dispute over the government pier on the north side of the Bulak Canal (Figure 24³⁰) also began in 1808, although it would spill over into subsequent years. On April 16th the captain of the first police precinct sent a message to the Duma, informing it that the wooden pier near the

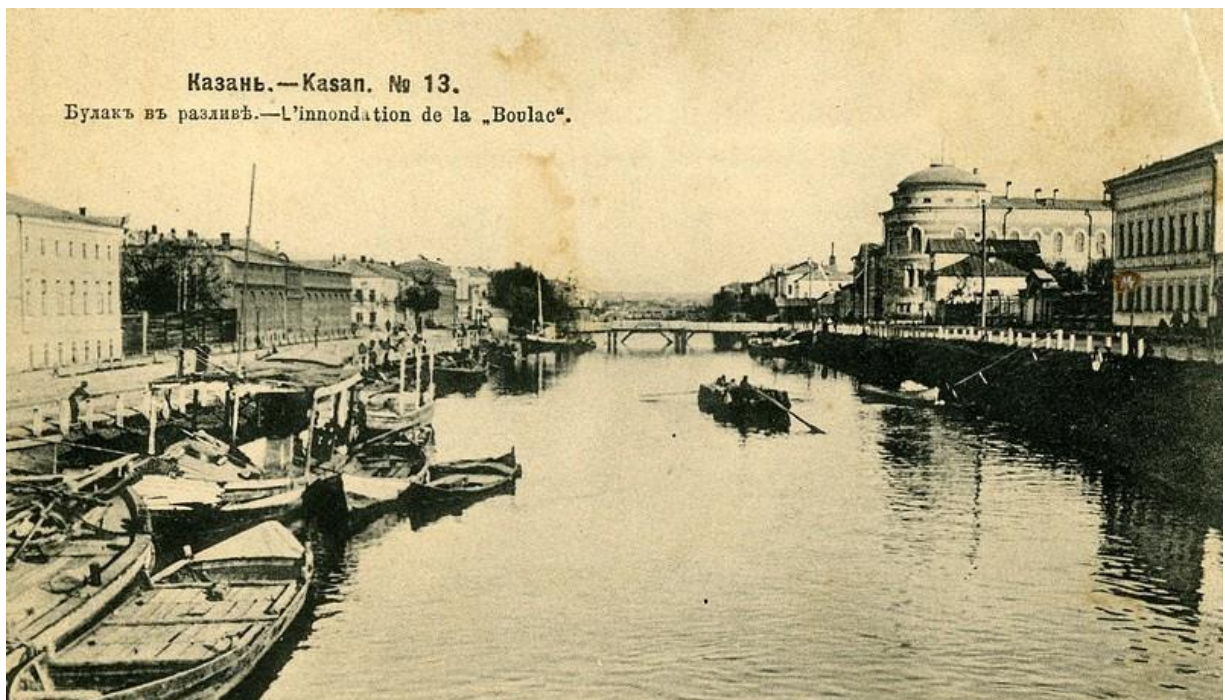


Figure 24: A bridge and watercraft in the Bulak Canal, 1912

³⁰ "Staraya Kazan," *Allkazan.ru*, http://www.allkazan.ru/foto_report/old_kazan/33-staraya-kazan.html (accessed March 5, 2015).

drawbridge at the end of the Bulak Canal had collapsed. The pier, he added in passing, had been built by the Duma. The officer warned that these circumstances not only presented a significant public danger, but would also prevent ships from unloading along the Bulak during the upcoming flood, and consequently he urged that the pier be quickly rebuilt.³¹ The Duma responded on the same day, but, unlike its handling of the bridges, did not jump immediately into action. Instead the councilors inquired into the pier's history, determining that it had been built in 1797, at the request of the then-governor, in preparation for Tsar Paul's visit to Kazan in 1798. It was clear, the Duma wrote, that "it had not been built with the intent of docking merchants' ships." And, what was undoubtedly more to the point as far as the Duma was concerned, the dock had no commercial value to the city in the present-day. "Merchants' ships never dock at the place where it's located," they wrote, "but always on the other side of the Bulak, across from that pier." In fact, they continued, the pier actually interfered with trade, making it difficult for several ships to navigate the narrow waterway simultaneously. The Duma's solution to all this was simple: they proposed to remove the dock and clear away the shoreline on the north side of the Bulak, leaving an open path for boats during the spring floods, and for land conveyance the rest of the year. The councilors admitted, however, that they could not take such a step without the governor's approval, which they proceeded to request.³²

On May 8th, Governor Mansurov responded to this proposal, clarifying the terms of the debate. He endorsed the police force's original petition to restore the pier to its earlier condition, which, he wrote, had once been safe even for the embarkation of army mules. The time for launching boats built at the government shipyard in the Admiralty district was fast approaching,

³¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 1.

³² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 2-3ob.

he continued, but this would be impossible given the current dilapidated state of the quay.³³ Mansurov's note made it evident that there was a divergence in interests between the imperial administrators and the Duma, as well as a fundamental disagreement about the Duma's role in city affairs. Mansurov evidently perceived a state interest in the pier (whether as a point of transit for military supplies, or as part of the navy's shipbuilding industry in Kazan), and expected the Duma to respond with financial support without hesitation, much as it had in 1797 when the pier was first built. The city councilors, meanwhile, judged the dock to be hindering, and not aiding commercial traffic, and were also apparently operating under the assumption that local funds were to be disbursed on projects offering local benefits—and that therefore their budget should not be spent repairing a pier that “had not been built with the intent of docking merchants' ships.”³⁴ Institutional pride may well have added fuel to the substantive disagreement. Legally the Duma was subordinated to the governor, but as a practical matter the situation was obviously less cut-and-dried. Mansurov no doubt felt pressure to support his local police and cement his formal authority, while the Duma presumably wished to assert as much control as possible over local budgets and projects.

In the face of such an impasse, the Duma responded with the time-honored bureaucratic tactic of ignoring the memo. All sides were apparently happy to let the matter lie dormant, possibly reflecting their priorities or perhaps as a way of saving face, and it was only two years later that the city police once again raised the issue. Interestingly, this brief new message from the first precinct, dated April 27, 1810, concerned two distinct projects. The police wished to inform the Duma, they wrote, that both the pier below the drawbridge on the Bulak Canal and

³³ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 4.

³⁴ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 2ob.

the fences around Black Lake were dilapidated, and in both cases repairs were urged. The pier was, of course, old news for the Duma. However the fences at Black Lake—an open area just north of the city core, then developing into an upscale neighborhood—was a matter of new business.³⁵ With this latest note from the police, the story diverged into two distinct paths, whose differing trajectories and outcomes are telling.

With respect to the Bulak Canal pier, the Duma's reply recounted the prior bureaucratic history on the subject, reiterated its objections to funding repairs, and repeated its desire to dismantle the structure instead. In a response to this new salvo, Mansurov restated his opposition to this proposal, and his determination that the pier be repaired. His terse justification continued to emphasize the pier's imperial, rather than civil, utility: "at times of high water official boats are constantly docking there, and it would be difficult if it were demolished."³⁶ At this point the Duma, still constrained from flatly refusing the governor, sought to delay by means of budgetary inquiry and impasse. On July 11 the Duma referred the question to the provincial architect, Aleksandr Shmidt, to determine the cost in materials and labor that would be necessary to effect the repairs.³⁷ Nearly a year later, on May 4, 1811, Shmidt finally returned his figures, which projected the outlay at 921 rubles, a sum which the Duma declared that it could not cover with its available funds. The Duma then turned to the Kazan Quartering Commission—another local institution tasked with securing accommodations for the military garrison in Kazan. Routed by way of the governor's office, the Duma sent a note claiming that it had lent 1,949 rubles to the Quartering Commission, and asking that these funds be returned in order to finance the dock

³⁵ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, l. 6.

³⁶ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 6ob-8.

³⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 11ob.

repairs. Yet another year passed before the answer came back: the Quartering Commission did not have sufficient funds to honor the request.³⁸

The Duma resolved that until this money was made available, it could not proceed with repairs. Furthermore, it kicked the can back to the police force, offering a subtle but defiant critique of both the public value of the project and the governor's framing of the Duma's responsibilities. The councilors asked the police to declare whether "anyone else had made a report that they are relying on [the police complaint] about the Bulak crossing," and if so, whether they had done so "at the instructions of the government, or unprompted." The Duma continued: "if [they acted] at the direction of the government then from the government, and if from someone [acting] unprompted then from their petition, a copy of the information should be sent to the Duma."³⁹ It would appear that the constables were unable to find any private citizens of the city who were concerned about the state of the pier, for the request went unanswered, and the question of the Bulak pier did not resurface again after 1812.

Now, if we rewind two years, to April 1810 and the police memo requesting repairs for the Bulak Canal pier and the Black Lake fences, the other branch of this story is telling. In its response reiterating its long history of opposing the Bulak project, the Duma tacked on a brief note regarding the question of Black Lake. Much as it had with the bridges in 1808, and in contrast to the Bulak pier, the Duma immediately moved to act, placing councilor Ivan Roslov in charge of the project. The Duma's first step was to have the councilor request a budget from the provincial architect. Roslov returned with Shmidt's response in less than two weeks, reporting an

³⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 77, ll. 4, 5, 7, 14-15.

³⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 77, ll. 15-15ob.

estimated cost of 875 rubles for materials and labor to repair the fence.⁴⁰ On its face, this procedure was essentially indistinguishable from the Duma's request to the architect regarding the Bulak pier. In the case of the Black Lake project, however, a specific councilor was assigned to shepherd the request, which may help explain why the estimate came back in days instead of months.

It soon became apparent that the councilors were of a mind to do more than simply mend the fences. In May of 1811, along with the budget for the Bulak pier, the architect also sent revised figures for Black Lake. Whereas the 1810 estimates envisioned a bare-bones project, the new plan reflected larger ambitions, and accordingly carried a higher price tag of 2,147 rubles. It included a fence that was both more decorative and more durable, with heavier top-beams, blacking, and sturdier fasteners. But it also sought to make the area more park-like and pleasant, by covering more than four acres in turf, and digging and channeling the waterways in Black Lake to regularize its shores and drain swampy areas. The Duma immediately resolved to move forward with the project, whose elements, they wrote, "would all serve to beautify the city."⁴¹

The councilors found a merchant, Vasilii Sapinov, willing to take the expanded contract for only 1,700 rubles—1,000 up front, and the remaining 700 at completion. The governor quickly approved the outlay, the Duma signed the contract, and the project proceeded smoothly from there.⁴² To get a sense of the results, one can compare maps of the city from 1768 and 1817, which reveal dramatic changes to the spatial configuration, topography, and character of this part of the city over that time period. What had been, effectively, a gully with some ponds in

⁴⁰ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, ll. 8, 9-10.

⁴¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 19, l. 9ob; NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 77, ll. 3ob, 5.

⁴² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 77, ll. 5, 7-7ob.



Figure 25: Black Lake today, in winter

it, became a regularized park with classical rectangular pools, bordered north and south by streets and buildings.⁴³ While not all of these changes may have derived from the 1811 Black Lake project, it seems fair to say that it represented a significant public works initiative, which played a meaningful part in remaking Black Lake into one of Kazan's most celebrated public areas (Figure 25⁴⁴).

These paired initiatives of the Bulak pier and the Black Lake fences, so closely juxtaposed in time, institutional space, and the documentary record, provide striking evidence for how difficult it is to make sweeping judgments about the relationship between the imperial

⁴³ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov rossiiskoi imperii, s 1649 goda* (1st series), *Kniga chertezhei i risunkov* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1839), 113; "Karta Kazani 1817 goda," *Retromap*, <http://retromap.ru/forum/viewtopic.php?t=5069> (accessed June 30, 2014).

⁴⁴ Personal photograph of the author, 2014.

regime and urban self-government in Russia during this period. In the bureaucratic exchanges, we do not find a Duma that was passive and subordinated to the imperial bureaucrats. Neither, however, do we find a disinterested, hostile, or regressive Duma set on impeding change through obstinacy or avoidance. Instead we see local government doing what one might be inclined to say it should do—weighing the cost of projects against the potential benefits to the community. In the case of the Bulak pier, the Duma played a successful tactical game to assert its bureaucratic independence, and thereby avoided committing local funds in support of an imperial project. In the case of Black Lake, on the other hand, city councilors took an offhand suggestion from the police to heart and expanded it, in a concerted effort to improve the city's quality of life. Without overstating the power or efficiency of the Duma, examples like this give reason to believe that thoughtful, independent, and public-minded local governance was taking hold in Kazan.

Dealing with Setbacks: the Sunken Ferry

While the relationship between local and imperial interests cannot be neglected, it is also important to recognize that not all city politics revolved around the interplay of urban notables and Tsarist administrators. Some of Kazan's local transportation controversies had, in fact, little to do with the imperial government. In this regard, the challenges the Duma faced in managing Kazan's ferries offer an instructive counterpoint to the case studies presented thus far. As part of the city's transportation strategy, along with bridges and docks like those already discussed, local leaders also maintained a public ferry. The ferry operated seasonally, to fill the needs created by



Figure 26: Commercial traffic on the Kazanka at flood stage, ca. 1860

the removal of the Kazanka bridge during the spring floods (Figure 26⁴⁵). The service was provided by means of a large barge-like craft [*parom*]⁴⁶—the scale of which suggested that although it did transport passengers, officials, mail, and specie, its chief purpose was to move bulky items such as livestock, vehicles, and cargo in support of the city’s trade and industry. The ferry first appeared in the Duma’s papers in the spring of 1812, when city councilors negotiated a multi-year contract for ferry service with a trio of locals—craftsmen Tit Shilov and Petr Shaposhnikov, and townsman Ekim Chashim. Meeting minutes reveal that the city had previously tried and failed to recruit entrepreneurs to run the ferry in 1809, 1810 and 1811; however they also refer to Shilov as “the past manager of the Kazanka ferry,” indicating that a contract ferry service had run prior to 1809.⁴⁶ The three year lapse in service inspires several observations. On the one hand, it shows the limits imposed by the Duma’s reliance on local

⁴⁵ [N. P. Bogoliubov], *Volga ot Tveri do Astrakhani* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Gogenfeldena i Ko., 1862), plate after 214.

⁴⁶ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 90, l. 1.

contract labor, and suggests also the Duma had been unwilling to make the opportunity lucrative enough to recruit a supplier. But on the other hand, the Duma's persistence in seeking to reestablish the ferry indicates that it was considered to be a valuable local service.

The agreement in 1812 was to run for a four-year term. Interestingly—and in a mirror image of the governor's efforts to secure city money for the imperial dock at around the same time—the Duma evidently hoped to entice the governor to invest imperial funds in running the city ferry. The councilors proposed that in addition to running the direct route across the Kazanka, the ferry would also transfer the imperial mail between the Kazan postal staging office and the village *Uslono selo*, some distance upstream. With this move, the Duma seems to have hoped to encourage the governor to dedicate treasury funds to the service. Should the governor decline to oblige, the councilors' backup plan proposed to fund the ferry with city revenues derived from selling business licenses and auctioning fishing rights. It is apparent that the Duma allocated a relatively modest budget for the contract, and construed of the work as seasonal at best. The terms called for Shilov, Shaposhnikov, and Chashim to be relieved of their yearly *obrok* tax responsibilities to the city, and to receive 20 rubles annually. In addition the city agreed to “buy for them [Shilov and his companions] a large barge,” suitable for transporting wagons and bulky goods—an expense which, as we will see, could run into the hundreds of rubles. The language used in the contract suggests that the barge was to be part of the trio's compensation, perhaps to be used commercially through the rest of the year, and possibly sold at the contract's end.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 90, ll. 1-2.

Ultimately there is no indication that the governor ever directed any state funds to the venture, and the Uslono proposal quietly disappeared from subsequent documents. Nevertheless Shilov and his companions seem to have operated the ferry with reasonable success. At the beginning of the 1813 season the Duma reminded them of their responsibilities, commercial and official. They were to supply “their own large flatboat,” (a *doshchenik*, used to tow the ferry barge), and to “ferry people and every kind of load, each time a suitable number [have gathered who] need it; [transport] all items, whether people’s personal effects or other things they have; as well as all military commanders, also treasury funds and the imperial post, and all officials travelling on state business.”⁴⁸ Over the length of the contract isolated complaints were recorded against the service provided. On May 1, 1814, for example, Governor Mansurov dashed off a note grumbling that a postal official had been stuck in the village Grivko *selo*, across the river from Kazan, waiting for a ferry. “He had to stand idly there for over four hours, even though he was firing pistol shots the whole time.”⁴⁹ Generally, however, the service was adequate to meet the city’s needs, and the contract was renewed in similar form in 1816 and 1820. In addition to the purchase of a barge, the 1820 contract called for the operators to be paid 80 rubles per year.⁵⁰

It was in 1822, during this third contract term, that the ferry sank—precipitating a new transportation crisis for the Duma. By this time, Petr Shaposhnikov was the only one of the original operators still involved in the venture, now working in partnership with townsman Matvei Sorokin. With the loss of the barge, public transport across the Kazanka was brought to a halt. At first city councilors made efforts to salvage the barge, and to pressure the ferrymen into finding a way to resume the service. But Shaposhnikov and Sorokin were unable to complete the

⁴⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 90, ll. 11-11ob.

⁴⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 90, ll. 15-16.

⁵⁰ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, ll. 25-25ob.

remainder of the contract, and the Duma eventually turned its attention to recouping the money that has been spent. On May 28, 1824, the Duma authorized legal action to seek the recovery of 142 rubles paid to Shaposhnikov and Sorokin, and 446 rubles spent on the barge itself. In response, the ferrymen sent the City Magistrate a petition laying out their side of the matter in the emerging dispute. First, they argued, they had met the responsibilities specified in the contract—at their expense they had supplied seven flatboats [*doshcheniki*], each with two hired oarsmen, who had been present at all times, ready to tow the barge. Second, they continued, “the barge had sunk through no cause other than decay, in which condition they had received it from the Duma, and which all their efforts to repair had proved unsuccessful.” And third, they concluded, the effort to collect damages from them was pointless, since they had “no property, fixed or moveable, except for the necessary clothes on their backs.”⁵¹

In petitioning the Magistrate, the two suppliers must have known that they were not engaged on a level legal playing field. The City Duma and City Magistrate, the executive and judicial organs of the municipality, might originally have been conceived as independent institutions, but they were organized in such a way that they inevitably became tightly coupled in practice. Both were elected by the upper ranks of city society, the merchants’ guild, and the membership of both was drawn from a single



Figure 27: Leontii Krupenikov, 1829

⁵¹ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, l. 22.

pool of people: Kazan's most stable, wealthy, and politically-inclined merchants. Over time the same individuals were likely to find themselves rotating between the Duma and Magistrate—as in fact seems to have happened in this case.⁵² The *burgomistr* presiding, Krupenikov, was most likely either Leontii Krupenikov (Figure 27⁵³) or a close relative. Leontii Krupenikov and his son Aleksandr Krupenikov would both serve at various times as city councilor and mayor, and other members of the Krupenikov clan would also play important roles in the life of the city.⁵⁴ This tendency toward insularity in local politics created good reasons—involving shared points of view, as well as conflicts of interest—why magistrates might tend to side with the Duma in municipal disputes.

Nevertheless, Shaposhnikov and Sorokin believed they might further their interests in the matter by making their case proactively to the City Magistrate, and there is reason to think that the judges were initially receptive to their arguments. Their interim report on the case, issued on July 11, 1824, discussed at length the allegation that the barge provided by the Duma was shoddy and decrepit. It recorded that city councilor Peter Moiseev had spent 170 rubles to buy a barge owned by local craftsman Ivan Korolev—apparently a substandard vessel selected only “because a sturdy one could not be found anywhere quickly.” In 1820 and 1821, the defendants had received a total of 159 rubles to repair the craft, and “throughout this time, the Duma promised to find a newer and bigger one to replace it.” By 1822 the barge sprung a leak, and the ferrymen judged it to be dangerous to use it to transport people. Not wanting to be held responsible for what might happen, they reported their concerns to Mayor Fedor Khvorov. Khvorov had the boat

⁵² Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii*, 124, 169; NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, l. 27.

⁵³ “Krupenikov Leontii Filippovich (1754-1839),” *Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin*, <http://a-s-pushkin.ru/books/item/f00/s00/z0000026/st172.shtml> (accessed March 6, 2015).

⁵⁴ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 883, l. 4; L. V. Gorokhova, ed., *Dostoiny pamiati potomkov: Gorodskie golovy Kazani, 1767-1917* (Kazan: Gasyr, 2002), 63, 101, 333.

drained, and after his inspection he authorized another 117 rubles for further repairs, which nevertheless proved insufficient to keep the craft afloat. “If,” the magistrates observed dryly, the Duma had “managed itself for the long term, then maybe it could have bought a different, new boat, with the 446 rubles wasted on preserving [this one].” Along with this critique, Krupenikov also requested further inquiries into whether Korolev had misrepresented the boat when he sold it to Moiseev.⁵⁵

Although the magistrates found the Duma’s decision-making questionable, however, that did not mean they held the ferrymen blameless. As the report proceeded to point out, Sorokin and Shaposhnikov had committed to do the repairs themselves, and accepted money from the Duma for the work. If the boat then went on to sink, they would have to bear some responsibility. And there was one further detail which appears to have tilted the argument heavily against the pair. It seems that in the original negotiations, the boatmen had represented themselves to the Duma as owning houses—an assertion that had been tendered in response to the Duma’s demand that applicants offer an “appropriate bond of surety [*nadlezhashchii zalog*]”. In their petition to the Magistrate, by contrast, the two had declared themselves penniless. Krupenikov summoned them back to the Magistrate, to “make a declaration about whether they are hiding homes that they own.” This was a no-win situation—either they had deceived the magistrates, or they had negotiated in bad faith with the Duma in 1820. Ultimately this discrepancy appears to have steered the verdict squarely against the defendants, and the Magistrate ruled them responsible for the entire loss of 588 rubles.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, ll. 25-27; Gorokhova, ed., *Dostoiny pamiati potomkov*, 71.

⁵⁶ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, ll. 26ob-27, 30. The surety requirement appeared in earlier iterations of the ferry contract as well; see: “Obiavleniia,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1811, no. 5 (May 17, 1811): 4.

Shaposhnikov and Sorokin's subsequent petitions revealed the nature of the confusion (or deception) over their property status. It emerged that their wives, and not they, were the owners of the homes referenced (located in the suburbs of Kozia and Grivka respectively).⁵⁷ As such, they could not be seized by the City Magistrate to recoup the husbands' debts without extensive further legal action. The situation sheds a ray of light on both the Duma's evolving contract negotiation skills, and gender relations in the city at the time. The introduction of a surety clause in the ferry contract appears to have been a new—and timely—development; at least nothing similar appeared in the contracts related to bridges and roads in 1808 and 1809. Yet the limits of the Duma's sophistication were also revealed, given that councilors did not verify the property records to corroborate the ownership claims. The size and impersonality of the city was likewise made plain by the case. Neighbors and acquaintances of Sorokin and Shaposhnikov may well have known who actually owned the houses, but if they did this knowledge did not make its way to the wealthy merchants organizing city services. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is how the affair spotlighted gender relations in Kazan. As a matter of everyday perceptions—and perhaps aided by the impersonal nature of the big city—the lines of ownership were sufficiently blurred that it was perfectly plausible for a husband to claim to own a house that was actually owned by his wife. Yet from a judicial and administrative perspective, the division between the spousal assets was significant, and necessitated further procedures before the government could attempt to recover the husband's debt from the wife's property. In the end the Duma was able to extract the funds owing, not only from the two boatmen, but from their wives as well. Yet the legal complications introduced were sufficiently involved that the case dragged on for several years, in

⁵⁷ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, ll. 15, 30, 31.

some measure justifying the magistrates' sense that the ferrymen's posturing had merited a punitive response.⁵⁸

The Duma's experience running the public ferry, and dealing with aftermath of disaster, adds to the picture painted by its earlier experiences with docks and bridges in two important ways. First, the incident demonstrated that the Duma was not only capable of standing up to the imperial state, but of pursuing its own initiatives as well; for it is clear that imperial officials had only limited interest in the ferry, and that the Duma ran it largely for its commercial significance. Second, it highlighted the extent to which local self-government remained a work-in-progress during this period. The administration of the city's transportation infrastructure had not yet become routine and predictable—the incident showed that the Duma continued to struggle with its reliance on private contractors, that it had a costly tendency toward short-term thinking, and that in times of trouble, the institutional structure of local government worked to reinforce the social boundaries that divided the city's residents. Yet the incident also pointed the way toward future improvements in all of these areas. The Duma was learning how to better manage its contractors, for example, by seeking surety in the form of real-estate. The incident occasioned a productive dialogue among the city's merchant elites aimed at recognizing and addressing the errors in leadership that had contributed to the disaster. And although the city continued to be divided by estate, the ferry project showed that when things went as planned, public projects could succeed in enlisting the members of various estates towards meeting a common public goal. As the Duma became more proficient at applying these lessons in the decades to come,

⁵⁸ NART, f. 26, o. 1, d. 326, ll. 57, 64-64ob, 70-70ob, 112, 113, 115.

local governance would become more effective, and the Duma's scope of action would broaden accordingly.

Thinking Bigger: From Transportation to Social Welfare

After the early 1820s, transportation issues faded to the background for the City Duma—a fact which in itself represents an important piece of evidence about the changing nature of self-government in Kazan. As the Duma navigated disputes and setbacks involving bridges, roads, piers, and ferries, it was gradually containing, managing, and taming the uncertainties that it faced. Collective expectations as to what transportations services the Duma would or would not provide, and how they would be funded, became increasingly well defined as both governor and Duma worked to advance their own interests, and met each other with friction and resistance. As we have seen, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, city councilors had a certain sense of independence from the imperial administration—an independence that was understated, respectful, and not reflexively confrontational, but real and effective. Gradually city officials began to give voice to that independence, a shift which further solidified the Duma's ability to govern effectively within its sphere of authority. One example of such rhetoric came in 1830, after Governor Ivan Zhevanov directed two city councilors, Ivan Iakovlev and Gurii Batashev, to erect a display of illuminations on Black Lake honoring the anniversary of Tsar Nicholas I's coronation. Zhevanov had promised to reimburse the costs of the display from the imperial treasury, but his verbal directive went uncorroborated after he fell victim to the cholera epidemic that erupted in the city less than a month later. When sub-contractors began submitting their invoices to the Duma, the City Magistrate was called in to help sort out the confusion.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 824, ll. 9-10, 18-19.

Ultimately the bills did get paid, but in the meantime the magistrates took the opportunity to chide their peers in the Duma for failing to maintain sufficient independence from the governor, in procedural as well as financial terms. “Similar expenditures, also made by the verbal authority of the head of the provincial government, occurred in 1828 and 1829,” they wrote, “and led the City Duma into the mistake of following these past examples. ... An outlay made in this way is not consistent with the responsibilities demanded of the City Duma.” Conversations like this, occurring within local government and stressing the need to maintain administrative independence from imperial bureaucrats, helped to secure the conditions in which local services could be provided in a less contentious and more regularized fashion.⁶⁰

At the same time that the lines of political authority were becoming more well-defined, the practical work of providing routine services was becoming less challenging for the Duma, as the body absorbed the lessons of past experience. The case-studies of bridge, pier, and ferry demonstrate some of the tangible ways in which this experience was becoming institutionalized in the 1810s and 1820s. They show that the Duma was learning how to identify and retain reliable contractors, that it was anticipating a broader range of potential problems, that it was defining progressively more detailed and comprehensive contracts, and that it was starting to build in protections like bonds of surety. Over the decades that followed, the Duma only continued to expand the city services it provided. The council’s maintenance budget for 1842, for example, contained 4,949 rubles for routine public infrastructure services such as “preserving the floats, bridges, and sluices, and dismantling, reassembling, and repairing them,” “levelling roads and keeping up public places,” hiring watchmen and building a fire watchtower, and repairing or extending paved sidewalks. Likewise, an inventory of the city’s public works taken the same

⁶⁰ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 824, ll. 42-43.

year showed that the Duma had undertaken several dozen major capital projects between 1820 and 1842, intended to enhance the security, sanitation, convenience, and quality of life for city residents.⁶¹ But even as the pace of urban improvement increased, it generated less institutional crisis and conflict. A crucial change which made this all possible was that whereas in 1808 the Duma had still been struggling with how to provide basic services, by the 1830s and 1840s their delivery had become a matter of learned routine.⁶²

Just because the management of the city's infrastructure had been routinized, however, does not mean that city councilors settled into habit and inertia. Rather, during the 1830s and 1840s, the debates, innovations, and difficulties that consumed the Duma's attention shifted to new topics, which reflected a broader conceptualization of municipal services. During these decades, the Duma played an active part in a wider movement among Kazan's citizens toward reimagining the city, and raising expectations regarding the services and benefits it was expected to provide to its residents. As we will see in subsequent chapters, local intellectuals and literary figures generally took the leading role in consuming transnational intellectual currents and reconfiguring those ideas to fit the needs and conditions of Kazan. If these intellectuals were usually in the forefront, however, the Duma and the city's elite merchant estate often acted as their partners in translating concept into practical implementation. In future chapters, we will see this dynamic in action with regard to the promotion of municipal health and hygiene, the

⁶¹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1650, ll. 6-15ob. The list of public structures built or substantially rebuilt by the Duma between 1820 and 1842 includes one prison, five police stations, fifteen bridges, two sluice gates, three boardwalks, ten sections of stone riding paths, twenty-five sections of stone walkway, six paved streets, three wells, two pools, and three public gardens.

⁶² One exceptional local transportation initiative from this period, in which the state took the leading role, was the massive project to build a year-round raised causeway [*damba*] between the city and the Admiralty suburb during the late 1840s and early 1850s. In this case the Duma allocated the land, but the project was initiated by Governor-General Viktor Minut, designed by military engineers, and funded largely by imperial loans. See: NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 440, ll. 112-112ob.

mobilization of the community to respond to local disasters such as contagious epidemics, and the establishment of local historical monuments. But the remainder of this chapter will consider as a case study one area in which the Duma, rather than intellectuals, led the way in expanding and reimagining municipal services. This was in taking over and developing the rudimentary social safety-net which provided public care for the infirm and elderly.

“For the Public Good”: Creating an Alms-House for the City

Since the eighteenth century, the care of elderly, disabled, and poor residents of Russia’s cities had fallen to the state’s Office of Social Welfare [*Prikaz obshchestvennogo prizreniia*] (Figure 28⁶³). Though it had precursors in the Petrine era, the Office as it existed in Kazan in the early nineteenth century was drawn up in 1775, as part of Catherine II’s provincial reforms.⁶⁴ Each provincial Office was overseen by a committee, chaired by the governor, and filled out with representatives from the three major provincial courts that served the noble, urban, and peasant estates. The Office carried the responsibility to oversee a variety of social enterprises, such as hospitals, schools, and orphanages, as



Figure 28: Government pamphlet from 1818, “About Social Welfare in Russia”

⁶³ “Zakonodatelstvo: Statistika,” *Rusfond*, <http://www.rusfond.ru/encyclopedia/3325> (accessed March 6, 2015).

⁶⁴ Eroshkin, *Istoriia gosudarstvennykh uchrezhdenii*, 115-117.

well as alms-houses [*bogadelni*] which offered a spartan room and board to indigent elderly and disabled citizens. The Office also had a substantial financial arm, tasked with banking, reinvesting, and lending out its own capital—capital which originated from periodic infusions of imperial funds, as well as from the philanthropic donations and bequests of provincial residents, and which was held in the form of cash, real estate, and commercial properties.⁶⁵

As a rule the Office’s trustees and administrators sought to retain and grow their capital, while running their social welfare projects on the investment proceeds. The results were usually less than satisfactory, prompting later social activists and historians to paint the Office of Social Welfare in rather harsh tones. One historian sums up recent scholarship by saying that the Office’s public-service efforts “had a by-the-book character, while the credit functions devoured all its attention.”⁶⁶ Particular criticism has been directed at the insufficiency of its efforts to aid the poor. A late-nineteenth century observer explained this by the fact that the entire program was conceptually oriented around the need for “repressive measures to combat professional beggars.”⁶⁷

In Kazan, local residents played a role in the province’s Office of Social Welfare from its beginning, but the extent and effectiveness of their participation was circumscribed by the Office’s organization. The day-to-day affairs of the Office of Social Welfare were divided between financial matters, which were handled directly by the Office itself, and social-welfare work, which devolved onto a subordinate body called the Council of Trustees. The Council’s

⁶⁵ Diliara Ziiatdinova, “Deiatelnost Kazanskogo Prikaza obshchestvennogo prizreniia (1781-1869 gg.),” (Kandidat diss., Mardzhani Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Tatarstan, 2009), 7, 11, 31-40.

⁶⁶ Ziiatdinova, “Deiatelnost Kazanskogo Prikaza,” 7, 11, 31-40.

⁶⁷ E. Maksimov, “Iz istorii gosudarstvennago prizreniia v Rossii: III. Sistema prizreniia bednykh pri Ekaterine II,” *Trudovaia Pomoshch*, 1901, otdel 2, no. 2 (Feb.): 133-167.

operations were directed by the chief inspector [*glavnyi smotritel*], who was generally a mid-ranking imperial official appointed by neither the Office nor the Council's oversight committee, but as a result of negotiations between the governor and St. Petersburg. Under the inspector worked a variety of full-time staff members, including section managers, medical personnel, and teachers, most of whom came from the lower ranks of the imperial hierarchy.⁶⁸ Some of these professionals put down roots in Kazan, and embraced a sense of commitment to the city, but many others viewed their posting in Kazan as just one more stepping stone toward career advancement, transfer to St. Petersburg, or merely personal solvency.

Such structural and staffing constraints left little room for city residents to become directly involved in social-welfare work. Occasionally a local would be tapped to fill a position of responsibility. The Council of Trustees normally included one of the city's leading merchants; over the years their names included Nikifor Chizhov, Vasili Matveev, Savelii Zaitsov, and Petr Barashev.⁶⁹ Similarly, Kazan University professor and longtime local leader Karl Fuks was named to the Council in 1842, and a prominent and politically active local merchant, Vasili Romanov, was appointed as trustee of the Office of Social Welfare's hospital in Kazan a decade later. But these were the exceptions, not the rule. Instead, the principal way that Kazan residents were expected to, and did, participate in the Office of Social Welfare was through philanthropic donations. Between the 1810s and 1830s, the spotty records available show a number of major gifts from Kazan's wealthier merchants and their widows (among them, Matveev, Chizhov, Barashev, and Aleksandr Krupenikov), which ranged from the thousands to the tens-of-

⁶⁸ Ziiatdinova, "Deiatel'nost Kazanskogo Prikaza," 53-56.

⁶⁹ D. G. Zinnatullina, "Rol chastnoi initsiativy v razvitiu sistemy obshchestvennogo prizreniia Kazanskoi gubernii," *Izvestiia Altaiskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, no. 4(64), vol. 2 (2009): 67, 69.

thousands of rubles.⁷⁰ The attitude of Kazan's less affluent residents is less clear. We might suppose that they felt similar social and moral inducements to donate according to their own means, but the limited evidence available suggests that their actual giving remained modest.⁷¹

The documentary record provides few traces of any contemporary local critique of the Office of Social Welfare in Kazan. That criticism was offered seems likely, but the public expression of dissatisfaction ran counter to many of the currents of the time, and such concerns were therefore muted and undocumented. As we will see over the course of this dissertation, this was a period in which Kazan's intellectual leaders were sincere in holding positivist views, which interpreted the present and future of the city and the empire in optimistic terms, and therefore perceived present inadequacies as hurdles predestined to be overcome. Such sentiments were then amplified by the state's control over professional opportunities and the media. Literary memoirists looking back from the turbulent later decades of the century likewise tended to gild their memories of what they recalled as having been a simpler and more hopeful time. Those residents of the merchant and townsman estates, meanwhile, who were generally more down-to-earth and often less well off, started from a place of lower aspirations for the government; and even when they developed a coherent critique of state practices, they were less likely to articulate it in written form. Nevertheless, there is evidence that as the decade of the 1840s began, Kazan's merchants, at least, were increasingly dissatisfied with the Office's efforts, particularly with its care for the elderly and disabled. Over the course of the decade, the merchants and the Duma

⁷⁰ Ziiatdinova, "Deiatel'nost Kazanskogo Prikaza," 54, 56, 61-63, 68.

⁷¹ "Obiavleniia," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1820, no. 6: 22-23. According to the Kazan Trustees' Committee of the Imperial Humanitarian Society for the Poor, only about 15% of the funds donated in 1919 came from the urban estates, as opposed to officials and nobles. One of the few local citizens who did make a sizeable donation was Vasiliĭ Savinov, who would later help endow Kazan's public alms-house.

would take a more active and responsible role for this kind of relief work in the city, bypassing the Office of Social Welfare and taking matters into their own hands.

The first indications of their dissatisfaction with the status quo came in the late 1830s and early 1840s, when various donors—led by massive contributions by four prominent merchants, Nikifor Chizhov (who was to die in 1841), Mikhail Verin, Vasilii Savinov, and Leontii Krupenikov—created a pool of capital designated for the establishment of an alms-house to “maintain poor fellow-citizens [*sograzhdane*]” of Kazan.⁷² Chizhov’s decision, in particular, is interesting. As someone who had served on the Council of Trustees for several years, he had seen the Office of Social Welfare’s operations first-hand. Evidently he came away from that experience believing that the Office had failed to adequately meet the needs of the city’s most dependent citizens, and determined to direct his legacy away from the Office and toward a private initiative. Private action alone, however, without the support of local government, would ultimately prove insufficient to realize Chizhov’s desired aim. The project proceeded as far as purchasing and renovating a building for the charity house, but then disaster struck: the fire of 1842 destroyed the structure, along with much of Kazan, and the project was put on hold. The property was re-sold at a significant loss, and in the absence of alternative funding streams, the money that remained was deposited with the Office of Social Welfare. There the initiative lingered, while Kazan’s leading citizens contemplated how to proceed.⁷³

In 1844, with the effort still in limbo, a new welfare model emerged that stimulated the merchants to renewed action. The vice-governor, Matvei Zaveleiskii, proposed that the Duma take up the example set by the City Duma of St. Petersburg, led by a public-spirited merchant

⁷² NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 434, ll. 10-10ob, 11ob-12.

⁷³ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 292-293.

there named Vasilii Zhukov.⁷⁴ Conceptually and structurally, Zhukov's plan was clearly beholden to the existing system of social welfare. It involved setting up two parallel institutions—a Public Bank and an alms house. The Public Bank worked much as the financial arm of the Office of Social Welfare: it took in deposits from local residents, made loans, and used the proceeds to fund the operation of the alms-house. Zhukov evidently hoped to avoid the worst of the Office of Social Welfare's financial preoccupation by emphasizing the qualities of altruism and public service the Public Bank was intended to embody. The bank itself did not seek to maintain or grow its own capital, nor did depositors earn interest. It was expected to provide a community benefit simply by providing a safe repository for funds, facilitating needed loans, and helping to regularize and verify private bills of exchange. But what truly set Zhukov's project apart, and made it appealing to merchants in Kazan, was its strictly local emphasis. Unlike the Office of Social Welfare, the Public Bank and alms-house were to be under the direct control of the Duma. And likewise, the alms-house was not intended to serve the entire province, but rather to accept only residents of the city.⁷⁵

Although the immediate impetus came from the vice-governor, and the inspiration from St. Petersburg, Kazan's Duma was prompt in adopting Zhukov's idea. The plan addressed needs and concerns that had been growing increasingly apparent to city merchants, and was no doubt further encouraged by the delays the merchants were encountering in pursuing their existing alms-house project. "The Office of Social Welfare is holding considerable capital raised through donations for the construction of a new alms-house," Mayor Sergei Aleksandrov complained in his response to the vice-governor's suggestion, and "it will be turned to building that house only

⁷⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 434, l. 8.

⁷⁵ N. F. Levin and A. A. Shumkov, "Kommertsii sovetnik Vasilii Zhukov," *Pskov: Nauchno-prakticheskii, istoriko-kraevedcheskii zhurnal*, no. 31 (2009): 100-113.

in time, for the formation of a project plan must still be accomplished, and that will take considerable time.” In light of these delays, the merchants went on to propose that the money be withdrawn from the Office, and repurposed toward the Public Bank and alms-house instead.⁷⁶ This idea was not without its skeptics in Kazan, who perhaps feared that the new city institutions would replicate the Office of Social Welfare’s tendency toward emphasizing profit over care. Nikifor Chizhov’s widow, Maria Chizhova, in particular, challenged the way the plan continued to intertwine financial and welfare institutions: “I cannot agree that funds donated by my late husband for an alms-house be directed to a bank,” she responded when Mayor Aleksandrov outlined the idea to her.⁷⁷

Nor is it clear that such objections were misplaced. Although the merchants’ proposal ultimately was adopted, the establishment of a city alms-house proceeded with little more haste under the Duma’s direction than it had under the auspices of Office of Social Welfare. In part this came as a result of another round of major fires in 1844 and 1845, which diverted much of the Duma’s attention and the city’s charitable energy.⁷⁸ But it is also true that Kazan’s city councilors proceeded cautiously, evidently determined to establish the Public Bank on a sound financial footing before committing any of its funds to social programs. As late as May, 1848, Vasilii Romanov, the respected merchant chosen as the first bank director, was still busy advocating to extend the range of financial services offered by the bank beyond the model Vasilii Zhukov had established in St. Petersburg—seeking to increase the sums the bank could lend, and to arrange funds-transfer services with banks in other cities, all in the name of generating more

⁷⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 434, ll. 11ob-12.

⁷⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 434, ll. 10-10ob.

⁷⁸ Gorokhova, ed., *Dostoiny pamiati potomkov*, 116.

income.⁷⁹ By this time, however, events were overtaking the Duma and its Public Bank. The log-jam had been broken, and Kazan's public alms-house was finally coming to fruition, thanks to the intervention of an independent-minded citizen, Vasili Lozhkin.

History has left us few biographical details on Vasili Lozhkin⁸⁰. A merchant in the lowest-ranking third guild, he first garnered attention in August 1844, when he was named by the governor to serve on the sub-committee within the Office of Social Welfare, responsible for the construction and maintenance of its buildings.⁸¹ Although not listed among the ranks of the elite first-guild merchants, Lozhkin was prosperous enough to own an imposing stone house, purchased at a cost of 25,000 rubles, and located across from the Kazan *gimnaziia* in the prestigious Black Lake area. Like many residents of Kazan, his house was gutted by the fire that raged through the city in 1845, and the merchant rebuilt it with the help of an emergency loan of 7,600 rubles from the state treasury. It was in the aftermath of these events, in August 1847, that Lozhkin forced the Duma's hand by offering to donate his home to serve as the public alms-house.⁸²

When tendering his proposal, Lozhkin stipulated that he and his wife would live out the remainder of their days in one of the property's two outbuildings. Moreover, the merchant was careful to specify that the loan, tax payments, insurance costs, and other obligations associated with property would transfer with it. Clearly Lozhkin remained every bit the sober businessman.

⁷⁹ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, 259-259ob.

⁸⁰ Nor, it seems, has history even preserved his name accurately. Although he is referred to as Lozhkin in all secondary texts, the merchant appears to have spelled his name Loshkin, as evidenced by many instances of his signature preserved in the archives (e.g. NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, l. 2ob). It seems that over the first two years after his donation was tendered, his name was increasingly rendered Lozhkin in official correspondence, particularly in documents sent to or from the governor's office (e.g. NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, l. 48), and that spelling was subsequently adopted by scholars.

⁸¹ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 37-37ob.

⁸² NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 1ob-2ob.

But there is no evidence that he had been struggling to meet his loan obligations or rebuild his commercial affairs, and his motives seem to have been genuinely philanthropic. His stated reasons for the donation were his “desire to be useful” and his willingness to sacrifice “for the public good [*dlia blaga obshchago*].” Piety and religious duty also appear to have played a part in his decision, if slightly less overtly, for he expressed the hope that a church might eventually be established on the grounds.⁸³ One other intriguing detail was his assertion that he was making the offer because he had “now learned from a piece printed in the *vedomosti* [i.e. *Kazanskiia Gubernskiiia Vedomosti*, the *Kazan Provincial Gazette*] of the government’s intention to establish a public alms-house in Kazan.”⁸⁴ Although Lozhkin could not be considered part of the city’s well-connected political elite, it is still somewhat hard to accept that he first learned of the city’s multi-year interest in an alms-house through the newspaper. He had, after all, been a recent member of the Office of Social Welfare’s building sub-committee. It seems possible that Lozhkin saw the article as an opportunity to disavow any personal agenda connected with the donation; or that he felt a dramatic response to a public notice would inject urgency into a process long plagued by delays and hesitancy. But in any event, Lozhkin’s statement highlighted the increasingly important role of the print-media in expanding public discourse and encouraging civic-mindedness.⁸⁵

Questions of motive aside, Lozhkin’s gift, along with his subsequent energy in support of the new institution, finally precipitated the long-deferred establishment of the “House of Charity

⁸³ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 1, 2ob.

⁸⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 1.

⁸⁵ “Polozhenie o dome prizreniia neimushchikh, prestarelykh i uvechnykh grazhdan v r. Kazani,” addendum to *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1847, no. 28 (Jul. 7, 1847): 1-7. Interestingly the official announcement did not solicit the donation of a building for the alms-house; it directed that the institution be “located in one of the houses belonging to the City Corporation.”

for Impoverished Elderly and Disabled Citizens of the City of Kazan [*Dom prizreniia neimushchikh prestarelykh i uvechnykh grazhdan goroda Kazani*]” (Figure 29⁸⁶).⁸⁷ Before 1847 was over, the Duma had begun furnishing the house for operation. Initially city councilor Elisei Shubnikov was assigned the task, but with his untimely death in early 1848, Lozhkin was appointed as trustee of the institution. By this point the Duma was soliciting petitions from city residents seeking a place in the house. Many dozens of them poured in, as they



Figure 29: The Lozhkin Alms-House, ca. 1900

would continue to for years to come, largely from men and women hailing from the city’s townsmen and craftsmen estates, but occasionally from the ranks of retired petty civil servants as well.⁸⁸ By mid-1848, Lozhkin had opened the doors of the house to its first twenty-five residents, a number that quickly expanded to forty, then fifty, and then eighty.⁸⁹

Lozhkin was active in his new role, and below the surface of the bureaucratic correspondence, there was discernable friction between the trustee and the Duma, perhaps prompted by the unusual speed with which events had progressed. Although the Public Bank

⁸⁶ “Fotografii khramov dorevoliutsionnoi Kazani,” *Pravoslavie v Tatarstane*, <http://www.kazan-mitropolia.ru/eparhia/fotodorevcii/?page=3> (accessed March 24, 2015).

⁸⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 112.

⁸⁸ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 6, 56, 75.

⁸⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 112; Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 294.

began making payments to support the alms-house in 1848, the bank's income had not yet grown sufficiently to cover all the costs of the charity by the fall of 1849.⁹⁰ It therefore fell to the Duma—in accordance with promises made to Maria Chizhova and the other donors when their funds had been repurposed to capitalize the bank—to allocate money from the city's general fund to equip and operate Lozhkin's alms-house. Lozhkin appears to have been unwilling to cut corners in fitting out the establishment, and the Duma's anxiety mounted as the money flowed out. In December 1848, tensions flared when it emerged that Lozhkin had been requesting money for specific purposes, and then using the funds provided to buy different items instead. A councilor was assigned to audit the alms-house, to ascertain whether an appropriate level of cash was on hand, and whether the house actually contained the items Lozhkin claimed to have purchased. Although Lozhkin was not found guilty of wrongdoing, the Duma recommitted itself to "keen recordkeeping," and scrutinized Lozhkin's regular appeals with a skeptical eye.⁹¹

In these tight financial conditions, both Lozhkin and the Duma worked to raise private funds to augment the public allotment. In December 1848, for example, the house received voluntary donations equaling more than sixteen percent of the funds earned by the bank in the same period.⁹² Donations came in many sizes and forms. In February 1848, as the alms-house was still ramping up, new mayor Anasim Mesetnikov solicited donations from members of the city's townsman estate—who would, after all, represent the majority of the house's residents. Mesetnikov's marketing campaign proved successful, as a petition was returned to the Duma with 100 signatures, promising a contribution of 10 rubles apiece to support the "newly established alms-house for the maintenance of people of the townsman estate [*meschanskago*

⁹⁰ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, l. 499; NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, l. 69ob.

⁹¹ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 2036, ll. 1-2ob.

⁹² NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 499.

sosloviia liudei].”⁹³ One unorthodox donation came from merchant Makar Shcherbakov on May 15, 1848. He had, he wrote, contracted with two individuals, Lev Osipov and his wife Fekla Loginova, to work as household servants for a period of four and a half years. Having prepaid their entire salary of 150 rubles, he now found he no longer required their services, and so donated the balance of their contracted labor to the alms-house. Sadly no details remain as to how they performed their new duties.⁹⁴ More typical of the steady trickle of donations were the sums Lozhkin reported to the Duma for the month of January, 1849: a recurring monthly gift of 5 rubles from a member of the “circle of supporters of the Charity House,” and 19 rubles, 55 kopeks, collected from 4 merchants in the central market, the *gostinnyi dvor*. Once again Lozhkin pointed to the role of the press in encouraging social engagement—he urged the Duma to make public recognition of even these modest practitioners of individual philanthropy, by “conveying our profound gratitude to them in the *Gazette*,” a proposal the Duma followed through on.⁹⁵

Another task which consumed Lozhkin’s energy and added urgency to the search for funds was his effort to establish an Orthodox chapel in the alms-house. Although the Duma did not commit to the idea initially, Lozhkin’s initiative—buoyed by his status as trustee—won out, and by the end of 1850 he had succeeded in founding the Church of Sergii Radonezhskii on the grounds, with a priest in residence.⁹⁶ The establishment of the chapel highlights not only the role of religious sentiment in motivating the merchant’s original donation, but also the constraints

⁹³ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 323.

⁹⁴ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 211-211ob.

⁹⁵ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1966, ll. 483-484; “Spisok pozhertvovano: zavedyvaiushchim bolnitseiu pri dome Prizreniia prestarelykh neimushchikh i uvechnykh g.”, *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1849, no. 9 (Feb. 28, 1849), 64.

⁹⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 69ob-70ob.

that the empire's long-standing tradition of ethnic and religious compartmentalization imposed on emerging notions of the public interest. There is no evidence of overt action to exclude Muslims from the public alms-house, but it appears that its Christian character was a shared assumption from the beginning of the project, one that was only ratified by the establishment of an Orthodox church there. Among the many petitions for a space in the house, there is no trace of any being submitted on behalf of Muslim residents of the city. This represented a continuity from the city's earlier experiences with the Office of Social Welfare. Muslim residents of Kazan had long declined to make use of the Office's services, and had defied substantial political pressure by refusing to make their allotted financial contributions to the Office as well. The Tatar community relied instead on the philanthropy of private individuals, either offered directly or channeled by local mosques—a situation broadly approved, and perhaps tacitly encouraged, by 'Russian' Kazan and imperial administrators.⁹⁷ By the 1840s these long-standing patterns had an inevitable influence on the ways that local residents could conceive of the city's public sphere.

Even as the house was humming to life, cobbling together an operating budget, and opening a chapel, meanwhile, there remained the delicate fact that well into 1850, Lozhkin's donation had still never been officially accepted by the Duma. Several stumbling blocks delayed the process. The imperial authorities waited to confirm that Lozhkin was free from suspicion of heretical or sectarian leanings.⁹⁸ The Chief Administration for Transportation and Public Buildings in St. Petersburg had to be consulted, and after some time their officials proposed a list of structural improvements necessary to improve safety and fire-resiliency.⁹⁹ Meanwhile Lozhkin initiated work on his own slate of necessary repairs, once again raising consternation by

⁹⁷ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 274-278.

⁹⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 23.

⁹⁹ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 9-9ob, 55-56.

running ahead of the budget approvals of the bank and Duma. The biggest hurdle, however, was the 7,600 ruble rebuilding loan still owed on the property to the imperial treasury. While provincial officials had looked with favor on Lozhkin's donation and the Duma's response to it, that in no way disposed them to reduce or forgive the outstanding debt. As 1849 proceeded, Governor Iraklii Baratynskii pressed the Public Bank to accept legal responsibility for the house, while the bank protested that its current capitalization precluded the discharge of such an obligation. Ultimately the Duma stepped in to make an installment payment of 800 rubles from the city's coffers, and a multi-year repayment plan was settled upon.¹⁰⁰

Through all this bureaucratic and budgetary maneuvering, however, what is noteworthy is that the house was operating, and that the eventual outcome of the process could therefore hardly be in doubt. It would have been easy for all parties to have marked time, waiting to see that all the impediments to the process had been removed before proceeding. But instead, thanks to Lozhkin's initiative, the grudging acquiescence of the Duma, and tangible support from residents of every social condition, the city received the public alms-house that its leading citizens had been seeking for nearly a decade. The Lozhkin alms-house would go on to operate until 1917, expanding several times with the purchase of adjoining properties, and eventually serving thousands of city residents. After Lozhkin's death, his widow Daria Alekseevna remained a beloved figure within the institution, living in a small apartment there until her death in 1891.¹⁰¹

The story of Kazan's alms-house illustrates a substantial shift in the aspirations and capabilities of the City Duma and local residents toward municipal improvement. This is not to

¹⁰⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 39-40ob, 48-49.

¹⁰¹ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 293-294.

say that the public sphere in Kazan had undergone a magical transformation. Civic initiatives could still be hampered or delayed by institutional limitations, habits of conservatism, and long-standing social and cultural divisions among the urban population. But the episode shows that influential local residents and political leaders were beginning to act on the possibility of improving the collective life of the city, and not just in ways with obvious economic or quality-of-life benefits for the city's elites. The inventive spark for change often did not come from local political leaders. But clearly Kazan's leading citizens, both inside and outside the Duma, were seeking to better the city, and to that end they remained open to good ideas, whether they originated with state officials, philanthropists in St. Petersburg, local intellectuals, or pious private citizens in Kazan seeking to do God's work. Once they had identified a worthwhile goal, like the public alms-house, they were becoming increasingly capable of realizing it, by combining the energy and focus of private citizens with the institutional and fiscal backing of the City Duma.

Responding to Exclusion: Private and Community Initiative in Tatar Kazan

Within Kazan's Tatar community, there was no close institutional equivalent to the City Duma over the first half of the nineteenth century. While the Tatar Ratusha was conceptually similar to the Duma, it lacked the authority, budget, and mandate to pursue the same kinds of civic projects, and so served a largely judicial function, akin to the City Magistrate. Kazan's City Duma, therefore, held sole responsibility for those elements of the city's physical and social infrastructure that spanned the entire metropolitan area, and all its constituent ethnic and religious groups. In its discharge of this duty, the Duma was not even-handed, but rather steered public money disproportionately towards areas of the city considered 'Russian,' while 'Tatar'

neighborhoods lagged in receiving street-lighting, paved roads, and parks (a fact rarely discussed openly at the time, but which would become a rallying point for Tatar politicians and nationalists in the late nineteenth century).¹⁰² And as the development of the public alms-house demonstrated, the siloing of Kazan's residents along ethnic and religious lines was encouraged not only by this kind of self-interest, but also by the city's state-imposed religious categories and the traditions that had grown up around them. Thus while civic improvement was far from unimportant to Kazan's Tatars, circumstances dictated that the form and content of the Tatar community's initiatives would be very different than those pursued by the Duma.

If we look to the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for example, while the City Duma was preoccupied with the city's transportation infrastructure, we find that Kazan's Tatar leaders were busy building up their community's religious infrastructure. Over the centuries since the Russian conquest in 1552, the state had sprinkled Kazan with dozens of Orthodox churches, while it had officially forbidden mosques, which continued to exist only in the shadows as unassuming and informal institutions. In 1744, the Imperial Senate first granted official permission for two mosques to be built in Kazan.¹⁰³ During the 1760s, with the accession of Catherine II and continued moderation in the state's stance toward Islam, this promise was realized, in the construction of a pair of stone mosques along Lake Kaban in the Old Tatar neighborhood. Today two of Kazan's grand historic buildings, the Marjani and Apanaev mosques, these would long remain the chief places of worship for the city's Muslims, under the financial patronage of the leading Tatar merchant dynasties in the city, the Iunusovs and the

¹⁰² Radik Salikhov, *Tatarskaia burzhuaizii Kazani i natsionalnye reform vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX v.* (Kazan: Master-Lein, 2001), 41-45.

¹⁰³ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, Sobranie pervoe*, vol. 12 (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia i Otdeleniia Sostvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1830), 158.



Figure 30: Iske-Tash Mosque, New Tatar neighborhood, est. 1802

Apanaevs.¹⁰⁴ At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, it was becoming clear that two mosques were simply insufficient. Kazan’s Muslim population was continuing to grow and become more secure in the open exercise of its faith, and additional mosques were required to meet the needs of the city’s Muslim faithful.

At this juncture, Kazan’s affluent Tatar merchants stepped in to provide these vital community resources. Between 1799 and 1810, at least five more large stone mosques were built—three in the New Tatar neighborhood (Figure 30¹⁰⁵) and two in the Old neighborhood—at a cost of many tens of thousands of rubles.¹⁰⁶ The funds were donated by the leading Tatar

¹⁰⁴ Renat Bikbulatov and Rafael Mustafin, *Kazan i ee slobody* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Zaman, 2001), 31; Zagidullin, et al., *Istoriia Kazani v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 422-426.

¹⁰⁵ “Istoricheskie mecheti Kazani za 100 let: Cherez detsady i kinostudii k tsentram turizma,” *ProKazan Novosti Kazani*, <http://prokazan.ru/news/view/100368> (accessed April 6, 2015).

¹⁰⁶ Bikbulatov and Mustafin, *Kazan i ee slobody*, 31, 33; S. S. Aidarov, et al., *Kazan v pamiatnikakh istorii i kul'tury* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1982), 190-196.

merchants in the city—men and women like Ibragim Kudiashevyyi, Gabida Kitaeva, Salikh Mustafin, Musa Mamiashev, Gabdulla Utiamyshev, and Akhmet Aitov-Zamenov.¹⁰⁷ These gifts were framed as private acts of charity and pious devotion, not public services. However, as a practical matter they served to elevate the donor’s reputation and social standing, and they had great civic, as well as religious, significance for the community. The city’s mosques worked to promote neighborhood cohesion and to dispense charity. Their clerics served to mediate family and community disputes. Perhaps most importantly, the mosques provided both the staff and the space in which to host the Muslim schools, *mekteps* and *medreses* that were flourishing across Kazan’s Tatar neighborhoods during the early 1800s.¹⁰⁸ On an operating basis, both the mosques themselves and their adjunct services were supported not only by the wealthy, but also by the bequests of more modest Tatar townsmen. The traditional *waqf* endowment system was not recognized by the state, but comparable philanthropic models were developed to support these institutions within the framework of Russian law.¹⁰⁹ While the mosque-building push of the early 1800s was limited to the Tatar community, and not framed as a public initiative, it did demonstrate that community’s capacity to pursue large-scale projects with significant potential for civic betterment.

Similarly, if we advance to the 1840s, it is clear that expanding notions of social welfare were not limited to ‘Russian’ Kazan alone. During the years that the public alms-house was being established, there was also a major citywide push for the establishment of local orphanages [*detskie priiuty*] (presumably signaling another area of dissatisfaction with the Office of Social

¹⁰⁷ Zagidullin, et al., *Istoriia Kazani v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 422-427.

¹⁰⁸ D. I. Ibragimov, ed., *Medrese Kazani, XIX-nach. XX vv.: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kazan: Gasyr, 2007), 9, 11-14.

¹⁰⁹ Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo*, 276-277.

Welfare). In January 1844, the first of these children’s homes, the Nikolaevskii orphanage, had been established under the patronage of Mayor Aleksandr Krupenikov. Hard on the heels of this development, in March of the same year, local magnate Ibragim Iunusov proposed to build Kazan’s first Tatar orphanage, to be located on the site of the defunct Zachariah and Elizabeth Orthodox church in the heart of the Old Tatar neighborhood. He offered to fund the construction jointly with his brother Iskak Iunusov (Figure 31¹¹⁰) and his wife Bibi



Figure 31: Iskak Iunusov

Mukhametzanova, and to subsidize its ongoing operations with a *waqf*-style endowment of properties generating an annual income of 1,400 rubles. Interestingly, Iunusov’s project included an urban renewal component with larger community significance. “Around the house,” he said, he would “lay out a large garden with adornments, for the recreation of Tatar Society, which is needed in that part [of the city].”¹¹¹ Imperial officials jumped at the idea, seeing it as both a valuable and praiseworthy act of philanthropy, and an example of the kind of civic engagement they hoped to encourage in Kazan’s Tatar community. The governor helped steer the project to approval in St. Petersburg, deftly skirting the potential issues raised by using Orthodox Church property for a Tatar

¹¹⁰ “Kazanskii metsenati XIX veka,” *Kazanskii universitet - Nauchnaia biblioteka imeni N. I. Lobachevskogo*, <http://old.kpfu.ru/lib/index1.php?id=32&idm=26&num=96> (accessed May 3, 2017).

¹¹¹ NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 435, ll. 1-2; Zagidullin, et al., *Istoriia Kazani v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 638.



Figure 32: Apanaev house (former Iunusov residence), ca. 1900: edge of Iunusov Square visible at left institution.¹¹² The orphanage began accepting children in 1852, and continued to operate until 1917.¹¹³ Meanwhile the adjacent newly-constructed park would long remain the major recreational space of the Old Tatar neighborhood, forming the northern side of Iunusov Square (Figure 32¹¹⁴).

Clearly there were significant parallels in the rise of local civic initiative within ‘Russian’ and ‘Tatar’ Kazan during this time period. Not only were both communities developing new approaches for tackling projects of collective significance, but there was a rough congruence in the nature and scale of the projects both communities chose to undertake as well. That this would be true is unsurprising—these communities influenced one-another, and were also exposed to

¹¹² NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 435, ll. 3, 4ob-5ob; Zagidullin, et al., *Istoriia Kazani v dokumentakh*, vol. 2, 638-639.

¹¹³ *Istoricheskaia zapiska ob musulmanskom “bratev Iunusovykh” detskom priiute g. Kazani* (Kazan: Tipografiia gubernskago pravleniia, 1895), 1-2.

¹¹⁴ “Nuraniia apa Biktimirova: ‘Staro-Tatarskaia sloboda – zhemchuzhina Kazani, a ozera Kaban ego zerkalo,’” *Kzn sobaka*, <http://www.sobaka.ru/kzn/lifestyle/realty/37664> (accessed May 3, 2017).

shared influences which included imperial interventions and broader intellectual currents. Yet there were also differences in the specific form and content of civic action of Russian and Tatar Kazan, driven by the institutional environment the state had created, the varying needs of each community, and their distinct cultural traditions and assumptions. What is perhaps most evident is that the potential for cohesive civic action in Kazan across ethnic and religious lines was hindered by the state's continued ascription of political significance to religious difference, reinforced by the weight of long-standing tradition. Such boundaries were never absolute, and there was no stigma to lending money, seeking employment, or demonstrating respect across them, in either direction. Yet, their influence was pervasive and persistent; they had become woven deeply into the city's fabric, both in its institutional systems, and in the minds of its inhabitants.

Conclusion

The turn to the city operated at various levels. As the following chapters will relate, at the same time that the merchants of the City Duma were taking on new tasks and learning new management techniques, other segments of the population were charting their own paths toward reassessing their relationship with Kazan. In speeches, books, and the pages of the city's new periodical press, for example, urban intellectuals sought to cultivate the emotions of local attachment and deploy them to address a variety of civic challenges that they perceived to be most pressing. And at times of crisis, members of all parts of society were moved to rally around collective efforts to ward off the danger. These various manifestations of civic orientation did not operate in isolation from one-another, but were in constant dialogue. Kazan's merchant leaders were an important audience for the ideas that local intellectuals formulated and retransmitted;

and the merchants, in turn, popped up often in other contexts as the citizens best able to access the financial and social capital necessary to get things done.

As succeeding chapters proceed to follow these various threads, therefore, it is important to keep in mind that behind all of them lay an urban populace learning to govern itself, learning to imagine and execute major collective projects, and learning to conceive of the city as an entity that demanded residents' collective involvement, and in return offered them collective benefits. Merchant leaders like Vasiliï Lozhkin, Nikifor Chizhov, Leontii and Aleksandr Krupenikov, and Ibragim Iunusov did not articulate any coherent philosophy of civil society. Moreover, in a practical sense they presided over a system that remained deeply divided by imperial policies which had become ingrained both institutionally and imaginatively. Still they did share something new—something they alluded to when they talked about serving “Kazan,” their “fellow citizens” [*sograzhdane*¹¹⁵], the “people of Kazan,” “the city,” “the merchants,” (understood in this context as the city’s leaders and the standard-bearers of its economic well-being), “society,” “the public” [*obshchestvo / obshchestvennyi / publika*¹¹⁶], or “the public good” [*blago obshchestva / blago obshchee*¹¹⁷]. This was a naturalized sense of shared interests and obligations among the residents of the city—what this chapter has referred to as the ‘public interest.’ And despite its persistent limitations and blind spots, this shift constituted an important and integral part of the turn toward the city.

¹¹⁵ Gorokhova, ed., *Dostoiny pamiati potomkov*, 116.

¹¹⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 2ob-3ob.

¹¹⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 2, d. 580, ll. 1.

Chapter 3: Making Kazan Healthy

Public health, perhaps more than any other area of urban life, was one where all the distinct viewpoints on the city came into active contact and dialogue with one-another. Every citizen had an evident interest in the state of his or her own health, so that the relationship between city-living and collective well-being could hardly help but be a topic of lively engagement and exchange. The communal and individual experiences that participants brought to the subject inevitably colored their responses—for a landed noble, urban disease might be something to escape; for a medical professor, it might be something to study and try to cure; and for a merchant, it might be something simply to ride out and survive. Many of the voices in this conversation are now hard to hear—the poorer residents of the city, who suffered the most from disease and had the fewest tools at their disposal for dealing with it, were also the least likely to have their perspectives recorded; and the distinct experiences of local Muslims likewise can now be seen only in glimpses. Still, several very different viewpoints can be gleaned from the archives, and this chapter will focus on bringing them together and exploring the interactions between them.

The chapter will begin by tracing the broader world of European and Russian institutions and ideas that informed approaches to public health in Kazan in the early nineteenth century—emphasizing how embedded the city was in a variety of broader circulatory networks which encompassed ideas, people, and goods. From there, it will show how public health discourse first emerged in Kazan during the early years of the decade, marking the rise of the city as a categorical subject for study and improvement. It will describe in detail the cholera epidemic of 1830—a moment that exposed the inadequacies of imperial health policy, but also raised questions about the expertise of local medical professionals and reconfigured their relationship

with the city's merchant leaders. Finally the chapter will follow the arc of public health policy after the epidemic, a trajectory marked by greater sophistication and a new appreciation of the challenges facing the city, as well as greater interaction and collaboration between local intellectuals and politicians. Taken together, it is a narrative which shows how Western European ideas and perceptions were received and adapted to the local context; how even muted frustration with imperial decision-making could work to encourage citizen initiative; and how the very different agendas of Kazan's merchants and intellectuals gradually acquired mutual relevance as they began to engage each other in substantive ways.

It is no coincidence that the 1830 cholera outbreak marks the pivot point for this chapter. Lying behind the emergence of urban public health discourse, both in Kazan and elsewhere, were the challenges of rapid urbanization. Cities were becoming larger and more industrialized, straining the carrying capacity of their natural environment to the limit. They were also becoming denser and more specialized, and making their residents more interconnected and interdependent as a result. The recurrent cholera epidemics of the middle and late 1800s forced urban leaders worldwide to confront the increasing risks that unmanaged growth posed to the cities—risks apparent not only in the abasement and abject distress that plagued the urban poor, but also in the vulnerability of even civic elites to a citywide health crisis.¹

Nowhere was this truer than in Kazan. Since the eighteenth century, the expanding city had slowly been creeping along both banks of Lake Kaban, the city's primary source of drinking water. Magnates, seeking to buffer themselves from the vagaries of long-distance trade, had

¹ Pamela K. Gilbert, *Cholera and the Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008), 50-63; Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 226-237; Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 34-39; Sally Sheard and Helen Power, eds., *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 62, 89-92, 109-112.

turned to dirty industries like tanning and soapmaking in ever greater numbers. Water-borne illnesses like cholera, meanwhile, connected residents in the most intimate of ways. They spread via water contaminated with human feces and vomit. Networks of contagion ran silently under the length and breadth of Kazan—through its pit toilets and cesspools, its high water table and crisscross of water courses, its shallow wells and its urban lakes. European medical science did not even begin to understand these mechanics until the mid-1840s; so Kazan’s doctors were not alone either in their failure to understand how these processes worked, or in the simplistic solutions that they offered as a result. Yet though the details remained mysterious, something of the quality of this new disease, and the message that it carried about the perils and interdependencies of urban life, seems to have broken through. For it was only after the cholera epidemic that the talk of public health began, however ponderously, to turn into action; and that the city’s public health intellectuals and merchant-politicians started to enter into real and productive collaboration.

The European and Russian Roots of Medical Science in Kazan

Urban health discourse was new to Kazan in the first decades of the nineteenth century. But when it began to develop, it built upon two venerable legacies. The first of these, with a history that stretched back for centuries, was the fluid edifice of European scientific and medical knowledge. And the second, newer but still decades old, was the institutional system of medical education and policy-making that had grown up in Russia since the reign of Peter the Great. From a twenty-first century perspective, the value of both of these legacies appears dubious. Russia’s provincial public health infrastructure was understaffed and undertrained, even by the Western European standards of the time; while European medical knowledge, despite its claims

to the contrary, remained deeply ignorant of the causes and remedies for virtually every health issue that afflicted urban life. This was not the perspective held by Kazan's residents, however, and especially its intellectuals. For them, Kazan's growing level of integration in national and international networks of knowledge and expertise seemed to offer a deeper understanding of disease, together with practical strategies for addressing long-standing and seemingly intractable causes of death and infirmity.

Experts everywhere were slow to see cities as sites for intensive medical study and intervention. This was due in large part to the persistent appeal, both in Kazan and elsewhere, of the classical humoral theories of medicine that had influenced European thinking since medieval times. These theories encouraged physicians to see both physical and mental disorders as centered in the human organism, specifically in the imbalance of fluids and forces within the body itself. And although many factors—including season, climate, and environment—were deemed to have ancillary roles in mediating bodily fluids, equilibrium of the humors was believed to be chiefly determined by personal intake on the one hand and outflow on the other.² As such, humoral theory tended to discourage scientists from attributing any great weight to spatial notions of disease susceptibility and transmission. From a preventative perspective, medical writers sought to nudge people toward health by encouraging them to monitor their diet closely and maintain a lifestyle of moderation, avoiding excesses both of consumption and of behavior. By contrast, such counselors had comparatively little to say about the surroundings in which the balanced lifestyle was to be lived out; since there was, in truth, limited scope for such

² Mark Jackson, ed., *The Routledge History of Disease* (London: Routledge, 2016), 40, 49-52.

advice in a theoretical framework for which afflictions and their antidotes were essentially personal in nature, rather than corporate, collective, or situated.³

Running counter to this general tendency was the fact that in some cases the localized nature of a given disease or outbreak was made undeniable by its particular combination of contagiousness, virulence, incubation period, distinctive symptoms, and mode of transmission. Since the medieval period this had been particularly true of major epidemics of plague and smallpox. The unmistakably situated nature of such diseases challenged medical thinkers to expand upon basic humoral principles, both in order to explain the behavior of such outbreaks and to prescribe effective responses for them. From at least the sixteenth century onward, two competing theories vied inconclusively to provide the necessary answers. The first, contagion theory, argued that such diseases were produced by agents of humoral disorder which were transmitted through personal contact. This theory was buoyed by the emergence of syphilis in Europe around this time, as well as the lived experiences of plague ravaged cities; and it offered a theoretical grounding for the common practice of quarantine, which had been deployed on an empirical basis as far back as the Black Death.⁴ Yet despite the discovery of microorganisms in the seventeenth century and the medicalization of smallpox inoculation in the eighteenth century, no scientist was yet able to gather these strands into the coherent whole that would emerge as germ theory in the late nineteenth century.⁵ Absent such a synthesis—and an attendant comprehension of the complexities of air-, insect- and water-borne transmission—contagion theory was severely compromised by its inability to explain cases where diseases ‘jumped’ from

³ Jackson, ed., *Routledge History of Disease*, 92-97.

⁴ Gian Franco Gensina, Magdi H. Yacouba, and Andrea A. Conti, “The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS,” *Journal of Infection*, vol. 49 (2004): 258-259; Jackson, ed., *Routledge History of Disease*, 94.

⁵ Joshua Lederberg, “Infectious History,” *Science*, vol. 288, no. 5464 (Apr. 14, 2000): 287-288.

person to person without physical contact. Thus, although imperial administrators and residents alike remained heavily influenced by the practical lessons gleaned from earlier plagues and poxes⁶, intellectual discourse on health increasingly turned away from contagion theory.

Instead, the second of the competing theories on the nature of epidemics, miasma theory, held predominance among medical professionals at the turn of the nineteenth century. Miasma theory was, to its core, a theory of place; for it argued that the hypothesized disease-causing agents of humoral imbalance were contracted not from personal contact, but from the environment which surrounded a person. In this view, ‘miasmas’—foul and disordering vapors thought to emerge in conjunction with excessive moisture, heat, and decaying matter—arose spontaneously in locations with the necessary preconditions. When they did, individuals already made susceptible to imbalance through personal habits and seasonal conditions could be tipped into sickness by the malign influence of these vapors.⁷ In general, such a theory seemed to militate against the deployment of quarantines and in favor of flight from disease-ridden areas; an approach that, however logical, was impractical as a matter of state policy, and disruptive and dangerous when followed spontaneously by panicked populations. During the late eighteenth century, however, medical experts—buoyed by the scientific rationalism of the Enlightenment, armed with innovative statistical methods, and facing the incipient challenges of early metropolitan industrialization—began to reconsider the implications of miasma theory and its spatial orientation, seeing in them the basis for new policies of systemic urban improvement.⁸ By

⁶ John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health & Urban Disaster* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980), 31-35.

⁷ Evans, *Death in Hamburg*, 232-237.

⁸ Alessandra Parodi, David Neasham and Paolo Vineis, “Environment, Population, and Biology: A Short History of Modern Epidemiology,” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, vol. 49, no. 3 (Summer, 2006): 358-361; Lederberg, “Infectious History,” *Science*, vol. 288, no. 5464: 287-288.

reimagining cities as zones of disease risk, methodically studying them to locate the sources of miasma, and applying that knowledge toward paving roads, draining swamps, channeling away effluent, and cleaning water supplies, medical professionals argued that the state could take deliberate action to reduce illness across large segments of the population, breaking its reliance on the ineffective pairing of quarantine and prayer.⁹ It would not take long for this perspective to begin to gain adherents in Kazan.

Even before these first glimmerings of proactive public health policy began to emerge in Europe, the Russian state had sought to harness scientific medical expertise to its own ends, through its system of higher education and academic research. One of the leading priorities of Peter I and the Academy of Sciences he founded in St. Petersburg was the importation of medical talent from Western Europe.¹⁰ The establishment of Moscow University and its College of Medicine in the mid-eighteenth century marked a further advance in the intensity and systematization of imperial health policy and medical education. It was famed Russian statesman, scientist, and writer Mikhail Lomonosov who advocated that a medical college constitute one of the three major divisions of the new university in Moscow (together with law and philosophy). And although he shared with his European contemporaries a view of medicine which tended more to the individual and curative than the collective and preventative, Lomonosov did envision that the medical college would play an authoritative role in preparing the state to be ready to respond when epidemics did emerge. In 1761, for example, he wrote:

Plague besets the people, and although it is for the most part in the Southern ranges of this state, yet all means against it should be employed. These [means] consist of eradicating it once it has begun, and of preventing its onset. For the first

⁹ Pamela K. Gilbert, *Mapping the Victorian Social Body* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004), 4-10; Jackson, ed., *Routledge History of Disease*, 95-97.

¹⁰Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Russia*, 36-41.

of these, we need information on every method of responding to such misfortunes, and for this it should be ordered that the College of Medicine gather the best [remedies] from various authors into a booklet which will be printed and distributed throughout the state.¹¹

During the remainder of the eighteenth century, it was the members of the medical faculty at Moscow University who would be tasked with providing the government state-of-the-art scientific advice on epidemic disease, and with training the successive generations of experts needed to meet the empire's insatiable appetite for doctors in military and civil service.¹²

Yet if Petrine models suggested that the health of the empire could be directed from the twin metropolises of St. Petersburg and Moscow, by the turn of the nineteenth century it was increasingly clear that this centralized system was no longer adequate to meet the state's objectives. The Academy of Sciences and the College of Medicine could not keep up with the demand for new physicians, and their staffs were too far removed from provincial conditions and populations to be responsive and broadly persuasive at times of crisis. As a first, tentative response to these challenges, Catherine II and Paul I ordered a major expansion of the civil-service positions for doctors and pharmacists in Russia's provincial cities, and the creation of county medical boards.¹³ For years these posts were known for their chronic vacancies, but gradually the provincial administration in Kazan began to assemble a meaningful cadre of medical professionals. Over the first half of the nineteenth century, the Kazan Medical Board

¹¹ Mikhail Vasilevich Lomonosov, "O razmnzhenii i sokhranerii rossiiskago naroda, 1761. g.," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 8, no. 10 (Oct., 1873): 575-576.

¹² Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Russia*, 41-57; R. P. Bartlett, "Russia in the Eighteenth-Century European Adoption of Inoculation for Smallpox" in *Russia and the World of the Eighteenth Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference Organized by the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia*, R. P. Bartlett, A. G. Cross and Karen Rasmussen, eds. (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers Inc., 1988): 196-198.

¹³ Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Russia*, 50-55; Elena Mikhailovna Smirnova, "Vrachebnaia uprava v istorii zdravokhraneniia Rossii," *Istoricheskie, filosofskie, politicheskie i iurodicheskie nauki, kulturologiia i iskusstvovodenie*, vol. 24/2 (Oct., 2012): 195-196.

was overseen by two long-serving inspectors, both of whom had previously been in army service. The first, Ivan (Genrikh) Langel was a German, who accepted the position in 1798 at the age of 44 and remained there until the mid-1820s, working his way into the ranks of the province's serf-owning nobility along the way. He was succeeded by Vasilii Tile, also German by family background, but born and raised firmly within the framework of Russian Orthodoxy and empire.¹⁴ By 1840, Tile was overseeing a staff of fourteen medical providers, including doctors and surgeons, pharmacists, midwives, a dentist, and a veterinarian¹⁵—a collection that although woefully inadequate for the demands on the office, still represented a vast improvement over the situation of a few decades earlier.

A second—potentially wider reaching—step forward in provincial medicine was set in motion by the establishment of regional universities and their attendant medical schools.¹⁶ Among the vanguard of these was Kazan University, founded in 1804 as the first provincial university in the Russian heartland. It would take more than a decade for the institution to hit its full academic stride, but from its early days it began to attract Western European and Russian scholars to the city in significant numbers, while retaining a pool of enterprising and talented young students from the Volga region.¹⁷ The new university would make a number of profound contributions to local intellectual life, as succeeding chapters will demonstrate; but prominent among these was its role in raising the volume and sophistication of scientific and medical

¹⁴ V. A. Spiridonov, “Stanovlenie sudebno-meditsinskoi sluzhby v Kazanskoj gubernii,” in *Materialy VI Vserossiiskogo sezda sudebnykh medikov* V. O. Plaksin, et al., eds. (Moscow: Izdatelskii tsentr ‘Akademiia,’ 2005): 271-272.

¹⁵ I[van] Chernov, *Ukazatel goroda Kazani, ili Pamiatnaia knizhka dlia zhitelei Kazanskoj gubernii* (Kazan: Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia, 1840), 147-148.

¹⁶ L. V. Zimin, “Meditsinskaia intelligentsiia v soslovnoi strukture Rossiiskoi imperii XIX veka,” *Problemy sotsialnoi gigieny, zdravokhraneniia i istorii meditsiny*, vol. 6 (2003): 49-50.

¹⁷ N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta za pervyia sto let ego sushchestvovaniia, 1804-1904*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipolitografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1902), 4-22.

discourse in the city, and in integrating Kazan into larger European networks of intellectual exchange as both a consumer and producer of knowledge.¹⁸ The development of the university's College of Medicine helped to spur these changes. Its first professor, clinician Feodor Erdman, was hired in 1804; and by 1814 the college had a staff of four educators, who (at least on paper) ran six pedagogical divisions, devoted to anatomy, therapy and clinical medicine, pharmacology, surgery, obstetrics, and veterinary practice. The faculty grew steadily throughout the first half of the century, overcoming brief periods of intense attrition connected with the purge of the university by trustee Mikhail Magnitskii in 1819, the cholera epidemic of 1830, and revisions to the imperial university statutes in 1835. During the 1820s, the college averaged seven faculty members, before rising to nine in the 1830s and thirteen in the 1840s.¹⁹

The Stirrings of Local Publishing and Urban Public Health Discourse

Over time, local educators would become respected and outspoken advocates for change in the city. In its first decades, however, the university's greatest contribution to public health discourse in the city was made not by its medical faculty, but by its printing presses—some of the earliest to appear in Russia outside the capital cities. It was in books and periodicals printed on these presses that local residents, both amateur and professional, began to discuss contemporary scientific views on disease, and to debate questions that had not been asked publicly in the city before—questions such as just how healthy it was to reside in Kazan; and what practical measures could be taken to make city living less hazardous. During the first years

¹⁸ E. A. Vishlenkova, "Mediko-biologicheskii obiasneniia sotsialnykh problem Rossii," in *Istoriia i istoricheskii pamiat*, vol. 4, A. V. Gladyshev, ed. (Saratov: Izdatelstvo Saratovskogo universiteta, 2011), 45-46, 53-59.

¹⁹ N. P. Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let: Biograficheskii slovar professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskago Kazanskago universiteta (1804-1904)*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografii Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1904), 95-384, 391-394.

of the 1800s, both an ‘Asiatic’ (Arabic-script) press and a ‘Russian’ (Cyrillic) press had been installed in Kazan. In 1809 the operation of the Russian press was contracted to a local noble and affiliate of the university, Dmitrii Zinovev, who took the position at the urging of faculty members, with the intention of establishing a local newspaper.²⁰ After investing two years in cultivating the support of civil officials, he received authorization to begin production of *Kazanskiia izvestiia* [the *Kazan News*] in 1811

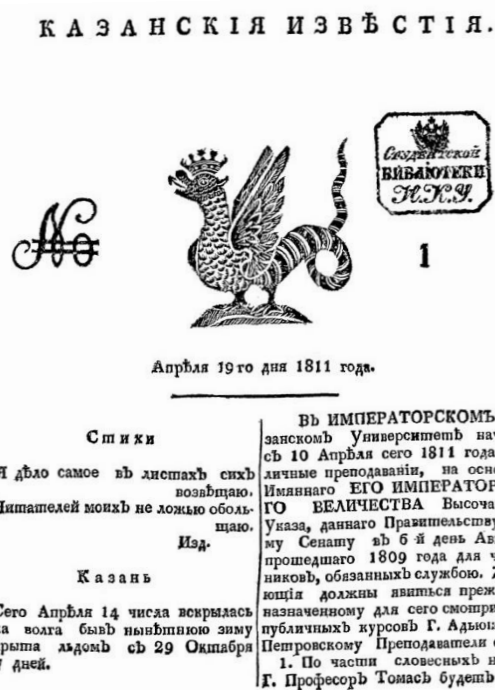


Figure 33: Kazanskiia izvestiia, issue no. 1,

(Figure 33²¹), and from that point on the city would be served almost continuously by periodical publications, which were generally released weekly or bi-weekly.²² These publications ran under the supervision of the university until the inception of the *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* [*Kazan Provincial Gazette*] in the late 1830s; and although these papers were always subject to a high degree of government control and censorship, they nevertheless created new outlets and expectations for educated public discourse in the city.²³

²⁰ N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta za pervyia sto let ego sushchestvovaniia, 1804-1904*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1902), 287, 332-347.

²¹ *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1811, no. 1 (Apr. 19, 1811): 1.

²² V. V. Aristov, “Zhurnal ‘Zavolzhskii muravei’ i ego avtory,” in *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat, XIX – nachala XX veka: Bibliograficheskie ukazateli*, V. I. Shishkin, and F. F. Nureeva eds. (Kazan: Izd-vo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1991): 5-8; Susan Smith-Peter, *The Russian Provincial Newspaper and Its Public, 1788-1864* (Pittsburg: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburg, 2008), 7-9.

²³ L. P. Burmistrova, *Provintzialnaia gazeta v epokhy russkikh prosvetitelei* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1985), 22-27; Smith-Peter, *The Russian Provincial Newspaper*, 18-21.

Dmitrii Zinovev not only started *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, he also contributed a number of articles to the paper, both during his time as editor and afterwards, including several on topics related to public health. Zinovev was far from the only local writer interested in this subject, but his long and prolific literary career make him particularly useful in highlighting the dramatic shift in the way local residents thought about the city's health between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Zinovev left behind few personal biographical details, but for some decades he was a noteworthy political and literary figure in Kazan. He was born a landed nobleman from the province, probably sometime around 1760, and served in the military in young adulthood, eventually transferring the modest rank he had attained there into the civil hierarchy. It seems that by the end of the eighteenth century he was spending most of his time in Kazan; and although he did not hold a government post, he was elected by the local council of the nobility to represent them on the county court for some years, and played an active role in raising and commending local militia units during the Napoleonic Wars.²⁴ The face he presented to the public, however—at least in the pages of *Kazanskiia Izvestiia*—was not that of a soldier or civil-servant, but of an omnivorous intellectual. His bylines rarely indicated his estate (noble) or imperial rank (titular counselor), but they invariably identified him as a member of any one of a fistful of voluntary organizations, apparently chosen, in any given instance, to match the topic at hand. These groups included the Moscow Experimental Medical and Physical Sciences Society, the Emperor's Voluntary Economic Society, the Kharkov Technophile Society and the Finland Economic Society, to name a few.²⁵ Despite such credentials, Zinovev remained more an intellectual enthusiast than a professional; for although he cultivated informal connections and

²⁴ A. A. Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 7 (Petrograd: Tipografiia Glavnago Upravleniia Udelov, 1916), 399-401.

²⁵ "O Kazanskom kazennom porokhovom zavode," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 10 (Feb. 3, 1815): 54; "O rybe zheleznitse nazyvaemoi inache beshenoii," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1811, no. 25 (Oct. 4, 1811): 5.

unpaid roles with both Moscow and Kazan Universities, he never held an official position with either.

Before he started the newspaper, Zinovev had already been appearing in print for decades authoring a variety of books, including histories, fictional tales, and patriotic exhortations²⁶. A common thread running through much of the textual hodgepodge he left behind was its local orientation. In many cases these works were provincial in scope, as befit Zinovev's social position as a rural estate-holding aristocrat; such articles might range over everything from observations on local fauna to per-county statistics on farmland.²⁷ But he was no stranger to life in city as well. At a personal level, he spent much time there, cutting a prominent figure in several local vignettes connected with early university life and with the catastrophic fire of 1815.²⁸ And he also appreciated the city of Kazan at an intellectual level, not least for its dominant place in the region's economy and history. As a result, many of his articles had a strictly urban bent, such as his description of the state-owned gunpowder factory, or his survey of the local soap manufacturing industry.²⁹ Often the urban subjects Zinovev chose to write on—the city's geography, its climate, or its water supplies, for example—brought him into contact with questions of public health. And by comparing such pieces from *Kazanskiia izvestiia* to Zinovev's earlier writings about the city, we can begin to get a clear sense of just how novel it

²⁶ "Dmitrii Zinovev, *Nabat po sluchaiu voiny s frantsuzami* (Kazan: Gubernskoi Tipografiia, 1807), foreword.

²⁷ "O rybe zheleznitse," *KI*, 1811, no. 25: 4; "Kazan. O Kazanskoi gubernii (Statisticheskoe izvestie)," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1811, no. 37 (Dec. 27, 1811): 1.

²⁸ Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 7, 399, 401; "Patrioticheskie anekdoty," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 79 (Oct. 2, 1815): 447-448.

²⁹ "O Kazanskom kazennom porokhovom," *KI*, 1815, no. 10: 53; "O mylnykh zavodakh v Kazani (Kratkoe Statisticheskoe opisanie)," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 32 (Aug. 10, 1812): 6.

was when early-nineteenth-century residents began to see the city in medicalized terms, and to embrace spatial and environmental perspectives on disease causation.

Zinovev's first book, in fact, was a physical and historical overview of the city, published at Moscow University in 1788, entitled *A Topographical Description of the City of Kazan and its County*. The earliest such work about Kazan ever to appear in print, this slender volume offered a more-or-less arbitrary assortment of observations on the city. A large slice at the beginning was taken up with the history of the medieval Muscovite conquest of the city—a section which, as will be discussed in chapter four, prefigured the local histories that would emerge in Kazan in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The bulk of the book, however, looked at the late-eighteenth-century city (and, in much more abbreviated detail, the surrounding county) in its physical, institutional, social, and economic dimensions. What is most striking, though, is that amidst all this jumble of information, which included reasonably detailed discussions of social demographics, trade and economic activity, religious affiliations, housing, and schooling, the city's health did not register even a single mention. Topics which in nineteenth-century texts would invariably have raised medical concerns—climate, physical topography, water supplies—were presented by Zinovev in purely functional terms. He described the weather, for example, with bland but fairly positive language: “The climate in Kazan... is moderately warm in the summer, and in the winter it varies, but severe frost is most common.”³⁰ Notably absent here were the pestilential mud of spring and dust of summer that would so alarm later observers. Likewise in discussing Kazan's physical topography, where “half the city is located along the ridge of a low hill and its ravines, and the other half in the valley of the hill on a flat plain,” he

³⁰ Dmitrii Zinovev, *Topograficheskoe opisanie goroda Kazani i ego Uezda* (Moscow: Universitetskaia Tipografiia u N. Novikova, 1788), 53.

avoided the language of meadows, bogs, wet areas, and low spots that would subsequently be used to draw attention to the sources of dangerous miasmas.³¹ Even his discussion of water supplies was purely descriptive, stating that “the city is supplied with water from two rivers and four lakes,” and then proceeding to list the Kazanka and Bulak rivers and Kaban, Tifinskoe, Bathing, and Black lakes, each with a summary of physical characteristics, such as size, location, and surroundings, but lacking any consideration of water quality.³² There is no reason to think from all this that Zinovev was uninterested in the science of health—indeed, quite the contrary. What is evident, however, is that the late-eighteenth century scientific and literary models which guided his thinking simply did not yet acknowledge medicine as a subject with much relevance to a comprehensive metropolitan survey.

Zinovev was not inflexible of mind, however, and his viewpoint continued to track evolving European notions of disease and public health. His perspective on the city was no doubt also shaped by the accelerating pace of urban growth during the early nineteenth century, and all the challenges that attended it. By the time he took up editing and writing for *Kazanskiia izvestiia* in the 1810s, Zinovev and his fellow contributors regularly discussed the city in the kind of medicalized terms that had been entirely absent in his 1788 survey. The contrast can be observed, for example, in a wide-ranging, if still rather haphazard, look at health in the city that Zinovev wrote in 1817, called “A Few Words on the Quality and Characteristics of Water in Kazan, on the Diseases Befalling People, Livestock Epidemics, Etc.” The bulk of the article did discuss the city’s water supplies in some depth, with the emphasis no longer on listing and physically describing water sources, but rather on ranking and evaluating them from a health

³¹ Zinovev, *Topograficheskoe opisanie goroda*, 21-22.

³² Zinovev, *Topograficheskoe opisanie goroda*, 37-38.

perspective. Black and Bathing lakes, for example, were said to hold standing water which in summer and fall could “produce the most unpleasant odors,” and thus were not used for drinking. Instead, Lake Kaban was the choice of most people in the city. It was true that in the summer heat “a good quantity of small insects, *jumpers* or *water fleas* (*Monoculus saltatorius*) could be observed” in the lake; however, Zinovev noted, “though repulsive, these have no particular effect on the health of those consuming the water.” Of particular interest is the proto-epidemiological approach Zinovev adopted when discussing the Kazanka River. “Although the water [there] is clear,” he wrote, “it contains a large quantity of mineral solids, so it is not suited for consumption. Those living in Zasypkinaia and Lower Fedorovskaia neighborhoods, who use it, suffer blockages more often than other residents.”³³

Nor was Zinovev concerned with water quality alone. His broader commentary on disease in the city, like that on water supplies, now cast Kazan as a defined space in which physical and climatic forces worked together to heighten specific dangers and foster particular ailments. “The primary local diseases of the city,” he wrote, “are intermittent fevers, and aqueous and scorbutic diseases; in the month of March acute colds spread wildly; and at the end of July and for all of August typhus frequently appears.” Society, gender, and culture also played a part in shaping the city’s landscape of disease. “Among women (by which I mean those of a gentle upbringing) can be noted the diseases most particular to that sex, resulting from a sedentary life and a weakness for tea,” he wrote. As to the city’s Tatars, Zinovev judged them to “enjoy better health than the Russians. Which stems from the simple nature of their upbringing, and their temperate and steady way of life.” Here, too, he detected a cultural and gendered dimension, as

³³ D[mitrii] Zinovev, “Nechto o dobrote i svoistve vod v Kazani, o prikliuchaiushchikhsia liudiam bolezniah, skotskikh padezhakh i proch.,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1817, no. 13 (Feb. 14, 1817): 49-50.

Tatar women were marked as prone to eye diseases stemming from their “love of bleaching and rouging themselves with special Asiatic compounds.” Ultimately the new field of statistics could be used to offer graphic proof of the stakes involved in failing to understand issues of public health in the city; for, Zinovev reported, “among the 40 thousand Kazan residents of the Greco-Russian faith, for every thousand of them, 36 people of both sexes die each year.”³⁴ To the extent statistics from early-nineteenth-century provincial Russia can be accepted as meaningful in an objective sense, such a mortality rate may not have been far removed from the experience of Western European and North American cities of the time.³⁵ But, questions of accuracy aside, of greater significance was the fact that the city’s mortality was almost certainly much higher than that prevailing in the surrounding countryside. As a result, facts and figures like these were well suited to make an impact on city dwellers, inspiring demands for public attention toward questions of health, and perhaps for public responses to them as well.

Developing Expert Opinions on the Hazards of Kazan’s Medicalized Spaces

In coming to see the city through a medical lens, Zinovev was far from alone among educated residents of the city in the early nineteenth century. His fellow contributors to *Kazanskiia izvestiia* during the 1810s, who included a few medical professionals, tended to share this new view of the city, as a medicalized space, subject to particular health risks and diseases, and with a level of health that could be described and quantified on a collective basis. Prominent local doctor and professor of medicine Karl Fuks, for example—whose amateur historical and

³⁴ Zinovev, “Nechto o dobrote i svoistve vod,” *KI*, 1817, no. 13: 50-51

³⁵ Michael R. Haines, *The Urban Mortality Transition in the United States, 1800-1940* (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2001), 3-6; Samuel H. Preston and Etienne van de Walle, “Urban French Mortality in the Nineteenth Century,” *Population Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Jul., 1978): 283-284.

ethnographic work will be discussed at length in chapter five—embraced this point of view in his short-lived newspaper column “The Condition of the Health of the Residents of the City of Kazan.” Running monthly during the first half of 1812, each installment provided a summary of the general state of the city’s health and the recent ebbs and flows of particular diseases, with emphasis on the influential role played by weather and season.³⁶ Soon Ivan Langel, who had already served as the head of the Kazan Medical Board for more than a decade, would also enter into the arena of public discourse on the city’s health. In 1817, Langel published Kazan’s first medical topography³⁷; and for most of the 1820s he would continue to expound on the topic of local medicine in the pages of *Kazanskii vestnik* [the *Kazan Herald*]. The medical topography was still a relatively new scientific genre that embodied the emerging Western European conceptualization of a nexus between urban space, disease, and public health. The first medical topographies appeared in Germany and France during the 1780s and 1790s, and subtypes soon emerged which focused on specific nations, regions, and individual cities.³⁸ It did not take long for Russian authors like Langel to begin to adopt this innovation. His *Short Medical-Physical and Topographical Survey of Kazan Province and the Provincial City of Kazan*, published by the

³⁶ e.g.: [Karl] Fuks, “Sostoianie zdorovia zhitelei goroda Kazani v techenii Genvaria Mesiatsa 1812 goda,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1812, no. 5 (Feb. 3, 1812): 5-6; [Karl] Fuks, “Sostoianie zdorovia zhitelei goroda Kazani v techenii Maiia Mesiatsa,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1812, no. 23 (Jun. 8, 1812): 1.

³⁷ I. Langel, *Kratkoe mediko-fizicheskoe i topograficheskoe obozrenie Kazanskoi Gubernii i Gubernskago goroda Kazani*, 2nd printing (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1829). In the 1830s, Vasilii Tile cited another medical topography of Kazan from around this same time period, *Vrachebnaia Topografiia goroda Kazani*, written by Feodor Erdman, the medical department’s first professor, who taught at the university between 1804 and 1817. However, I have thus far been unable to find a record of this volume in standard Russian bibliographical references. See [Vasilii] Tile, “Zapiska o prichinakh, po koim Kazan prinadlezhit k gorodam, zdoroviu neblagopriiatstvuiushchimi,” *Zavolzhsii muravei*, 1833, vol. 3, no. 19: 1080.

³⁸ Frank A. Barrett, “The role of French-language contributors to the development of medical geography (1782–1933),” *Social Science & Medicine*, vol. 55 (2002): 155-160; C. Julia and A-J. Valleron, “Louis-René Villerme (1782-1863), a pioneer in social epidemiology: re-analysis of his data on comparative mortality in Paris in the early 19th century,” *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, vol. 65, no. 8 (Aug., 2011): 666-668.

university typography, became well-known, and generated sufficient interest to merit a second printing in 1829.

Dmitrii Zinovev's thoughts on public health never moved far beyond the descriptive; but many of his contemporaries, especially medical professionals like Langel, sought to do more than simply tally Kazan's ills. Instead, following the lead of Western European commentators, they coupled their observations with recommendations for action: collective responses which, they argued, had the potential to reduce or eliminate many of the health hazards of living in the city. It should be acknowledged that medical activism in Kazan remained muted during this period, and was accompanied by a certain defensiveness. Langel, for example, articulated his agenda in mild tones and passive voice: "by revealing inadequacies... and presenting the means of addressing them, it is to be hoped that sufficient measures will be taken for the general and individual good of the remarkable city of Kazan." Furthermore, Kazan's physicians still generally assumed that any such measures would be initiated in top-down fashion, at the direction of the imperial state and its provincial administration, rather than emerging from the community or its elected local government. "When it will be suitable for the Government to undertake [these measures]," Langel wrote, "they will produce tangible benefits... and the obvious value to Kazan's citizens that will result from them will be a source of pleasant memories about the attentiveness and industry, unceasing care and benevolence of the Administration."³⁹ Even into the 1830s, medical professor Adam Arngoldt continued to write of "how much [Nicholas I] would be admired if our city, known for its throngs, its buildings, its

³⁹ Langel, *Kratkoe mediko-fizicheskoe i topograficheskoe obozrenie*, 66.

workshops, its factories, and its trade, but sadly impoverished of good air and entirely lacking in good water, were to be provided with these essentials as well.”⁴⁰

Before they could prescribe any kind of action, however, Kazan’s medical professionals first needed to clearly articulate the issues to be addressed. In this regard, there was a consensus among virtually all observers in these early decades of the nineteenth century—Kazan’s twin problems were ‘muck’ (and the resultant miasmas) on the one hand, and unsuitable water supplies on the other. From the beginning of his book Langel laid out these challenges clearly: “Of this city, it is not unknown that in many places it becomes extremely muddy in fall and spring; that several streets become submerged underwater, that its residents suffer a great insufficiency of clean and healthy water; and that at various times of the year there arise local diseases, particular only to this city.”⁴¹ On the issue of muck [*griaz*], experts seem to have been less concerned with the offal, raw sewage, and animal waste that was ubiquitous in the city (and that we now know played a crucial role in undermining public health), than with the flooding and meltwater which turned the streets into rivers of mud for much of the year. When Professor Ivan Braun first came to Kazan to join the medical faculty, he observed that “in the lower parts of the city, where the water flows from above, the muck rises to the very axles of a carriage.”⁴² All this muck was viewed as a direct threat to residents’ health. Fuks, for example, wrote despairingly that “as long as the streets of Kazan are muddy, there is almost nothing her healers can do.”⁴³ In focusing on the confluence of dampness, heat, and decay, without attributing any particular

⁴⁰ Iv. Arngoldt, “O vliianii vozdukhia i vody na zdravie chelevecheskoe (Okonchanie),” *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, no. 14: 777-778.

⁴¹ Langel, *Kratkoe mediko-fizicheskoe i topograficheskoe obozrenie*, 2.

⁴² Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta*, vol. 2, 669.

⁴³ [Karl] Fuks, “Zamechanie o kholere, svirepstvovavshei v gorode Kazani v techenie sentiabria i oktiabria mesiatsev,” *Kazanskii vestnik*, 1830, vol. 32, no. 3 (Apr. 1831): 255.

importance to sewage, Kazan's doctors were in alignment with the major tenets of contemporary miasma theory. Journalist, educator, and civic promoter Mikhail Rybushkin drew heavily on Langel's medical topography to map out the connection explicitly, writing that "the time of year has a very direct influence on human health [in Kazan]; particularly in spring, because the water left after the flooding of the Kazanka forms swamps, which rot and contaminate the air."⁴⁴ Oft-mentioned as a counterpart to Kazan's muck was the billowing dust that would emerge once the streets dried out; yet, however unpleasant and inconvenient this haze may have been, it generated far less concern among local physicians, informed as they were by prevailing scientific views on miasma.

When it came to public water supplies, few doctors were as sanguine as Zinovev about the residents' reliance on Lake Kaban and a scattering of city wells. Even Zinovev had had to admit that "dung and every sort of rubbish is often visible" on the shores of Lake Kaban.⁴⁵ Other authors took their concerns further. Langel cast serious doubt on the quality of the water of the Kaban, noting that it remained murky far out into the middle.⁴⁶ An unattributed, revised version of Zinovev's survey of water quality which appeared in *Kazanskiia izvestiia* in 1818 noted that "the water would have been better if the lake... was maintained in such a way as to exclude impurities"—impurities "which arose from people gathering there to do laundry and water cattle, and from the hundreds of people and horses bathing there every day during the summer."⁴⁷ By

⁴⁴ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1834), 149-150.

⁴⁵ Zinovev, "Nechto o dobrate i svoistve vod," *KI*, 1817, no. 13: 49-50.

⁴⁶ Alyson K. Smith, "Public Works in an Autocratic State: Water Supplies in an Imperial Russian Town," *Environment and History*, vol. 11 (2005): 324.

⁴⁷ "O kachestve vod v Kazani, i o deistviiakh klimata nad zdorovem i pazmnozheniem naroda, chasto prikluchaiushchikhsia bolezniakh liudiam, i skotskikh zarazakh," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1818, no. 66 (Aug. 17, 1818): 258.

the beginning of the 1830s, Arngoldt was looking for ways to address Lake Kaban's "muddiness," "unpleasant odor and taste," "disgusting color," and the "thousands of insects, which can now be seen in a single glass, even with just the naked eye."⁴⁸

In these early decades of the century, the specific remedies that experts proposed to address these issues remained of a rudimentary nature. In many cases they still advocated individual, rather than collective action; since disseminating medical advice often seemed more feasible than undertaking large-scale public health initiatives. "There are limits to human strength, and to suddenly embrace every measure and try to remedy everything at the very same is impractical," Langel cautioned.⁴⁹ Thus, for example, he wrote that although it was "advisable to take every possible means to clean the air" of miasmas—for which he suggested large fires of juniper wood—he recommended these be undertaken chiefly by individuals in their own homes. "Public cleansings of the air are linked to so many inconveniences and with so many popular misconceptions," he judged, "that they should be undertaken only with due consideration."⁵⁰ When it came to water quality, experts often advised personal measures likely only available to the more prosperous families, such as paying a premium for water from more-distant but higher-quality sources like the Volga, or employing sand-and-charcoal filters of the sort that residents of St. Petersburg were said to use to make even the Neva drinkable.⁵¹ As far as the city's muck was concerned, there was less that an individual household could do to minimize their risk; though,

⁴⁸ Arngoldt, "O vliianii vozdukha i vody," *ZM*, 1832, no. 14: 774-775.

⁴⁹ Langel, *Kratkoe mediko-fizicheskoe i topograficheskoe obozrenie*, 2.

⁵⁰ Ivan Langel, "Zamechanie o vskrytii vesny sego 1827 goda i poiavivsheisia vo vremia onoi bolezni s predokhranitel'nymi sredstvami," *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 20, no. 5 (May, 1827): 56.

⁵¹ Ilia Iakovkin, "Zamechanie, nabliudeniia i mysli o snabdenii goroda Kazani Volzhskoiu, ili Kabannoiu vodoiu, o kachestve ikh obeikh i o sposobakh sdelat Kabannia vody obilnymi i protochnymi," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1833, vol. 2, no. 16: 920-921.

(Langel advised) they could at least remember that “cleanliness in all things is the best preventative measure.”⁵²

Increasingly, therefore, Kazan’s educated professionals began to think bigger, by circulating proposals for public action to address Kazan’s health hazards on a collective basis. At this stage few imagined that the entire city could tap water sources farther away, so the focus here fell on more modest ideas, such as Arngoldt’s suggestion that new public wells be dug at various places around town.⁵³ The majority of experts—echoing the sentiments in *Kazanskiia izvestiia* against the abuses of launderers, bathers, and livestock handlers—concentrated their attentions on improving the water quality of Lake Kaban. Vasilii Tile advanced a pair of measures designed to achieve this goal in the mid-1820s, soon after he took over as head of the Kazan Medical Board. His plan envisaged a metropolitan-scale water-filtration system, based on a Parisian model, to purify the water, together with police surveillance to prevent any further contamination of the lake.⁵⁴ Tile’s ideas languished, but there was no shortage of competing proposals for addressing the water crisis. Many experts argued that it was vital to avoid stagnation by getting the water moving. The waters of the Kaban would improve, one suggestion went, “if they were allowed to flow freely, by means of deepening the Bulak [Canal].”⁵⁵ Other observers felt that the key was to manage the land surrounding the city’s lakes and rivers properly. If the shore areas were paved, landscaped, and gardened, so this line of reasoning went, then filth would be prevented from flowing into the water, the air would be cleaned by the plantings, and the city’s water supplies would remain healthy. One *Kazanskiia izvestiia*

⁵² Langel, “Zamechanie o vskrytii,” *KI*, vol. 20, no. 5: 58.

⁵³ Arngoldt, “O vliianii vozdukha i vody,” *ZM*, 1832, no. 14: 776.

⁵⁴ [Vasilii] Tile, “Zapiska o prichinakh, po koim Kazan prinadlezhit k gorodam, zdoroviu neblagopriiatstvuiushchimi (Okonchanie),” *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1833, vol. 3, no. 20: 1136.

⁵⁵ “O kachestve vod v Kazani,” *KI*, 1818, no. 66: 258.

contributor's synthesis of these ideas imagined: "how good it would be... if, along the shores [of the Bulak], we constructed alleys for walking and recreation: how very attractive, and how useful for dealing with muck, [and] for ensuring health by cleansing the air... Having cleaned the Bulak and opened up fresh springs and allowed water in from Lake Kaban, it might have good water in it suitable for any application."⁵⁶ It seems possible that considerations such as these helped encourage the City Duma's support for the beautification project for Black Lake in 1811, although its minutes did not cite the issue of water quality directly.

The notion that the city's lakeshores and riverbanks played an important role in determining water quality was closely linked with the universally approved solution to its muck: paving. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, paving represented an innovation in Kazan (a fact which, to cosmopolitan newcomers, gave testimony that the place remained provincial in every sense of the word). On his arrival in 1807, Professor Braun observed that "only in the *kreml* is there a short paved stretch, all the other streets are unpaved."⁵⁷ For the first few decades of the century, the paving of the city advanced only at an agonizing crawl. By the start of the 1830s, the best that one could say was that a few of the main streets in the city core had been surfaced, and that the pace of work had also begun to accelerate. The journalist Rybushkin, for one, took these as hopeful signs of progress, both past and future. "In recognition of the difficulties [raised by Kazan's muck]," he reported, "the current Government has taken measures; streets that were once muddy are now paved with stone, and in the future, no doubt, others will be similarly clad."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ "Kazan, 13-go Sentiabria," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 74 (Sep. 15, 1815): 421.

⁵⁷ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta*, vol. 2, 669.

⁵⁸ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 143.

Thus the story of Kazan's water and its muck ran more or less in parallel. The early decades of the nineteenth century had been marked by the emergence of the city as a subject of public health discourse, the diagnosis of these twin urban dilemmas, and the introduction of proposals for addressing them. The real work of implementing public health solutions, however, was only just beginning in the 1830s, and would take decades to come to fruition. Before that could happen, moreover, the city would first have to survive a health crisis which temporarily pushed questions of chronic and endemic illness to the side: cholera. The cholera epidemic of 1830 imposed the sternest of tests on imperial officials, medical professionals, and everyday citizens alike, and many did not meet the mark. It brought both the leadership qualities of the imperial administration, and the practical value of Kazan's scientific experts into question, while encouraging locals to appreciate their own capacities. Most of all, it underscored the fact that Kazan's merchants, townsmen, and professionals all held a much greater personal stake in the city's success or failure than the itinerant bureaucrats and nobles who passed through the city, and that there were good reasons for long-term urban residents to take a larger role in governing the city and charting its future, despite the challenges and costs this would entail.

Imperial and Medical Expertise in Question: The Cholera Onslaught

Cholera was the first new epidemic disease to strike the European consciousness in the modern era of global journalism and medical science. Unlike earlier plagues and scourges, which terrified by their unexpectedness, unpredictability, and air of profane mystery, the pall that cholera cast over educated Europe in the years before the first global epidemic had a different quality. The disease had been tracked by British physicians and journalists in India since 1817; and experts had already had the chance to follow one major pandemic, which raged throughout

South and East Asia, the Middle East and East Africa between 1817 and 1823, and even brushed the southern frontiers of the Russian Empire, generating a handful of cases in Tiflis and Astrakhan in its final throes.⁵⁹ Russian and other European scientists had watched the unfolding events with clinical interest, generating an extensive literature on cholera long before it achieved a global reach.⁶⁰ As was true of much medical science from the period, practitioners' claims to analytical and therapeutic insight far outstripped their actual capabilities. And not only did they fail to understand it as a water-borne pathogen—nurtured by overcrowding, contaminated water, and nonexistent sewage systems—but they failed to arrive at any broad consensus on its nature, thus placing their ignorance in view for all to see.⁶¹ Meanwhile, indifferent to the aspirations of these medical experts, cholera seemed to follow its own frightful 'scientific laws'—advancing remorselessly from city to city and town to town; striking down the infected with clockwork precision; and ending their lives in horrifying scenes of squalor and degradation.⁶² As the 1820s wore on, some hope still remained that it was essentially a tropical disease, or that only particular ethnic, cultural, or social groups were susceptible. However most in Europe and America were increasingly resigned to the idea that it was only a matter of time before their nations, too, felt the sting of cholera.⁶³ These dire expectations were confirmed in 1829, when the disease was

⁵⁹ David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 159-168.

⁶⁰ N. F. Kramchaninov, "K istorii borby s kholeroi v Rossii v 1829-1830 gg.," *Sovetskoe zdravookhranenie*, vol. 15, no. 4 (Jul.-Aug., 1956): 46-49.

⁶¹ Roderick E. McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera, 1823-1832* (Madison & Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 18-25, 39-40.

⁶² Evans, *Death in Hamburg*, 226-230.

⁶³ M. Durey, *The First Spasmodic Cholera Epidemic in York, 1832* (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1974), 3-7; Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 1-4, 13-25.

reported in the Russian frontier city of Orenburg, just a few hundred miles south-east of Kazan, heralding the onset of a new, worldwide pandemic.⁶⁴

Though few in Russia doubted that cholera represented a grave danger, the empire had had nearly a decade to marshal its medical expertise and prepare for the onslaught. The muscular, centralized administration of Nicholas I might not be able to prevent the disease from striking at the core of the Russian Empire, but it believed it had the tools to at least control the outbreak and mitigate its harms. In the years leading up to the outbreak—and in keeping with past practices—the government called on its medical experts in the capitals to design and disseminate a strategy against the disease. The institution tasked with these duties was the Central Medical Council, a division of the Interior Ministry. Throughout the crisis the Medical Council (unlike many of its European counterparts) endorsed contagion theory, at least with respect to cholera; and from the beginning, the chief measure envisioned by government experts to combat the disease was the enforcement of quarantine zones.⁶⁵ When the disease was identified in Orenburg in the autumn of 1829, the imperial bureaucracy rolled ponderously into action, according to the plans that had been sketched out in the intervening years. While it did so, the advancing pandemic paused over the winter of 1829-30, granting the surrounding provinces like Kazan additional time to ready themselves.⁶⁶

Kazan was not unfamiliar with infectious outbreaks, and the policies enacted against cholera in 1830 layered the latest scientific guidelines for diagnosis and disinfection on top of

⁶⁴ Charlotte E. Henze, *Disease, Health Care and Government in Late Imperial Russia: Life and Death on the Volga, 1823–1914* (London: Routledge, 2011), 12-14.

⁶⁵ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 22-25; Kramchaninov, “K istorii borby s kholeroi,” *Sovetskoe zdravookhranenie*, vol. 15, no. 4: 47-48.

⁶⁶ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 41-49; NART f. 1, o. 1, d. 165, ll. 10-10ob, 13-15ob.

practices that had been developed in earlier moments of crisis. One model from living memory was that of 1808, when news had spread of a virulent typhoid fever outbreak in Saratov, further south along the Volga. At that time, the administration in Kazan warned those “involved in commercial, industrial, and other businesses” to notify the authorities at once about any goods arriving from the infected area, and to refrain from accepting or conveying them. The City Magistrate declared its intent to prosecute anyone defying these regulations, and instructed the elected overseers of the city’s bazaars to perform daily inspections to ensure they were followed. The governor also directed the City Duma to build checkpoints at all the entry points to the metropolitan area, which would be manned by the city police to ensure that diseased individuals and tainted goods from Saratov were intercepted.⁶⁷ Aggressive cordoning measures such as these routinely prompted evasion and discontent among the Russian population, but in neither 1808 nor 1830 were they met by any overt protest or resistance. A precarious tension seems to have existed between the regulations’ plausible preventative value and the undeniable material hardship they imposed on city residents—a tension that may have broken along class lines, since the prosperous had the resources to ride out the quarantine, and could therefore better appreciate its benefits. In any case, Kazan’s public did not rely entirely on the government to provide peace of mind under trying circumstances such as these. Instead, many residents placed their ultimate faith in the power of divine aid. The locally-renowned Sedmiozernaia icon was credited with delivering Kazan from plague epidemics in 1654 and 1771, events memorialized by the icon’s annual procession around the city.⁶⁸ In 1830, religious belief remained a powerful comfort in the

⁶⁷ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 17, ll. 1-4, 9-11, 12.

⁶⁸ Zinovev, *Topograficheskoe opisanie*, 59-60; Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 82-87; M. V. Kazanskii, *Putevoditel po Kazani* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1899), 89-90.

face of the pitiless and arbitrary suffering inflicted by disease, and in the coming emergency, many would look to the icon for salvation once more.⁶⁹

Even the most faithful city dwellers faced a grave test of the spirit during the long, anxious wait between the autumn of 1829 and the summer of 1830. As updates on the disease and fresh government circulars filtered regularly into Kazan, the city's imperial administrators made their preparations. The general mood among local officials and physicians was one of grim determination; but with the benefit of hindsight, the provincial government's response appears mechanical, ill-considered, and ultimately counter-productive. One early shock came in November 1829, when the disease jumped some 140 miles from the city of Orenburg itself to the village of Bugulma.⁷⁰ From this, Tile's Medical Board inferred that "[cholera] can reveal itself in various places," an observation which lent support to miasma proponents and called the quarantine strategy into question.⁷¹ The waters were further muddied by Konstantin Pupyrev, an advanced medical student at Kazan University who was sent to Orenburg to observe the disease and report his findings. His conclusion was that the outbreak had been triggered when Orenburg Tatars consumed unleavened bread made from rotted or inferior grain.⁷² Other questions loomed as well. Local medical professionals sought intelligence on the status of the disease in Bukhara and Khiva, fearing that Kazan's extensive overland caravan trade with those Central Asian hubs offered a likely vector for disease transmission. Still more disturbing was the fact that "in the

⁶⁹ N. P. Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani: Illiustrirovannyi ukazatel dostoprimechatelnosti i spravochnaia knizhka goroda* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1895), 493.

⁷⁰ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 42-51.

⁷¹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 165, ll. 133ob.

⁷² K. Pupyrev, *Opisanie khoda bolezni nazyvaemoi kholeroi, otkryvsheisia 1829 goda* (Kazan: n.p., 1830), 11.

opinion of physicians, it is still entirely unresolved whether this disease can be disinfected during quarantines, similarly to plague.”⁷³

Counter-intuitively, perhaps, these looming concerns seem only to have heightened officials’ commitment to a forward-defense strategy, designed to keep the disease out of the province at all costs. “To prepare for every hazard,” Governor Ivan Zhevanov and his counsellors ordered, “a cordon must be established along the entire length of the border between Kazan Province and Orenburg.” In keeping with this plan, the province’s resources were concentrated in the remote counties bordering Orenburg. Troops and officials were sent to enforce the restrictions, and doctors from the Medical Board and the university were dispatched to ferret out early signs of disease.⁷⁴ It was a bold gambit, which kept precious little in reserve to deal with the disease if it should manage to breach the quarantine line. And ultimately this is exactly what happened; for, as it turned out, the greatest danger did not lie in the direction of Orenburg at all. In July, Astrakhan was once again struck by cholera, and by early August the sickness had advanced up the Volga to Saratov.⁷⁵ As this new threat exploded onto the scene, Kazan’s blind-sided bureaucrats belatedly ordered the city police to set up a quarantine on river traffic arriving at the local dockyards.⁷⁶ This defense came too late, however, and proved too porous. At the end of August, Nizhnii Novgorod was struck, and Kazan found itself encircled by the disease. A few days later, cases broke out on the Kazan wharves, and then, on September 10th

⁷³ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 165, ll. 16-16ob.

⁷⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 165, ll. 133-138ob.

⁷⁵ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 51-63.

⁷⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 7ob-8.

the first victim was reported in in the urban core (a bread-seller who had traded on the docks). Chaos descended on the city.⁷⁷

Cholera inspired terror in city dwellers by its then-indeterminate mode of transmission, by the high mortality rate among those who contracted the disease, and by the sheer speed with which it killed. “Once the disease cholera strikes,” one witness in the city reported, “in the course of [five or six] hours the victim will be beyond help, or even have died.”⁷⁸ And although cholera did the greatest harm to Kazan’s poorest, most deprived, and weakest citizens, it claimed victims from all parts of the city, all social strata, and every demographic group. So it was not long before blind fear, too, began to act as a contagion. “Terror spilled out along every street,” Fuks recalled. “Not a single carriage could be seen; everywhere the gates were shut, and only a solitary old lady, not apprehending the danger, continued to walk the streets.”⁷⁹ As was customary with civic disasters, later accounts alleged that “most [citizens] fled the city, even before the epidemic had arrived.”⁸⁰ Yet records show that the city’s most prominent and wealthy merchants remained in the city, together with its university-based intellectuals and the vast majority of city residents who were too poor ever to have considered leaving. As in other comparable situations, it seems that it was largely the city’s thin but conspicuous upper crust of landed nobles who had fled, along with their families and domestic help. For the tens of thousands who remained in Kazan, meanwhile, death hovered nearby. “Every hour they were carrying corpses off on stretchers... many houses were completely boarded up—a sign that

⁷⁷ Kazanskii, *Putevoditel po Kazani*, 90-91; Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani*, 492.

⁷⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 266ob.

⁷⁹ Fuks, “Zamechanie o kholere,” *KV*, 1830, vol. 32, no. 3: 223; Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani*, 492.

⁸⁰ P[etr Vasi]lev, *Kholernye gody v Kazani* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipgrafiia, 1871), 7.

everyone inside had passed away.”⁸¹ By the last week of September, official statistics showed an average of over thirty people dying every day—nearly ten times the normal mortality for the season.⁸² Unofficial estimates suggested that the actual death rate may have been three to five times higher still.⁸³

An infection of this sort was inherently unsettling; but the way the disease was introduced to the city and the government’s botched early response raised additional disturbing questions about the integrity and capability of the provincial administration. Even as the infection continued to rage, widespread allegations of impropriety, negligence, and corruption hung in the air. Particular provincial officials—especially the provincial secretary, a man named Dorokhov—were accused of engaging in flagrant bribe-taking. Anyone whose commercial or personal interests made it worth their while, it was said, could pay Dorokhov and his accomplices to obtain the signatures necessary to circumvent the quarantine measures. A crucial subtext of these allegations was the possibility the disease had vaulted from the Volga quays to the streets of Kazan because of just such illegalities. Governor Zhevanov’s role in the sordid affair was murky—it was unclear whether he was complicit in the alleged misdeeds, had been blinded by a foolhardy trust in favorites like Dorokhov, or was simply lax and detached. In any event, his own image and that of his administration was badly tarnished.⁸⁴ Nor did the failures of leadership end there. It was claimed that many of Kazan’s medical professionals, ensnared by panic and cowardice, had shirked their duty and their calling by refusing to provide care to the

⁸¹ [Vasi]lev, *Kholernye gody v Kazani*, 7.

⁸² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 197, ll. 30-31ob; NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 201, ll. 1-100.

⁸³ [Vasi]lev, *Kholernye gody v Kazani*, 10.

⁸⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 3-4.

stricken.⁸⁵ There were also reports that the hospitals were undersupplied, that their assigned physicians were absent, and that Zhevanov and his staff had neglected to provide them with any serious attention or oversight.⁸⁶

Such allegations are hard to substantiate in their particulars. Governor Zhevanov would die before the outbreak ended, and his replacement, Vice-Governor Evgraf Filippov, was willing to offer at least a lukewarm defense of the man, contesting most of the claims against him.⁸⁷ Furthermore, many of Zhevanov's chief critics were military officials who were clearly eager to shift blame for the debacle onto the civil administration.⁸⁸ With his death, the governor may have appeared to them as an easy target for scapegoating. However, even setting aside accusations of high crimes and misdemeanors, the government's early response was deeply flawed in more prosaic ways as well. The official strategy had been to divide each of the city's wards (by now numbering five) into several districts. Each district would be overseen by police officers, who would watch for signs of cholera, and call in medical personnel and implement quarantine measures if it was detected. To the greatest extent possible, the sick were to be concentrated in a handful of hospitals. One of these was run by the Office of Social Welfare, and the other two were temporary sites, located on the north side of the city in the home of university veterinarian Sokolov and south of the Bulak in the home of a staff doctor for the gunpowder factory named Kozlovskii. All three were situated at a remove from Kazan's central population centers.⁸⁹ This plan may have appeared logical, but it was also brittle—when the moment of crisis arrived, its

⁸⁵ NART. f. 1, o. 1, d. 198, ll. 132-132ob.

⁸⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 4-5.

⁸⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 7-10ob.

⁸⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 3ob-4.

⁸⁹ NART. f. 1, o. 1, d. 165, ll. 136ob-137ob; NART. f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 299ob-300.

dispositions were easily overwhelmed by the scope and speed of the emergency. And what is more important, the plan failed to enlist Kazan's citizenry as allies in the disease response, but rather positioned the bulk of the city's population as an undifferentiated mass, passive and potentially oppositional, to be managed, controlled, and moved across the urban chessboard by the imperial administration. If, indeed, it had been corruption that allowed the disease to enter Kazan, then surely the government's poor planning and habituated arrogance helped fan that initial spark into a runaway conflagration.

Official and Unofficial Approaches to Tackling an Insoluble Crisis

The first two weeks after the outbreak began were a blur—with the district police overwhelmed, the internal quarantine measures haphazard and ineffective, senior officials struggling simply to discover what was happening, and the death toll steadily climbing. By September 23rd, the situation had become dire enough to impel the government to rethink its strategy. In doing so, state officials did not entirely do away with their preference for centralized authority wielded by favored political and social actors, but they did make significant concessions aimed at engaging a broader swath of the urban population in the struggle against cholera. The cornerstone of the new approach was the formation of the Temporary Provincial Committee to End Cholera in the City of Kazan, established by the governor according to guidelines laid down by the Interior Ministry.⁹⁰ The members of the Temporary Committee included the governor and vice-governor, the regional military commander, the elected head of the local nobility, and the director of the county postal service. But in a nod to the city's merchants and professionals, the committee also encompassed the mayor of Kazan, Nikifor

⁹⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 23-24ob, 27.

Chizhov, and Vasiliï Tile, the inspector who oversaw the Kazan Medical Board.⁹¹ The committee laid out formalized procedures for curfews and inspections, as well as for quarantining the sick, either in hospitals or in their own homes. The system of wards and districts was retained, but now a staff of four to six individuals was designated in each district, who would be responsible for enforcing the new measures. The head of each district, or ‘commissar,’ was to be chosen “from the nobility”—typically an active or furloughed civil servant of middling rank—while his several assistants came “from among the merchants.”⁹² All medical practitioners who had either remained in the city or returned from the hinterland were also formally allocated to posts in the city’s districts and hospitals.⁹³ This system was both more structured and more inclusive than what had come before; so that although it remained bound by the empire’s formalized social hierarchies, it nevertheless opened up new opportunities for non-nobles to become active participants in the eradication campaign.

The practical effects of the Temporary Committee’s efforts are difficult to gauge. Keeping infected residents closer to home may have helped them receive better care, but may also have increased the risk of widespread water contamination. It is important to remember, however, that in 1830, no expert in the world had the knowledge necessary to defeat cholera, and that no major city in Europe or North America came through the pandemic without witnessing ugly scenes and experiencing a general sense of defeat. At a minimum the committee’s work kept Kazan’s metropolitan society from descending still further into helplessness and disorder, and at best it may have played a part in turning the tide against cholera. By most measures, the outbreak peaked in Kazan on September 29-30, but even then a long slog remained before the

⁹¹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 31a.

⁹² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 31a-36ob, 5-6ob.

⁹³ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 1-4.

disease would be brought fully under control.⁹⁴ One challenge that plagued the committee throughout the crisis was a pervasive shortage of responsible officials and physicians. Dozens of them died, right up to Governor Zhevanov himself, who handed over his authority to Filippov on October 3rd and passed away on the 21st.⁹⁵ Each loss unraveled another strand in the city's web of governance and unleashed another wave of fear to wash over the victim's compatriots. Very quickly the line between shirkers and victims became hard to discern. The Temporary Committee's surviving correspondence is laden with commissars' requests to be released from duty for health reasons, notifications that their merchant assistants had been taken ill, investigations into medical officers alleged to be neglecting their responsibilities, and physical examinations of individuals from all these groups seeking to ascertain whether they were actually sick or not.⁹⁶ The extent of the resulting churn can be judged from an October 9th committee report, which stated that since the last set of assignments had been circulated one week earlier, "so many changes have occurred in the committee rolls, due to [regional] reassignments [by the Interior Ministry], deaths, and new arrivals, that it is hard to determine who is in which place, in which ward, or in which district."⁹⁷

Nor was this the only issue Kazan's Temporary Committee had to contend with. One telling failure of imagination on the part of its (entirely Russian-Orthodox) membership was in reconciling with Kazan's ethnic and religious diversity. Residents of Kazan were accustomed to creating silos in which the city's Orthodox Russians and Muslim Tatars could operate independently—as typified by the parallel structures of the City Duma and the Tatar Ratusha.

⁹⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 201, ll. 32, 34, 36.

⁹⁵ Evgenii Dolgov, "Po usmotrenie v nem rastoropnosti i otlichykh poznanii' (Kazanskii grazhdanskii gubernator Ivan Grigorevich Zhevanov)," *Ekho vekov*, 2007, vol. 2: 224-230.

⁹⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 55-55ob, 111, 113, 114, 120-120ob, 149-151, 156, 190, 191-193, 196-197, 210, 290.

⁹⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 297-298.

Furthermore, residents' shared conception of the city as a divided space included notionally assigning all the city's Tatars to the third ward. This perception was not without its historical foundation, but by 1830 prosperous Tatars had been moving into the adjacent second ward in numbers for decades. Yet despite this, the assignments sent down by the Temporary Committee were dictated by its members' mental models rather than the realities on the ground. No Tatar assistants were designated for any ward except the third. In the third ward, whose population was overwhelmingly Tatar, the assistants assigned to each district were divided between Russians and Tatars.⁹⁸ The extent to which these dispositions reflected ethnic chauvinism and mistrust, and the extent to which they were simply the result of ingrained habits of mind is uncertain. But either way, the district staffs that resulted were ill-suited to their duties.

In normal times, Kazan's residents could tolerate the inefficiencies and missteps that such long-standing practices of ethnic and religious separation engendered, but at a moment of urgent crisis the costs loomed larger. In the third ward, the consequences of assigning ethnic Russians to serve as the district commissars and half of the assistants were left unstated; but it seems reasonable to assume that the area's Russian assistants were underutilized and its Tatar assistants badly overstretched, resulting in significantly less effective medical oversight and care. In the second ward, however, the complete lack of any Tatar representation posed problems so acute that they could not be ignored. "I have found," wrote the nonplussed ward inspector, Mikhail Polinovskii, "that in the third district of this ward, the residents are in large part Tatars, but the commissar of this district, Bocharov, and all the persons assigned to assist him are Russian, and do not know the Tatar language. Despite their dedication to performing the duties assigned to

⁹⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 1-4.

them, this deficiency robs them of any possibility of success.”⁹⁹ In response to this report, the committee asked Mayor Chizhov to propose a Tatar merchant to serve as an additional assistant to commissar Bocharov. Chizhov put forward the name of Nugman Galeev, who was quickly approved as the sole occupant of this critical mediatory role in the second ward.¹⁰⁰

Yet if officials and notables were singularly ineffective in spanning ethnic, linguistic, and religious boundaries to muster a united front against the disease, it is also striking that Russians in Kazan, so far as was recorded, did not deploy racialized language to slander local Tatars as culturally or naturally prone to spread contagion. In that way, Kazan resisted a pattern which has been observed in a wide variety of nineteenth-century European colonial contexts.¹⁰¹ A typical case of that sort occurred within the borders of the Russian Empire itself, during late-nineteenth-century cholera outbreaks in Tashkent, where, as Jeff Sahadeo has shown, Central Asians were regularly vilified as congenitally ‘dirty,’ ignorant, and disease-ridden.¹⁰² No comparable discourse is evident in Kazan. It is true that the medical student Pupyrev did hint that cultural difference had contributed to the appearance of the disease, but only via the relatively inoffensive distinction of eating unleavened rather than leavened bread. He also lamented the unscientific mindset of the “coarse residents (Tatars)” of Orenburg, who had resisted his efforts to examine the corpses of their deceased relatives, and were “displeased to receive aid from a [non-Muslim].” Yet, these kinds of observations were rare; most discussions of cholera incidence and treatment from the period did not distinguish the city’s ethnic or religious populations at all.

⁹⁹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 261-261ob.

¹⁰⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 260.

¹⁰¹ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race & Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 61-66; Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 183-189, 198.

¹⁰² Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865-1923* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 85-107.

Furthermore, it may well be that even Pupyrev's frustration was directed as much against the 'coarseness' of his medical subjects as their ethnicity or faith.¹⁰³ This was a time when social rank was much more likely than religion or culture to be tied to the complex of cleanliness, health, and merit. In this context, urban elites tended to see Kazan's Tatars as, if anything, providing a positive example of temperance and self-control to the rowdy dregs of Russian society.¹⁰⁴

As they worked against a backdrop of death, fear, staffing turmoil, communications barriers, and cultural differences, the district commissars and their merchant-assistants continued to struggle to address even the most basic needs—making sure that every doctor had a horse, for example, or that each hospital had enough beds, or even that they themselves had the paper and candles necessary to do their work.¹⁰⁵ Though it represented an undeniable improvement over what had gone before, the Temporary Committee still left residents with many grounds for dissatisfaction with the government's efforts. So in response, just as they would do in the coming decade when they began working to establish a public alms-house, Kazan's private citizens faced up to these dissatisfactions and the city's undeniable needs squarely. Rather than waiting any longer for the government to provide solutions, they started taking unassuming, tentative, but real steps forward, in an effort to realize their own deliverance. At times these were private acts, taken by individual city residents in response to critical needs they observed around them. One of the assistants in the second ward, for example, a merchant named Cheparin, donated 25 sacks of flour when he saw his poorer neighbors beginning to starve under the weight of the quarantine

¹⁰³ Pupyrev, *Opisanie khoda bolezni*, 9-11.

¹⁰⁴ K. F. Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary v statisticheskoi i etnograficheskoi otnosheniakh* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1844), 6.

¹⁰⁵ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 236, 307-307ob, 330-330ob.

restrictions.¹⁰⁶ But the more tangible and far-reaching products of private initiative involved collective action by small groups of city residents, particularly when they came together to create a string of cholera hospitals, scattered across the city's most densely populated areas.¹⁰⁷

The first of these private hospitals opened in the Tatar quarter on September 28. It had twenty-five beds, and was located in a soap factory building between the Old and New Tatar Neighborhoods, that had been owned by a recently deceased woman of the merchant estate named Kitaeva. The hospital was organized and funded by the head of the Tatar Ratusha, Gaibadully Iunusov (brother of the soap magnate Abdulkarim, and father of the future philanthropists Ibragim and Iskak), with the aid of "other conscientious citizens of the Muslim religion who joined with him."¹⁰⁸ Within the next few days, three additional private hospital initiatives would follow. First, a merchant named Anasim Mesetnikov opened a small hospital of six beds in a vacant house in the third district of the first ward.¹⁰⁹ Then two groups of merchants, Aleksandr Serebrianikov and Ivan Krupenikov, and Nikifor Urvantsov and Iakim Korovin, both proposed hospitals in the first ward's first and second districts. These two pairs eventually decided to pool their efforts, establishing a large hospital in a house owned by a merchant from the Moscow region named Vargin.¹¹⁰

Although the Russian merchants did not say so explicitly, the timing of these various initiatives and the parallels between them suggest that they got the idea to create temporary neighborhood hospitals by watching the city's Tatars. But regardless, it is clear that all of these

¹⁰⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 335, 336-337ob, 340-340ob.

¹⁰⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 271, ll. 8ob-9.

¹⁰⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 272-272ob.

¹⁰⁹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 140, 141-142ob, 281.

¹¹⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 248-249, 263-265, 266-267, 277.

efforts represented truly private initiatives. The merchants were careful to notify the district officials of their intentions, and certainly did not want to run afoul of the authorities. A commissar in the first ward named Kudrevtsov even made rather clumsy efforts to take credit for Serebrianikov's hospital, to the extent that the police chief ultimately found it necessary to push back against some of his claims.¹¹¹ But the details which contemporary reports and letters provided—sketching out the merchants' early deliberations, their site searches, and their efforts to provision the new clinics—make it clear that the citizens involved were acting without official pressure or prompting. In fact, full awareness of these hospitals did not bubble up as far as the level of the Temporary Committee until some days after they had begun operations.

These hospitals may have been unofficial and impermanent institutions, but they still represented significant investments of time and money. Each required a site, furnishings, food, and clothing for its patients, and the hiring of a sizeable staff of aides and attendants, as well as management and oversight for the duration of the emergency. That so many of Kazan's private citizens would make these kinds of investments at a moment of profound uncertainty and danger suggests that they themselves and the people around them faced needs that were going unmet—needs so crucial that these merchant elites felt compelled to act. It can be supposed that at least part of Iunusov's motivation in starting the first of these private hospitals involved protecting the particular interests of his co-religionists. Even if the government's official hospitals could have been relied upon to provide the city's Tatars with an equivalent level of medical treatment—not a safe assumption given officials' tendency to marginalize Kazan's Tatars—these facilities were certainly not going to provide sustenance of body and spirit that conformed to the requirements of the Islamic faith. As in so many aspects of life in Kazan, it no doubt seemed safer, more

¹¹¹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 263-263ob, 288-288ob.

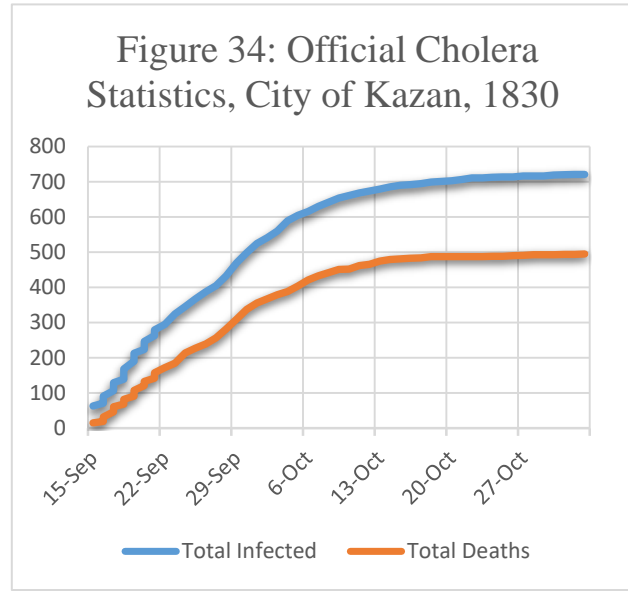
appropriate, and more comfortable for the Tatars to establish a separate institution suited to their needs, even at the cost of greater trouble and expense. Yet the speed and enthusiasm with which the city's Russians took up Iunusov's innovation suggests that there were other practical motivations involved as well.

The reasons that Russian merchants gave for creating their own private hospitals had everything to do with the inadequacies of the government's health response. They framed their reasoning with clear and compelling logic. The government had attempted to segregate the sick in remote hospitals at the edge of town. Given the time and risk associated with moving deathly ill patients to these far-off sites, and the separation from family and friends that would ensue, city residents simply chose not to use the hospitals. In response, the Temporary Committee had instead begun to quarantine individual houses in which the sickness had appeared. This, in turn, raised a different set of problems, for now the city's overstretched medical professionals became hard to find and even harder to summon as they spent their days travelling from house to house to house. Patients contracting the disease were dying long before a doctor could be found to treat them. The private neighborhood hospitals represented an optimal compromise. They were close enough to be attractive to residents of the surrounding streets, but offered a concentration point where medical aid could be deployed more efficiently and reliably.¹¹²

In the coming weeks, these temporary hospitals would serve dozens and likely hundreds of patients. Still, for the most part they were never filled to capacity, because even as they started operating, the outbreak had peaked and begun to taper off. Toward the end of October the Minister of the Interior, Arsenii Zakrevskii, who was returning to Moscow after overseeing

¹¹² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 195, ll. 248-249.

response efforts in Saratov, made an extended stop in Kazan to deal with the death of the governor and the allegations of misconduct against his administration.¹¹³ By the end of the month, Kazan was nearly free of cholera, and in November the cordon around the city was lifted. According to official statistics (Figure 34¹¹⁴), about five hundred people had died in less than eight weeks, or nearly two percent of the city's population. Fuks, moreover, estimated the actual number of fatalities at 1,500, and later writers quoted figures as high as the rather fantastic sum of 3,000, or close to ten percent of the population.¹¹⁵



Whatever the actual toll, the trauma of the crisis and the innumerable personal losses it left in its wake could not have failed to have an effect on the local psyche. In 1832, local satirist P. A. Anorov wrote a piece for the Kazan literary magazine *Zavolzhskii muravei* [*Transvolga Ant*], entitled “Fate and Cholera.” In Kazan, Anorov observed, traditional fatalism had been replaced with ‘cholera-ism.’ “Before [cholera] appeared, you blamed anything that occurred and didn’t suit your purposes on unfortunate fate; ... but now, as if to escape this wrongful persecution, [fate] has sent cholera into the world, and you accuse that of things that it could never do.” Anorov poked fun at the long-insolvent merchant who blamed his bankruptcy on the disease, or the purveyor of spirits who had made a windfall selling ‘medicinal’ wine, while

¹¹³ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 63.

¹¹⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 201, ll. 1-100.

¹¹⁵ Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani*, 493-494; Kazanskii, *Putevoditel po Kazani*, 91; [Vasi]lev, *Kholernye gody*.

cursing cholera for his overstock of beer. “Those whom [cholera] needed, were those it sent off to the kingdom of the shades,” Anorov concluded. “It gave not a thought to meddling in your commerce.”¹¹⁶ Beneath its dark and ironic style of humor, Anorov’s piece reflected a society that, for the moment at least, could not stop talking about cholera; and one in which the pain was still too raw to tolerate trivialization of the community’s experience. Still, this was a passing phase, and although Kazan was far from done with the disease, time did eventually heal the wounds. In the fall of 1831, as the epidemic rolled back across Russia from west to east, the city endured a few cases, but it avoided any mass panic or major loss of life. In 1847, a fresh cholera pandemic arrived which killed considerably more city residents than had died in 1830. Yet even so, the affliction never again had quite the same mental and emotional impact as the first time it ravaged the city.¹¹⁷

Kazan’s experience of the 1830 epidemic was wrenching, but it should be stressed that it was also unexceptional. In their broad outlines, these scenes from provincial Russia were comparable to those witnessed in the cities of Central Europe, Britain, and North America. Those places, too, faced helpless terror, demoralizing mortality figures, and sobering personal and institutional failings.¹¹⁸ It is true, however, that Russia represented a distinct social, cultural, and political context, and that there is some justice to scholarly critiques which argue that the Russian Empire’s autocratic traditions and undersized professional class laid the groundwork for a particularly ineffective and destabilizing response to the epidemic.¹¹⁹ Within this Russian context, at any rate, the events in Kazan were undoubtedly representative. Similar stories,

¹¹⁶ [P. A.] Anorov, “Sudba i kholera,” *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, vol. 1, no. 4: 220-222.

¹¹⁷ Zagoskin, *Sputnik po Kazani*, 494; [Vasi]lev, *Kholernye gody*, 9-10.

¹¹⁸ Durey, *The First Spasmodic Cholera Epidemic*, 18-25; Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, 56-59, 89-91, 98; Evans, *Death in Hamburg*, 244-247.

¹¹⁹ McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 153-158.

somewhat more or less horrible but all variations on the same theme, unfolded in Astrakhan, Saratov, Nizhnii Novgorod, Kursk, Moscow, and dozens of other Russian cities and towns.¹²⁰ Thus the window onto Kazan's political and social landscape that the episode opened—and the ways in which Kazan's residents would react to these events in the years to come—serve to shed light on broader patterns of change not just in Kazan, but across the entire Russian Empire over the first half of the nineteenth century.

Returning to Normal, Turning to Action

Though cholera remained much discussed locally in the immediate aftermath of the outbreak, this did not last. Not only did the incident reflect poorly on the state, but it was also simply bound up with too much suffering and squalor to urge memorialization. Despite the fact that provincial officials had been openly grateful for acts of private initiative during the crisis, the government ultimately concluded that imperial medals should, as a rule, not be issued to remember such deeds—since, at the height of the epidemic, “contributing to the suppression of [cholera] had become a general and essential responsibility of each and every one,” and anyway, “the best recompense for accomplishments rendered from a selfless commitment to humanity is to be found in the conscience of each individual.”¹²¹ Within a few years, Kazan's urban historians would grant the whole affair no more than scant attention. Furthermore, these events did not prompt any radical alteration in the trajectory of public health discourse in the city.

¹²⁰ Henze, *Disease, Health Care and Government*, 14-19; McGrew, *Russia and the Cholera*, 67-74.

¹²¹ “O pravilam nagrazhdeniia za sodeistvie v prekrashchenii bolezni Kholery,” *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 33, no. 11 (Nov./Dec., 1831): 105, 107.

Instead, as the danger subsided, local attention largely returned to dealing with old questions of water, muck, and miasmas.

Yet although the echoes were subtle, the trauma of 1830 proved to have resonance. Out of the chaos of September had come not only a heightened awareness of the inadequacies of imperial governance, but also visible expressions of the idea that private citizens could chart their own responses to the city's problems. These insights would lend new impetus to the ongoing efforts of Kazan's residents to remake the place they lived, both through the actions of the elected local governing institutions, and through the development of the city's nascent public sphere. In particular, this was a moment that lent special urgency to implementing the ideas of those public health reformers who sought to reshape the city in order to promote the health of its citizens. It was also a moment, however, which had profoundly tested the city's medical professionals, tempering both their orientation toward the science they advocated, and their relationship with their fellow residents of the city. In all of these ways, the bout with cholera both revealed the changes that were already underway in the city, and helped give those changes new form and momentum.

At a practical level, the 1830s were a time when public health measures began to transition from thoughts and discussions into tangible action. This was true, for example, with regard to paving. As we have seen, the city's streets had already begun to be surfaced during the 1820s, but while this gave some urban promoters hope for a more civilized future, the rate of progress had been painfully slow.¹²² Indeed, only a tiny handful of the major thoroughfares were surfaced at the time the epidemic struck, totaling perhaps a mile in length. The pace of work

¹²² Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta*, vol. 2, 669; Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 143.

would accelerate dramatically, however, starting in 1833. In less than a decade, in fact, by 1842, the city would have roughly ten miles of paved streets—covering most of the first ward and the major commercial arteries, while stretching fingers out into the rest of the city.¹²³ Looking back from the late 1840s, local historian and staunch imperial advocate Nikolai Bazhenov gave the lion’s share of the credit for these changes to the provincial governor for most of the 1830s, Stepan Strelkalov. “Strelkalov distinguished himself with his particular concern for urban improvements [*blagoustroistvo*] in Kazan, and during his time in the city, streets that had been drowning in muck began to be paved.”¹²⁴ Yet although the provincial administration surely did play an important part in initiating the paving program, the undertaking’s local dimensions should not be neglected. Approving, financing, and implementing of the city’s gradual resurfacing fell to the City Duma, rather than the Governor’s Chancery; and as we have seen in the previous chapter, the Duma was not without agency in deciding how to invest in urban improvement. The paving improvements of the 1830s required the Duma to plan, fund, and execute thirty-five distinct projects, at a total cost exceeding 100,000 rubles.¹²⁵ An undertaking of this magnitude could only be implemented because civic leaders saw significant public value in it. So while the councilors did not cite cholera specifically in their deliberations, it seems safe to conclude that the memory of 1830 gave added weight to their new determination to eliminate the city’s muck.

The 1830s were also the time when more ambitious ideas for solving Kazan’s water quality problems were contemplated, and when tangible efforts to address the issue first began to be put into effect. Kazan’s winding path toward eventually securing a healthy and reliable water

¹²³ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1650, ll. 10ob-14.

¹²⁴ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevitsa, 1847), 120.

¹²⁵ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 1650, ll. 10ob-14.

supply over the middle of the nineteenth century has been documented in some detail by historian Alyson Smith. She has outlined two major approaches to providing water to the city during this period. The first followed along the same line as that Arngoldt had proposed: digging new wells for public use. Along with various modest efforts to create traditional shallow wells, there was one major project in this vein. It began in 1832 when the Duma retained an engineer named Nei to oversee the construction of a mechanized, deep-bore well, expected to provide clean water in abundance. It seems doubtful that Nei had the necessary expertise for such an undertaking; and at any rate, the project dragged on for more than a decade, consuming nearly 25,000 rubles from the city's coffers before finally ending in abject failure. Nei had dug down more than 130 meters and still not hit upon a reliable and drinkable source.¹²⁶

Meanwhile, even as this project was still underway, attention gradually started to shift toward a second approach, that of using aqueducts to bring in water from healthier sources. Beginning in 1837 and continuing throughout the 1840s and 1850s, a series of costly proposals was floated to access water from Lake Arkhiereiskoe (also called Upper Kaban)—a substantial and clean body of water located about five miles from the *kreml*, well away from the grime and refuse of the city. Many of these plans garnered favor from either the Duma, the provincial administration, or imperial officials in the capitals, but one after another failed to reach the implementation stage, foundering instead on the rocks of excessive costs, technical complexity, and political indecision. Eventually, in the late 1850s, a new effort was put forward, which had the added advantage of being capitalized as a joint-stock company, operating in partnership with (and aided by financial guarantees from) the elected city government. Fundraising, approvals, planning, and construction would still take well over a decade to complete, but finally, in 1875,

¹²⁶ Smith, "Public Works in an Autocratic State," *Environment and History*, vol. 11: 327-329.

clean water began flowing through the miles of iron pipe to bring relief to the long-suffering residents of Kazan.¹²⁷

Smith draws attention to the fact that nearly forty years elapsed between the first major attempt to address the water issues and the implementation of a workable solution. Although this is a valid critique, it must be moderated somewhat by acknowledging that throughout the middle of the century, the growing cities of Europe and North America were wrestling with similar water quality issues, and often faced significant deficiencies and delays of their own.¹²⁸ Still, Smith is correct in suggesting that while Russian cities like Kazan had been keeping pace with global developments in public health in the early 1800s, they had increasingly begun to lag their counterparts to the west by the latter part of the century. Building on this observation, Smith argues that it was the vagaries of autocratic rule that did the most to hinder the development of Kazan's public health system. She points to the difficulties of coordinating action between local actors and the sclerotic centralized bureaucracy, as well as the shifts in governing philosophy that often accompanied moments of dynastic succession, and which repeatedly wrong-footed local government officials and private citizens alike. Smith concludes that it was because of these autocratic failings that the laudable progressive intentions held by so many in Kazan were ultimately squandered.¹²⁹

Yet there is another way to look at these events, by refocusing our attention on the significance of those intentions themselves. Kazan is a city that in 1800 had had virtually no public sphere, no tradition of local governance, and only a very limited discursive conception of

¹²⁷ Smith, "Public Works in an Autocratic State," *Environment and History*, vol. 11: 329-335.

¹²⁸ e.g. Harry L. Purdy, *An Historical Analysis of The Economic Growth of St. Louis, 1840-1945* (n.p., 1945), 13-19.

¹²⁹ Smith, "Public Works in an Autocratic State," *Environment and History*, vol. 11: 329-335.

the city as an object of belonging, cooperative investment, and medical intervention. It is truly noteworthy, therefore, that by the mid-1830s, the Duma was able to rally itself to make major investments in the city's collective betterment and well-being, by taking on expensive and complex projects such as paving the streets or developing new water supplies. That not all of these investments returned the expected dividends can be taken as an indictment of Russia's relative level of technical and professional sophistication, to be sure, but merely to have made the effort represented an achievement in itself, one that reflected the important changes that were taking place in Kazan's society and politics. The development of local public health discourse was deeply intertwined with these broader currents—reflecting, as it did, residents' emerging sense of confidence and enterprise in addressing deficiencies and gaps in the imperial administration of the city; the promotion of the city as an object of common attachment and investment by educated residents; and the growing power of shared conceptualizations of the city as a physical and social space with its own coherence and identity.

Crafting a New Public Health Discourse in the Aftermath of Cholera

Following the 1830 epidemic, Kazan's medical professionals, too, found themselves returning to a new equilibrium, similar to what had gone before, but with subtle alterations. To these champions of progress, the cholera outbreak had been a humbling experience. In its wake, local doctors continued to formulate scientific theories, seeking not only to make sense of what they had experienced and prevent its repetition, but also to prop up the tarnished prestige of their profession. Yet they could not help but acknowledge the extent of their ignorance. For example, when Ivan Dmitrievskii, an adjunct professor at the university's College of Medicine, summarized his observations from the epidemic, he puzzled that the symptoms of cholera "came

on without any visible cause, in those with even the most prudent lifestyle.” He gave special attention to the bewildering unpredictability that he attributed to the disease (betraying in the process a profound misunderstanding of its symptoms as well as transmission): “Not everyone who is infected by the disease will suffer seizures. I had some patients struck by the most severe cholera, who were completely free of diarrhea, and others who had no vomiting.” Finally, he concluded that “the strength and severity of cholera is not determined by the condition of the atmosphere and other circumstances, but depends on the strength of the organism that is infected.”¹³⁰ This was characteristic of the partial insights of the time, which cast new doubts on miasmatic doctrines, and which hinted at but did not properly comprehend both cholera’s methods of transmission, and the role of poverty, privation, and overcrowding in compounding the disease’s virulence and deadliness.

Having failed to clearly draw those connections, Kazan’s doctors continued to focus their public health concerns rather tightly on water quality and unhealthy muck, as they went back to caring for the usual ailments of typhus, intermittent fever, dysentery, and flu. By the 1840s, the question of urban health was being taken up and reconsidered by a fresh generation of medical scholars and practitioners in the city. Some of these newcomers continued to be recruited from abroad, but far more were now natives of the Russian Empire, and a good many had received their medical training locally, at the university. One of the most prominent representatives of this new cohort was Nikanor Skandovskii. Skandovskii was born in 1798 to a clergy family from Murom. He had enrolled at Kazan University in 1821, and received a basic medical degree in 1825, while also working as an aide in the university clinic. He left Kazan for several years to

¹³⁰ M. Kazanskii, “Znachenie bakteriologicheskogo sposoba raspoznavaniia aziatskoi kholery,” *Uchenyia zapiski imperatorskago kazanskago universiteta*, vol. 57, no. 12 (Dec. 1895): ch. neoff., 94, 100; Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 2, 182-183.

pursue advanced training and employment opportunities—spending the fateful year of 1830 teaching at Derpt—but returned to Kazan in 1835 to fill the faculty position vacated by the retirement of Karl Fuks.¹³¹ Skandovskii would go on to teach medicine at the university for nearly three decades. He was popular there; one student recalled him as “a capable professor, an experienced doctor, and an outstanding clinician, good-hearted, modest, conscientious, and hard-working.”¹³² Beyond the walls of the institution, Skandovskii also became one of the most visible medical figures in the city, publishing scholarly works as well as articles and books intended for popular audiences, while also presenting numerous public lectures and talks.

On June 8, 1841, Skandovskii gave a speech at the university, entitled “On the causes of intermittent fevers in Kazan.” Though ostensibly narrowly focused, Skandovskii’s lecture—much as publications by Zinovev, Langel, and Tile had done in earlier decades—used this specific health issue as a springboard for a broader consideration of Kazan as a medicalized space. Looking back from the perspective of the early 1840s, Skandovskii was able to express some satisfaction at the progress Kazan had made toward addressing its long-standing health hazards, especially its muck and grime. “The citizens of our time exhibit a much greater degree of hygiene [*opriatnost*] than before,” he declared. “Every local resident, and every traveler arriving in our city looks with particular satisfaction on the increase in cleanliness [*chistota*] that comes with each passing day.” This was especially true when it came to the streets: “Whoever can remember Kazan back to 1830 will be justifiably surprised at the speed with which we have

¹³¹ Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 2, 319-321.

¹³² A. I. Ilinskii, “Za polstoletiia, 1841-1892: Vospominaniia o perezhitom,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 4 (Apr. 1894): 11-13.

paved the streets, and with the beauty that has resulted.... Let us recall that ten years back, not a single stone had yet been placed for street paving.”¹³³

Still, much work remained to be accomplished. “Many streets remain unpaved, all the same,” Skandovskii continued, “[so that] the rapid surfacing of streets is, without a doubt, among our most important undertakings. It is impossible to calculate all the benefits which the city will gain from the completion of the street paving.” Moreover, the traditional problem of water quality continued to fester. “Every resident of our city knows that we have the most acute need for good water. For ages we have talked about it in meetings, written lengthy treatises, proposed various remedies... but let us be dispassionate and admit that our need for good water is simply growing with every year.”¹³⁴ Skandovskii articulated his own call to action, advancing a rather typical plan to wall off Kaban from the city’s outflows, while digging many new wells around the city, in the hope that some fraction would be potable. “Why do we not try to increase the number of available good wells by opening new ones?... Why do the chemists not test the quality of the existing wells?... There is no doubt that this task will demand ongoing effort, determination, and industry on the part of residents. But what can a person not accomplish when fortified by the camaraderie of his brothers and by inspirational ideas to improve the place of his birth?”¹³⁵

What was perhaps more interesting about Skandovskii’s speech, however, was that it also identified new problems—problems that were less tangible and for which he had, as yet, few proposals for remedying. For one thing, the doctor was even more pessimistic than most of his

¹³³ Nikanor Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki v Kazani* (Kazan: n.p., 1841), 6.

¹³⁴ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki* 6-8.

¹³⁵ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki* 10.

predecessors about the persistence and severity of the medical harms posed by Kazan's flood-prone, low-lying topography, and erratic climate. As Skandovskii's register shifted from the qualitative discussion of muck and dust to the quantitative jargon of elevation and temperature, the prospects of mitigating the dangers of Kazan's locale seemed increasingly dim. The professor's negativity surely reflected, at least in part, the broader frustrations of a medical profession whose scientific aspirations had, over the course of decades, borne little fruit in addressing not only acute epidemics like cholera, but also the endemic fevers, flus, and dysentery that ravaged the city every year. "If someone has enjoyed the most sagacious and industrious treatment of a doctor, and is still not freed from the intermittent [fever], or quickly succumbs to it again," Skandovskii lamented, "[then] in such a case there is nothing left for him to do except leave his bog and take himself off to live in an elevated, hilly place."¹³⁶ A statement like this was not only an implicit admission of professional failure, but also a question mark raised against the future of this soggy city as a whole.

Moreover, Skandovskii also articulated a deeper set of concerns—concerns that were quite novel to Kazan—about the nature of city life in general, and about its particular manifestations in this provincial capital. Skandovskii, like Langel or Zinovev, was proud of the city; but unlike those earlier figures, he feared that urban living, in and of itself, carried inherent, deleterious health implications. "Almost all major cities have their own endemic diseases," the doctor asserted, and the reasons were both legion and self-evident: "overcrowding, tall and close-packed buildings, stifling air, the inability of some to access good water, an unnatural way of life, poverty, anxiety over employment, and the prevailing fashions that city dwellers venerate to

¹³⁶ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremezhaiushcheisia likhoradki*, 4-6, 11.

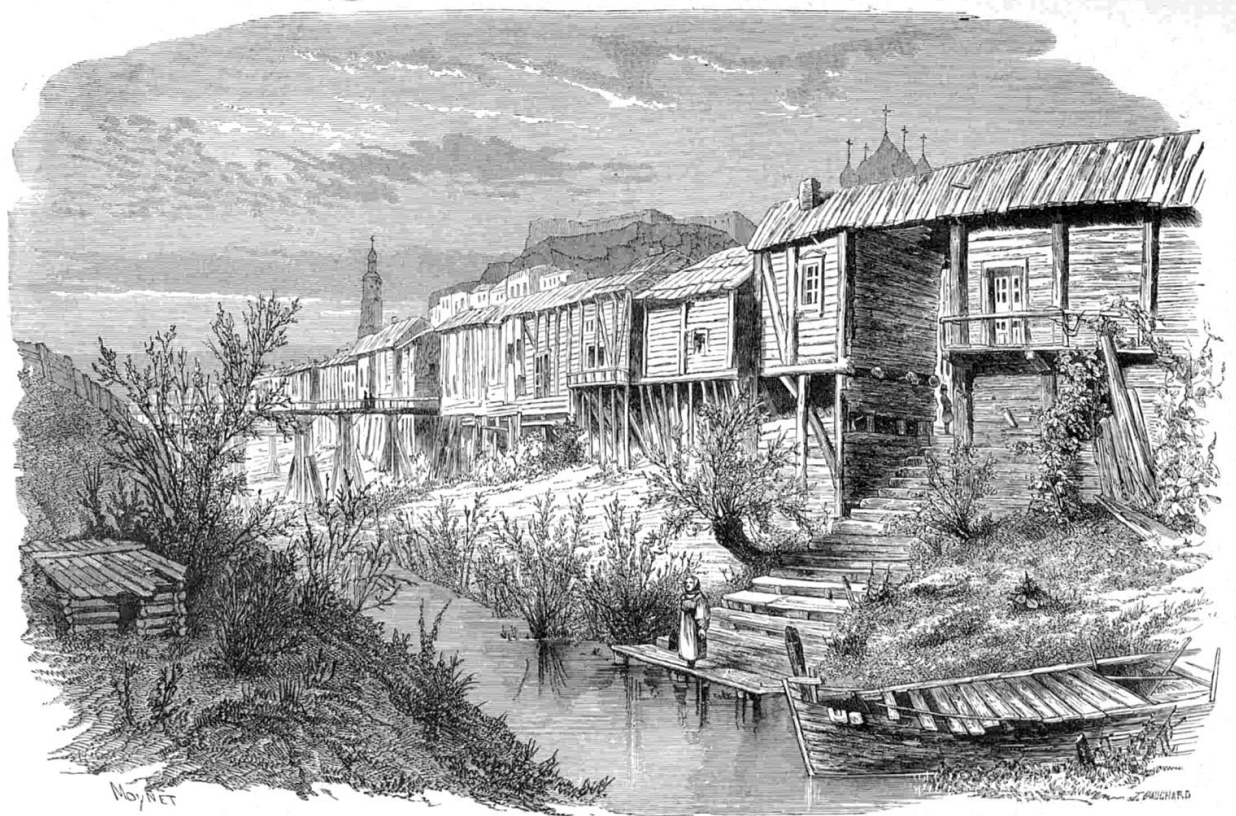


Figure 35: New Tatar Neighborhood, late nineteenth century

the detriment of their own health.”¹³⁷ In Kazan these intrinsic problems were magnified still further by the city’s rapid growth. “Unfortunately the terrain of the city does not allow it to spread out.... But since the number of residents in Kazan grows every year, and they must therefore expand their homes by adding stories or building over their courtyards, this necessarily increases the crowding in the city, which in turn adds to the corruption of the air” (Figure 35¹³⁸).¹³⁹ Skandovskii also broke with past observers in worrying specifically about the youngest generation of city residents. “The painful lack of open spaces that now exists has an influence on the health of residents, especially children. Their rambles should not be compared with the exercises of grown-ups, or thought of only as babyish gratifications: they are fundamental

¹³⁷ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki*, 4.

¹³⁸ *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg: M. O. Volf, 1901), 149.

¹³⁹ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki*, 6.

requirements. Children should not be brought up within four walls, but in freedom, under the open sky. It may not be as important to a child as breathing clean air, but it is also necessary for him to move his entire body.”¹⁴⁰ Here Skandovskii was beginning to paint an entirely different picture of what public health in the city looked like. No longer was it something that could be achieved simply with water filters and paving. Instead, if the city’s hazards were to be addressed, its spatial and social landscape would have to be reengineered in revolutionary ways.

Every part of Skandovskii’s talk worked to confirm the notion that it was the city’s deep-seated, endemic problems that medical professionals needed to labor hardest to correct, rather than the acute outbreaks that periodically ravaged the area. His retrospective look at the cholera epidemic conformed to this agenda, painting in the process a nearly unrecognizable picture of that episode. As he recalled 1830, Skandovskii did not acknowledge medical or bureaucratic failures in prevention and treatment, but instead described an opportunistic malady that had merely picked off Kazan’s unfortunates, already weakened as they were by the rigors of life in the city. “Cholera was, in Kazan, a foreign disease, fleeting... Two-thirds of the three thousand people who died here from cholera, we can reasonably suggest, were those who already had a strong predisposition to fevers, and who were liable to fall ill from them, when exposed to the most minor and incidental adverse stimulus.”¹⁴¹ Clearly what really mattered for Kazan’s doctors and residents alike was to remove the underlying forces that paved the way for illness.

¹⁴⁰ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki*, 12.

¹⁴¹ Skandovskii, *O prichinakh peremzhaiushcheisia likhoradki*, 13-14.

Conclusion

From a substantive perspective, one can argue that public health in Kazan took only tentative steps forward in the early 1800s. Real understanding was still only just dawning in the realm of medical science; those innovations in medicine and sanitation that did arise diffused across the urban population at only a glacial rate; and the ongoing effort to improve the city's infrastructure struggled mightily against the limits of political will, technical capability, and the constant pressure of a booming urban population. At every step along the way, efforts to improve public health in Kazan were hampered by disconnects of one kind or another, most of which had their basis in the imperial system. Such disconnects included those between the poor and prosperous, between imperial officials and local residents, between Russians and Tatars, between intellectuals and merchants, and between the disparate impacts of acute and endemic illness.

Yet, Skandovskii's speech, together with the tangible initiatives undertaken by the City Duma during the 1830s and 1840s, suggests just how far the subject of public health had come in the city in just a short period. The topic had emerged, only around 1800, with the simple idea that the city was a space that affected the health of its inhabitants, and that their health could be studied and measured on a collective basis. From that humble beginning, a dialectic had emerged between medical and scientific professionals on the one hand, and local elected leaders and prominent private residents on the other, which sought to diagnose the city's ills, propose remedies, and ultimately implement solutions.

The city's brief bout with cholera in 1830 did not leave so many obvious scars, but it marked the crucial moment in this narrative. Cholera shook up the city's public health status-quo, promoting private initiative and encouraging the Duma to act on the long-standing recommendations of local intellectuals, while also prompting medical experts to think more

deeply and critically about the city's needs. It seems to have struck home the idea, perhaps not even at an entirely conscious level, that the residents of the city were all connected with each other, and would be well advised to start acting that way. And yet, with a certain degree of irony, it also showed, at the very same time, how hard it would be for the city to come together in unity; for even at the moment of supreme crisis, residents had proven unable to shed their deep-set habits of imperial division.

Chapter 4: Building Local Memories

When locals turned toward the city, they did not always do so in response to practical concerns like warding off disease or caring for the infirm; on the contrary, educated citizens sought to use Kazan as a vehicle for addressing conceptual and emotional needs as well. Many of these efforts centered on updating the relationship between the empire, the city, and its inhabitants to fit the new intellectual and political environment of the early nineteenth century. The residents of Kazan were certainly not alone in reexamining their assumptions about politics and society during this period. From the French Revolution to the revolutionary year of 1848 and beyond, political theory and practice were in flux in ways they never had been before, and millions of people felt the effects. In the Russian capitals, competing efforts emerged between 1815 and 1840, each seeking to reconcile the Russian Empire with the challenge of nationalism, and thereby chart a course for its future. Conservative monarchists hoped to crystalize the status-quo by mobilizing the rhetoric and symbolism of nationalism in defense of the old order. Westernizers saw Russia as a firmly European state, which needed to reaffirm and intensify its commitment to the westward orientation charted by Peter I. Slavophiles, meanwhile, imagined a past and an ethnic heritage which offered viable alternatives to the dangers and flaws that they perceived in European culture and politics.

In Kazan, however, the discourse of empire embraced a local dimension which distinguished it from all of these. The differences did not stem from ignorance. Educated residents in Kazan subscribed to the journals in which these debates flourished, and were aware of the arguments; in the proper spirit of provincial conservatism, they usually found the government rhetoric of 'Official Nationality' fit them most comfortably. But none of these, not even Official Nationality, proved sufficient to address local inhabitants' practical and affective

needs, so that urban intellectuals felt compelled to pursue their own approaches to such questions. They did so using the tools available, among the most important of which were public memorialization and local history. As a result, the first half of the nineteenth century was a time when local leaders and thinkers began to construct and celebrate the history of the city in ways their eighteenth-century predecessors had not been able to conceive of.

The practices of urban history writing and memorial building in Kazan progressed through several stages, and gradually encompassed a broader set of functions. In the beginning, these efforts focused on using the city's heritage to raise its profile within the empire. The desire of provincial notables to curry favor with the imperial center was not new, of course; what was new was the historical sensibility that they displayed in the process, as well as the techniques of local scholarship and memorialization that they employed. By the 1830s, these same tools were being applied to a wider range of issues. At first, local scholars sought to build collective memories, which would inspire residents to think of themselves as historical actors, and bind them more firmly to the city where they lived. Over time, these sentiments were redeployed, in turn, to connect the people of Kazan more closely to the empire as a whole. What was striking about this progression was its reversal in directionality. Whereas in the past, local elites had sought to direct the favor of the empire toward their city and themselves, now they saw the need to engage local sentiments in order to cultivate public favor toward Kazan, and ultimately the empire.

This switch highlights the growing uncertainty many residents felt about the stability of their community and their state—their anxieties about the changing circumstances in which they lived. For centuries, the city had been held together by the attractive pull of the natural commercial and recreational rhythms of daily life; while the empire had found coherence in

collective loyalty and deference to the ruler. Yet these had always contended against powerful countervailing forces, unleashed by the empire's ascriptive approach to rule. In the early nineteenth century, a confluence of practical and conceptual challenges threatened to spiral these centrifugal forces out of control. On the one hand, the pressures of urban growth and dislocation, competition from increasingly internationalized systems of production and commerce, and rising reliance on state and society rather than community and kin, all made the risks and costs of local disunity loom larger. And on the other hand, the rhetoric of nationalism raised expectations among educated Russians that their loyalty to the state would be cemented by feelings of affection and belonging—an emotive framework which found no basis in the empire's trajectory of past development. To educated residents these challenges suggested that new means were required for binding together the local urban sphere, as well as the empire as a whole. And to many of them it seemed that collective memories might be harnessed to accomplish both simultaneously, connecting resident to city and city to empire.

On the surface, this rise of collective memory and memorialization in Kazan might appear as an example of the “imagined community-building” or “nation as a local metaphor” described in numerous contexts by historians of nationalism.¹ After all, the developments in Kazan were intimately connected with the historical moment when nationalism came to the fore in places around the world, and with all the innovations and pressures that attended this moment. And it is also true that as they worked, local intellectuals in Kazan borrowed freely from foreign techniques, models, and genres; so that they developed their ideas of what made a good

¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 194-206; Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Wurttemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 13-15; Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3-15.

memorial or what belonged in a local history within a firmly Europeanized frame of reference. Yet what was happening in Kazan was not an exercise in nation-building—and in fact it reflected the inadequacies of the nation-building rhetoric being deployed in the Russian capitals. Rather, the way local history was deployed in Kazan must be taken on its own terms, as a particular response formulated in the provincial context of a multi-ethnic empire. To construct a history of the nation, it is necessary to know what that nation looks like, and this was something the residents of early-nineteenth-century Kazan could in no way glimpse. Instead, they knew what was missing—a sense of unity within the city, and a feeling of passion toward the empire. It was these absences that local intellectuals hoped to fill as they worked to construct Kazan’s history.

Eighteenth-Century Perspectives on Kazan and its History

When historians, litterateurs, and promoters began to memorialize Kazan’s own past during the first decades of the nineteenth century, they were able to draw on the work of a small but energetic late-eighteenth-century cohort of local antiquarians. Among these was Dmitrii Zinovev, the nobleman and writer from the previous chapter, who—beginning with his 1788 topography of Kazan—concerned himself not only with the physical and economic outlines of contemporary life in Kazan, but with its ancient artifacts and stories as well.² Another such figure was the archimandrite of the city’s Spaso-Preobrazhenskii monastery during the 1770s, Platon Liubarskii. Liubarskii’s work remained unpublished for nearly a century, but the sources he compiled on the Kazan of both medieval times and his own day would prove invaluable to

² Dmitrii Zinovev, *Topograficheskoe opisanie goroda Kazani i ego Uezda* (Moscow: Universitetskaia Tipografiia u N. Novikova, 1788), 3-23.

future city chroniclers.³ And one other key contributor to eighteenth-century antiquarianism in Kazan was Iulii von Kanits, director of the city's *gimnazii* from 1765 to 1781.⁴ Like Liubarskii, von Kanits published little in his own lifetime, but was animated by a personal interest in the city to collect information about its past and present—most significantly a compilation of maps, artifacts, documents, and historical analysis on the siege of 1552.⁵ Yet, although his contributions were substantial, von Kanits can also provide us with a sense of the limits of local historical sensibilities in the second half of the eighteenth century, and just how cramped they were by later standards, thus making it possible to appreciate the innovative nature of the historical work that emerged in Kazan after 1800.

One work which places von Kanits's eighteenth-century historical vision on clear display is his record of an important event in the contemporary life of city and empire—the display of illuminations in Kazan in the fall of 1774 honoring the empire's military defeat of the Ottoman Empire. His account took the form of a book-form manuscript, written in Russian, which echoed the mid-century allegorical depictions of royal fireworks in the capitals penned by Iakob Shtelin, Mikhail Lomonosov, and others.⁶ The display von Kanits described was in no way unprecedented; in fact, illuminated spectacles were fairly frequent occurrences in eighteenth and

³ Platon (Liubarskii), *Sbornik drevnostei Kazanskoii Eparkhii: i drugikh prisnopamiatnikh obstoiatelstv* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1868), 3-6.

⁴ V. Vladimirov, *Istoricheskaia zapiska o 1-i Kazanskoii gimnazii*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1867), pt. 1, 100-135.

⁵ M. Bogdanovskii, *Inzhenerno-istoricheskii ocherk osady Kazani 7060-7061 gg. (1552)* (St. Petersburg: Tip. V. A. Tekhanova, 1898), 59-64.

⁶ With regard to the rivalry between Shtelin and Lomonosov over the design and description of royal illuminations, see: A. A. Kostin, "Stikhovornye nadpisi v opisaniakh feierverkov 1758 i 1759 godov (opyt atributsii Lomonosovu)," in *Chteniiia Otdela russkoi literatury XVIII veka, vyp. 7: M. V. Lomonosov i slovesnost ego vremeni*, A. A. Kostin and A. O. Demin, eds. (St. Petersburg: Alians-Arkheo, 2013): 61-62.

nineteenth-century Kazan.⁷ They were ephemeral in nature, usually organized by local government officials to celebrate the glory of the empire—its victories, coronations, royal marriages, and births. The glamour of this particular celebration was also surely dimmed by the fact that it came just a few months after the city was devastated by Pugachev and his rebels. Yet despite all this, it was a noteworthy moment: one which provided locals with a memorable and uplifting experience, while also marking a touchpoint between the histories of city and empire.

As befitted such an occasion, the illumination von Kanits described in 1774 was impressive. It was held in a garden area—likely Arsk field northeast of the city center—and built on a series of ascending terraces that reached eighty feet high. The display itself was a miniature “city,” divided into seven sections with stages, pavilions, bandstands, and kiosks. Evoking the feel of an amphitheater, the entire scene was ringed by a circle of open lamps, ensuring that every part was well-lit.⁸ Each section of the complex in some way celebrated the “glorious advances that the Russian Empire has made under the blessed rule of the great and wise Catherine.” One display, for example, showed a Turk holding the Ottoman sickle-and-moon emblem, with a sign declaring “1768 – [war] begun out of jealousy of the prosperity and majesty of Russia [*Rossia*],” and a representation of the empress as Minerva, captioned “1774 – [war] ended by the hand of the wise heroine of the north.”⁹ Another arcade featured a statue of the present century, inscribed “I have earned enduring fame,” together with a statue of the future, riding in a triumphal chariot, with the words “And so it will be in all future ages.”¹⁰ A third

⁷ Indeed, Russia was a leader in popularizing the pyrotechnic display, encouraging their spread across Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century: Simon Werrett, *Fireworks: Pyrotechnic Arts and Sciences in European History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010): 103-167

⁸ NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll. 2-2ob.

⁹ NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll. 3-3ob.

¹⁰ NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll. 6ob-7.

section of the illumination showed a monogram of Catherine II, incorporating symbols for wisdom and compassion. “Through both of these will the happiness of future times be secured,” the placard assured.¹¹

Strikingly, the city and its residents remained essentially absent from the director’s meticulous account. After his cover page, in fact, von Kanits did not mention Kazan at all—the only “city” he referenced was the artificial one created for the occasion—nor did he specify which garden the celebration took place in. As for Kazan’s residents, they appeared anonymously, and only as needed to depict the spectacle in all its dimensions. At several points, for example, von Kanits mentioned the music of flutes or symphonies; but the fact that these melodies must have been created by the efforts of local residents went unsaid. Likewise, the pageant included a “choir of small girls, dressed as nymphs and shepherdesses,” who were also, presumably, anonymous locals.¹² The identity and reactions of the onlookers—undoubtedly numbering in the thousands—were similarly elided in the narrative, being mentioned only when necessary to describe the mechanics of the display, such as when von Kanits wrote that “as soon as this [part of the] illumination is entirely visible to the viewers, then field-army music can be heard.”¹³

In short, von Kanits presented this event as a glorious, meaning-laden, yet strictly impersonal affair. It was a pure celebration of an enlightened empire and sovereign, judged to be profound not by any direct examination of the emotional response of the onlookers, but solely on the basis of its extravagance and dense symbolism. To a large degree these narrative decisions

¹¹ NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll. 9.

¹² NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll.10.

¹³ NBIL ORRK, no. 1158, ll.7.

reflected the genre in which the *gimnaziia* director was operating. The tone of logical detachment von Kanits adopted matched that of brochures published by Iakob Shtelin and the National Academy of Sciences in German, French, and Russian during the 1750s and 1760s. These texts sought to convey, largely to foreign dignitaries, the allegorical significance of spectacles staged in St. Petersburg and Moscow for the amusement of the tsarist court.¹⁴ What is striking is that von Kanits felt it necessary or desirable to apply the exact same literary conventions to describing—for a Russian-literate domestic audience—a provincial display aimed at impressing local residents. By operating within this genre, von Kanits positioned himself, rhetorically, with Shtelin, as an agent of the imperial metropole, while distancing himself from Kazan. At a minimum, the incident demonstrates how the professional incentives and literary registers available to Kazan's amateur antiquarians restricted their expressions of emotional or intellectual investment in their provincial community. And somewhat more conjecturally, it suggests that while these antiquarians embraced a historical orientation in their own personal outlook, they had not yet made the leap to fully acknowledge the importance of the city's history to its residents, nor the fact that present-day events in the city might carry their own local historical significance.

At the same time that antiquarians like von Kanits, Liubarskii, and Zinovev were compiling their personal archives, rarified debates about Kazan's past were swirling at the national level as well. By 1800, in fact, scholars in St. Petersburg and Moscow had been authoring new Russian-language accounts of the Muscovite conquest of the city for over a century; first in much-copied manuscripts, and then, starting in the 1760s, in print. Sometimes

¹⁴ D. A. Rovinskii, *Obozrenie ikonopisaniia v Rossii do kontsa XVII veka; Opisanie feierverkov i illiuminatsii* (St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1903), 268-270, 272-274; Petr Pekarskii, *Istoriia imperatorskoi akademii nauk v Peterburge*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1870), 539-541. For the early-eighteenth-century development of imperial spectacles in Russia (particularly triumphal arches), see: Dmitrii D. Zelov, "Official Secular Festivities as Part of Russian Culture from the Late Seventeenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Centuries," *Russian Studies in History*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Winter 2006-7): 60-85.

these appeared as independent volumes, but more often as components of larger works on the history of Russia or of the reign of Ivan IV.¹⁵ The emergence of such texts was correlated with an increase in research and debate among the empire's intellectual elites on the use of Russian chronicles as historical sources. The histories that resulted typically paralleled their supporting chronicles in content and form, accented to varying degrees by a thin veneer of narrative and interpretive embellishment. During the early nineteenth century, when local historians in Kazan began to tackle the subject of their city's own history more systematically, this rich tapestry of views on the conquest, already long discussed at the national level, would provide both inspiration and source material for their work.¹⁶

One accessible and fairly representative eighteenth-century work on the conquest—later often mentioned by cultured residents of Kazan—was the 1767 *Essay on the History of Kazan in Ancient and Medieval Times*, by Petr Rychkov. The son of a merchant and an accountant by training, the versatile Rychkov rose to a respectable rank in the imperial hierarchy, spending most of his long years of bureaucratic service in the new frontier city of Orenburg, some four hundred miles south-east of Kazan. He was introduced to the region—and to the world of academia—during the 1730s, when he served as a financial officer for the Kirillov survey expedition, which laid the groundwork for the establishment of Orenburg. Rychkov found himself drawn to the kind of scientific work he observed during this assignment, and gradually, despite a lack of formal training, managed to eke out a place for himself among Russia's scholarly elite, through his publications on history, topography, ethnography, and economics,

¹⁵ *Tsarstvennaia kniga, to est Letopisets tsarstvovaniia tsaria Ioanna Vasilevicha ot 7042 godu do 7061* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1769), e.g. 263-317; Mikhail Shcherbatov, *Istoriia Rossiiskaia ot drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1786), e.g. 351-423.

¹⁶ e.g.: K. F. Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1817), 10.

and his long-distance relationship with the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.¹⁷ The *Essay* reflected Rychkov's status as both a would-be academic, and a genuine agent of empire. A sweeping work conceived as a regional history, Rychkov's *Essay* sought to trace a chronology of the territory surrounding Kazan, from the most ancient cultures through the conquest of the city in 1552. It argued that a vast domain spanning Kazan, Orenburg, Astrakhan, and Siberia had originally been occupied by a primitive Slavic population (referred to as "our forebears"), who had supposedly given rise to the Bulgar people that predominated along the Volga in pre-Mongol times.¹⁸ From there, the *Essay* proceeded to trace the medieval subjugation of this ancient, allegedly quasi-Slavic people, first by the Mongol Golden Horde, and then by the "brazen and ascendant" Tatar khanate that succeeded to power in Kazan following the depredations of Timur and the breakup of the horde.¹⁹ Finally it concluded with the story of the decline and fall of the Kazan Khanate, at the hands of a "Russia returned to greatness."²⁰

This was a line of argument that aligned comfortably with Catherine II's expansionist program of secularly-oriented empire building. It not only celebrated the power and aggrandizement of the Russian state as a general matter, it also legitimized its ongoing program of expansion and settlement to the south and east specifically, as something that represented merely the reunification of long-separated ethnic kin, and the return to a natural, primordial status quo. Interestingly, Rychkov's history of Kazan, like many comparable accounts, essentially ended after the conquest. It made only a feeble attempt to sketch out the subsequent two centuries, in the form of a list of Kazan's archbishops (culled from documents of the Holy

¹⁷ Boris Lvovich Modzalevskii, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 17 (St. Petersburg: Kadima, 1918), 710-712.

¹⁸ Petr Rychkov, *Opyt Kazanskoi istorii drevnikh i srednikh vremian* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1767), foreword, 2.

¹⁹ Rychkov, *Opyt Kazanskoi istorii*, 87.

²⁰ Rychkov, *Opyt Kazanskoi istorii*, 159.

Synod), and a 1739 description of the city. The latter—another product of the Kirillov expedition²¹—was heavy on descriptions of churches and monasteries; or, as Rychkov put it, “it pertained more to Church than Secular history.” The author frankly acknowledged the frustrating holes thus left in his narrative, blaming them on the lack of relevant and reliable sources; and he held out hope that further research might someday allow a companion “*History up to the Present*” to be written for Kazan.²² Still, the general impression left by Rychkov’s *Essay*—that the region’s history had ended when it was annexed by the empire and introduced to Orthodoxy—no doubt suited the purposes of official St. Petersburg perfectly well.

Whatever the propaganda value of Rychkov’s work, however, scholarly responses to the *Essay* in St. Petersburg veered toward the dismissive. Like most of his peers, Rychkov’s evidence on the history of the khanate relied heavily on the so-called Kazan Chronicle, a text apparently written by an enslaved Muscovite who spent several decades in khan’s court before the conquest.²³ The Kazan Chronicle was first popularized by Andrei Lyzlov’s *Scythian History*, which had circulated widely in manuscript form since the late seventeenth century, before being published in the 1770s.²⁴ To a greater extent even than most comparable Russian texts, the Kazan Chronicle was plagued by unreliable and apocryphal content, and a multiplicity of conflicting and fragmentary recensions. By the end of the eighteenth century, efforts to produce a systematic rendering of the work were only beginning²⁵, and the first authoritative compilation

²¹ “Sostoianie Kazani v 1738 godu,” *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1844, no. 43 (Oct. 23, 1844): 597.

²² Rychkov, *Opyt Kazanskoi istorii*, 166-167.

²³ *Polnoe sobranie Russkikh letopisei, vol. 19: Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Iazyki Russkoi kultura, 2000), v-vi.

²⁴ Andrei Lyzlov, *Skifskaiia istoriia*, (St. Petersburg: 1776).

²⁵ *Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve neizvestnago sochinitelia XVI stoletii* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1791).

would not be published until 1903.²⁶ Contemporary reviewers therefore not only critiqued Rychkov's credulous approach to the Kazan Chronicle, they also questioned its basic suitability as a historical source, at least pending the level of scrutiny and analysis that other texts such as the Nikon Chronicle had received. They likewise rejected Rychkov's Slavic hypothesis, and his reliance on Lyzlov and medieval sources to bolster it.²⁷ Notwithstanding such expert skepticism, however, Lyzlov, Rychkov, and other variations on the Kazan Chronicle would remain influential with local historians in Kazan throughout the nineteenth century.

Constructing a Memory of 1552

In the early years of the 1800s, these various threads—fascination with the conquest, amateur antiquarianism, and a line of patriotic discourse which connected Kazan with the forging of empire—began to come together in the city for the first time. They did so in the form of Kazan's first public monument. At the turn of the nineteenth century, monuments were still a comparatively novel way for Russians to connect with their collective historical memories. Memorialization was not new, of course. Over the centuries, countless churches and chapels had been established in memory of historical events and people. Various antiquities sometimes served as memorials as well—in Kazan, for example, the ornamented galley that Catherine used to visit the city in 1767 remained preserved at the Admiralty complex until well into the Soviet era (Figure 36²⁸).²⁹ But it was only during the 1770s that true public monuments, inspired by

²⁶ *Polnoe sobranie Russkikh letopisei, vol. 19: Istoriia o Kazanskom tsarstve*, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia I. N. Skorokhodova, 1903).

²⁷ [August Ludwig von Schlözer], "St. Petersburg," *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 1769, vol. 2, no. 149 (Dec. 14, 1769): 1340-1343, 1348-1349.

²⁸ [N. P. Bogoliubov], *Volga ot Tveri do Astrakhani* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Gogenfeldena i Ko., 1862), 228.

²⁹ M. Pinegin, *Kazan v eia proshlom i nastoiashchem: ocherki po istorii, dostoprimechatelnostiam, i sovremennomu polozeniiu goroda* (St. Petersburg: A. A. Dubrovin, 1890), 342-343.

Western European models, began to be constructed in Russia in earnest. For the most part these early works honored Peter I and Catherine II, together with their top

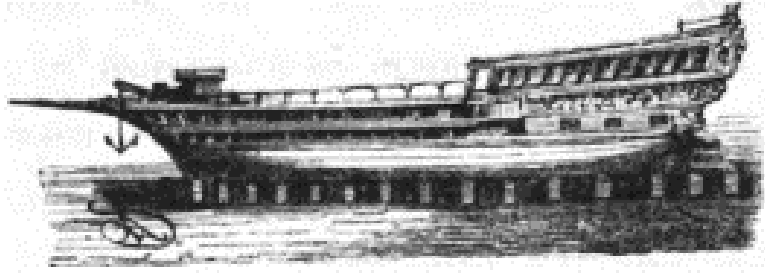


Figure 36: Catherine II's galley, preserved in Kazan, ca. 1862

generals and most glorious victories. They tended to be located in the capital cities, at royal palace complexes, and in the grounds of aristocratic estates, though this was not exclusively the case: Russia's first provincial monument, for instance, was a column to Catherine installed in Tver in 1778.³⁰

Gradually, through the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the pace of memorial building accelerated. Residents of provincial cities were exposed to this trend, not least, by frequent solicitations on behalf of projects based in other parts of the empire. In 1809, for example, the governor in Kazan routed a circular from the Interior Ministry to the City Duma. It requested donations for a sculptural depiction of Minin and Pozharskii—heroes of the Russian triumph over Poland-Lithuania during the seventeenth century—to be installed in Moscow at an estimated cost of 150,000 rubles.³¹ Though contributions were ostensibly voluntary, the project had drawn the involvement of Tsar Alexander I³², and provincial officials likely exerted substantial unofficial pressure on the Duma over the matter. At any rate, with the support of both Russians and Tatars, the Duma voted to levy a sum of up to 60 rubles on every merchant in Kazan, scaled according to each member's guild designation. Collections dragged on for a year and a half, but by January 1811, the Duma had exceeded its target, raising 4,290

³⁰ Kirill Sokol, *Monumentalnye pamiatniki Rossiiskoi imperii* (Moscow: Bagrius Plius, 2006), 4-7, 30-31.

³¹ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 45, ll. 1, 4-4ob.

³² Sokol, *Monumentalnye pamiatniki*, 30-31.

rubles for the project.³³ This was a very generous response, whatever the motivations behind it; yet few residents seem to have come away from the experience with any thoughts of local memorial building. For the moment, most citizens of Kazan appeared content for theirs to remain a city without monuments.

There were exceptions to this rule, however, and one of those who sought to participate in the rising tide of patriotic memory-building in Russia was the archimandrite of Zilantov Uspenskii Monastery, Amvrosii Sretenskii. In 1811, Amvrosii proposed to his superiors at the Kazan Consistory the idea of creating a simple memorial, commemorating the Muscovite conquest of the city in 1552.³⁴ Amvrosii drew his inspiration from the historic charter for Zilantov Uspenskii, which linked the institution to the city's ancient past. The original location of the monastery had been a low rise on the banks of the Kazanka River. Ivan IV had had an encampment on the spot during the final siege, and held a service of thanksgiving there after the victory, before setting off on his sacred procession into the conquered city. The hill was then chosen as the site for a cemetery containing most of the Muscovite soldiers who had fallen in the battle, and Uspenskii Monastery was established there to tend to the gravesite.³⁵ Unfortunately, by the early 1560s it had become clear that spring flooding made the knoll uninhabitable, and Ivan granted permission to move both monastery and cemetery to the higher ground of Zilantov ridge (Figure 37³⁶).³⁷ Although centuries had now passed, and the site where these momentous

³³ NART f. 114, o. 1, d. 45, ll. 10-10ob, 12, 26-26ob.

³⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 1, 2.

³⁵ "Kazan, 5-go Iiunia," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1813, no. 27 (Jul. 5, 1813): 1; [Mikhail Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika sooruzhennago v vospominanie ubiennykh pri vziatii Kazani voinov no Zilantovoi gore* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1833), 3-4.

³⁶ V. S. Turin, "Uspenskii Zilantov Monastyr," *art16.ru*, <http://art16.ru/gallery2/v/gmii/vystavka-dialog-vasiliy-turin--vera-karaseva/dsc04197.jpg.html> (accessed May 7, 2017).

³⁷ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 51-55.



Figure 37: Zilantov Uspenskii monastery, located near the Admiralty suburb, ca. 1820

events once occurred had long since lapsed into soggy pastureland, Amvrosii believed that the text of the charter would allow him to identify the exact spot, and he proposed to use the monastery's funds to build "a stone column with an appropriate inscription" there—"by way of a memorial."³⁸

What Amvrosii intended to memorialize was a convoluted mix of Orthodox triumphalism, loyalty to the ruler, and Russian patriotism—a common pastiche at the time that clearly shared a genealogy with the future state ideology of 'Official Nationality' (eventually embodied in Sergey Uvarov's slogan "Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality"³⁹). The monument would commemorate, the cleric wrote, the "renowned victory over the enemy that God granted to the pious Tsar Ivan Vasilevich, and the faithfulness and zeal that the soldiers who died had

³⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 2ob.

³⁹ Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1959), 73-78.

showed toward the Russian Tsars and their homeland.” “My singular desire,” Amvrosii continued, “is that the sacred blood of these Orthodox soldiers, which is being lost to oblivion through the passage of long years, be made known to posterity, and that the will of Tsar Ivan Vasilevich, that requiem services be held [for these soldiers], be fulfilled.” Moreover, Amvrosii suggested that he was not alone in these feelings; for, “[m]any among the public in Kazan inform me of their agreement with my wishes, especially the military officials and nobles.”⁴⁰

If local intellectuals were following a path from the lofty imperial mythology of von Kanits, toward granting local history a central role in connecting citizen, city, and empire, then Amvrosii’s proposal represented a transitional stage. His monument would still focus much—though not all—of its attention on the person and achievements of the ruler. It drew support largely from the mobile cosmopolitan elites of empire, and the rhetoric surrounding it paid surprisingly little attention—given its subject matter—to capitalizing on feelings of local attachment. Yet despite these continuities with earlier modes of thought, Amvrosii’s proposal also revealed some new developments. By introducing the motifs of Orthodoxy and Russian identity, for example, the project suggested that loyalty to the ruler alone was no longer sufficient to raise citizens to the necessary heights of patriotic zeal. By the same token, the entire scheme demonstrated that the historicism and antiquarianism that von Kanits had only dabbled in were beginning to take on a broader and more influential role in educated provincial society. Whereas the illuminations von Kanits described had portrayed imperial achievements in abstract and mythologized form, Amvrosii’s plan was guided by ancient artifacts and documents, with

⁴⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 2ob-3ob.

the goal of using concrete historical sites and occurrences to underwrite durable emotional connections between past, present, and future.

Like nearly any project that fell outside established administrative patterns, the monument initiative had to withstand substantial bureaucratic scrutiny before it could proceed. Through the fall of 1811, Amvrosii ran his idea by the City Duma, the county land agent, and the local Admiralty Office; in the end, despite some caveats about the size of the structure and its potential to impede cargo vessels during the spring floods, the memorial received the city's blessing.⁴¹ By early 1812 the governor elevated the matter to the national level, requesting official confirmation through the Police Ministry in St. Petersburg. At some point the proposal came to the attention of Alexander I, who—as he had done with the Minin and Pozharskii project a few years earlier—altered the trajectory of the undertaking dramatically. “It pleased his Majesty to decree that the diagram your excellency proposed for the memorial be redesigned,” the minister informed the relevant parties in Kazan. “The architect Alferov has prepared a new

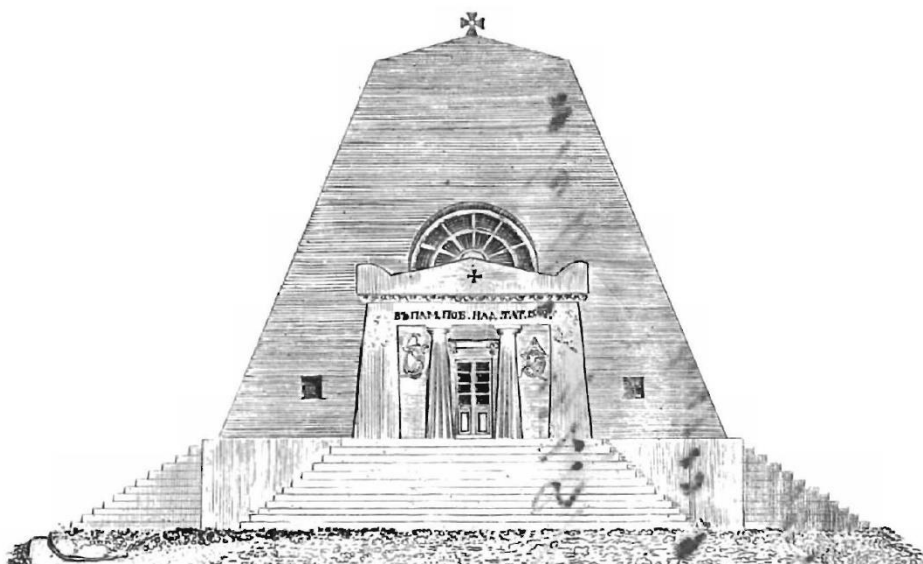


Figure 38: Façade plan for the Memorial

⁴¹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 1-1ob.

illustration, which I took to His Highness and which earned the highest approbation.”⁴² The revised concept was a far cry from Amvrosii’s simple column. Now the memorial was to be a proper building, in the shape of a large, truncated pyramid (Figure 38⁴³). Outside, its neoclassical façade would feature columned porticos on each side; and inside it would house an Orthodox chapel and a basement crypt. Amvrosii travelled to St. Petersburg to finalize the details, and while he was there, the tsar, recognizing that such a monument was far beyond the means of a provincial monastery, pledged 10,000 rubles from the treasury and the royal household. “Following this royal example,” Amvrosii recorded, other officials in the capital “signaled their own patriotic feelings” with generous contributions as well.⁴⁴

Presumably there had always been an element of professional ambition in the memorial idea, given the likelihood that it would bring recognition and official commendation to Zilantov Uspenskii Monastery and its archimandrite. Now, energized by the tsar’s mandate, Amvrosii poured himself into a greatly expanded project, which would consume much of his time for the next eleven years.⁴⁵ Within months he started contracting for materials and by the middle of 1813 work had begun on the foundation. Still progress came slowly, with construction proceeding only during the summer months. The size and complexity of the project taxed the professional capacities of the Kazan area. Alferov remained in St. Petersburg, so a local expert was needed to oversee the construction. The governor reported early-on that all the provincial architects were engaged with other duties, but a former provincial architect (either retired or furloughed), named Mikhail Emelian volunteered for the task. At first Amvrosii was happy with

⁴² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 5-5ob.

⁴³ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, frontispiece.

⁴⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 9-9ob.

⁴⁵ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 4-5.

his work, recommending that he receive a medal for his unpaid labors; but as the project encountered greater engineering challenges, the cleric became increasingly displeased with Emelian's inattentiveness and ineffectiveness.⁴⁶ Eventually, warning of the potential for delays and the tsar's displeasure, Amvrosii pressured the governor into dispatching one of the active provincial architects, Aleksandr Shmidt (the same Shmidt who had recently assisted the Duma in their Black Lake project), to take over. Shmidt responded only reluctantly, and immediately began offering public criticism of Amvrosii's management of the project. More substantively, he questioned the strength and stability of Emelian's designs. Emelian countered that Shmidt sought to alter visual elements approved by the tsar himself. Much complicating matters was the fact that Emelian had received official blessing from St. Petersburg when he originally signed on, a status which consumed valuable time to revoke. Meanwhile both men sought to bully the workers into taking their side, and most of the 1818 building season was lost to the conflict.⁴⁷ In the end, Amvrosii convened an independent panel of local architects, from the university, the Admiralty office, and the Postal commission, to arbitrate the toxic rivalry; and one of these, Osip Mari of the Admiralty, volunteered to see the project through to completion.⁴⁸ It was not until 1820 that construction was concluded on the structure, and 1823 that the interior was furnished.⁴⁹

Fundraising remained a constant preoccupation for Amvrosii at every stage in the process. By 1823, more than 100,000 rubles had been expended on the memorial; and while the tsar did eventually supplement his original donation with annual 5,000 ruble payments from the

⁴⁶ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 10-10ob, 42-42ob, 51-51ob.

⁴⁷ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 89, 91, 93-93ob, 95-96ob.

⁴⁸ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 101-101ob.

⁴⁹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 123-123ob; "Zalozhennyi s Vysochaishago soizvoleniia..." *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1819, no. 72 (Sep. 6, 1819): 287.

treasury, the majority of the funds raised still came from private individuals and institutions.⁵⁰ Amvrosii's success in soliciting such a vast amount of money testified not only to his own energy and powers of persuasion, but also to the fervent wartime patriotism and growing historical awareness evident across the Russian Empire at this time. Yet the response in Kazan itself was far more muted than Amvrosii likely wished. In his donor lists⁵¹, people and organizations connected with the city appeared only occasionally, with most of these being top religious, military, and civil officials. Educators were nearly absent from the rolls. Local merchants donated a collective sum of 500 rubles, which took more than a year and a half to collect.⁵² Though not an insignificant amount, this was still a meager fraction of their contribution to the Minin and Pozharskii statue in Moscow a few years earlier. One might attribute this to donor fatigue, or the deprivations and price inflation of wartime, except that it was also less than a third of the amount collected by the merchants and townsmen of St. Petersburg, and little more, in fact, than the sum sent by the Don Cossacks.⁵³ Similarly, the Kazan provincial noblemen's assembly flatly and unanimously declined the governor's request for a second round of donations in 1815, saying they had already done all that they could.⁵⁴ These tepid responses suggest that the project's local connection did little to heighten enthusiasm for it among Kazan residents.

⁵⁰ A. Artemev, "Pamiatnik v chest voinov, padshikh pri vziatii Kazani," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 40 (Oct. 2, 1843): 234; [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 6-7.

⁵¹ "Kazan," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1818, no. 85 (Oct. 23, 1818): 334-335; "Spisok lits, sdelaivshikh pozhertvovanie na sooruzhenie Pamiatnika....," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1818, no. 88 (Nov. 2, 1818): 355; 1818, no. 93 (Nov. 20, 1818): 383; 1818 no. 94 (Nov. 23, 1818): 384; 1818 no. 95 (Nov. 27, 1818): 388-389; "Imena obshchestv, mest i lits pozhertvovavshikh na sooruzhenie pamiatnika....," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1819, no. 19 (Mar. 5, 1819): 73-74; 1819, no. 23 (Mar. 19, 1819): 89-90; 1819, no. 74 (Sep. 13, 1819): 295-296.

⁵² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 53.

⁵³ "Spisok lits," *KI*, 1818, no. 88: 355; "Imena obshchestv, mest i lits," *KI*, 1819, no. 19: 73; NART f. 1, o. 1, d. 115, ll. 1-1ob.

⁵⁴ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 63-63ob.

Whatever their financial reservations, some of Kazan’s educated citizens did at least seek to engage with the project on an intellectual level. Several reports on the project appeared in *Kazanskiia izvestiia* [the *Kazan News*] over the years. Most were simply factual accounts, such as notices of religious ceremonies at the site, descriptions of the proposed design, and progress updates; but one lengthy piece from 1813—unattributed but perhaps written by then-editor Petr Kondyrev—went deeper, linking the contemporary groundbreaking ceremony to a vivid portrayal of the events that occurred at that spot in 1552. As we will see, historical consciousness in general, and an interest in the history of the conquest in particular, were both gaining strength among educated residents of the city. The 1813 article reflected these trends, for not only did it show an evident passion for the history that lay behind Amvrosii’s project, but it also treated the monument itself with a situated historical sensibility, declaring that the groundbreaking was an event “to be long-remembered in the chronicles of Kazan,” and asserting that local nobles and merchants remembered that “those for whom the memorial was being built had bequeathed to them the patrimony of the former Kazan.”⁵⁵ With an antiquarian’s eye, the account even lingered over the setting, appreciating the open tombs full of old bones (Figure 39⁵⁶), and ancient crosses and weapons found strewn around the site.

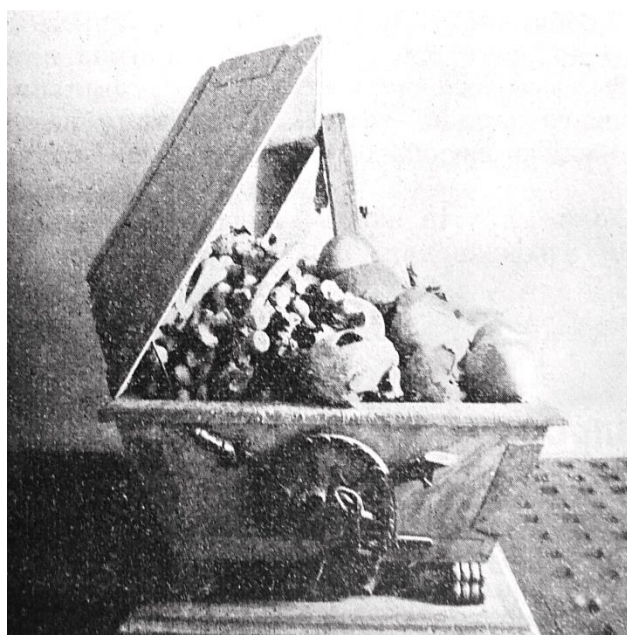


Figure 39: Tomb & remains from the crypt, ca. 1906

⁵⁵ “Kazan, 5-go Iiunia,” *KI*, 1813, no. 27: 1-2.

⁵⁶ “File: Grobnitsa s ostankami russkikh voenov (1906 g.).jpg,” *Wikimedia Commons*, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%D0%93%D1%80%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%86%D>

Yet what is striking is that these sentiments of historical significance and local attachment were so little reflected or communicated by the groundbreaking ceremony itself. Instead, the program blended generic appeals to religion and empire, in the form of an icon procession; a memorial requiem; the laying of foundation stones in the name of Tsar, Holy Synod, and Senate; and prayers for the royal house. The most esteemed guests were senators and officials from St. Petersburg and Moscow; and while “all the local generals” and “a collection of the people that was quite large” also attended, the only active participants in the ceremony were Amvrosii, and his superior, Kazan archbishop Pavel.⁵⁷ Taken together, these facts suggest that while at least a few local intellectuals were beginning to explore a discourse capable of connecting the city, the empire, historical events, and the memorial in a coherent and meaningful way, neither they nor local religious and governmental leaders were yet ready to try to engage the broader population of Kazan in such a dialogue. Absent such an effort, it is perhaps natural that although residents found the monument interesting, most declined to make any serious material investment in it.

Another particularly surprising omission in both public and bureaucratic discourse was any discussion of the divisive ethnic and religious implications of building this sort of memorial in a polyglot imperial city like Kazan. For Amvrosii and the Orthodox Church, the possibility that the project would intensify such divisions was likely unproblematic, and perhaps desirable. Orthodoxy remained, officially, the favored religion of the state, yet in preceding decades, the strength of that position had been eroded by the imperial policy of toleration, and by the stresses

[0%B0_%D1%81_%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BA%D0%B0%D0%BC%D0%B8_%D1%80%D1%83%D1%81%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D1%85_%D0%B2%D0%BE%D0%B8%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2_\(1906_%D0%B3\).jpg](#) (accessed October 14, 2016).

⁵⁷ “Kazan, 5-go liunia,” *KI*, 1813, no. 27: 2-3.

imposed by Russia's shift toward a more individualistic, spiritual approach to religion under Alexander I.⁵⁸ No doubt Amvrosii and other church leaders hoped that the memorial, with its overt and militaristic Christian imagery, would help to buttress Russian Orthodoxy's place of primacy in the local religious sphere. And in fact, residents seemed to have recognized that Amvrosii's persona, like his monument, reflected a more muscular and state-centric approach on the part of the church. When his exertions gained the archimandrite promotion to the post of archbishop of Kazan in 1816, *Kazanskiia izvestiia* reported that whereas his predecessor had been "loved here for his Christian charity and respected for his erudition," Amvrosii had "earned glory in the sphere of patriotic enlightenment."⁵⁹

It is tempting to propose, therefore, that Kazan's intellectuals, merchants, and officials shied from supporting Amvrosii's project, at least in part, because they recognized that celebrating a gory victory by Orthodox ethnic-Russians over Muslim Tatars was a dubious way to promote civic harmony and imperial loyalty. And while educated Russians left little direct testimony that they perceived the situation in such clear terms, the evolution in how they described the project over time does provide circumstantial evidence that many felt bound by at least a rudimentary degree of cultural sensitivity. Over the course of the nineteenth century the monument was rarely referred to the same way twice. In local discourse, it was often just called "the Memorial [*Pamiatnik*]," but a multitude of more elaborate names were also devised, involving Tsar and soldiers, victory and conquest, Orthodoxy and Russia, Tatars and Kazan. In the early years, 1812 and 1813, Amvrosii typically referred to it as the "Memorial commemorating the victory secured by Tsar Ivan Vasilevich over the Tatars [*pamiatnik v*

⁵⁸ E. A. Vishlenkova, *Zabotias o dushakh poddannnykh: religioznaia politika v Rossii, pervoi chetverti XIX veka* (Saratov: Izdatelstvo Saratovskogo universiteta, 2002), 47-59, 173-181.

⁵⁹ "Kazan, 3-go Marta," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1816, no. 19 (Mar. 4, 1816), 104.

vospominanie pobedy oderzhannoi tsarem ivanom Vasilevichem nad tatarami].”⁶⁰ By almost any reckoning this phrasing was needlessly inflammatory, given that one-sixth of the city’s population was commonly described as Tatar. In practice the cleric’s correspondents rarely echoed this wording without some softening; and over time the language employed to refer to the structure would shift repeatedly. During the twelve years spanned by the project, the terms ‘victory,’ ‘Tsar’ and ‘Tatars’ were almost entirely supplanted in local documents, books, and periodicals by words that, while not value-neutral, were less overtly confrontational, such as ‘fallen soldiers’ and ‘Kazan’ and ‘Orthodoxy.’ By 1818, Amvrosii himself had switched to the comparatively innocuous phrase “Memorial to the soldiers slain during the taking of Kazan [*pamiatnik po ubiennykh voynakh pri vziatii Kazani*].”⁶¹ Some may have imagined that a construction like this would allow local Tatars to view the monument in neutral terms, or conceivably even align themselves with it, as joint members of the modern urban community that had been the ultimate product of the conquest. But even if we adopt a more realistic perspective, we can at least say that it was certainly a turn of phrase less likely to give risible offense.

It seems clear, then, that local Russians had views on the ethnic and religious implications of the memorial, but that these were deeply sublimated, leaving behind few traces of introspection or discussion in the documentary record. And if this was so, then it is perhaps unsurprising that documented Tatar responses toward the monument were still more thoroughly and remarkably absent—marking one of the most striking silences in an archive replete with omissions. It does seem that local Tatars felt some pressure to contribute to the enterprise

⁶⁰ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 5.

⁶¹ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 95.

financially, though it appears far fewer took part than in the earlier Minin and Pozharskii appeal. A handful of local Muslims, at least, fixed their signatures onto the Duma's pledge to Amvrosii's project⁶²; and voluntary requests also raised an evocative scattering of small donations from Tatars living in the surrounding county towns⁶³. Beyond this, however, there is no record of any sort of response to the project by the city's Muslims, either during its construction or in the decades after its completion. It seems fair to assume that Amvrosii and his supporters neither solicited nor welcomed Tatar commentary on the monument. And given that Kazan's Tatar community was long accustomed not only to bouts of religious repression, but also to a life lived alongside elaborate Orthodox churches, pageants, and ceremonies, it was perhaps easiest for them to find an accommodation with the memorial in purely religious terms, coming to see it as just one more Christian edifice in a divided city, which therefore bore no relevance to the lives of local Muslims.

The official consecration of the 1552 memorial took place on August 30, 1823, with another display of spiritual and martial glory—one which continued to play down the structure's historical and local dimensions. “Before a gathering of Military and Civil Officials, as well as citizens of Kazan, organized by rank, [Amvrosii] gave a blessing and a Speech appropriate to the ceremony....

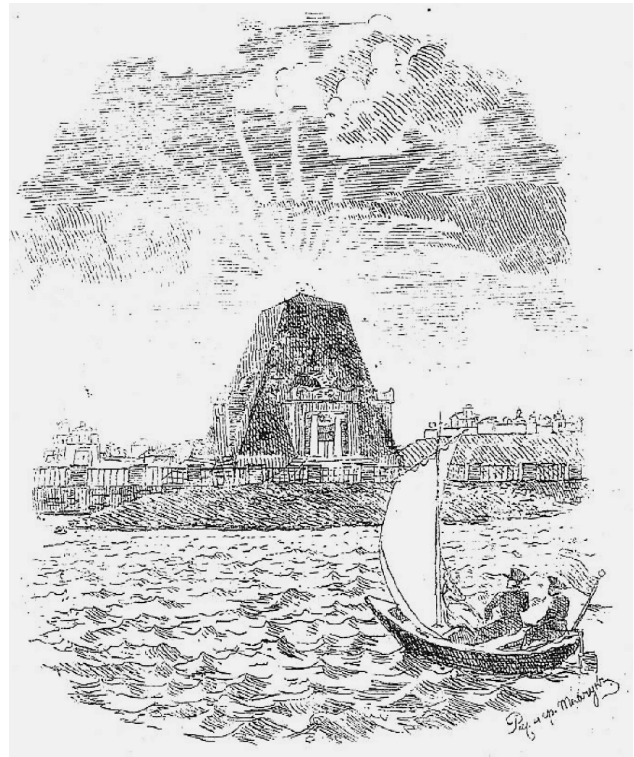


Figure 40: *The Memorial*, ca. 1846

⁶² NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 53.

⁶³ NART, f. 1, o. 1, d. 9, ll. 148.

At the conclusion a presentation of military arms and cannon salute were conducted.”⁶⁴ Once the echoes had died down, the memorial appears to have left little residual impression on the collective local consciousness, at least in the short term. Already during the long period of construction, however, and continuing in the years to come, changes were occurring in Kazan which would eventually bring the 1552 memorial back into focus (Figure 40⁶⁵); and this time, for a wider swath of the city’s residents.

Rising Historicism and the Turn toward Popular Local History

Between the 1820s and the 1840s, a spirit of historicism was sweeping educated, Europeanized Kazan—historicism defined here as a belief that present-day political, social, and cultural realities were the result of historical processes and contingencies; that the study of one’s history could be a source of practical wisdom and emotional fulfillment; and that ordinary citizens were themselves historical actors, engaged in directing the tides of the future. This awakening of popular historical awareness would be harnessed by intellectuals, who—building on the legacy of people like Iulii von Kanits and Amvrosii Sretenskii—sought not only to make the city more relevant to the empire, but also to bind together the residents of the city and make the empire more relevant to them. The ideas they drew upon, however, were generally not native, but derived from Western and Central European models.⁶⁶ They had been seeded into the fertile soil of Kazan by the imperial educational reforms of Catherine II and Alexander I, which

⁶⁴ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 12-13.

⁶⁵ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Plavanie k Zilantovu monastyriu i kazanskomy pamiatniku* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1846), frontispiece.

⁶⁶ Johannes C. Wolfart, “The Rise of the Historical Consciousness,” *Religion Compass*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2009): 91-93; Stephen Bann, “The Sense of the Past: Image, Text and Object in the Formation of Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Britain,” in *The New Historicism*, Harold Veenser ed. (New York: Routledge, 1989), 102-104.

gradually expanded the number of educated citizens in the provinces and attracted European scholars and didactic approaches to the city; as well as by the shift from a distant and abstract neo-classical epistemological outlook to a grittier and more tangible (though no less idealized) perspective inspired by Romanticism.⁶⁷ At times this emerging historical consciousness was mediated through the prism of elite Russian discourse in the capitals, but it also sprang directly from the texts of Western thinkers themselves. It was the product of an urban environment in which Kazan's booksellers stocked Byron and Rousseau alongside Karamzin⁶⁸, in which residents could subscribe to the *Bulletin Universel des sciences et de l'industrie* from Paris⁶⁹, in which local gatherings discussed the meaning of Henie's "Die romantische Schule"⁷⁰, and in which *Kazanskii vestnik* [the *Kazan Herald*] reprinted Schiller's cri-de-coeur on the centrality of history to contemporary understandings of progress: "That we find ourselves, at the present time, firmly embedded in society... with the advantages of civilization—even this, perhaps, is the result of every prior event that has ever taken place."⁷¹ Schiller had spoken those words in 1789, but it was in the first decades of the 1800s that significant numbers of Kazan's residents were ready to embrace the ideas behind them.

Emblematic of the shifting understanding of history across the Russian empire as a whole—and also greatly influential for Kazan's local historians in the decades that would follow—was Nikolai Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*, first published in 1818. Karamzin's history indeed cast a long shadow, for few in Kazan—or elsewhere in Russia for that

⁶⁷ Edward Thaden, "Historicism, N. A. Polevoi, and Rewriting Russian History," *East European Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 3 (Sep., 2004): 300-305.

⁶⁸ "Obiavlenie," *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 6 (Nov., 1822): 353-354.

⁶⁹ "Ob izdanii Parizhskim obshchestvom Zhurnala," *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 12 (Sep. 1824), 143.

⁷⁰ [N. I. Vtorov], "Vtoroi literaturnyi vecher v dome K. F. Fuksa," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 50 (Dec. 11, 1843): 321.

⁷¹ "Rech o vseobshchei istorii," *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 25 (Apr. 1829), 263.

matter—failed to register a strong opinion after reading it. Some found its style overly dramatic. Aging historian and nobleman Nikolai Artsybashev (once a compatriot of Gavriil Kamenev in the old Kazan circle) took to the pages of *Kazanskii vestnik* to catalog Karamzin’s alleged imprecisions and artistic liberties in excruciating detail, dismissing the work as a whole as “more declamatory than historical.”⁷² But most educated residents of the city felt differently, seeing in the *History of the Russian State* a thrilling and compelling story. Local attention focused especially on the eighth volume, which dealt with the reign of Ivan IV, conqueror of the city. The sensation it left in readers’ minds was captured by one Kazan cleric and scholar in 1877, when he simply assumed that his readers would recall how “Karamzin’s artistic rendering [of the siege and capture of the city] so dazzled us in childhood.”⁷³ The vivid images and intimate touches of Karamzin’s *History* offered a model that the emerging popular historians of Kazan would aspire to emulate. Moreover, Karamzin’s account of the conquest, and the place he accorded it in the pantheon of imperial milestones, acquired a relatively canonical status in the public imagination. So although local historians would continue to invest substantial effort in developing their own distinct interpretations of Kazan’s medieval legacy, they had a new incentive to turn their creative energies toward episodes from the city’s more recent past as well.

When they did begin to explore the city’s history, whether ancient or recent, local scholars drew not only on European ideas, but also European literary genres. For over two centuries, antiquarians in Britain, France, and Germany had already been working to channel the raw impulse to collect historical documents and artifacts into a practice with scientific rigor and academic significance. One of the approaches taken by these enthusiasts—epitomized by the

⁷² Nikolai Artsybashev, “Kritika,” *Moskovskii vestnik*, 1828, no. 11: 285, 289-291; N. S. Artsybashev, “Zamechaniia na Istoriuu Gosudarstva Rossiiskogo,” *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 5 (May, 1822): 3-30.

⁷³ Platon Zarinskii, *Ocherki drevnei Kazani* (Kazan: Gubernskaia tipografiia, 1877), 3.

writers of England's eclectic eighteenth-century county histories—was to focus on the study of a single region or municipality.⁷⁴ Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as a growing emphasis on professionalization and specialization encouraged the crystallization of particular academic fields such as history, ethnography, and archaeology, local study continued to constitute an important axis of investigation within each of these domains.⁷⁵ In Kazan, these models would prove influential. Yet although Kazan's intellectuals drew heavily upon international scholarly templates, it would be a mistake to assume that these researchers shared the same assumptions and objectives as their Western counterparts. Historians have demonstrated, for example, that the burgeoning corpus of urban histories written in Britain and France during the eighteenth century shared many structural similarities, yet pursued a wide range of different political, social, and cultural aims⁷⁶; and the same principle would hold in Kazan, where Western European forms were often deployed in support of local needs and interests.

The first local histories of Kazan, works such as the historical section of Dmitrii Zinovev's 1788 topography of the city, or the 1817 *Short History of the City of Kazan* written by local doctor and scholar Karl Fuks, were the products of earlier modes of thought. They remained rooted in the city's medieval past and in older traditions of chronicle-centered historiography. But by the 1830s, new histories were appearing in the city which were more

⁷⁴ Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 36-58; Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 44-45.

⁷⁵ Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-30; Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 1-11.

⁷⁶ Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories*, 188-190, 212-218; Clarisse Coulomb, "The making of a bourgeois identity? Urban histories and their historians in eighteenth-century France," in *The Crisis of the Absolute Monarchy: France from Old Regime to Revolution*, Julian Swann and Joel Felix, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 292-294.

strongly inflected by the historicist assumptions and localized forms of knowledge production then taking a firm hold in Western Europe. Foremost among these new works was Mikhail Rybushkin's history of the city, which carried the same name as Fuks' earlier book, *Short History of the City of Kazan*, but reflected a fundamentally different conception of historical scholarship. Its author, Rybushkin, was born in 1792 the son of a minor state official, and he went on to earn his education at Kazan's *gimnaziia* and university. As such, he lay at the forefront of a new generation of educated Russian elites in Kazan, many of them born and trained locally, who found inspiration in the fresh intellectual and literary opportunities then emerging in the city. Rybushkin spent most of his adult life working for the government as a teacher and a provincial educational administrator, largely based in Kazan, but he paired those duties with an active and eclectic side-career as a journalist and writer.⁷⁷ And it was ultimately with these secondary endeavors, and especially his *Short History*, that Rybushkin found the most success. As one contemporary later put it, "Rybushkin was not known so much for being a professor... as for being the historian and publicist of our city."⁷⁸

Rybushkin's history began as a serial in the local literary journal, *Zavolzhskii muravei* [the *Transvolga Ant*], for which Rybushkin was both co-editor and a major contributor. Rybushkin's series on the city's history, simply titled "Kazan," soon became a mainstay, appearing in no less than nineteen installments over the publication's brief lifetime.⁷⁹ Many other authors contributed local studies to *Zavolzhskii muravei* as well, including archeologist and

⁷⁷ P. A. Nikolaev, et al., eds., *Russkie pisateli, 1800-1917: biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Bolshaia Rossiiskaia entsiklopediia, 2007), 403-404; Modzalevskii, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 17, 655.

⁷⁸ N. Iusupov, "Pamiati Andreia Pecherskago," *Zavolzhskaia vivliofika*, Nikolai Agafonov, ed. (Kazan: Tipografiia Gubernskago pravleniia, 1887): 52-54.

⁷⁹ V. I. Shishkin and F. F. Nureeva, eds., *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat, XIX – nachala XX veka: Bibliograficheskie ukazateli*, (Kazan: Izd-vo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1991), 6, 23.

illustrator Nikolai Kaftannikov, teacher Pavel Razmakhnin, cleric and ethnographer Viktor Vishnevskii, Orientalist Frants Erdman and the multitalented *belle-lettrist* couple of Karl and Aleksandra Fuks.⁸⁰ None of these other works, however, rivalled the scope and heft of Rybushkin's history. In 1834 he reworked the serial and had it published as two bound volumes under the title *Short History of the City of Kazan*; and later he would spend his final months drafting a revised edition that was issued after his death at the end of the 1840s.⁸¹ Demand for multiple editions marked Rybushkin's urban history as an unambiguous literary success story in the Russian provincial context of the time; and the book represented Rybushkin's primary claim to his own place in history.

Rybushkin's work demonstrated an awareness of recent developments within the European genre of urban history. As their readership in Britain, France, and Germany diversified, local urban and provincial historians in those areas had shifted away from an emphasis on chronicles and charters and toward topics and presentation styles with more popular appeal. And as travel both for business and pleasure became more frequent and convenient, the line between urban histories and guidebooks, in particular, had become increasingly blurred.⁸² In the Russian context many of these innovations appeared first in the form of topographies, travel guides, and 'portraits' of St. Petersburg and Moscow⁸³, like Georges Lecoq de Laveau's *Guidebook to Moscow* (published in Russian in 1824⁸⁴) or Johann Georgi's *Description of the*

⁸⁰ Shishkin and Nureeva, eds., *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat*, 22-30.

⁸¹ Iusupov, "Pamiati Andreia Pecherskago," *Zavolzhskaia vivliofika*, Agafonov, ed.: 52-53.

⁸² Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories*, 100-111.

⁸³ Alexander Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis: Constructing Imperial Moscow, 1762-1855* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 104-106; Emily D. Johnson, *How St. Petersburg Learned to Study Itself: The Russian Idea of Kraevedenie* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 22-40.

⁸⁴ G. Lakoent de Lavo, *Putevoditel v Moskve* (Moscow: Tipografiia Avgusta Semena, 1824), 59-60, 393-394.

Russian-Imperial Capital City of St. Petersburg (1794⁸⁵). These in turn found analogues in particular sections of Rybushkin's *Short History*—such as its topographical overview, catalog of historical antiquities, survey of economic activity, review of educational institutions, and highlights of cultural life. Yet in its emphasis on the city's history in particular, Rybushkin's text was somewhat unusual in the Russian context, anticipating a trend toward local nostalgia that would gain strength across the empire only in the second half of the nineteenth century. This suggests that the author may have drawn part of his inspiration directly from Western European models, which were more unreserved in mixing the genres of urban history and guidebook.

Yet if Rybushkin's history bore the stamp of outside influences, it remained a product of the author's own academic training and literary bent as well. The editor of *Zavolzhskii muravei* was indeed a publicist of the city, as well as a would-be historian, and he cared less for citing his sources or interrogating their credibility than for crafting an engaging text that captured all the things he felt were most remarkable and admirable about Kazan. As noted, nearly one-third of his first edition consisted of topographical, meteorological, architectural, and ethnographic information, including many everyday details that would presumably have been more useful to visitors than residents. The truly historical portions of the book, meanwhile, ranged from the founding of the city and the medieval conquest up to the years immediately preceding its publication, and covered a motley assortment of events—institutional and personal, civic and imperial, religious and secular. Rybushkin cited Karamzin specifically as an influence⁸⁶, but stylistically his historical passages fell somewhere in-between Rychkov and Karamzin—it was much more readable and engaging than the formal, chronicle-derived style of eighteenth-century

⁸⁵ Recently reprinted: I. G. Georgi, *Opisanie rossiiskogo-imperatorskogo stolichnogo goroda Sankt-Peterburga i dostopamiatnostei v okrestnostiakh onogo* (St. Petersburg: Liga, 1996), 26-28.

⁸⁶ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 1.

authors like Rychkov, but it did not capture all the energy, intimacy, and romance of Karamzin's innovative national history. Specialists viewed the resulting jumble with some skepticism; at mid-century, Iliia Berezin, editor of *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* [the *Kazan Provincial Gazette*], expressed the prevailing critique when he wrote that Rybushkin's *Short History* "was not history, in the strict modern sense of the word."⁸⁷ Yet even the most exacting scholars, locally and nationally, grudgingly conceded their favorable impressions of the book, agreeing that it had an intellectual contribution to make, if only as an archive of local lore and ethnographic detail that would otherwise have been lost.⁸⁸ The broader educated public was still more positively disposed to the history, judging by the work's commercial demand, and the fact that virtually all subsequent nineteenth-century dialogue on the city's history began with Rybushkin as the baseline.

Fashioning Residents into Historical Actors

It is not a coincidence that the publication of Rybushkin's history of Kazan in the early 1830s coincided with a shift in public understandings of that history. An expanding circle of residents were beginning to see Kazan as embedded within an unfolding historical continuity—rather than as a place where history had ended with the momentous events of its medieval past—and to see themselves as the historical actors who would shape the city's future. Local studies like Rybushkin's served a dialectic function, both molding and reflecting this changing conceptual landscape. Symbolic of this new mindset was the way the *Short History* was split into two volumes, divided by the watershed year of 1774 and the destruction of the city by

⁸⁷ "Istoricheskie ocherki Kazani: kakoi vid imela Kazan v XVI stoletii?," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1856, no. 33 (Aug. 13, 1856): 254.

⁸⁸ V. G. Belinskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk, SSSR: 1953), 214-217.

Pugachev's marauding army. The Pugachev Rebellion was a subject of rising interest in Kazan during this period—and not only because it was an event, like the conquest, steeped in national significance and local pathos, nor because it had paved the way for the city's physical transformation. The other key attraction of the Pugachev era was that during the 1830s it remained within the realm of living memory, a moment that a few of the city's 'old-timers' could still remember and retell from their youth or adolescence. Consequently, when Rybushkin presented 1774 as the beginning of Kazan's modern history, and a moment that underscored the active participation of local residents in making and recollecting that history, it was an assertion that had personal resonance with his audience.

The installment of "Kazan" which dealt with the Pugachev Rebellion first appeared in *Zavolzhskii muravei* in the summer of 1832. Where earlier scholars had allotted the event no more than a few sentences, Rybushkin's narrative stretched over eleven pages in the journal, to be supplemented in future issues by tales from the aftermath of the action and the rebuilding of Kazan.⁸⁹ Rhetorically, Rybushkin made a half-hearted attempt to connect the attack to the city's storied medieval past, describing Pugachev's occupation of the city as "the most sorrowful epoch for this once mighty capital of the [Golden] Horde" Yet the account he offered was not at all presented at a historical remove. Instead, it was raw, emotional, and full of action, as befitted an event "vividly preserved in the memory of Kazan residents."⁹⁰ Rybushkin had to concede that the crisis did not always show Kazan at its best. As Pugachev approached in the summer of 1774, "the city was in the greatest agitation... many affluent residents left for Moscow, Penza, and other cities, while some others took their possessions to the fortress or across the Volga."

⁸⁹ Mikhail Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 905-915.

⁹⁰ Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 905.

The city even produced a local villain: the traitorous sub-lieutenant Mineev, who led the Cossacks to Kazan despite the danger to his own family living there.⁹¹ Yet there were local heroes as well, and the narrative invited nineteenth-century readers to place themselves in the scene alongside them. They might have imagined themselves with Iulii von Kanits and his doughty company of *gimnaziia* students, as they joined with the city's "lordly folk, merchants, townsmen, and others," in a desperate effort to defend their homes.⁹² Or they might have seen themselves with those—"especially women and children, nearly stifled... by smoke and ash"—who sheltered at Blagoveshchenskii cathedral, within a Kazan *kreml* besieged by flames and rampaging brigands, while the "tireless" bishop Veniamin led them from bended knees in constant prayers for God's deliverance.⁹³ And every reader no doubt breathed their own sigh of relief when deliverance finally did arrive, in the form of lieutenant-colonel Mikhelson and his battalion, who promptly routed Pugachev's irregulars.⁹⁴ This was history that reveled in intimate ties of place and memory with the power to bind contemporary residents irresistibly to their city's past.

Rybushkin was not the only writer to mark the historical significance of the Pugachev Rebellion. In fact in St. Petersburg, just a few months before this section of the "Kazan" series was published, Alexander Pushkin, then a trailblazing author at the height of his fame and literary powers, had begun working on his own project on the uprising. It was a fruitful effort, which would eventually yield both the nonfiction *History of Pugachev* and the novella *The Captain's Daughter*. Rybushkin and Pushkin appear to have developed their respective interests

⁹¹ Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 906-907.

⁹² Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 910, 914-915.

⁹³ Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 913-914.

⁹⁴ Rybushkin, "Kazan (prodolzhenie)," *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 16: 914.

in the rebellion entirely independently, and Pushkin did most of his work in the imperial archives.⁹⁵ In the fall of 1833, however, he travelled to Orenburg to gather interviews and perform field research, and along the way he stopped off in Kazan, arriving on September fifth, and departing early on the



Figure 41: Pushkin and Krupenikov: memorializing the meeting

eighth. While in town, he visited with two friends from St. Petersburg, noblemen and writers who hailed from Kazan province, Evgenii Baratynskii and Erast Pertsov—cosmopolitan figures who neither identified strongly with Kazan nor were prominent in the sphere of local literary production (though they were known to attend salon evenings at the Fuks residence).⁹⁶ During his stay, Pushkin drove a carriage around town, taking in Arsk Field, the *kreml*, and other key historical sites. In addition, he dined with Karl and Aleksandra Fuks, met with Mikhail Rybushkin (the two later exchanged copies of their histories), and spent an hour and a half with old Leontii Krupenikov (Figure 41⁹⁷), who had witnessed the destruction of the city and briefly been held captive by Pugachev’s rebels in 1774.⁹⁸ Then as quickly as he had come, Pushkin was gone.

What made this fleeting visit significant was that it added still more fuel to the idea that current residents lived embedded in the flow of the city’s history—and its history-in-the-making.

⁹⁵ A. S. Pushkin, *Alexander Pushkin: Complete Prose Fiction*, Paul Debreczeny and Walter Arndt, trs. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 532.

⁹⁶ A. S. Arkhangelskii, *A. S. Pushkin v Kazani* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1899), 2, 11-12, 18-22.

⁹⁷ “Aleksandr Pushkin v Kazani,” *Kazanskie istorii*, <http://history-kazan.ru/kazan-vchera-segodnya-zavtra/istoriya-v-litsakh/gosti-kazani/2652-526> (accessed November 10, 2011).

⁹⁸ Arkhangelskii, *A. S. Pushkin v Kazani*, 30-32.

During Pushkin's visit, after arranging the poet's meeting with the merchant-patriarch Krupenikov, Karl Fuks had given his word to seek out additional eyewitness accounts of the attack. It was not until after Pushkin's death that Fuks was able to fulfil this commitment, and for several years his efforts remained little-known; however in 1843 the editor of *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, Nikolai Vtorov, learned of Fuks' project, and published the doctor's most substantial finding—the lengthy narrative of another merchant, I. A. Sukhorukov.⁹⁹ Sukhorukov had been fifteen at the time of the battle, and he offered intimate descriptions of the doomed effort to defend the city, the vignettes of death and destruction in the streets, and the larger-than-life figure cut by Pugachev himself. Furthermore, Sukhorukov seems to have embraced the idea that his own reminiscences had historical significance. He supplemented his recollections of the battle with a description of the city in the years before Pugachev, and later sent a letter to Fuks providing further details he had forgotten in their interview. Local interest in such historical memoirs was sufficiently great that the accounts Fuks had gathered from both Sukhorukov and Krupenikov were also reprinted in a separate volume, entitled *Old-Timers' Tales about the Arrival of Pugachev in Kazan*.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the visit by Pushkin soon came to be seen as a noteworthy historical event its own right. After Pushkin's death, Aleksandra Fuks wrote a letter to a friend, providing the particulars of his visit and her own impressions of the great poet in extensive detail. Vtorov saw this, too, as a vital bit of historical source material, and published

⁹⁹ "Skazanie Kazanskago Kuptsa I. A. Sukhorukova o Prebyvanii Pugacheva v Kazani i o Sostoianii eia v to Vremia," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 44 (Nov., 1843): 260-262.

¹⁰⁰ K. F. Fuks, *Skazaniia starozhilov o prebyvanii Pugacheva v Kazani i o sostoianii eia v to vremia: Materialy dlia istorii Pugachevskago bunta i istorii Kazani* (Kazan: Tipografiia Gubernskago pravleniia, 1843), 5, 7-9, 11, 14, 18.

the letter in *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* in 1844.¹⁰¹ In this way even the pursuit of historical research could itself be transformed into an act of local history-making.

Along with the Pugachev Rebellion, Rybushkin's *Short History* recounted many other occurrences from Kazan's recent history—such as the 1815 fire, various royal visits, and the founding of the university and *gimnaziiia*—which all had similar potential to bind urban dwellers more closely to their city through the power of memory. In fact, one such moment of local history-making was recorded by Rybushkin's "Kazan" series nearly as it happened. This was the renovation of Amvrosii's memorial to the conquest. After its completion in 1823, the bishop of Kazan and the monks of Zilantov Uspenskii Monastery had continued to hold various annual services there, including an August requiem for the soldiers and an October memorial marking the conquest of the khanate. Otherwise, however, the structure had largely faded into the background of city life. Before very many years, the dangers of building on a site once abandoned for its tendency to flood started to become apparent—the basement crypt was inclined to fill with water, while aboveground, leaks began appearing between the blocks of stone as the structure settled. Then, when Russia's minister of the interior, Arsenii Zakrevskii, came to Kazan amid the final throes of the 1830 cholera epidemic, he attended a thanksgiving service held at the memorial to mark the lifting of the quarantine around the city. During the proceedings he made note of the decrepit condition of this costly and symbolic building, and afterwards expressed his displeasure in no uncertain terms to the new archimandrite of Zilantov Uspenskii Monastery, Gavriil Voskresenskii (Figure 42¹⁰²).¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ "Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin v Kazani (Posviashchaetsia Elene Nikolaevne M...ke)," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1844, no. 2 (Jan. 10, 1844): 18.

¹⁰² Bazhenov, *Plavanie k Zilantovu*, facing title page.

¹⁰³ Mikhail Rybushkin, "Kazan (Prodolzhenie)," *Zavolzhskaia muravei*, 1833, vol. 2, no. 13: 730-734.

Gavriil had been born in 1795 and educated at the Moscow Spiritual Academy. The young cleric shared much in common with his predecessor Amvrosii—the two were both ambitious, zealously-patriotic, comfortable with asserting the unquestioned superiority of Orthodoxy, and eager to draw on local history to bolster the prominence of Kazan’s religious institutions. Yet Gavriil cut a very different public figure than Amvrosii had, demonstrating a wider-ranging intellect, and a greater willingness



Figure 42: Archimandrite Gavriil

to engage with the secular milieu of urban culture, society, and literary production.¹⁰⁴ In addition to his clerical duties, Gavriil wrote extensively on philosophy and psychology, and taught classes in philosophy, theology, and canon law at Kazan’s university, seminary, and *gimnazii*.¹⁰⁵ Like Rybushkin, Gavriil was also a promoter of the city, and he soon became a staple orator at all kinds of occasions in Kazan, from school dedications to royal births. Later, in January 1848, when local residents celebrated the opening of their public alms-house and associated savings bank, it would be Gavriil who was invited to deliver the dedicatory speech, which urged residents to consider: “who else would do so much to care for you, than our mother, magnificent Kazan?”¹⁰⁶ Now, in 1830, when pressed by the minister about the poor condition of the 1552

¹⁰⁴ N. P. Chulkov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Tipografiia G. Lissnera i D. Sovko., 1914), 33-34.

¹⁰⁵ N. P. Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let: Biograficheskii slovar professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskago Kazanskago universiteta (1804-1904)*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1904), 2-8.

¹⁰⁶ Gavriil [V. N. Voskresenskii], *Rech k grazhdanam pri otkrytii obshchestvennogo banka i doma prizreniia* (Kazan: Gubernskaia tipografiia, 1848), 3.

memorial, Gavriil pleaded the poverty of his monastery as the reason that it could not fulfil its responsibility to maintain the structure. Nevertheless, he quickly set about trying to rectify this embarrassing black mark on the record of Zilantov Uspenskii and Kazan.¹⁰⁷

In his efforts to respond to Zakrevskii's criticism, at a time when provincial officials were still paralyzed by their failures during the cholera outbreak, Gavriil found his key allies among the ranks of Kazan's leading merchants. Less than two weeks after his visit, the mayor, Nikifor Chizhov, sent a letter to Zakrevskii on behalf of the (Russian) Kazan merchants' estate, volunteering to renovate the memorial, and to take over responsibility for its future preservation and maintenance. The interior ministry and the archdiocese were happy to accept this offer, and the merchants selected two of their preeminent members, Leontii Krupenikov and Petr Kotelov to serve as the trustees for the monument.¹⁰⁸ They coordinated with the city architect, Petr Piatnitskii, and came up with a plan to renew the building, at a cost of roughly 5,000 rubles. In addition to adding decorative touches of paint, plaster, and brocade (with the help of Kotelov's wife Nadezhda), they would sheet the exterior in Ural iron to prevent leaks, and re-terrace the surrounding area to channel water away from the foundations. Over the following two years Krupenikov and Kotelov guided the project to completion, and in October 1832 the memorial was rededicated.¹⁰⁹ The ceremony was much like others that had occurred on this spot over the preceding two decades, with one significant difference—it was accompanied by a speech by Gavriil. The archimandrite's talk was largely national in focus, in a way that Amvrosii would have recognized. It celebrated love of homeland as a natural, God-given trait, which could serve to underwrite virtues such as faith, industry, and sacrifice. Unlike earlier rhetoric on the

¹⁰⁷ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 15-16.

¹⁰⁸ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 15-19, 70-73, 77-81.

¹⁰⁹ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 883, ll. 4, 5-6ob, 8-10ob; [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 19-23.

monument, however, the speech made at least a modest effort to draw connections between these themes and the locality. “What was Russia [*Rossia*] before the illustrious victory over Kazan? She was weak, she was intimidated by the treachery of the Tatars,” Gavriil thundered. And just as the Muscovite soldiers had offered their lives to secure that victory, the archimandrite perceived a comparable spirit of patriotism in the smaller sacrifices of his audience. “You who provide aid and comfort to your fellow citizens [*sootechestvenniki*]; you whose dedication to the common good [*k obshchemu blagu*] has brought you to beautify this chapel so magnificently, so brilliantly... you love your homeland [*otechestvo*] and you serve your homeland.”¹¹⁰

The contrast between the attitude of Kazan’s merchants toward the construction of the monument in 1813 and their stance toward its renovation in 1830 was particularly striking. Earlier, Amvrosii had struggled to extract a donation from the merchants of even 500 rubles; now they not only took the initiative to manage and fund a project well in excess of 5,000 rubles, they also shouldered an open-ended commitment of 1,000 rubles per year in public funds to maintain the site.¹¹¹ The motivations for this change of heart are difficult to tease out. At other times, pressure from the governor or vice-governor might be suspected; however their fingerprints are absent from the documentary record, a fact which tallies with the breakdown in the provincial government during the cholera crisis. Gavriil’s persuasive skills surely played a part—Rybushkin’s account suggests that it was the archimandrite from whom the merchants “learned of the wishes of the minister,” and he remained a key figure throughout the

¹¹⁰ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 883, ll. 24-24ob; Gavriil [V. N. Voskresenskii], *Slovo na den vziatiia Kazani Tsarem Ioannom Vasilevichem Grozным i na osveshchenie khrama, sooruzhennogo v Pamiatnik nad mogiloiu pravoslavnykh voinov, za veru i otechestvo pri vziatii Kazani zhivot svoi polozhivshikh* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1833), 18-21.

¹¹¹ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 29-32.

reconstruction process.¹¹² The merchants themselves expressed a variety of reasons for their generosity, including their gratitude to God for the end of the cholera epidemic and their appreciation of the interior minister's efforts on their behalf. In one internal document sent to the mayor, the merchants' guild explained that the undertaking reflected "the earnest feelings of devoted sons of church and homeland."¹¹³ Meanwhile, in practical terms, it was no doubt wise to maintain positive relations with St. Petersburg, especially at a moment when the ability of the provincial government to act as an effective intermediary had been called into question. Imperial service could have personal rewards as well: Krupenikov and Kotelov would eventually earn gold medals from the emperor for their efforts.¹¹⁴

All of these practical and emotional factors likely had an influence on the merchants' collective decision-making. Yet both the growing assertiveness and competency of Kazan's civic leaders, and the diffusion of historicist attitudes across a wider swath of the city's population, must have played a part in the success of the project as well. At any rate, local intellectuals almost immediately began to view not just the construction but also the renovation of the memorial as more than just 'news,' but as important moments in the city's modern history. As early as the end of 1830, while the merchants were still developing their plan of action, *Kazanskii vestnik* ran the first version of Rybushkin's history of the monument, which detailed its construction and consecration between 1812 and 1823.¹¹⁵ Soon after the monument was rededicated in 1833, an updated version of that history was published as an installment of

¹¹² [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 15-16.

¹¹³ NART, f. 114, o. 1, d. 883, ll. 18-18ob; [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 70-74.

¹¹⁴ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 94-95.

¹¹⁵ I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 3 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 80-81.

“Kazan” in *Zavolzhskii muravei*.¹¹⁶ This account, which would be reprised again in Rybushkin’s *Short History*, celebrated the renovation of the structure by city merchants with equal or even greater emphasis than that which it accorded the original project. Also in 1833, Gavriil commissioned the publication of a joint volume which combined Rybushkin’s history of the monument’s construction and renovation, Gavriil’s own speech at its reopening, and various historical source documents associated with the site, both ancient and contemporary.¹¹⁷ The monument’s building and rebuilding would continue to reverberate in the local consciousness throughout the nineteenth century, beginning with an 1843 *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* article by another aspiring young local scholar and promoter, Aleksandr Artemev (who would later serve as editor of the publication for nearly a decade)¹¹⁸, and physician Nikolai Bazhenov’s history of the city in 1847¹¹⁹. The net effect was to suggest that alongside the martial heroes of Russia’s medieval past, stood a pantheon of modern local heroes—men like Amvrosii and Gavriil; Kotelov, Krupenikov, and Chizhov—who had made that past visible and tangible, for the benefit of all of Kazan’s residents. By portraying a world in which actions like refurbishing a leaky monument or hosting a famous visitor from out of town themselves represented deeds of profound and lasting significance, local historians invited urban dwellers to see themselves as historical actors with a role to play in shaping their city’s future.

¹¹⁶ Rybushkin, “Kazan (prodolzhenie),” *ZV*, 1833, vol. 2, no. 13: 721.

¹¹⁷ [Rybushkin], *Istoricheskoe opisanie Pamiatnika*, 1.

¹¹⁸ Artemev, “Pamiatnik v chest voinov,” *KGV*, 1843, no. 40: 234-235.

¹¹⁹ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevitsa, 1847), 109-111.

Bringing a Different Kind of Civic Monument to Kazan

Over the same decades that the 1552 Memorial was first built, then rebuilt, and finally celebrated for the history-making significance of that rebuilding process, another citizen initiative was underway which took a less militaristic and more contemporary approach to patriotic symbolism and local attachment, and which would ultimately lead to the city's second public monument. The driving force behind this initiative was Kazan's first literary association, the Kazan Society of Lovers of Patriotic Literature [*Kazanskoe obshchestvo liubitelei otechestvennoi slovesnosti*], which was founded in 1806. The new society, which soon superseded Kamenev's informal Kazan circle as the focus of local textual production, criticism, and appreciation, remained firmly and exclusively committed to the Russian language.¹²⁰ Subject to that enormous caveat, however, the Lovers of Patriotic Literature met with some success in its aspiration to bridge social divides through "the spread of enlightenment across all estates of [Russia's] loyal subjects."¹²¹ At its inception the organization had five members, drawn from the university faculty; but by 1818 it had expanded to several dozen local members (along with many more correspondents), who included clergymen, civil servants, nobles, and advanced students.¹²² The society's public sessions drew crowds of up to three hundred people, representing a still more diverse swath of local residents. These meetings were noted for attracting merchants, professionals, and their spouses; at a typical gathering in 1814, "the breadth of the hall was filled with spectators of both sexes and various callings." Such an assembly might last from late in the afternoon until well into the night, and feature recitations of perhaps a half-

¹²⁰ V. V. Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo povolzhia* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1992), 3-42; N. Popov, "Obshchestvo liubitelei otechestvennoi slovesnosti i periodicheskaiia literatura v Kazani s 1805 po 1834 god," *Russkii vestnik*, v. 23 (1859): 56-58, 64-70, 96-98.

¹²¹ NBIL ORRK, no. 3956, ll. 8.

¹²² Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo*, 4; NBIL ORRK, no. 3956, ll. 23-28.

dozen original compositions, written in prose and verse by society members and other local authors, punctuated by musical interludes.¹²³ In a city whose population numbered approximately 26,000 in 1804¹²⁴, the reach of these literary occasions was considerable; and with its published proceedings, the society endeavored to bring the fruit of these gatherings and other local literary compositions to a still greater regional audience.

The Lovers of Patriotic Literature sought to limit its portfolio to the composition, recitation, and appreciation of literary works. Yet its members were not immune to the historicist sentiments washing over Kazan. As one founding member, student and later professor at Kazan University Petr Kondyrev noted, the leaders of the new society quickly discovered that their correspondents “wrote on every topic you can think of”—including a heavy dose of history, ethnography, and archaeology.¹²⁵ And despite their efforts to stay focused on literature, the organizers were soon caught up in the wave themselves, devoting over a third of the first volume of the society’s 1815 proceedings, nearly forty pages, to a “Historical survey of the Kazan Society of Lovers of Patriotic Literature and of its accomplishments.”¹²⁶ This sense of historical consciousness—a consciousness capable of inspiring a literary society less than ten years old to write its own history—would continue to seek outlets in the coming years; and in 1828 it latched onto a new object that would consume the society’s attention for decades. This was the year that

¹²³ Popov, “Obshchestvo liubitelei,” *Russkii vestnik*, v. 23: 64; “Kazan, 16-go Dekabria,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1814, no. 51 (Dec. 19, 1814), 622-624; “Opisanie torzhestvennago sobraniia Kazanskago Obshchestva liubitelei Otechestvennoi Slovesnosti, 1815 goda, 8-go Iulia,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 58 (Jul. 21, 1815): 333-336; “Kazanskoe Obshchestva Liubitelei...,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1818, no. 7 (Jan. 23, 1818): 32; “Opisanie torzhestvennago sobraniia Kazanskago Obshchestva liubitelei Otechestvennoi Slovesnosti,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1818, no. 59 (Jul. 24, 1818): 233-234; I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 19.

¹²⁴ I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 19.

¹²⁵ Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo*, 5.

¹²⁶ NBIL ORRK, no. 3956, ll. 34-73.

the society devised the plan to bring a new kind of monument to Kazan: a civic memorial to famed poet and statesman Gavriil Derzhavin.

The society's request for official approval made no reference to Amvrosii's pyramid, but it is still tempting to see the Derzhavin project as marking, if not a repudiation of the 1552 memorial's ideology, then at least a reassessment of what kinds of public memorialization the city needed. In their proposal, the members envisioned a permanent statue, simple and modest in size, located near the Kazan *gimnaziia*. Its intent was to "herald [the society's] appreciation for the enduring services to Literature of this great Genius."¹²⁷ This framing positioned the monument as public but not imperial; as expressive of emotions rooted in intellect rather than faith or militarism; and as a celebration of creation and immortality, rather than destruction and death. It is true that the proposed monument did nothing to acknowledge the city's diversity, which was perhaps natural coming from a voluntary association dedicated to Russian literature; yet, it did, at least, not celebrate a historical moment that epitomized religious conflict. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that it was to truly be a monument for the city, in a way that Amvrosii's imperial project had never quite been. In 1832, when solicitations for donations finally began, *Zavolzhskii muravei* captured these ideas clearly, if also a bit clumsily. It exhorted residents to support the project, because it would "beautify this patriotic city and the [grounds of the *gimnaziia*] where the Poet, esteemed in eternal memory, received his first education."¹²⁸

It was a signal honor that the society proposed to grant Derzhavin—after all, Kazan would not build a monument to an emperor or empress until 1895, when a statue of Alexander II

¹²⁷ "O sooruzhenii v Kazani Pamiatnika Derzhavinu," *Kazanskii vestnik*, vol. 36, no. 9 (Sep. 1832): 3-5.

¹²⁸ "Obiavlenie o sooruzhenii v Kazani Pamiatnika G. R. Derzhavinu," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 10: 571-573.

was unveiled. Yet although Derzhavin was a well-known figure and did have meaningful ties to Kazan, his elevation to the status of local hero had occurred only gradually, and was by no means foreordained. During his lifetime, in fact, Derzhavin had been the quintessential man of empire under Catherine II—a nobleman and state servant who spent a lifetime haunting the halls of St. Petersburg and travelling the muddy highways of the empire as he rose through the bureaucratic ranks to achieve high public office.¹²⁹ Though professionally successful, Derzhavin ultimately achieved his greatest fame as a poet, and his work came to epitomize late-eighteenth-century Enlightenment classicism in Russia. For a man who scaled such heights, Derzhavin's links to Kazan were comparatively pedestrian. His family had roots in the Kazan area, which were said to date back to a fifteenth-century Tatar grandee who had adopted Christianity and allied himself with Muscovy. By the time of Derzhavin's birth in 1743, his family reckoned itself among the impoverished nobility, possessing but a handful of serfs living in unproductive villages scattered across the province. Gavriil himself was born outside the city of Kazan, and following an extended absence, he spent the last few years of his schooling there. During the Pugachev Rebellion Derzhavin was an impetuous young officer, posted to Kazan by chance for a brief but eventful sojourn. His widowed mother also lived in the city, and he returned a few more times for family visits, when his official duties permitted, until she passed away in 1784. From then until his own death in 1816, Derzhavin would never set foot in the city again.¹³⁰

Derzhavin's social position dictated that his relationship with the city of Kazan would be episodic and superficial. Made itinerant by the demands of imperial service, economically dependent on rural estates, and attracted to the capitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow by the

¹²⁹ A. A. Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 6 (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia polza, 1905), 263-311.

¹³⁰ Khodasevich, *Derzhavin*, 5-6, 8-10, 21, 24, 34-35, 84, 100.

magnetism of undiluted political power and cultural sophistication, Derzhavin, like so many of the city's nobles and officials, had no real need for Kazan, whatever nostalgia the city might have retained for him. When writing his memoirs years later, Kazan served Derzhavin (in the words of a biographer) mainly as a symbol of the "sufferings, humiliations, and poverty" that he had had to overcome in his rise to become one of the empire's luminaries.¹³¹ Yet, over time, residents of Kazan discovered that they had a need for Derzhavin—or at least for the idea of him. The first tentative steps toward claiming him as a native son came in 1806, more than two decades since the aging poet had last been seen in the city. It was then that the recently-formed Society of Lovers of Patriotic Literature named him as an honorary member, a recognition that he acknowledged with a gracious letter of acceptance.¹³²

When Derzhavin eventually passed away in 1816, Kazan's intellectuals were open in expressing their particular fondness for the man, but they were still not ready to stake a definitive claim to his legacy on the city's behalf. His obituary in *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, for example, did not mention his local pedigree at all, instead declaring only that "a grateful fatherland mourns a faithful and devoted son."¹³³ At the literary society's memorial service, Petr Kondyrev's eulogy did at least make note of the poet's origins, but undercut their significance with a surfeit of honesty: "Derzhavin was born in Kazan... where he also spent the summers of his youth... but later he lived, for the most part, in St. Petersburg, [where] he was in service for 42 years." The visual displays in the hall conveyed a similar message. Among the letters, banners, urns, and flowers, was a table containing maps and pictures. Some showed Kazan province and its cities, as a reflection of the great man's birthplace, but others depicted his primary residence in later

¹³¹ Khodasevich, *Derzhavin*, 229.

¹³² Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo*, 18-19.

¹³³ "Iulia s 8 na 9 chislo skonchalsia..." *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1816, no. 63 (Aug. 5, 1816): 306.

life, an estate called Zvanka, located near Novgorod and convenient to St. Petersburg.¹³⁴ So although Derzhavin's local connections were not forgotten, they were portrayed (accurately) as something he had shed himself of when he became a figure of empire. The dominant note at the service, as in the obituary, remained the loss suffered by the nation as a whole.

The 1828 memorial proposal therefore marked a turning point in Kazan's posthumous relationship with Derzhavin. In accordance with the growth of local interest in the city's recent history, residents would from now on take a more assertive approach toward linking the poet with the city. Unfortunately, it would take decades for these sentiments to be rewarded. Like Amvrosii's pyramid, the Derzhavin project also plodded slowly through the imperial bureaucracy, and also underwent a complete makeover in St. Petersburg, in order to be "more appropriate in elegance and scale" to an important city like Kazan.¹³⁵ The resulting design—with its grand statue, ornate pedestal, inscription plaque, and three massive bronze bas-reliefs showing Derzhavin's various qualities in allegorical form—added up to much more work, much more money, and interminable delays. Gradually, year after year, the project limped along. By the mid-1840s, Nikolai Bazhenov, in the course of writing his own history of the city, mentioned the impending installation of the monument, offering it as evidence that "the history of his native region has seized upon the name of the great poet," and adding in a publication-eve footnote that the statue was "already on its way to Kazan."¹³⁶ In June 1847, Aleksandr Artemev's local news column in *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* (which he titled "Kazan Chronicle") began running articles on the unpacking of crates and the preparation of the site (which had now been moved to

¹³⁴ "Opisanie sobraniia Kazanskago Obshestva Liubitelei Otechestvennoi Slovesnosti po sluchaiu smerti Pochetnago chlena onago Gavriila Romanovicha Derzhavina," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1816, no. 79 (Sep. 30, 1816): 370-372.

¹³⁵ "Obiavlennie o sooruzhenii" *ZM*, 1832, vol. 2, no. 10: 571-572.

¹³⁶ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2, 70.

the university grounds).¹³⁷ And at last, on August 28th, nearly two decades after the idea had been hatched, the grand unveiling of the monument was finally at hand.

Forging Links between Residents, City, and Empire

At the dedication ceremony, two speakers would rise to remind the assembly of Derzhavin's life and achievements. The first was the archimandrite Gavriil Voskresenskii, by now a longtime fixture in the city's public and intellectual life, and one of its most popular orators.¹³⁸ Though he was often called upon to speak, the uncharitable might have said that Gavriil really only ever gave one speech; and the tone and framing of his comments on this August day were much the same as those he had given fifteen years earlier, in front of the refurbished memorial to the conquest. This time, of course, Gavriil heaped praise on the poet, but as was often his wont, largely in the form of religious and patriotic generalities: Derzhavin was "that most elegant genius of Russian poetics," who had "learned [in heaven] the language of the Seraphim," and whose odes were "immortal not only in this world of wretched creatures, but before the face of the Most High."¹³⁹ For

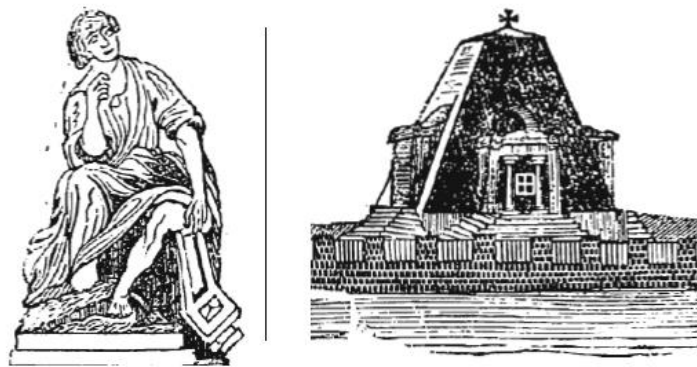


Figure 43: Title and end illustrations for the published version of Gavriil's speech

¹³⁷ [Aleksandr Artemev], "Kazanskaia Khronika. Novye postroiiki. Pamiatnik Derzhavinu," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1847, no. 27 (Jun. 30, 1847): 344-346; "Mestnyia izvestiia," *Kazanskaia gubernskaia vedomosti*, 1847, no. 30, (Jul. 21, 1847): 375.

¹³⁸ A. I. Ilinskii, "Za polstoletii, 1841-1892: Vospominaniia o perezhitom," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 81, no. 2 (Mar., 1894): 55-56.

¹³⁹ Gavriil [Voskresenskii], *Rech pri otkrytii pamiatnika G. R. Derzhavinu* (Kazan: Gubernskaia tipografiia, 1847), 4-5.

Gavriil, Derzhavin's local background and the content of his works were matters of relatively limited significance. What was most important was that the poet served as one more piece of evidence for the greatness of Russia, its monarchs, and the Orthodox God who had orchestrated it all. This same message could be justified by nearly any occasion. In fact, when Gavriil's speech was published, it was bookended by images of the Derzhavin monument at the beginning, and the 1552 memorial at the end (Figure 43¹⁴⁰)—visually reinforcing the suggestion of semiotic interchangeability between these very different monuments. In 1811 Gavriil's approach could almost have seemed innovative, but by the late 1840s, it appeared increasingly simplistic and obsolete.

The second speaker was of a younger generation—slightly senior to up-and-coming local intellectuals like Artemev, Vtorov, and Berezin, but still a part of that same changing of the guard. His speech presented a more contemporary perspective than Gavriil's, one that saw particular value in the historicized and valorized city, and grasped the connotational differences between a tomb to Orthodox soldiers killed while conquering the town in medieval times, and the statue of a great poet of the past century who had once called the city home. This speaker was Karl Foigt, a professor of world literature at the university. Foigt was an appropriate figure to carry forward the torch of civic promotion, local sentiment, Europeanized intellectualism, and the hoped-for reconciliation of imperial differences. His very presence in the city was a by-product of the importation of European ideas and pedagogy. Foigt's father, Karl Tiofilus Foigt, had been born in Luckau and educated at Leipzig University. Coming to Russia, he first held various government positions in the Baltic provinces, where young Karl was born in 1808. Soon afterward, the elder Foigt secured a post as the first professor of philosophy at the university, and

¹⁴⁰ Gavriil, *Rech pri otkrytii pamiatnika Derzhavinu*, 2, 7.

though he would die only a few years later, the family remained in the city.¹⁴¹ During the 1820s, the younger Foigt attended the same *gimnazii* that Derzhavin once had, took a degree at the university, and was eventually appointed there as a professor (Figure 44¹⁴²).¹⁴³ At the university, Foigt was remembered for his diligence, his kindness, and his cautious but committed support for liberal values and the freeing of Russia's serfs.¹⁴⁴ He was not a scholar of the city, per se, but he put his own stamp on urban society. Many of Foigt's efforts were directed



Figure 44: Karl Foigt

toward raising the cultural level of the community, which he pursued through civic outreach that included open lectures, participation in the literary society and the salons hosted by Karl and Aleksandra Fuks, and public speeches such as the one memorializing Derzhavin. These efforts made an impression; so much so that one contemporary would later declare that “in the history of the enlightenment of the Kazan region, [Foigt] holds a place of distinction.”¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 188-189; V. F. Pustarnakov, *Universitetskaia filosofia v Rossii: Idei, personalii, osnovnye tsenry* (St. Petersburg: Russkii Khristianskii gumanitarnyi institut, 2003), 665.

¹⁴² “Fail: Foigt Karl Karlovich.jpg,” *Wikimedia Commons*, https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A4%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB:%D0%A4%D0%BE%D0%B9%D0%B3%D1%82_%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BB_%D0%9A%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87.jpg (accessed March 5, 2017).

¹⁴³ Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 186-187; A. A. Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 21 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia V. Bezobrazova i Ko., 1901), 166-167.

¹⁴⁴ Iv. Iv. Mikhailov, “Kazanskaia starina: iz vospominanii Iv. Iv. Mikhailova,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 100, no. 11 (Nov. 1899): 414-415; Nikolai Ovsianikov, “Zapiski studenta Kazanskago universiteta (1851-1855),” *Russkii arkhiv*: 1909, no. 12 (Dec.): 482-484.

¹⁴⁵ Iusupov, “Pamiati Andreia Pecherskago,” *Zavolzhskaia vivliofika*, Agafonov, ed.: 56-59.

Foigt's life story was a powerful one for educated Russians in Kazan, for it illustrated the potential inherent in the confluence of city and empire. His father had been a dedicated servant of empire, but as one relegated to an itinerant career, had remained irredeemably German. The son added another factor to this formula, long-term attachment to the city; and through time and contact with Kazan, had become fully integrated into its Russian society. Locals described the results in terms that echoed those once applied to another German who had approached Russian culture with an open mind, Karl Fuks. One resident recalled that "despite his non-Russian name and family, Foigt was entirely Russian"¹⁴⁶, a status he confirmed by his marriage to the daughter of the commandant of the gunpowder factory and his "excellent mastery of the Russian language"¹⁴⁷. If embracing the city had allowed Foigt not just to serve the empire, but to truly become a part of it, then there could be no better person to describe and model this journey of urban identification and cultural assimilation for others.

Foigt seems to have been receptive to such ideas, for he would touch on similar themes in his speech, projecting them back somewhat anachronistically onto the life of Derzhavin. As a whole, his talk was vastly more subtle than Gavriil's. While not shy of patriotism and religious sentiment, Foigt approached these subjects with a comparative lightness and circumspection. Moreover, Foigt demonstrated a genuine interest in the biography and local connections of the great poet, as well as in the content of his writings. The bulk of his talk lingered over philological subjects dear to the professor—thoughts on the development of Russian literature, on Derzhavin's contributions to that process, and on the ecstatic qualities of his works. But along the way, Foigt also strove to situate Derzhavin at the frontier between empire and the city, with a

¹⁴⁶ Iusupov, "Pamiati Andreia Pecherskago," *Zavolzhskaia vivliofika*, Agafonov, ed.: 57.

¹⁴⁷ Ovsianikov, "Zapiski studenta," *Russkii arkhiv*: 1909, no. 12: 482.

foot firmly in both camps. In doing so, he faced two challenges. The first was to characterize this Russian nobleman and cosmopolitan statesman as someone who genuinely reflected the empire's diversity. One rhetorical device Foigt employed was to point to the poet's fabled lineage, recalling how, some four centuries earlier, "the Derzhavin clan, according to obscure legend, arose from Murza Bagrim, who left the Golden Horde to enter Russian Service."¹⁴⁸ Building on these origins, Foigt continued, the genius of Derzhavin had encompassed the entire empire, "combining the gloom of the north with the hues of eastern opulence—in a word, expressing all Russianness [*russizm*] within himself."¹⁴⁹ Foigt also sought to cast Derzhavin's supposed non-Russian origins as an identity he could reassume, at least when it proved useful to his art. In discussing "Felitsa," for example, Foigt held that "recognizing the inadequacies of his contemporary society—its weaknesses, its oddities, its worldly desires—Derzhavin, like a cunning diplomat... attributed them to his own personality, by referring to himself as a Tatar Murza."¹⁵⁰ Of course this was a line of argument which also had the unfortunate, and perhaps unintended, effect of linking the empire's non-Russian minorities with backwardness, but it still advanced the idea that Derzhavin had personally embodied imperial diversity, and raised the possibility that even as ethnic minorities embraced Russian culture more closely, their heritage might be retained in some fashion.

The second challenge Foigt faced was to present Derzhavin's connection with Kazan as meaningful, substantive, and mutual. He began by detailing the poet's chronology in the city, evoking vivid scenes of the birth of a "weak, half-dead" Gavriil to his father Roman Derzhavin,

¹⁴⁸ K. Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani Pamiatnika G. R. Derzhavinu* (Kazan: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1847), 5.

¹⁴⁹ Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 85.

¹⁵⁰ Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani* 22.

“a Kazan nobleman of modest rank and but little wealth”¹⁵¹; of the years the boy spent at the Kazan *gimnaziia*, which “first instilled in him a passion for reading and for literary pursuits”¹⁵²; and of the Pugachev rebellion, which “summoned [Derzhavin] to the field of battle, in the distant regions of his birth.” In describing the Pugachev affair, Foigt sought to establish that beneath Derzhavin’s intermittent physical presence in the city ran deeper, complementary bonds of mutual emotion and understanding—a sort of empathic connection between the poet and the urban society of his native metropolis. Foigt described how the young lieutenant’s summons had come when “the sudden appearance of the pretender had disturbed the peaceful pursuits of [Kazan’s] citizens,” and how he had “discovered Kazan in uncommon turmoil.” The residents knew, Foigt went on, that “it was necessary to take military measures, and that it was necessary to express to the Empress the feelings of [their] overflowing hearts—for this they sought a man, and that man was Derzhavin.”¹⁵³

Foigt was not going to make Petr Kondyrev’s mistake of dwelling on Derzhavin’s long absence from the city in later life, but he still needed to establish that the emotional connection between Derzhavin and the city had endured across vast separations of time and distance. Here his argument centered on “The Harp” (Figure 45¹⁵⁴), an ode which, Foigt noted, was “especially treasured by us, the residents of Kazan.” In “The Harp,” an aging Derzhavin, writing in 1798, had waxed lyrical about how music could carry him back to the days of his youth. Thus transported, Derzhavin wrote, he remembered “how the golden springtime rolls along in Kazan,” and felt a yearning to return once more to the “cradle of my early days,” to “bask again in the

¹⁵¹ Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 5.

¹⁵² Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 8

¹⁵³ Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 13.

¹⁵⁴ G. R. Derzhavin, *Sochineniia Derzhavina s obiasnitelnymi primechaniiami Ia. Grotta*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1865), 189.

morning glow,” “embrace the sacred tombstones of my parents,” and “become, as before, an everlasting inhabitant [of Kazan].”¹⁵⁵ To Foigt, there was no doubt that sentiments so noble as these were capable of bridging the physical gap between man and place. After reciting the poem to the crowd, he marveled at how these “wondrous, romantic utterances, these warm, heartfelt outpourings—crafted from the national motifs of the general Russian love for the native land—had hastened back to our Kazan, to our sweet, dear Kazan.” Moreover, Foigt viewed the memorial unveiling at which he spoke as evidence of the city’s

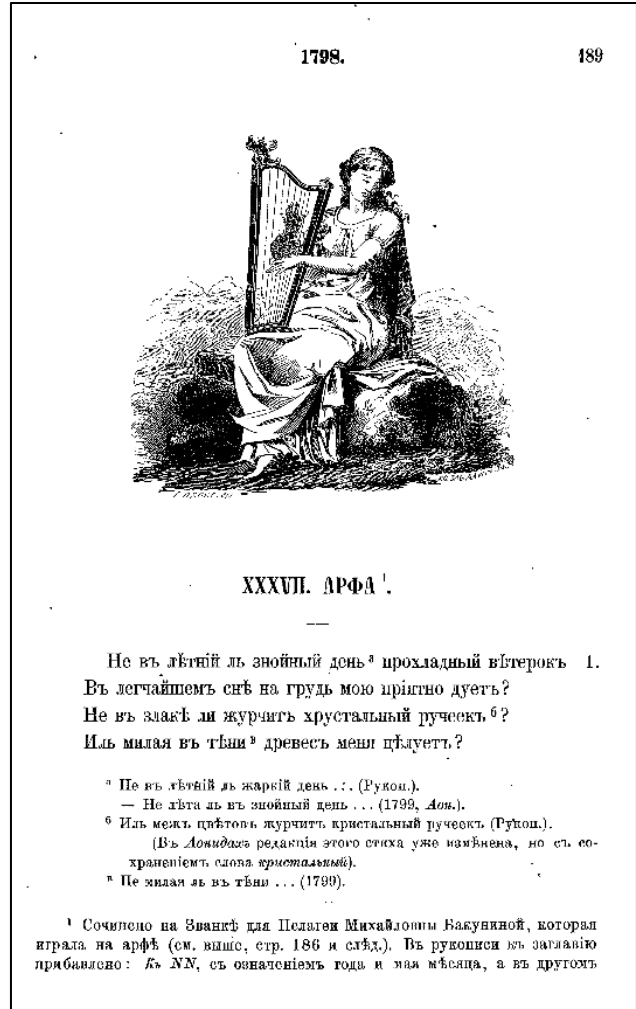


Figure 45: Gavriil Derzhavin, “The Harp”

grateful, unanimous reciprocation of Derzhavin’s affections. “Today our Kazan observes a singular, unprecedented celebration... intended to repay our glorious compatriot by our respectful reverence.... That Kazan is the birthplace of Derzhavin—this is our pride, our mark of preference over all the other cities of this happy Empire.”¹⁵⁶

Foigt’s speech articulated a vision that built on the work of earlier local promoters. He believed that by turning inward—to study its own history and venerate its own great men—the

¹⁵⁵ Derzhavin, *Sochineniia Derzhavina*, 189-190.

¹⁵⁶ Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 52-53.

city would be better able to turn outward, as a cohesive unit, able to find meaning and a sense of belonging within the empire, and to better understand its place in the world. Foigt's efforts to identify Derzhavin with the diversity of empire, however awkward they may have been, suggest that he intended that this vision would encompass the city's many ethnic and religious minorities as well—albeit accompanied by the tacit expectation that those minorities would embrace a healthy degree of natural and voluntary assimilation to the dominant Russian culture in return. The result was to evoke a nexus between empire, city, and subjects that all of Kazan's historians and memorialists, in one way or another, had been groping toward for decades. Local history, it seemed, might act as a powerful glue, capable of bringing together diverse city residents and uniting them via bonds of shared emotion and experience; and capable of attaching them, in turn, more firmly and meaningfully to the larger empire of which Kazan was a part.

Conclusion

The newfound interest that educated residents took in the city's history—an interest that culminated in the celebration of this truly local civic monument to a famous native of Kazan—was no mere exercise in abstraction. It arose out of real needs and expectations, which ranged from the ideological question of how to reconcile the promise of nationalism with the realities of empire, to the practical conundrum of how to rally a city riven by imperial divisions to effectively meet the problems of runaway urban growth. As they worked to craft responses to these various challenges, local intellectuals believed they had found a powerful ally in the new prevalence of historicist attitudes. They aspired to use public memorialization to turn residents into historical sources and historical actors, thereby engaging their emotions and personal ties in the service of greater urban cohesion and more fervent imperial patriotism. Whether they were

taking down oral histories from aging merchants, erecting a reminder of medieval conquest for passers-by to see on a daily basis, or impressing a crowd with tales of Kazan's own poet-statesman, the city's promoters did not wish to simply inform and educate, but also to inspire, to rouse to action, to foster emotions and even passions.

Ultimately, however, there was a vast naiveté to their efforts. Such ideas alone fell far short of what was needed to solve the challenges of an insufficiently educated populace, entrenched habits of cultural and social insularity, and over-reliance on the central government and its agents. All of these issues would require resources, political and social reforms, and vast public initiative to overcome; so that cultivating local attachments could never have represented more than the first tentative step in a lengthy process of change. And meanwhile, over all such efforts, loomed one overarching puzzle which posed the thorniest and most intractable questions. As the following chapter will relate, this was the problem of imperial diversity. Amid all the other divergent forces they sought to overcome, it was ethnic and religious difference, compounded by the impact of the state's governing strategies, that would most completely frustrate Kazan's promoters in their efforts to generate satisfying and widely-accepted answers.

Despite these disappointments, however, the efforts of local scholars were not entirely barren. Ironically, where they tended to see civic identity as a means to larger ends, it ended up being an end in itself. For while these local intellectuals did not create a fully unified and self-aware city, their words did have effect. These effects were not uniform or all-encompassing; there were still many different perspectives on local history in the city, and many people who were not touched by the efforts of these Russian intellectuals. But significant numbers of local residents, across a variety of backgrounds, did respond to the call of local scholars and engaged in literary consumption, in the patronage of historical monuments, or simply in living as if they

were a part of making local history. And in so doing, many also felt a stronger sense of belonging to Kazan, and of camaraderie among all its residents. Such feelings were no panacea for the problems residents faced, either locally or empire-wide, but they did change the experience of living in the city, and created patterns of thought that would continue to resonate through the rest of the century and beyond.

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Chapter 5: Contemplating Kazan's Divides

From the beginning, this story of residents' turn to the city has been punctuated by moments of deafening silence. We have seen how Kazan's Tatars were excluded from the executive functions of local self-government, overlooked in the assignment of quarantine officials, and rendered mute in the face of the city's monument to the conquest of 1552, to cite only a few of the most obvious examples. Local Tatars are not entirely absent from the early-nineteenth-century archives of course. Shards of their everyday life remain scattered in many places—in wills and court records that open a window on the material parameters and familial dynamics of the Tatar community¹; in the city's beautiful historic mosques; in hajj journals documenting evocative journeys abroad²; and in poignant scraps of paper containing Muslim prayers, left with abandoned infants so they would be channeled into the proper orphanage system³. In later days, ethnographers and nationalists would record a number of Tatar histories, legends, stories, and songs, all capable of speaking, with a certain risk of anachronism, to life at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴ And many other hints regarding Tatar life and thought in Kazan can be gleaned from the observations and records of the local Russians they interacted with. Still, the sum total of all those sources represent only a tiny fraction of the wealth of materials preserved from Russian Kazan.

¹ e.g. NART f. 22, o. 2, d. 20; NBIL ORRK, no. T4937.

² e.g. NBIL ORRK, no. T3593; NBIL ORRK, no. T3594.

³ e.g. NART f. 22, o. 1, d. 316.

⁴ N. F. Katanov, "Tatarskie rasskazy o staroi Kazani," *Izvestiia obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom universitete*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1920): 287-300; Kaium Nasyri, *Poveria i obriady kazanskikh tatar, obrazovavshiesia mimo vliianiia po zhizn ikh magometanstva* (St. Petersburg: Tip. V. Bezobrazova, 1880); Ia. D. Koblov, *Mifologiia kazanskikh tatar* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1910).

What is perhaps more to the point is that the silences only seem to deepen as we approach closer to the institutions which proved critical to fostering local civic spirit—the City Duma, for example, or the periodical press, or the city’s memorials. It is this observation which brings us to the crucial question: the question of why it was that educated residents, who sought to unify and inspire their city in response to daunting challenges, ultimately proved incapable of overcoming the entrenched power of religious and ethnic categories in order to include all the city’s residents in their efforts. In responding to that question, this chapter will pursue two tacks. First, it will take a closer look at the discursive environment in which discussions of Kazan’s divisions took place, and especially at the city’s twin institutional systems of higher education—its Europeanized university and Muslim *medreses*. These were both systems on the rise in the early nineteenth century, and they were both central to the turn to the city; each, in its own way, serving as an incubator for fledgling expressions of civic spirit in Kazan. Yet at the same time, in their duality, their lack of mutual dialogue, their often parochial assumptions, they emphasize that even the most forward-looking urban institutions could reflexively fall into reproducing and reinforcing old patterns of division. Here the kinds of institutional arrangements we saw with the Duma and the Ratusha, or the confessionally-segregated neighborhood hospitals, were repeated, albeit with perhaps a modicum of softening. And here they were deployed to mold not only Kazan’s intellectual landscape, but succeeding generations of its citizens as well.

And second, this chapter will proceed to examine the range of diverse local views on the city’s divides, particularly that between its Russians and Tatars. This was a topic on which educated residents could find absolutely no consensus; but what emerges out of their cacophony of viewpoints is a sense of just how complex, multi-layered, and deep-seated local assumptions about cultural difference were. The divides of the ancient past often seemed a manageable

challenge—many urban intellectuals were eager to elide those divisions, and explored strategies for doing so. In their own present day, however, the city’s rifts appeared to them far more insoluble. Some residents saw risks in the whole idea of cultural convergence, advocating instead that old barriers remain in place. For others, lingering communal memories of religious repression and mistreatment encouraged them to look to their own cultural compatriots—both within the city and out in the hinterland—as their primary source of emotional and material support. And even when Europeanized, Enlightenment-inspired figures sincerely hoped and believed in the promise of cultural convergence, they proved utterly incapable of developing a coherent and persuasive vision for how it might occur. This was true for the simple reason that when it came down to it, they were not willing or able to step far outside their own cultural perspective, nor make significant concessions, whether practical or conceptual, in order to help make that convergence possible. They expected cultural confluence to happen on their own terms, and could not even perceive the need to negotiate them.

As a city distinguished by its cultural divides, Kazan sits at the center of several different lines of historical inquiry. It is part of a continuum of histories on cities riven by persistent ethnic and religious divisions—divisions which sometimes originated in imperial practices, and sometimes from other configurations of power and conflict.⁵ It also reflects the immense body of work illustrating Europe’s blind spots and racialized chauvinism as it conquered a world of colonial empires.⁶ In the Russian context, Kazan’s story coexists between the historiographies of

⁵ David Frick, *Kith, Kin & Neighbors: Communities & Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); Natan M. Mier, *Kiev, Jewish Metropolis: A History, 1859-1914* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010); Emily Gottreich, *The Mellah of Marrakesh: Jewish and Muslim Space in Morocco’s Red City* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007); Robert C. Davis, *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁶ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Antoinette Burton, “Colonial Encounters in

late-imperial nationalities policy, with all its anxieties and inconsistencies⁷, and of Russia's national minorities, particularly Muslims⁸. The intimate study of empire in Kazan in the early 1800s provides a way of linking these diverse historical traditions. It highlights the process by which ancient prejudices might be questioned, reconfigured, and then ultimately perpetuated even as the 'enlightened' modern era dawned. And it provides a roadmap to the pre-history of late-imperial tensions in Russia, showing the moment when ethnic and religious differences began to seem problematic, but before truly national cleavages had yet emerged. The result is to demonstrate how imbricated imperial policy and provincial practice had become, and why the ascriptive tendencies of empire were allowed to persist and grow until they reached the point that they would ultimately threaten to tear that empire apart.

University and *Medrese*—The Institutional Underpinnings of Kazan's Educated Milieus

We have already seen glimpses of how much richer and more productive intellectual and literary life in Kazan became over the first half of the nineteenth century. It was this growing sophistication that lay behind such innovations as the emergence of a local history that saw a

Late-Victorian England: Pandita Ramabai at Cheltenham and Wantage, 1883-6," *Feminist Review*, vol. 49 (Spring, 1995): 29-49; William Cunningham Bissell, "Between Fixity and Fantasy: Assessing the Spatial Impact of Colonial Urban Dualism," *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 37, no. 2 (2011): 208-229.

⁷ Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Elena I. Campbell, *The Muslim Question and Russian Imperial Governance* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2015); Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780-1910* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Mikhail Dolbilov, "Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire's Northwestern Region in the 1860s," *Kritika*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Spr., 2004): 245-271.

⁸ Agnes Nilufer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy and Literacy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014); Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire and European Modernity, 1788-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity Among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

wide range of residents as historical actors, or the reinvention of the city as a medicalized space that could be diagnosed and treated. The development of Kazan's cultural sphere was, in turn, encouraged and shaped by local educational and literary institutions and the practices that surrounded them, with the most important being its new university and its burgeoning *medreses*. Yet despite their innovative nature, the city's thriving intellectual milieus tended to replicate the divisive qualities of the empire's ascriptive regime. This is not to say that the barriers embodied in Kazan's pedagogical and discursive systems were impermeable—on the contrary, every rule of thumb had its exceptions, just as in other areas of city life. Moreover, some of the city's new intellectual establishments and practices functioned to bring people together, particularly across barriers of social estate and, to a lesser degree, gender. These institutions would prove largely ineffective, however, at surmounting the city's most visible societal boundaries—those of religion, language, and ethnic tradition. For this reason, intellectual life in the city during the first half of the nineteenth century was at least as likely to reinforce the lines that separated people as to blur or erase them.

The founding of Kazan University (Figure 46⁹) in 1804 marked a pivotal moment in the cultural development of the city. The local *gimnaziia* had been an important civic institution since the mid-eighteenth century (albeit with some lapses in operation), and in many ways anticipated the university's institutional and cultural significance in the community. Kazan had also long been home to an Orthodox seminary, which was elevated to the status of theological academy for long stretches of the early nineteenth century. But the university was something

⁹ V. S. Turin, "Imperatorskii kazanskii universitet," *art16.ru*, <http://art16.ru/reportage/2014/12/13/vystavka-dialog-vasiliy-turin-vera-karaseva#&gid=1&pid=7> (accessed May 7, 2017).



Figure 46: Kazan University, ca. 1820

fundamentally different—a true establishment of higher learning, a productive focal point for publication and cultural production, and a nexus of interaction with European scholars and pan-European academic discourse—which entirely altered the intellectual complexion of the city. The university, like the *gimnaziia* and seminary before it, was a product of state initiative, representing the culmination of a series of educational reforms pursued by Catherine II and Alexander I. These programs overtaxed the available scholarly talent in Russia, and as the new institution was fleshed out with imported experts from Western and Central Europe, it inevitably had to come to grips with ethnic and linguistic difference.¹⁰ The university’s students often chafed at the resulting encounters with foreignness. One later recalled that “amid the general body of professors and teachers were a number of Germans, many of whom had extremely poor command of the Russian language.”¹¹ Humorous anecdotes involving these professors’ verbal gaffes became a staple—another student recalled dryly how even famed professors had been

¹⁰ N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta za pervyia sto let ego sushchestvovaniia, 1804-1904*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1902), 1-22.

¹¹ D. A. Korsakov, *Byloe iz kazanskoi zhizni, 1856-1860 godov: vospominaniia o proshlom* (Kazan: Tipografiia B. A. Lombrovskago, 1898), 65.

“rendered senile by their back-breaking struggles against the barbaric Russian language.”¹²

Moreover, ethnic difference had a way of becoming identified with other kinds of divisions as well. The memoirist who lamented the German’s “poor command” of Russian went on to add that “the university council... was split during the 1850s into two parties: the moribund Germans and the progressive Russians.”

Yet if the university’s Germans were much talked about, then its Muslim Tatars—representatives of Kazan’s largest minority group—came close to invisibility. This was not because they were fully excluded from the university. In fact a small number of Tatars from the city and surrounding region were employed at the university and *gimnaziia*, largely as language instructors. Most prominent among these was Ibragim Khalfin, who taught at both institutions between 1800 and 1829. Born in 1778, Ibragim was the latest of three generations of Khalfins who had served the government as educators, translators, and cultural mediators in Kazan as far back as the 1760s. Educated locally in the traditional Muslim fashion (perhaps at home, at least in part), Ibragim could boast no European-style credential, yet rose to the status of adjunct professor based on the quality of his linguistic and literary scholarship, and facilitated by his familial acclimatization to Russian official and academic circles.¹³ To a greater extent than the school’s Germans, figures like Khalfin felt it necessary to become chameleons, adapting themselves to fit the different cultural spheres they inhabited. Perceptive locals—perhaps especially those who were also outsiders in their own way—were sensitive to the outward signs

¹² N. M. S[okovni]n, “Vospominaniia starago Kazanskago studenta, 1856-58 gg.,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 74, no. 5 (May, 1892): 272.

¹³ N. P. Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let: Biograficheskii slovar professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskago Kazanskago universiteta (1804-1904)*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1904), 193-194; Rafael Khakimov, et al., eds., *Istoriia Tatar s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 6 (Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2013), 745-746; Khusain Khasanovich Khasanov, *Formirovanie Tatarskoi burzhuaaznoi natsii* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1977), 121-128.

of these transformations: “[a]ll the Tatars in [government] service dress and wear the hair on their heads in the European style,” Karl Fuks observed, “however, when gathering at the mosque, they wear their own national attire and cover their head in a wrap or turban, so their hair would not be visible.”¹⁴

Between its founding and the 1840s, Kazan University also admitted several dozen Muslim students—individuals presumably intended to serve as the next generation of imperial mediators. Like Muslim educators and officials, they too faced significant cultural pressures, perhaps of an even more acute nature. These students rarely appeared in contemporary accounts or later memoirs; and when they did, it was not as narrative actors or realized personalities, but as symbols of imperial harmony, and as curiosities whose dietary and customary restrictions barred them from particular aspects of the city’s cultural life.¹⁵ Moreover, they remained a vanishingly small minority: in the 1830s and ‘40s, Russian Orthodox made up roughly 90% of the student population, other Christian denominations close to 10%, and Muslims a mere 1%.¹⁶

But there were other liminal figures at the university as well, who more fully embodied Russian norms, and were, in turn, more warmly embraced by Kazan’s Russian- and European-oriented social and literary scene. One of these was professor Nikolai Ibragimov, who taught at the *gimnaziia* and university from 1808 until his death in 1818 (and was also a founding member of the city’s literary society¹⁷). Students remarked that “[Ibragimov’s] family name and

¹⁴ K. F. Fuks, *Kazanskii Tatary v statisticheskoi i etnograficheskoi otnosheniakh* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1844), 124.

¹⁵ S. M. Mikhailova, *Kazanskii universitet i prosvetshenie narodov povolzhia i priuralia* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1979), 51-55; ‘starozhil,’ “Gubernator dobrago starago vremeni,” *Russkaia starina*, vol. 131, no. 7 (Jul., 1907): 192-193.

¹⁶ I. P. Ermolaev, et al., eds., *Istoriia Kazanskogo universiteta, 1804-2004* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 2004), 82.

¹⁷ V. V. Aristov, *Pervoe literaturnoe obshchestvo povolzhia* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 1992), 4.

appearance clearly pointed to his Tatar or Bashkir origins,” and remembered him as a “diminutive Tatar form” striding energetically about the classroom. Yet comments like these recalled an ancestry rooted in the distant past; for, Ibragimov was also the son of a minor provincial official, an Orthodox Christian, a respected teacher of Russian literature trained at Moscow University, and a forward-thinking poet whose works eventually found broad popularity as song lyrics. To families like Ibragimov’s, Tatar identity was not something that could ever be fully erased, at least not by any act on their own part. Over the course of generations, however, that identity could be overlaid and superseded, to a large extent, by a Russian one.¹⁸

And of all of Kazan’s cultural intermediaries during the first half of the century, perhaps the most prominent and ambiguous was neither a Tatar nor a native of the Russian Empire. Aleksandr Kazem-Bek (Figure 47¹⁹) was born in 1802 in northern Persia, near the Russian border. Originally named Muhammad Ali, he was the son of a Muslim cleric. Having moved with his family during a tumultuous childhood, first to the Russian Caucasus and later Astrakhan,



Figure 47: Aleksandr Kazem-Bek, ca. 1840

¹⁸ S. Aksakov, *Semeinaia khronika i vospominaniia*, 3rd ed. (Moscow: Tipografiia L. Stepanovoi, 1862), 359-362; V. V. Aristov, *Kazanskie nakhodki: Poiski literaturnye i istoricheskie* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 1985), 46-54; Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 86-87.

¹⁹ “File: Kazembek, Alexander Kasimovich, about 1830-1850s.jpg,” Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kazembek,_Alexander_Kasimovich,_about_1830-1850s.jpg (accessed April 29, 2017).

Kazem-Bek eventually converted to Presbyterianism under the guidance of Scottish missionaries. Then, as a young adult compelled to state service, Kazem-Bek fell by chance into a position at Kazan University's Department of Eastern Literature in 1826, where he would be a fixture for decades, specializing in Arabic and Persian literature, and famed for his prodigious gifts as a linguist.²⁰ During his years in Kazan, Kazem-Bek cut a highly cosmopolitan figure. He embraced the identity of an Eastern noble [*murza*] and flaunted his Persian dress; yet he was warmly accepted into the city's elite social and scholarly circles.²¹ One Englishman marveled at the dichotomy of this man "dressed in the splendid costume of his country, [while] speaking the language of mine with facility and elegance."²² If Kazem-Bek found this a difficult line to walk, he did not show it. He navigated genteel society with effortless grace. While avoiding overt demonstrations of conformism, he made a point of proclaiming his undivided loyalty to the empire.²³ At the university, he was compared favorably against the institution's Germans for his fluent Russian and effectiveness as a teacher. Particularly crucial to the way he was perceived, one surmises, is that although not an adherent to Orthodoxy, he was at least a firm Christian. Grounded by his ability to meet Kazan's Russian elites within their comfort-zone—that of Europeanized culture, the Russian language, Christian belief, imperial allegiance, and academic ritual—Kazem-Bek could trust that his origins, exotic attire, and wide-ranging cultural expertise would be treated as objects of fascination rather than scorn.

²⁰ David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism: Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 101-109.

²¹ Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 230-231.

²² Edward Tracy Turnerelli, *Russia on the Borders of Asia: Kazan, the Ancient Capital of the Tartar Khans*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1854), 177-180.

²³ Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism*, 101.

The section of the university that Kazem-Bek served, the Department of Eastern Literature, had its own part to play in molding Kazan's intellectual landscape as well. It was founded in 1807 with the hiring of a young German Orientalist, Khristian Fren, from Rostock, and remained in Kazan only until 1854, when the entire department was transferred *en masse* to St. Petersburg. Still, in the intervening decades the unit's scholarly contributions were many. Fren's energetic presence shook up local conceptions of Eastern civilizations, awakening a new spirit of cross-cultural curiosity and academic rigor. After he left to join the Academy of Sciences in 1817, a series of renowned scholars—including Kazem-Bek, Frants Erdman, and Ilia Berezin—took up Fren's mantle, and cemented Kazan's place at the forefront of international scholarship on the languages, literature, and history of the Turkic, Persian, and Arabic cultural spheres.²⁴ And while the department's national and international contributions have been widely acknowledged, the profound and ambivalent effects that it had locally, in Kazan itself, should not be neglected. On the one hand, privileging Eastern cultures as objects of respect, curiosity, and intellectual engagement transformed the way many educated Russians in Kazan thought about their Tatar neighbors. Indeed a number of local intellectuals were inspired to step out of their own areas of professional or scholarly expertise to publish amateur historical, ethnographic, and archeological studies on the region's minorities—among them familiar advocates of Kazan, such as Dmitrii Zinovev, Karl and Aleksandra Fuks, and Mikhail Rybushkin, as well as a range of other scholars, such as university graduate Nikolai Kaftannikov (Figure 48²⁵), and professors of literature Grigorii Surovtsov and Ilia Iakovkin.²⁶ All this attention helped to challenge older

²⁴ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago*, vol. 1, 219-227; Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism*, 93-121.

²⁵ N. N. Kaftannikov, "Bashkirtsy," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1834, vol. 2, no. 15: insert.

²⁶ E. A. Vishlenkova and V. I. Shishkin, "Zhurnal 'Kazanskii vestnik,'" in V. G. Salova, et al., "*Kazanskii vestnik*," 1821-1833 gg.: *Ukazatel sodержaniia* (Kazan: Izdatelstvo Kazanskogo universiteta, 2003), 5-7; Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 54, 58-63; K. Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 1-21.

narratives that dismissed the city's Tatars as essentially backward, inscrutable, or marginal. Yet, at the same time, the notice inspired by the Department of Eastern Literature still had the ultimate effect of objectifying Kazan's Tatars. As scholars have observed with regard to Orientalist discourse more generally²⁷,

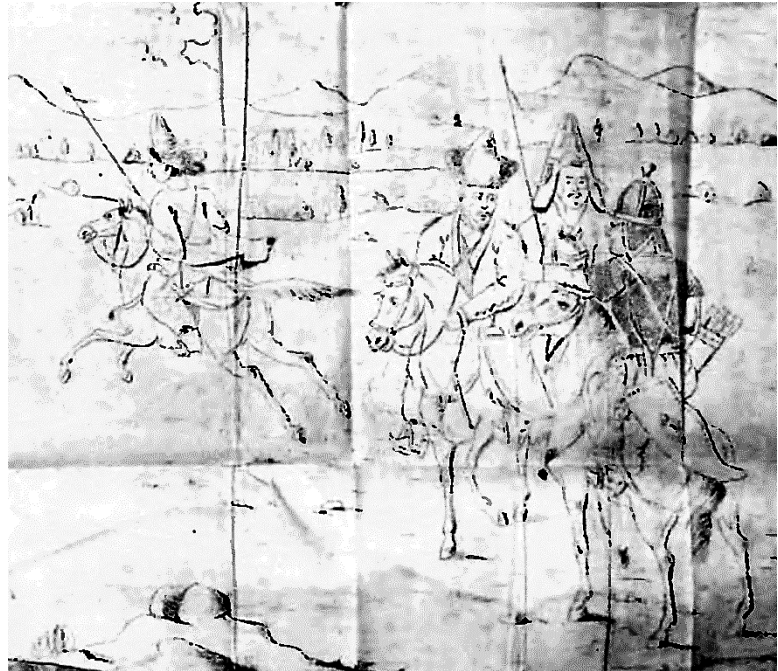


Figure 48: Nikolai Kaftannikov's "Bashkirs"

conceptualizing Tatar culture as something to be studied inevitably positioned its members as foreign, undifferentiated, and discrete from the observer. Internalizing and perpetuating that frame of reference, Kazan's amateur ethnographers shared a common tendency to enumerate the cultural practices that made the city's Tatars and other local ethnic and religious groups different, while neglecting the many common elements of the city's social and economic life in which they took part.

The university, with its Department of Eastern Literature and its liminal figures, did not represent the only institutional framework for elite scholarship in the city, however. Kazan was also home to a parallel system of Muslim higher education, and it was this background from which the large majority of the city's Tatar scholars and writers emerged. Some intriguing comparisons may be drawn between the ways the two pedagogical traditions developed; for if

²⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 5-8, 27-28, 121-123, 157-166; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 1-11, 23-28.

Catherine's imperial reforms had worked to foster Kazan's engagement with European intellectual networks by the early nineteenth century, then they also removed obstacles which had earlier stunted the city's participation in the sphere of international Islamic scholarship. The road for Muslim intellectuals in Kazan had long been a rocky one. For two centuries following the Russian conquest, Islamic culture in the Volga region had been disrupted by periodic waves of state repression, often targeted at the mosques and clergy that were at the heart of Islamic intellectual life.²⁸ This began to change, however, in the second half of the eighteenth century, as the government's shift toward imperial religious toleration began to favor attitudes of mutual coexistence rather than confrontation between Tatars, Russians, and the state.²⁹ As a result, Muslim religious, cultural, and educational institutions started to rebuild, proliferate, and enter the public sphere in Kazan, after centuries of tenuous and shadowy perseverance.

By the early nineteenth century, Europeanized observers were generally impressed with the general state of learning among the city's Muslims. Karl Fuks noted with appreciation that "a Tatar who cannot read and write will be derided by his fellows, and as a citizen, will lose the respect of others"³⁰; and Mikhail Rybushkin added that "women also receive a remarkable level of education; among Tatar women one can find few that are unable to read and write"³¹. At the top of the Muslim educational pyramid were Kazan's *medreses*, or secondary schools—institutions of higher education roughly comparable to the *gimnaziia* and university. Here

²⁸ Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 22-32; Geraci, *Window on the East*, 20-21 *Tatary Srednego Povolzhia i Priuralia* (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), 376.

²⁹ Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 32-39; Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar*, 39-60; I. K. Zagidullin, ed., *Orenburskoe magometanskoe dukhovnoe sobranie i dukhovnoe razvitie tatarskogo naroda v poslednei chetverti XVIII – nachale XX vv.* (Kazan: Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardzhani AN RT, 2011), 4-8; Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions*, 102-106.

³⁰ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 113.

³¹ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1834), 123-128.

students studied subjects such as theology, law, philosophy, and rhetoric—and sometimes also mathematics, astronomy, and history—taught in conformance with Hanafi doctrine, and using Arabic, Persian, and Turkic texts. Kazan was home to several of these *medreses* in the first half of the nineteenth century. Though they experienced a significant degree of turnover, there appear to have been five or six operating at any given time, housed in the city’s major mosques (Figure 49³²), and serving perhaps 150 to 250 students.³³ Unlike the university, these institutions did not receive state assistance; instead, they were generally funded by Kazan merchants. Traditionally the empire had not recognized the *waqf* endowment system common in most of the Islamic world, but by the early years of the nineteenth century rough legal equivalents were being hammered out and put into widespread use.³⁴ Among the most prominent of the city’s educational patrons

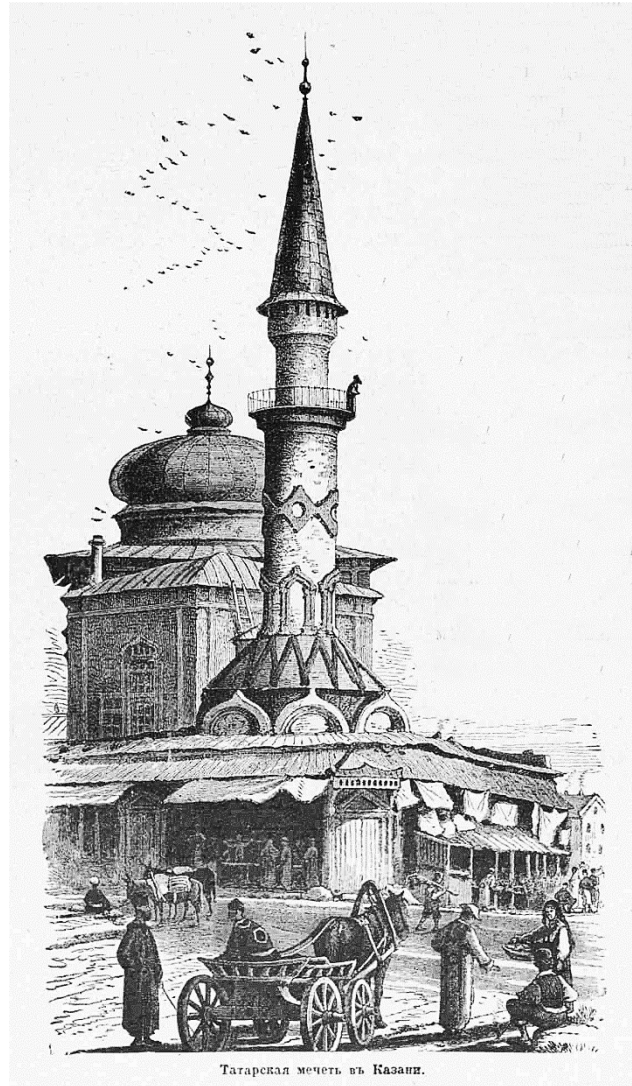


Figure 49: Haymarket Square mosque, built 1840s, site of a lunusov-funded medrese for much of the 19th c.

³² *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg: M. O. Volf, 1901), 130; L. V., Gorokhova, et al., *Medrese g. Kazani, XIX-nach. XX vv.: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kazan: Gasyr, 2007), 21-61-62.

³³ Gorokhova, et al., *Medrese g. Kazani*, 11-20.

³⁴ L. M. Sverdlova, *Kazanskoe kupechestvo: Sotsialno-ekonomicheskii portret, kon. XVIII-nach. XX v.* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2011), 274-278.

from this period were Gaibadully Iunusov, Bashir Aitov, Kurbangalei Arsaev, and Mukhamet Kushaev.

There were other parallels between Kazan's *medreses* and its university as well. Both provided institutional frameworks which acted as wellsprings for the broader cultural and literary life of their respective communities. They nurtured local thinkers, writers, archives, and learned debates.³⁵ And both, moreover, integrated the city into far-flung systems of national and international intellectual discourse. For, just as the university linked the city to European academics, publications, and institutions, so the city's *medreses* acted as nodes in an extended and decentralized network of scholarship that extended across the Islamic world.³⁶ In order to build their reputations and attract students, Kazan's Muslim educators had to engage in collegial competition with peers located not only within the Russian Empire, at Ufa, Orenburg, and the rural *medreses* and Sufi centers which dotted the region's agricultural villages, but also in Central Asia, the Caucasus, Iran, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Their students, meanwhile, were highly mobile. Earning an advanced Islamic education was a lengthy process which was typically spread over multiple schools, so that the time an aspiring scholar spent in Kazan usually represented only one stage in a larger, often international, journey. The strivings of both teachers and students ensured that the Tatar community in early-nineteenth-century Kazan was continually enriched by travelers, texts, and ideas drawn from across the length and breadth of the Islamic world.

³⁵ Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim*, 68-69; S. Kh. Alishev, *Istoriecheskie sudby narodov srednego povolzhia, XVI-nachalo XIX v.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1990), 216-217.

³⁶ Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims*, 21-34; Gorokhova, et al., *Medrese g. Kazani*, 3-5; Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 95-97.

These discrete Tatar and Russian higher educational systems were each paired with distinctive literary traditions. During the early part of the nineteenth century, both of these intellectual camps were just beginning to wrestle with the changes introduced by typeset printing. The first printing press in Kazan, in fact, was its ‘Asian’ (Arabic-script) press, installed at the *gimnaziia* in 1800, and brought under the auspices of the university a few years later. Though it remained always under official oversight, local Tatars managed the press’s day-to-day operations; and, generally speaking, they seem to have run it with an eye to turning a profit. In its early days the print shop was entrusted to a man named Burshaev, while the censorship duties were assigned to a local imam called Abdreziakov. A minor scandal quickly ensued when the press began churning out books containing Shiite content: this was a potential source of valuable income from Persia, but anathema to local Sunni sensibilities. The provincial authorities, always eager to avoid these kinds of aggravations, rapidly turned the management of the press over to local notables with whom they had built up closer working relationships and greater trust. From this point on, operational control was exercised by members of the city’s leading merchant dynasties—first the Apanaevs and later the Iunusovs—and censorship became the responsibility of university professors, beginning with Ibragim Khalfin.³⁷

The Arabic-script printing press at the university was joined by private Tatar-owned establishments during the 1840s³⁸; yet despite these various new outlets, Tatar literary life in Kazan remained deeply rooted in manuscript culture until late in the century³⁹. Most of the capacity of the presses was devoted to printing and reprinting a basic and highly marketable slate

³⁷ N. P. Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta za pervyia sto let ego sushchestvovaniia, 1804-1904*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Kazanskago Universiteta, 1902), 332-336; G. G. Gabdeldaneeva, *Istoriia Tatarskoi knigi (ot istokov do 1917 g.)* (Moscow: Direkt-Media: 2015), 57-68.

³⁸ Gabdeldaneeva, *Istoriia Tatarskoi knigi*, 68-75.

³⁹ Frank, *Islamic Historiography and ‘Bulghar’ Identity*, 13-14, 58-61, 125-127.

of Koranic texts, primers, and poetry.⁴⁰ Such works were in high demand across a wide swath of the Volga Basin, Central Asia, India, Persia, and the Caucasus, and may have had an effect in boosting basic literacy, but did little to increase the range and sophistication of intellectual discourse in the city. Kazan's Tatar publishers did sometimes produce items of greater originality and scholarly interest—notably poetics and commentaries like those written around the turn of the nineteenth century by a popular and prolific Sufi cleric from nearby Ufa province, Taj ad-Din Yalchighul (Figure 50⁴¹); as well as works that filtered out of

بیت	رساله عزیزه	بیت	فهرست
۲۰۸	حکایت فاسقی کناهدن پاندی	۲۰۹	گوزنی حرامدن یومباق ننگ
۲۶۱	قضاغراضی اولب بلاغه صبر	۲۱۴	بیانی
۲۶۲	ابلامک بیانی	۲۱۴	الئی گروه عرش کولا کاسنده
۲۶۳	قضا ایله بلاننگ ابرماس	۲۱۶	حکایت شیخ بسطام
۲۶۴	حکایت عبدالله انصاری	۲۱۸	فکر ابلامک ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	فقیر لاری خورکورمک بیانی	۲۱۹	حکایت طالب ننگ مرص
۲۶۷	خیانندن یراغ بولوب دیانتی	۲۲۱	عشق اولماق ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	بولوق بیانی	۲۲۹	حکایت دنیا مکاره ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	خلایقندن رنجو واغرتنی	۲۲۹	دنیاه مرص دن نهی ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	یوکلامک بیانی	۲۲۹	اورما کوچ وقرسته بیانی
۲۶۷	چنایاق باصامق بیانی	۲۳۹	نفس شوم بیانی
۲۶۷	الماس تیمیری بیانی	۲۳۷	نوا ایله فیل ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	پیغمبریز علیه السلام ننگ اراک	۲۴۲	وعدہ تورنگ بیانی
۲۶۷	تشی ننگ بیانی	۲۴۴	خلیل اوغلی حضرت اسماعیل
۲۶۷	حکایت حضرت خواجه بها الدین	۲۴۴	ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	غوانیغه بولتغاق	۲۴۹	سقرده بولدانشلاره مهربانلق
۲۶۷	مناقب خواجه بها الدین	۲۵۱	بیانی
۲۶۷	ناظم رحمة الله علیه مریدلارینه	۲۵۲	سعد وسعد ننگ حکایتی
۲۶۷	عذر ایلیک بیانی	۲۵۲	مومن دایم خونی ورجاده
۲۶۷	مصنف ننگ اوغلینه اینکلن	۲۵۲	اولوق بیانی
۲۶۷	نصیحتی	۲۵۵	خداننگ رحمتندن امیددار
۲۶۷	مک ایله چیتلاک بیانی	۲۵۷	بولماق ننگ بیانی
۲۶۷	سوزنی قصه قیلپ کتابنی تمام		چیق صوری بیاننده
۲۶۷	قیلمق ننگ بیانی		

Figure 50: Table of contents, Risale-i Azize—Yalchighul's commentary on the texts of sufi sheikh Allahyar—printed at the university in 1856

the university's Eastern Literature department, such as local Tatar chronicles compiled by Ibragim Khalfin, or Frants Erdman's annotated volume of Persian poetry by Nizami⁴³. These kinds of offerings remained the exception, however, rather than the rule, and so made no more than a shallow mark on Tatar intellectual life. In similar fashion, despite some abortive efforts to found a Tatar newspaper, Kazan did not receive any sort of Tatar periodical until the 1870s when

⁴⁰ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 119-121, NART f. 1, o. 2, d. 483, ll. 39-40.

⁴¹ NBIL ORRK T5321, l. 298.

⁴² Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 95-98.

⁴³ Mikhailova, *Kazanskii universitet i prosveshchenie narodov*, 77-81.

annual *kalendars* began to be printed; while a true periodical press would not come until after the 1905 revolution.

As a result of these patterns, the majority of the Tatar works created locally and regionally during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not appear in print, or if they did it was not until the final decades of the 1800s. In the meantime, the city's Muslim scholars and literary enthusiasts continued to rely on the older technologies of oral transmission, recitation, and above all, manuscripts. Manuscript culture in Tatar Kazan had a strongly regional flavor. Local intellectuals clearly had access to contemporary documents from as far away as the Ottoman Empire and Egypt⁴⁴; but on a day-to-day basis they leaned heavily on texts from Kazan itself, from Orenburg, Ufa, and rural sites in-between, and from Central Asian educational centers like Bukhara and Samarkand⁴⁵. The result was to trace concentric circles of literary influence, focused on the Volga-Ural region, and radiating out from there to Central Asia and Crimea, and then on to the rest of the Muslim world.

In Russian Kazan, by contrast, the new presses made a much more immediate impact, despite government attitudes that veered between lukewarm support and outright hostility. As we have seen, local books and periodicals touched many aspects of local civic life, whether by soliciting and publicizing the good works of local philanthropists, encouraging the development of public health discourse, or providing outlets for budding local historians. The impact of local publishing did not rise in a straight line, however, for the majority of the contributions made by the city's presses over the first half of the century came during three periods of concentrated

⁴⁴ NBIL ORRK T213, l. 1.

⁴⁵ A. A. Arslanova, *Opisanie rukopisei na persidskom iazyke Nauchnoi biblioteki im. N. I. Lobachevskogo Kazanskogo gos. universiteta* (Kazan: Kazanskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2005), 6; Aristov, *Kazanskie nakhodki*, 39-43; Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim*, 69-74.

activity. The first coincided with the founding of *Kazanskiia izvestiia* [the *Kazan News*] by Dmitrii Zinovev and Ilia Iakovkin, and ran between 1811 and 1820⁴⁶; the second was marked by the establishment of the literary magazine *Zavolzhskii muravei* [*Transvolga Ant*] under the guidance of editors Mikhail Rybushkin and Mikhail Polinovskii (and with the support of Karl and Aleksandra Fuks and Frants Erdman) in 1831, and continued into the late 1830s⁴⁷; and the last began in the early 1840s, when *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti* [the *Kazan Provincial Gazette*] was run by a string of gifted and energetic young editors, Nikolai Vtorov, Aleksandr Artemev, and Ilia Berezin⁴⁸. In each of these cases, private initiative played a crucial part in overcoming, for a while at least, the doubts, hesitations, and delays of state officials—thus attesting to the extent of popular demand for local print outlets. Yet although publishing was becoming increasingly influential, manuscript culture did not disappear overnight in Russian Kazan. Hand-written texts remained important, especially during times of state repression, and among minority groups that ranged from liberal-minded university students to German scholars to Old Believers.⁴⁹ Still, the growing reach of the printing presses in the capitals over the course of the eighteenth century had prepared the way for print culture to be embraced in the provinces; and as the 1800s got underway, printed works quickly rose to become the predominant medium for scholarly discourse, civic persuasion, and literary exchange for most Russian-speakers in Kazan.

⁴⁶ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago*, vol. 2, 287, 336-347; 287; N. P[etrovskii], *Po povodu stoletiiia kazanskoi periodicheskoi pechati* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1911), 1-3.

⁴⁷ Aristov, “Zhurnal ‘Zavolzhskii muravei,’” *Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pechat*, Shishkin, and Nureeva, eds.: 5-6; P. Ponomarev, “Kazanskaia periodicheskaia pressa,” *Kazanskii literaturnyi sbornik, 1878* (Kazan: Tipografiia M. A. Gladyshevoi, 1878): 179.

⁴⁸ “Kazanskaia khronika,” *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 40 (Oct. 2, 1843): 231; Nikolai Agafonov, *Kazan i Kazantsy*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia S. Perova, 1907), 85-136.

⁴⁹ NART f. 1, o. 1, d. 239, ll. 7ob-8ob; Aksakov, *Semeinaia khronika*, 3rd ed. 609-623; Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago*, vol. 2, 670-676.

Though local intellectual and literary institutions did not always work to bring the city's ethnic and religious communities together, they were at least beginning to serve a socially integrative function in Russian Kazan. The educated society in Kazan that could appreciate locally-produced literary works remained a narrow slice of the city's population, but it was slowly diversifying. Some indication of what the 'reading public' for local writers looked like can be gleaned from the advance orders for the first edition of Mikhail Rybushkin's *Short History of the City of Kazan* in the early 1830s. This was a time when the city housed, in very rough terms, about 40,000 people—perhaps 18,000 from the noble, clerical, and urban estates, and 4,500 of those adult-males (1,500 if townsmen were to be excluded).⁵⁰ Drawing on these groups, Rybushkin was able to secure local pre-orders for 197 copies for six rubles each, reserved on behalf of 156 individuals. Of these, roughly a third were associated with the city's educational institutions; slightly more than a third were civil and military officials, clerics, retired officials, and hereditary nobles; and slightly less than a third were merchants, professionals such as doctors and architects, and townsmen. They included one woman (a merchant's wife named Khvorova, possibly related to Fedor Khvorov, the mayor who presided during the sinking of the ferry in 1822), as well as several individuals who can be identified as foreign-born or Lutheran. None of Rybushkin's subscribers were Muslim.⁵¹ The overall numbers were modest to be sure, and excluded most of the city's population, including Tatars, peasants, and most women of whatever background. Nevertheless, they demonstrated that intellectual culture in Kazan was not confined to any one narrow social category, such as the landed nobility, government officialdom, or the staff of educational institutions. Rather, the city's cultural life not

⁵⁰ Shter, *Statisticheskoe izobrazhenie gorodov i posadov Rossiiskoi Imperii po 1825 god* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Ivana Glazunova, 1829), 30-31; [A. I. Artemev?], "Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani v 1844 godu," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1845, no. 34: 331-332.

⁵¹ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 169-176

only spanned all of these groups, but had also begun to make substantial inroads among quasi-‘middle class’ groups such as professionals, merchants, and the most prosperous townsmen.

Still, through it all, Kazan continued to be marked by old patterns of ethnic and religious difference, and in this regard Kazan’s maturing intellectual institutions and practices had very mixed effects. From a structural perspective, as we have seen, these systems were organized in ways that tended to confirm existing divisions. Yet they also created a context in which educated residents were encouraged to reexamine these divisions, to reconsider their nature and meaning, and to contemplate their implications for the future. As they embarked on new discursive explorations of Kazan’s diversity, local intellectuals reached a range of conclusions about whether and how significant a problem it was, and how urban society might adapt in response; and in the end, they were never able to arrive at any widely-held consensus on the issue. There were many reasons for this—not least the fact that the past experiences and intellectual agendas of particular individuals and groups inevitably colored their responses to imperial diversity. But certainly the separations built into the city’s institutions and practices of higher education, scholarly discourse, and literary production did nothing to aid the emergence of broadly-shared understandings on the topic.

Reimagining the Conquest as a Multiethnic Achievement

As was so often the case with intellectual contemplations of Kazan, one of the key entry points for thinking about ethnic and religious difference in the city was through the chronicles and histories detailing the rise and fall of the Kazan Khanate. We saw in the previous chapter how these chronicles had been studied and elaborated at the national level during the eighteenth century, and how local writers of early-nineteenth-century Kazan then sought to appropriate

them as part of broader, locally-oriented historical narratives. Such efforts were not limited to the discipline of history, however, for the conquest of the city had long provided rich fodder for fictional prose and poetry as well; and here, too, Kazan's *belle-lettrists* were determined to reclaim these tales and turn them to serve the city's purposes. In whatever form they tackled this subject, however, authors in Kazan faced a fundamentally different set of challenges than their predecessors in the capitals. To Europeanized, cosmopolitan authors living in St. Petersburg and Moscow during the previous century, the consequences of telling this story—pitting the Orthodox Russians of Muscovy against the Muslim Tatars of Kazan—had never seemed particularly unmanageable. State-level elites were not insensitive to the challenges posed by imperial difference, but they perceived little risk from a tale that highlighted such differences in a single, distant provincial backwater. From the vantage point of early-nineteenth-century Kazan, however, where roughly a sixth of the population consisted of Muslim Tatars, the dangers of painting the historical episode as a stark confrontation between Tatars and Russians were more evident. Locally, then, such texts—whether historical or literary in focus—frequently sought for ways to defang the ethnic and confessional conflict inherent in the conquest narrative, in order to arrive at a story which encouraged civic harmony, or at least did not incite disunity. The approach that many authors came up with was to reposition the defeat of the Khanate as a purely political outcome achieved by an alliance of Russians and Tatars.

A representative example of this dynamic can be observed in the efforts of a young Mikhail Rybushkin to appropriate and recast the themes of Mikhail Khersakov's eighteenth-century national epic, *Rossiada*, when he prepared a stage treatment of the conquest for publication in Kazan in the 1810s. Khersakov's *Rossiada* served as model not only for Rybushkin, but for a whole sub-genre of fictional treatments of the conquest; most notably

another of Rybushkin's influences, Sergei Glinka's 1806 tragedy *Sumbeka, or the Fall of the Kazan Khanate*.⁵² Khersakov had published *Rossiada* decades earlier, in 1779, with the intention that it should become Russia's *Iliad*. Toward that end, he repackaged and fictionalized the growing body of research on the Kazan Chronicle, presenting it in lofty but accessible verse, adorned with a gloss of highly-stylized romanticism. At its heart, *Rossiada* contained an element of ambiguity: while undoubtedly a product of the Catherinian age, it still registered gentle opposition to some of the core tenets of enlightened empire. For although he took care to praise the glories of the reign of Peter I, Khersakov centered his narrative on what he viewed as a more crucial turning point in Russian history, the conquest of Kazan. To many in Enlightenment-era Russia, recollections of Ivan IV were colored in disagreeable shades of medieval backwardness, but for Khersakov, Ivan's triumph symbolized the end of Mongol rule and the dawn of Russian independence.⁵³ Khersakov's epic fit especially poorly against Catherine's emerging program of confessional tolerance. The empire *Rossiada* described was an inclusive one with respect to ethnicity. Khersakov adhered scrupulously to the term *rossiiskii* rather than *russkii*, and was sparing in his use of ethnic identifiers in general. He did deploy the terms "Tatar" and "Horde" liberally, but in a fairly interchangeable and impersonal way that denoted states and leaders connected to the political legacy of the Mongol Empire, rather than attachments of a more linguistic or cultural nature. Yet his imagined empire was also essentially and intensely Christian—if, perhaps, not exclusively Orthodox. True, it was possible for Ivan to fight alongside allies that were Muslim or vaguely un-Christianized; yet, in the bigger picture, Khersakov questioned the legitimacy of Islam, dismissing its followers as merely "godless under

⁵² "Ioann ili vziatie Kazani, tragediia v piati deistviiakh v proze," *Syn otechestva*, 1814, no. 24: 203; "Otvēt k kritiku," *Vestnik evropy*, 1814, no. 19 (Oct. 1814): 199-203.

⁵³ M. Khersakov, *Tvoreniiia*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1796), xvii-xix.

the guise of Mohammad,” and suggesting that the arc of history pointed toward its inexorable vanquishment by Christianity.⁵⁴

In imperial Kazan, however, ethnicity and religion could not be so easily disentangled. Endorsing Khersakov’s theme of enduring, existential confrontation between Christianity and Islam would be to consign the city to a cycle of unending conflict. This was the conundrum facing Mikhail Rybushkin when, as a recent product of the *gimnaziia* and university (decades before he wrote his *Short History* of the city), he set out to adapt this story to the stage. The resulting work was published locally in 1814 under the title *Ivan, or the Taking of Kazan*. From an artistic standpoint, *Ivan* would prove a disappointing critical failure. In the national weekly *Syn otechestva* [*Son of the Fatherland*], the editor limited his review to a single couplet of Vasiliï Pushkin’s: “Those who don't bother to learn proper Russian will, hence, / Succumb to writing tragedies, bereft of all sense.”⁵⁵ Pushkin’s celebrated nephew, Alexander, then merely a gifted student, watched with amusement as an indignant Rybushkin struggled to defend the work in the press⁵⁶; later the younger Pushkin would jot down an impudent verse of his own, suggesting that the author of *Ivan* had lost this “inkpot war” decisively⁵⁷. Still, for all its failings as literature, *Ivan* did provide residents of Kazan with a template for reimagining the story of the conquest to suit the needs of a place where imperial diversity was less a political concept, and more an everyday reality.

⁵⁴ “Khersakov, *Tvoreniia*, vol. 1, 75-78, 155-158, 193-195, 221-222.

⁵⁵ “Novyia knigi,” *Syn otechestva*, 1814, no. 12: 240.

⁵⁶ “Izvestiia i zamechaniia,” *Syn otechestva*, 1814, no. 23: 157.

⁵⁷ Leonid Maikov, ed., *Sochineniia Pushkina*, vol. 1, bk. 1 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1899), 157.

When hammering out the details of his play, Rybushkin chose to diverge from the central tenets of *Rossiada* in several important respects. Most notable, perhaps, was the way his retelling decentered Christian belief. In place of the strident drumbeat for “Christianity” sounded in Khersakov’s epic, Rybushkin made comparatively infrequent and ecumenical appeals to “faith” or “God.” Conversely, however, *Ivan* acknowledged ethnic difference more openly, identifying it as a potential source of suspicion and disunity, albeit one that ultimately could be overcome. These shifts can be seen most vividly in the works’ respective portrayals of ‘King Alei,’ a character based on the historical figure Shah-Ghali, the Tatar khan of the Russian tribute state of Qasim, and a recurrent sixteenth-century Muscovite-backed candidate for the throne of Kazan. Both works depicted Alei as a genuine friend of Ivan, temporarily blinded to his duties by an ill-advised love for the beautiful Queen Suyembika of Kazan. Both told how Alei’s Muscovite allies had suspected him of treason, and how in the end he was vindicated, and his enduring loyalty to the tsar reaffirmed. In Khersakov’s rendering of this subplot, Alei’s ethnicity is never mentioned, and his religion referred to only obliquely, which allows him to occupy a liminal space at the margin of ethnic-Russian Christianity. Doubts as to his loyalty are articulated only by an unnamed messenger, and in response to these accusations, Ivan expresses no more than the sorrow of a friend betrayed.⁵⁸ In Rybushkin’s *Ivan*, by contrast, Alei’s identity is much more clearly articulated: “Alei is a Tatar,” “he is a Muslim,” and (in one of Rybushkin’s rare invocations of the word ‘Christian’), “Alei is not a Christian.” In this version of the tale, it is Ivan’s two closest councilors, Adashev and Kurbskii, who impugn Alei’s reliability. Indeed, they distrust him even before receiving word of his apparent betrayal—showing unquestionably that their doubts arose out of his identity, rather than his actions. “I never believed in him,” Adashev

⁵⁸ Khersakov, *Tvoreniia*, vol. 1, 37, 256-258.

declares at one point, “for Alei is a Tatar.” In response to Alei’s alleged treachery, moreover, Rybushkin has Ivan indulge in a paroxysm of rage, disgust, and lust for revenge.⁵⁹ Fortunately, Alei is eventually acquitted and reconciled with Ivan, but the affair brings all the obstinacy and ugliness of ethnic prejudice into sharp relief.

These divergences revealed two distinct conceptions of empire. For Khersakov, the true markers of imperial subjecthood were political alignment with the Russian state, and Christian belief—irrespective of ethnic identity. He did eke out a space for non-Christian allies who demonstrated loyalty, but only by eliding their differences, and by leaving little doubt that they were on a path toward baptism. Rybushkin, on the other hand, presented ethnic and religious differences as more enduring, and hence consequential. His vision could accommodate Tatar Muslims as genuine imperial subjects, without expecting them to disguise or assimilate their identity. Yet Rybushkin warned that such ethnic and religious nonconformity also contained the seeds of persistent imperial tensions, since even prominent and effective leaders could easily fall into prejudices which mistook difference for disloyalty. These two positions also colored how each of the authors explained the final downfall of the khanate. To his own rhetorical question, “can there be truth, where there is no genuine faith?,” Khersakov’s epic answers with an emphatic ‘no.’ In his tale, the Muslim residents of Kazan bring about their own doom by indulging unapologetically in deceit and treachery against Muscovy and its allies. Rybushkin, by contrast, portrays this finale far differently. He shows the events unfolding as a result of the ambitions, machinations, and crimes of a single Tatar noble, the dastardly Sagrun, who makes the city’s credulous residents into his tools and victims. To this extent, at least, Rybushkin, for all his melodramatic excesses as a writer, had the nuance to acknowledge that ethnic and

⁵⁹ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Ioann ili vziatie Kazani* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1814), 42, 47, 49.

confessional others could be figures worthy of empathy, rather than merely one-dimensional foils for Russian greatness. In this way, his personal experience of Kazan allowed Rybushkin to recognize imperial diversity as a more complex and ambiguous phenomenon than Khersakov had dared to admit.⁶⁰

By the 1830s, when writing his *Short History of the City of Kazan*, Rybushkin remained committed to positioning the conquest as a joint project of Russians and Tatars, and he did so now with a good deal more sophistication. In the *Short History*, he accomplished this by breaking from both Karamzin and earlier chronicle-oriented authors like Rychkov, in order to accord a central role in his narrative to Ivan IV's Tatar supporters. Even more so than his earlier drama *Ivan*, Rybushkin's history celebrated the importance of the Khan of Qasim, Shah-Ghali. This Muscovite ally was now given a place of prominence in virtually every scene Rybushkin described, while influential nobles like Kurbskii, Mstislavskii, Vorotynskii, and Morozov remained unnamed or in subordinate positions. Before the siege commenced, for example, Rybushkin's Ivan "consulted with Shah-Ghali and other commanders about how to begin the assault." As the Muscovite army advanced, Rybushkin placed Shah-Ghali in command over the advance-guard regiments of Shemiakin-Pronskii and Troekurov, and in the battles on Arsk Field, it was the Qasim khan who led the Muscovites to victory. Moreover, Rybushkin also made reference to the participation of Muscovy's Tatar allies more broadly, as when Ivan "called on those among his Tatars who were in military service [*sluzhilykh iz svoikh Tatar*]" for advice on how to interrupt the water supply to the city. In each of these cases, Rybushkin parted ways with earlier authors to elevate the prominence of Shah-Ghali and other Tatar allies of Muscovy. And

⁶⁰ Rybushkin, *Ioann*, 78-79, 87-89; Khersakov, *Tvoreniia*, vol. 1, 157, 245.

by so doing, he underscored for his readers the viability and utility of political partnership between Orthodox Russians and Muslim Tatars.⁶¹

An Imperial Couple Endorses the Imperial Status Quo

Though local intellectuals were generally eager to lay claim to the city's storied past—and therefore willing to rewrite the conquest as a collaboration between Russians and Tatars united by political alliance, love of homeland, and loyalty to the Tsar—the question of how to react to the ethnic differences of the present day posed its own set of issues. Some in Kazan remained wary of change, believing that inter-cultural harmony could best be maintained through a healthy respect for existing practices. Those favoring such an approach might applaud feelings of mutual regard between different ethno-religious communities, and even encourage each of those communities to improve themselves according to some developmental schema, but nevertheless urge that they continue to be held distinct from one another, in conformance with the traditional boundaries that had structured and regulated the city's societal landscape for centuries. Among those adopting such a perspective, in fact, were two of the leading lights of culture and learning in early-nineteenth-century Kazan—a couple who, ironically enough, in their own pairing embodied the testing of imperial boundaries—Aleksandra and Karl Fuks.

Karl Fuks (Figure 51⁶²) was a man who seems to have been everywhere at once within the cultural life of the city during the early 1800s. By temperament more a late-Enlightenment

⁶¹ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 19-32; Nikolai Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskago*, vol. 8 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia vdovy Pliushar s synom, 1834), 152-154; Petr Rychkov, *Opyt Kazanskoi istorii drevnikh i srednikh vremian* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1767), 149-156.

⁶² "Fuks Karl Fedorovich," *Kazan tysiacheletniaia*, http://nik-rech.narod.ru/album_kazan_piepl/fuks_kf/index.htm (accessed May 7, 2017).

figure than an early-Romantic, Fuks was born in Nassau in 1776 to an educated family of scholars and professionals, and received his medical degree from Göttingen University in 1797. Like so many other German scholars, he came to Russia seeking employment, and was one of the first appointees to the fledgling university in Kazan.⁶³ There he made a long career as a professor, finding favor with students and fellow faculty members alike. Fuks survived the crackdown after Mikhail Magnitskii was appointed as trustee of the



Figure 51: Karl Fuks, ca. 1806

university in 1819, and subsequently rose to become warden of the medical department, and eventually university rector.⁶⁴ Yet he was generally remembered for everything except his accomplishments in the classroom. In private practice Fuks was a sought-after doctor known for his fearlessness during epidemics, his charity for the poor, and his solicitude toward ethnic minorities. As a civic organizer he led groups of students on nature excursions, helped to found the Lovers of Patriotic Literature and the literary magazine *Zavolzhskii muravei*, and for over two decades—together with his wife Aleksandra—hosted a salon, “open to all,” featuring recitations and discussions across a wide range of intellectual subjects. Meanwhile, in true

⁶³ A. A. Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 21 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia B. Bezobrazova, 1901), 243-249.

⁶⁴ Zagoskin, ed., *Za sto let*, vol. 1, 156-157.

Renaissance-man fashion, Fuks published scholarly works on everything from medicinal hot-springs to numismatics to botany.⁶⁵

In fact one of the books authored by the multitalented Karl Fuks was Kazan's very first work with a pure focus on local history, predating Rybushkin's urban history by over a decade and carrying the same title, *Short History of the City of Kazan*. Sections of Fuks' history appeared first in *Kazanskiia izvestiia* in 1817, and the print-run for the complete bound edition began that same year, though delays prevented its completion until the early 1820s. This *Short History* was a slim volume, with no clearly defined organizational scheme, but roughly divided into four sections. The first paralleled Rychkov and Lyzlov in outlining the ancient history of the region through the fifteenth-century era of the Golden Horde and the founding of the city. Unlike those earlier scholars, Fuks detected no Slavic patrimony in the area, instead connecting the Bulgars of antiquity with contemporary Turkic and Finno-Ugric peoples of the province. The second section of the *Short History*, roughly twice as large as the other three, was a chronicle of the Kazan Khanate, comprised of terse descriptions of the historical events which occurred during the reigns of each of sixteen successive rulers. The siege of 1552 was dispensed with in a few short sentences under the entry for the last independent khan, Yadegar Mukhammed. Also included in this portion of the book was a list detailing the names of each of these khans in both Cyrillic and Arabic script, "written with an attention to accuracy often neglected in the chronicles."⁶⁶ The third section recalled episodes in the subsequent history of the city under Russian rule, up through Catherine's provincial reform of the 1780s. It paid particular attention

⁶⁵ Konst[antin] Lavrskii and P. A. Ponomarev, "Karl Fedorovich Fuks i ego vremia," *Kazanskii literaturnyi sbornik*, 1878 (Kazan: Tipografiia M. A. Gladyshevoi, 1878): 506-508; "Pogrebenie Ego Prevoskhoditelstva Karla Fedorovicha Fuksa," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1846, no. 21: 203-209; no. 22: 214-222.

⁶⁶ K. F. Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani* (Kazan: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1817), 26.

to moments of rebellion or unrest, royal interactions with the city, and the establishment of important local institutions. Finally, the fourth section of the *Short History* was an appendix containing a motley assortment of primary source documents—a Tatar history of the conquest translated into Russian; the translation of an Arabic inscription found on a stone marker in the city; information pertaining to Tatar nobles who had been in Muscovite service after the conquest; and the text of a letter from Peter the Great granting a local merchant the concession for the city's cloth factory.

Fuks made no pretense of trying to spin an entertaining narrative. Rather, he sought to create a work of solid academic standing, written with clear awareness of the scholarly debates surrounding the Kazan Chronicle. He himself referred to the Kazan Chronicle, Rychkov, and Lyzlov—as well as local Tatar legends—only to express polite skepticism as to their historical accuracy on various points. Instead, for his source material he drew largely on published Russian chronicles with a more rigorously scrutinized pedigree—such as the Nikonian, Suzdal, Vremiannik, and Tsar's Book—supplemented by sources published in Nikolai Novikov's *Ancient Russian Library*, and German authorities like the sixteenth-century Austrian envoy to Muscovy, Sigismund von Herberstein.⁶⁷ The use of Tatar-language sources offered Fuks another important means of distinguishing his scholarship. And in the end, although his work broke little truly new ground, Fuks' quest for academic respectability did meet with some success. In fact nearly a century later the editor for the definitive version of the Kazan Chronicle would write

⁶⁷ Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 9-10.

that the *Short History* had “even now retained its significance,” especially as a compilation of references to Kazan across a wide range of Russian source materials.⁶⁸

The *Short History*'s determination to engage seriously with Tatar history, culture, and experience represented one of its defining characteristics. This aim found embodiment in Fuks' efforts to both utilize and disseminate Tatar-language sources, the large proportion of the text he devoted to the history of the khanate (despite his reliance on Russian chronicles for most of this information), and the importance he placed on accurately representing Tatar names. The fact that Fuks downplayed the events of the conquest itself created a suggestion of local continuity, spanning the divide between the khanate and Muscovite rule, that was much at odds with the typical view of this moment as a decisive break in Russia's historical trajectory.⁶⁹ The net effect of these efforts was to affirm that the Tatars were not a people that had been superseded in ancient times by a single, pivotal moment of conquest, but rather continued to play an integral role in the long arc of the city's history. With his study, Fuks declared Kazan's Tatars to be worthy of respect and curiosity, and rejected any view of the city in which they were rendered invisible.

Paradoxically, however, by so loudly trumpeting the distinct and uniform nature of Tatar culture and experience, Fuks also drew a bright line between Kazan's Tatars and Russians. Adding gravity to this distancing impulse, moreover, was the author's acknowledgement of the region's legacy of ethnic conflict. Indeed Fuks dedicated (much to the censors' displeasure⁷⁰) a significant section of his history to the rebellions by Tatars and other ethnic minority groups that

⁶⁸ G. Kuntsevich, “Zametka ob ‘Istoriia goroda Kazani’ K. F. Fuksa,” *Izvestiia otdeleniia Russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1902): 356-357.

⁶⁹ Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 29-31.

⁷⁰ Zagoskin, *Istoriia Imperatorskago*, vol. 2, 662-663.

had shaken the province in the years after the conquest.⁷¹ In acknowledging these unpleasant historical realities, Fuks echoed Rybushkin's veiled warning about the dangers that attended Kazan's cultural differences. If a single image can be said to sum up Fuks' attitude toward Kazan's contemporary ethnic diversity, then it might



Figure 52: Illustration to Karl Fuks' *Short History*

be the book's frontispiece (and sole illustration), which depicted two adjoining structures from within the Kazan *kreml* (Figure 52⁷²). The taller and more prominent of the pair was the legendary Suyembika tower, commonly reputed to have been the only Tatar building to have survived the conquest, and an object of contemporary Muslim veneration; while its partner was Vvedenskia Russian Orthodox church, a structure which dated back to the seventeenth century. Despite their proximity it was rare to see these buildings represented together in this way. By taking the unusual step of placing them in the same frame, Fuks emphasized their tenuous connection, but also their distinctiveness. The picture showed the city to be a place of cultural and religious difference, of two peoples existing in close juxtaposition, yet locked into their respective individualities. And to judge from his *Short History*; Fuks seems to have found the history and culture of Tatar Kazan—much like the Suyembika tower—to have been a somewhat more alluring object of study than its Russian counterpart.

⁷¹ Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 28-31 (as well as the Pugachev Rebellion, 38-39).

⁷² Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1.

Over two decades later, Karl Fuks would publish another book that spoke still more directly to the nature of the city's diversity and his own attitudes toward it. This was an ethnography, entitled *The Kazan Tatars in Statistical and Ethnographic Perspective*. Ultimately, it would have greater scholarly significance than Fuks' urban history; for even today, despite many idiosyncrasies and biases, it remains one of the most detailed accounts of Tatar life in urban Kazan from the period. And although it contained a liberal sprinkling of 'scientific' facts and figures, *The Kazan Tatars* was also a far more personal work for Fuks than his *Short History*. More than once the doctor injected himself into the narrative of *The Kazan Tatars* as an observer—a figure distinct from his subjects yet not so very detached, a cross-cultural *flaneur*. This placed the book squarely in the venerable tradition of first-person Orientalist ethnographic accounts, broadly comparable to contemporary works such as Edward Lane's *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*⁷³. The organizing principle of Fuks' study was that the city's Tatars were a people wholly apart—clearly distinguishable from the Russians of Kazan by traits ranging from the admirable to the disagreeable, including diet and drink, holidays and religious observance, attire and gendered customs. Even as he objectified the city's Tatars, Fuks continued to have no desire to disparage them. He had formed many friendly acquaintances in the Tatar community, and was known for his solicitude in providing local Tatars with medical care. His basic motivation in researching his ethnography, as he described it, was inquisitiveness tinged with fondness—a desire to see through the Tatars' veil of foreignness. "Upon arriving in Kazan I found many curiosities, and described everything I could. The Tatars at once captured my attention. I occupied myself with them eagerly, and described their religious practices, holidays, customs, and the outlines of their family life. And I wanted to find a way to grasp even their

⁷³ E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1908), xxiii-xxvi.

feelings. With regard to men this was not difficult—but women? How to achieve this?”⁷⁴ For years he failed in this latter endeavor, (“despite all efforts”), but at length he used his position as a doctor to gain access to the homes and confidence of several upper-class Tatar women.⁷⁵ From there, Fuks even went so far as to (as he put it) “use my medical power” over one grateful patient to arrange to observe the female festivities celebrating her son’s wedding, from a place of concealment.⁷⁶ The resulting image, of the learned German doctor hiding behind a screen to witness the prosaic mysteries of the ethnic, confessional, and gendered other, takes the Orientalist gaze to the brink of self-parody. But the picture also provides another vivid glimpse of how Fuks viewed the city—as a place where the screens that divided various urban communities might gainfully be probed, but should never be breached.

Even as Karl obsessed over the role of women in Tatar Kazan, his wife Aleksandra Fuks (Figure 53⁷⁷) was at the leading edge of shifting attitudes toward women in Russian Kazan, especially among its more educated. In the urban setting of the early nineteenth century, the educational expectations for women in the upper strata of society were rising rapidly. Increasingly, a woman’s schooling was understood as essential not only to running a pleasant and efficient household and raising successful children, but to serving the larger community and enriching its social fabric. Some even perceived intellectual sophistication to be a cultural asset that was nearly as desirable in women as in men.⁷⁸ As yet, however, the city’s public institutions of higher education remained untouched by these changes—a result not only of cultural

⁷⁴ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 38.

⁷⁵ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 12.

⁷⁶ Fuks, *Kazanskie Tatary*, 55-58.

⁷⁷ “Fuks Karl Fedorovich,” *Kazan tysiacheletniaia*, http://nik-rech.narod.ru/album_kazan_piepl/fuks_kf/index.htm (accessed May 7, 2017).

⁷⁸ A. I. Kupriianov, *Gorodskaiia kultura Russkoi provintsii: konets XVIII-pervaia polovina XIX veka* (Moscow: Novyi Khronograf, 2007), 50, 67-83.

assumptions and habits, but also of a practical (albeit patriarchal) governmental calculus, which sought to reserve state investment for future, assumedly male, military officers and civil administrators. The first public girls' secondary school in Kazan, the *Marinskaia gimnaziia*, did not appear until 1859, over a century after the first *gimnaziia* for boys, and women would not matriculate at the university until the twentieth century.⁷⁹ In the absence of public schools, parents from the noble, professional, and merchant classes cobbled



Figure 53: Aleksandra Fuks, ca. 1828

together their daughters' educations using home tutors, the private girls' *pansiony* that dotted Kazan in the early nineteenth century⁸⁰, and the Rodionov institute for the daughters of nobles and select merchants, which opened in 1841⁸¹.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, local female elites had a number of venues in which they could display the fruits of such education. Women were frequently mentioned as audience members at gatherings of the Lovers of Patriotic Literature, for example⁸²; and they also had a highly visible presence at the literary salons held in the Fuks home between the 1820s

⁷⁹ I. K. Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh i materialakh, XIX vek*, vol. 4 (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatelstvo, 2012), 273-274, 635.

⁸⁰ Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh*, vol. 4, 720-722.

⁸¹ Zagidullin et al., *Kazanskaia istoriia v dokumentakh*, vol. 4, 264-268.

⁸² Opisanie torzhestvennago sobraniia Kazanskago Obschestva liubitelei Otechestvennoi Slovesnosti, 1815 goda, 8-go Iulia," *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1815, no. 58 (Jul. 21, 1815): 333.

and the 1840s—the “center of local intellectual life” at the time—led by their accomplished hostess, Aleksandra Fuks⁸³. Although women participated in the discussions and debates conducted at such events, few of them had yet found opportunities to contribute their own original work to the city’s cultural life. It is true that many theatrical performers were women, and often highly acclaimed; however actors usually sprang from the lower rungs of the social ladder, often being serfs, and so were held at a remove from elite society. In the early 1810s, when the theater-loving Mikhail Rybushkin married a leading member of Esipov’s popular and long-running theatrical troupe in Kazan, a serf named Fekla Parfenovna, society was divided for a time between shock and delight at this romance between “a person of the ‘higher sort’ and a serf girl.”⁸⁴ A more respectable cultural pursuit was amateur musical performance, and here women made a major contribution, representing roughly half of the musicians at the city’s many concerts and recitals in the 1840s.⁸⁵ But when it came to literary production and local study, there was only one woman who combined the opportunity, talent, and desire necessary to have an impact in Kazan in the first half of the century, and this was Aleksandra Fuks herself.

Like her husband, Aleksandra Fuks was alive with a creative energy which she poured into a bewildering array of literary undertakings. Fuks had been born in the mid-1790s to a family from the Kazan provincial nobility; and although her home education was basic, she was also the niece of Gavriil Kamenev, the author of “Inna” and the most celebrated writer of the late-eighteenth-century Kazan circle, on her mother’s side. After marrying the prolific and

⁸³ Lavrskii and Ponomarev, “Karl Fedorovich Fuks,” *Kazanskii literaturnyi sbornik*: 506-507, 510-512; [N. I. Vtorov], “Vtoroi literaturnyi vecher v dome K. F. Fuksa,” *Kazanskii gubernskii vedomosti*, 1843, no. 50 (Dec. 11, 1843): 321; L. V. Modzalevskii, *Materialy dlia biografii N. I. Lobachevskogo* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948), 307.

⁸⁴ Iusupov, “Pamiati Andreia Pecherskago,” *Zavolzhskaia vivliofika*, Agafonov, ed.: 54.

⁸⁵ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevitsa, 1847), 124-125.

inquisitive Karl in 1821, Aleksandra seems to have embraced that literary legacy, while discovering in herself a boundless passion for writing. Before long, not only was Fuks organizing the literary salon that would enrich Kazan's cultural life for decades, but she usually also had an ode ready to recite when the group gathered to meet.⁸⁶ Fuks was a major supporter and contributor for *Zavolzhskii muravei* throughout the journal's short lifetime, and later placed several articles in the pages of *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*.⁸⁷ During the 1830s and early 1840s she had over half a dozen books published as well, ranging from a collection of verse, to an ethnographic report on the Chuvash culture; and from a theatrical comedy of manners performed in St. Petersburg, to retellings of Russian and Tatar peasant folk-tales.⁸⁸ Undoubtedly there was creative collaboration between Karl and Aleksandra, as well as a basic kinship of spirit, but ultimately it was her own distinct artistic voice and literary agenda which she introduced into cultural discourse in Kazan.

In general, Fuks was more a *belle-lettrist* than an academic, and the body of work she left behind was heavy on verse and epistle. Yet although this meant that her own efforts toward local study and promotion took different forms than those of her husband, she shared his sense of Kazan as a place unique, endearing, and permeated by history. One of Fuks' earliest published volumes, for example, was a retelling in verse of Tatar legends surrounding the founding of 'Old Kazan,' in the years after Timur ravaged the Bulgar state.⁸⁹ These were the same tales that had, in various forms, long circulated among the city's Muslim population, while also providing

⁸⁶ Evgenii A. Bobrov, "A. A. Fuks i kazanskii literaturny 30-40-kh godov," *Russkaia starina*, vol. 118, no. 6 (Jun. 1904): 482-483, 485-488, 490-492, 502-507.

⁸⁷ A. S. Arkhangel'skii, *A. S. Pushkin v Kazani* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1899), 7-10.

⁸⁸ Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 21, 242; A. I. Volf, *Khronika Peterburgskikh teatrov, s kontsa 1826 do nachala 1855 goda* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia R. Golike, 1877), liii.

⁸⁹ Aleksandra Fuks, *Osnovanie goroda Kazani: Povest v stikhakh vziataia iz tatarskikh predanii* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1836).

fodder for historians like Andrei Lyzlov and Petr Rychkov before being taken up in the nineteenth century by local researchers, historians, and promoters.⁹⁰ With her poetic interpretation, Aleksandra Fuks' contribution was to romanticize and popularize these stories for a larger Russian-speaking audience. When Pushkin came to town in 1833, Fuks was much energized by the visit, and saw it as another event that she could bring to life for local residents. Her private letters describing the visit would not be published until a decade later, but in its immediate aftermath she penned an ode to the occasion, published in *Zavolzhskii muravei*, which reveled in the poet's courteous attention to her city and family: "To the Kazan-folk he directed / a gentle and kindly gaze; / greeting them warmly, not as strangers, / but as friends of olden days."⁹¹ She was further inspired to write a romantic novel of the Pugachev Rebellion, also in verse, entitled "Ziulima, or Pugachev in Kazan," which, although never published in full, was presented at public recitations.⁹²

Like so many other local intellectuals, Fuks found herself wrestling with the implications of the region's ethno-linguistic diversity. One of her verse novellas in particular, *Princess Khabiba*, centered on this theme. The tale was inspired by a scandal that rocked Ufa, a frontier town 300 miles east of Kazan and roughly equidistant between Kazan and Orenburg, at the end of the eighteenth century. These events, as recounted in Sergei Aksakov's autobiographical *Family Chronicle*, demonstrated the notice attracted by confessional intermarriage (at least in the

⁹⁰ M. Rybushkin, "Poezdka k staruiu Kazan," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1833, vol. 3, no. 21: 1169-1170; Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 9-10; Kaftannikov, "Plan Staroi Kazani nazyvaemoi iski-Kazan," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1834, vol. 1, no. 3.

⁹¹ Aleksandra Fuks, "Na proezd Aleksandra Sergeevicha Pushkina chrez Kazan," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1834, vol. 1, no. 1: 17.

⁹² [N. Vtorov], "Literaturnyi vecher v dome K. F. Fuksa," *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 48 (Nov. 27, 1843): 299. Another fragment of verse on Pugachev published in Kazan during the 1830s, and sometimes attributed to Fuks, was: "Otryvok iz povesti: Miatezhnik Pugacheva," *Zavolzhskii muravei*, 1833, vol. 2, no. 14: 766.

higher ranks of society), the powerful social barriers which discouraged it, and the tensions that it could provoke. In Aksakov's telling, a young army captain and the daughter of a relatively Russianized, but devoutly Muslim, Tatar nobleman fell in love. The daughter eloped, with the help of the captain's commander and soldiers, and was pursued by the outraged family and their compatriots in the local Muslim community. The couple escaped in a dramatic river crossing, and after extended bureaucratic and clerical wrangling involving "the entire city" of Ufa, local Orthodox priests stepped in, baptized the young woman, and consecrated the marriage.

Aksakov's story was tragic, inasmuch as the young bride died of tuberculosis only three years later. It also intimated at the issues such a marriage raised, noting that "there were very few [in Ufa] who sincerely and warmly extended a hand to the young Christian girl," and that after she died "whispers arose, which could in no way be verified, that the reason for the young woman's illness and death was a secret melancholy at having abandoned her family, and repentance at betraying her natural faith." Yet Aksakov's narrative remained fairly positive in tone and content. Genuine and passionate love had been requited, the Muslim community was angered but not roused to action, the couple had two sons, and the distraught but faithful young husband remained a bachelor to the end of his days, devoting his care to the children they had brought into the world together.⁹³

In her 1841 novella, Fuks reworked these events to connect them more closely with Kazan. She described the family of Khabiba (the young Muslim bride) as a noble one, that had intermarried into the line of Kazan's khans, but "retained its glory when the city of Kazan fell under Russian rule." In time they became loyal members of the conquering state, for "quite soon they began to live in peace, and finally bowed their heads to the throne of the Russian Tsar.

⁹³ Aksakov, *Semeinaia khronika*, 3rd ed. 245-248.

Submitting to him in sincerity, they lived with the Russian people in friendship.”⁹⁴ In similar fashion, Fuks made the young Russian paramour, Viktor, an officer in the Kazan regiment. At a more substantive level, when fictionalizing and dramatizing this story, Fuks embraced the whispers from Ufa, making them the moral center of the piece. She reimagined the scenario as a love triangle, introducing a Kazakh (“Kyrgyz”) prince into the story as Khabiba’s intended spouse. After Khabiba instead entered into the forbidden marriage with Viktor, in Fuks’ telling, the enraged prince killed the Russian officer, and a despairing Khabiba committed suicide. Fuks presented this tragedy as a natural outcome of the transgression of cultural and religious boundaries. Her verses praised the amity between Khabiba’s father, Khalit, and the Russian people and state, but decried his adoption of Russian customs and his over-familiarity with individuals such as the Russian commander. “The beautiful princess always loved Russian conversation; Khalit invited Russians to dinner, and look!—she was always there.... Khalit forgot the law of the East, forgot the responsibilities of a father, and the stern command of the Prophet to women: that they must conceal their face.”⁹⁵ In the end, Khabiba was not meant to be Christian, nor to break from her family, and so her conversion could result only in worldly suffering. “You deceived your mother and father, you fled and it was appalling—you threw them into misery.... Where can we find protection when bitterness is our destiny? Fate has its own laws, governed by providence.”⁹⁶ With this message at its core, Fuks’ tale cast doubt on both the idea that Muslims should or would gradually assimilate to Europeanized Russian culture, and on the prospects for Christian proselytization in the region, which had long been dormant but which

⁹⁴ Aleksandra Fuks, *Kniazhnia Khabiba: Povest v stikhakh vzjataia is tatarskikh predanii* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1841), 5-6.

⁹⁵ A. Fuks, *Kniazhnia Khabiba*, 10.

⁹⁶ A. Fuks, *Kniazhnia Khabiba*, 60, 62.

would return with renewed energy in the coming decades. Instead, Fuks suggested that Kazan must remain a truly imperial city—one marked not only by peace and polite cooperation between its various ethnic and religious communities, but also an abiding respect for boundaries and traditions, which would require that those communities remain at arms-length from one-another indefinitely.

Tatar Perspectives on Kazan’s Ambiguous Legacies

As residents of Russian Kazan turned their gaze on the city’s Tatars, of course, those Tatars were always gazing back. Educated members of Kazan’s Tatar community engaged in their own discussions and debates over the nature and significance of the city’s imperial diversity. Unfortunately the silences of the archival record make this a more difficult discourse to reconstruct. Centered as they were in oral and manuscript traditions, Tatar intellectual productions from this period were more exposed to loss than locally-authored Russian-language discourse, which was anchored by published volumes and bi-weekly periodicals. Moreover, Tatar archives not only suffered from the usual hazards of fire, flood, and time, but also from the disruptions which accompanied later reimaginings of Tatar identity, and wholesale alphabetic and orthographic reforms. Those few manuscripts that survived followed tortured journeys through Orientalist hoards, the living accumulations and dying bequests of Tatar scholars and nationalists, and a series of seismic organizational upheavals during the Soviet era. The resulting documentary jumble has left gaping holes which can be filled only imperfectly, by interpolating the sources that are available.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Minnullin, “Vostochnyi sektor otdela rukopisei,” *Bibliotechnyi vestnik*, 1997, no. 1: 23-24; Arslanova, *Opisanie rukopisei na persidskom*, 5; Aristov, *Kazanskie nakhodki*, 39-43.

One of the key narrative frameworks that structured discussions of urban diversity—for Tatars just as much as for Russians—was the medieval conquest of the city. The best attested Tatar literary works on this subject from the early 1800s were texts chronicling the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century rise and fall of the khanate. A fairly canonical account circulated widely in the city during this period, and was recorded in multiple minor variations. Two different recensions of the version told in Kazan were published in the early nineteenth century, one by Professor Ibragim Khalfin, and another within the appendix of Karl Fuks' *Short History* in Russian translation.⁹⁸ Others variations were highlighted by Tatar scholars in the last years of the empire and the first years of the Soviet Union.⁹⁹ Even the earliest recorded versions were not, strictly-speaking, new texts, however. The foundational narrative for this history dated back to a late-seventeenth century regional history, the *Daftar-i Chinghiz Nama*, specifically a chapter entitled *Dastan fit-Tarikh*.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, while such chronicles likely reflected widely-held views, they would not necessarily have captured the way local sentiments were evolving in the early nineteenth century.

A primary impulse within all of these variants was to affirm important bonds of attachment at the regional, as well as at the local level. As a result, they were structured to highlight not only the historical experiences that the Kazan Tatars shared in common, but also their integral place within the region's larger Volga-Ural Islamic community. The portions of these chronicles that described the fall of the khanate, for example, emphasized the power of Muslim unity, and the disaster that could befall when that unity was broken. They did so by

⁹⁸ N. F. Katanov and I. M. Pokrovskii, *Otryvok iz odnoi tatarskoi letopisi o Kazani i kazanskom khanstve* (Kazan: Tipo-litografiia Imperatorskago universiteta, 1905), 3; Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 40-43.

⁹⁹ Katanov and Pokrovskii, *Otryvok iz odnoi tatarskoi letopisi*, 4-6, 8-11; Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 132-133.

¹⁰⁰ Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 16-17.

contrasting the several defeats that Ivan IV endured at the hands of a still-resolute khanate during the late 1540s (incidents not entirely absent from Russian narratives, but given far less weight), against the final conquest and massacre of the khanate's valiant Muslim population when they were betrayed by the weak and treacherous Shah-Ghali.¹⁰¹ Moreover, these narratives did not normally end with that dark moment; instead, locals usually appended a concise account of events that occurred after the conquest. Here, the focus continued to fall on items of broad regional significance, such as revolts and unrest, new state service obligations, epidemics, and famines.¹⁰² Taken as a whole, these chronicles embraced a complex and intertwined view of religious, regional, and ethnic affiliation. They brought to the foreground shared regional experiences, whose effects had touched the entire Volga Muslim community; yet they also explicitly differentiated the Tatars from other ethnic groups, such as the Bashkirs, and favored historical events which, however regional in nature they might be, still demonstrated direct relevance to the area's Tatars.

These chronicles reflected long-standing patterns of thought, which continued to be relevant during the early decades of the nineteenth century; but they did not capture the nuances of how Tatar conceptions of urban diversity were changing during this period. A sense of the directionality of educated Tatar opinion, however, can be triangulated, with the help of Muslim histories published locally in the late 1800s. These texts, used judiciously, can illuminate the attitudes of earlier decades—in part because they drew heavily on accounts, records, and other primary sources which were generated between the enactment of the policy of toleration in the 1760s and the middle of the nineteenth century; and in part, because their authors themselves had

¹⁰¹ Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 40-41; Katanov and Pokrovskii, *Otryvok iz odnoi tatarskoi letopisi*, 11-13.

¹⁰² Katanov and Pokrovskii, *Otryvok iz odnoi tatarskoi letopisi*, 7-8.

been active in Kazan's intellectual sphere since the middle of the century, if not earlier. Two clerics and scholars, in particular, stand out in this context: Shihabetdin Marjani and Hussain ibn Amirkhan. The pair followed rather similar career trajectories. Ibn Amirkhan's father had served for over a decade in the early nineteenth century as a teacher at what is now the Iske Tash mosque in Kazan. Ibn Amirkhan himself was born in Kazan in 1815, studied in Bukhara, and was chosen to be the imam of Iske Tash in 1849, where he would remain for forty years.¹⁰³ Marjani, born in 1818, was the son of a rural cleric. He also studied in Central Asia, joined Kazan's Iunusov mosque as imam in 1850, and likewise remained active in the city's public, religious, and intellectual life for most of the second half of the century, before passing away in 1889.¹⁰⁴ Both were not only spiritual leaders and educators, but also prolific authors, whose important contributions included histories of region and city.

Shihabetdin Marjani (Figure 54¹⁰⁵) was highly respected in Tatar Kazan, but he also became appreciated in Russian and European cultural circles for his outreach to Western scholars and apparent willingness to engage with their approaches and values. When he plunged enthusiastically into the fourth Russian Archeological Conference, held in Kazan in 1877, it caused a minor sensation. Yet although Marjani would come to symbolize the early stirrings of Tatar nationalism and Muslim modernization in the decades after his death¹⁰⁶, it is far from clear that he viewed his own work as posing a challenge to existing Islamic clerical and scholarly

¹⁰³ Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 125-126; Khusain Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia (Bulgarskie khroniki)* (Moscow: Izdatelskii dom Mardzhani, 2010), 4-6.

¹⁰⁴ Khasanov, *Formirovanie Tatarskoi burzhuaaznoi natsii*, 128-131.

¹⁰⁵ "File:Şihabetdin Märçani Elder.jpg," *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:C5%9Eihabetdin_M%C3%A4rcani_Elder.jpg (accessed April 14, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ Uli Schamiloglu, "The Formation of a Tatar Historical Consciousness: Shihabaddin Marçani and the Image of the Golden Horde," *Central Asian Survey*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1990): 41.

traditions. What is certain is that within those traditional frameworks, he did seek to innovate as an author, across a number of intellectual disciplines, including the study of history.¹⁰⁷ With respect to history, his magnum opus, *Mustafad al-akhbar*, would not appear until 1885, but at the archaeological conference he contributed a shorter history of Bulgar and Kazan, written in Tatar, which expanded, corrected, and in places rewrote the Tatar chronicles from earlier in the century. The most revisionist elements of the work appeared in its latter



Figure 54: Shihabetdin Marjani

sections, which painted a very different picture of the defeat of the Kazan Khanate and of the region's subsequent history. Marjani's account attributed the khanate's downfall to poor governance and dynastic upheaval in its final years, rather than to the betrayal of the community by a corrupted Muslim leader; and like Fuks' history some decades earlier, it nearly omitted mention of the siege itself, creating a sense of continuity rather than disjuncture around that historical moment. When he turned to the post-conquest era, the historian enumerated only a handful of local episodes, but these few were narrated in rich detail, suggesting they drew upon well-developed oral or textual narratives. Furthermore, the kinds of events he chose to relate were quite different from those appearing in earlier chronicles. Instead of regional events like

¹⁰⁷ M. Kh. Iusupov, *Shigabutdin Mardzhani kak istorik* (Kazan: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izd-vo, 1981), 96-97, 100-106.

rebellions and famines, Marjani concentrated on urban topics such as major fires and the establishment and naming of suburban settlements, both Tatar and Russian.¹⁰⁸ The net effect was to draw the reader's attention into a progressively narrower focus as the narrative unfolded, until in the end that focus lit on the city itself. And as a result, while Marjani's history continued to work to affirm the significance of both ethno-linguistic Tatar identity, and confessional and regional Volga-Ural Muslim identity, it also introduced a third vector of identity as well—that of local, urban belonging. It suggested that Tatars of the city shared a special connection, over and above that they possessed with their religious and cultural compatriots scattered across the province and beyond; and hinted that the city might, at least to a limited degree, act as a binding force among all of Kazan's many ethnic and confessional communities.

Hussain ibn Amirkhan was another highly influential and respected local figure, somewhat more traditional in his outlook and methods than Marjani. His major historical work, titled *Tawirikh-i Bulgaria* (though quite distinct from the popular eighteenth-century work by that same name) did not appear in print until 1883, although it was based on a variety of earlier local manuscripts and legends, many of which were cited explicitly. Although ibn Amirkhan's *Tawirikh-i Bulgaria*, like other such texts, ranged widely across the region's ancient and medieval history, the author made it part of his core mission to tell "about Kazan as well, and her learned men."¹⁰⁹ In fact nearly forty percent of the book was devoted to this goal¹¹⁰—describing a long arc from the flourishing of Tatar intellectual and spiritual culture in Kazan under the khanate, through the decline of that culture after the conquest and a period intense state

¹⁰⁸ Shigabutdin [Mardzhani], "Ocherk istorii Bolgarskago i Kazanskago," *Trudy chetvertago Arkheologicheskago Sezda v Rossii*, vol. 1, II, 48-50.

¹⁰⁹ Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 15-16.

¹¹⁰ Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 3.

repression during the seventeenth century, to its rebirth under more enlightened imperial governance, and finally the attainment of new heights of piety and learning during the nineteenth century. To acquaint his readers with Kazan, ibn Amirkhan offered them some of the most extensive and detailed Tatar narratives about the events and locales of post-conquest Kazan ever published up to that time. And to help them appreciate the intellectual attainments of the present age, the historian also provided detailed biographies of a number of local clerics and scholars from the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Because his narrative pivoted on the decline of Kazan's intellectual vitality after the conquest, ibn Amirkhan faced a stronger imperative than many of his peers to confront the sensitive history of Russian imperial repression in the Volga region head-on. In response, he adopted the strategy of focusing his direct critique on a specific ruler in the Muscovite past, rather than admitting the longer chronology and broader extent of the region's political and cultural conflicts:

Duke [Alexei] Mikhailovich, who was then ruling in 1653, was disposed to be spiteful towards Muslims. At that time there were still many scholars and books [in Kazan], including books which remained from the Muslim khans. Duke Mikhailovich believed that the mullahs would unsettle the people, inciting them to rebellion, and therefore he ordered that all those numerous scholars be imprisoned, and the books burned.... And because so few learned people remained, the religion of Islam began to weaken. The people fell into darkness and ignorance.¹¹¹

By depicting past oppression against Kazan's Muslims as the act of one unjust ruler, ibn Amirkhan could avoid any overt suggestion that the city was a site of systematic and enduring ethnic or religious conflict, while offering qualified support for the contemporary imperial

¹¹¹ Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 15.

regime—which, he wrote, had been redeemed by “the fairness of the current rulers,” and their more tolerant and enlightened policies.

Yet despite this prudent display of tact, the historian was not insensitive to the tensions of empire. Rather, ibn Amirkhan preferred to explore such tensions not in terms of grand politics, but by way of intimate moments and locales that carried direct significance for the city’s Tatar community. The historian connected Kazan’s past and present deftly, exploring how various familiar parts of the town—especially those which formed the backdrop of daily life for the city’s Tatars—had been formed during the khanate period and immediately afterward. Along the way, he interwove the complexities of the city’s diversity into the fiber of his tales. He described, for example, how the city came to be bisected by the Bulak. The waterway had originally formed, ibn Amirkhan wrote, when a flood overtopped Lake Kaban, and then been dredged to form a proper canal by Khan Abd al-Latif, “thus opening a path between from the Kaban to the Kazanka. And the city itself was now divided into Upper and Lower Kazan.”¹¹² This last statement is interesting because, while the Bulak had not originally aligned with the city’s Russian and Tatar spaces, it had increasingly become identified as the borderline between the two communities over the course of the nineteenth century. Ibn Amirkhan’s tale thus suggested in symbolic terms that the city’s ethnic, as well as spatial, divisions had been laid down by nature, and ratified by the city’s medieval Tatar leaders.

Ibn Amirkhan had other such tales as well. With respect to Lake Kaban, he told that the lake had taken its name from a Kaban-bek, who settled its shores after fleeing Timur and the destruction of Bulgar. Upon encountering the tomb of a holy man on the site, Kaban-bek raised a

¹¹² Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 85.

mosque and garden in his honor; and in time a new village arose around the site. Later, however, it would fall prey to imperial appropriation: for, “when the Russians took Kazan, they relocated that same village to a point [twenty-three miles] away and called it ‘Kaban village.’ And in its place the most wealthy and learned Russians raised many great buildings. They widened and improved the gardens, surrounded it with a fence, and named it ‘Al-kherei’ [Bishop’s house].”¹¹³ This story of loss was somewhat counterbalanced, however, by another tale, that of the Old Tatar neighborhood. Ibn Amirkhan claimed that this site had once housed a “wondrous” suburban garden, built for Queen Suyembika. After the conquest, in his telling, the city’s Muslims had flocked to the attractive site and themselves ordered the division of the city, saying: “let the Russians live on that side, and on this side the Muslims.”¹¹⁴

Together, these narratives provided a rather nuanced picture of ethnic and confessional diversity in the city. Ibn Amirkhan’s basic frame of reference in the book was religious, a choice dictated not only by his own inclinations and professional calling, but also by his focus on the rejuvenation of Muslim piety, scholarship, and learning in the city. Yet his point of view remained very much centered within the urban Tatar community of Kazan, rather than adopting a broader regional or international Islamic sensibility. The historian accepted the idea of Kazan as divided, and acknowledged the human-scale realities of ethnic conflict and dispossession. But he did not reduce life in Kazan to these particulars, for the rich life that he described for the city’s Muslims was only occasionally touched by the effects of Russian rule. As to the city’s Russians themselves, ibn Amirkhan had relatively little to say about them, whether good or bad. What is perhaps most striking is the extent to which ibn Amirkhan’s anecdotes worked to ascribe agency

¹¹³ Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 86.

¹¹⁴ Amirkhanov, *Tavarikh-e Bulgariia*, 94.

to Muslim residents and leaders, both past and present. Far from seeing the city's spatial and cultural divisions as a system imposed by the state, ibn Amirkhan sought to present them as the result of choices made in the years following the conquest—choices made, at least in part, by Kazan's Tatars.¹¹⁵

Chronicles and historical narratives may have been important to educated Tatars in Kazan throughout the 1800s, but they did not offer the only way for the community to remain in touch with its collective past. Local Tatars also relied on historic sites and shared rituals to help them maintain connections with the city's past and with one-another. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kazan had few physical artifacts left that dated back to the pre-conquest era, but those that did remain had become objects of local spiritual veneration. Muslim residents conducted community rituals and impromptu personal demonstrations of piety and respect, for example, at a handful of ancient inscribed grave markers scattered across the city.¹¹⁶ They also worshipped at the burial site of one Kasim-sheikh. Kasim had been a spiritual leader from the period just after the conquest, and (at variance with ibn Amirkhan's account) was reputed to have founded the original Tatar neighborhood and miraculously created Lake Kaban to provide the settlement with water.¹¹⁷ As such, he served as a symbol of both the tenacity and vitality of the city's Tatar community. Another site to which local Tatars laid claim was the Suyembika tower which lay in the *kreml* at the heart of the city's imperial apparatus. Although debate over the

¹¹⁵ Many of these perspectives were echoed by the 'old-timers' tales' recorded by Abudlkaium Abdunnasyr-uly (Kaium Nasyri) and printed locally in an 1881 Tatar *kalendar*. These stories, too, emphasized the wealth and learning of pre-conquest Kazan; the suffering of the city's Muslims after the Muscovite victory; the resulting decline in their level of education and culture; and the agency of Muslims in building their own neighborhoods outside the city walls. "Let the scholars and merchants pledge loyalty to me and return to their homes," says Ivan IV in one tale. "We have resettled ourselves elsewhere," the Muslims reply, "and now we will not return." See: Katanov, "Tatarskie rasskazy," *Izvestiia obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii*, vol. 30, no. 3: 287, 291-295.

¹¹⁶ Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 42-43.

¹¹⁷ Katanov, "Tatarskie rasskazy," *Izvestiia obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii*, vol. 30, no. 3: 296-298; Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity*, 73-74, 119.

tower's alleged khanate-era provenance festered in Russian Kazan, pitting skeptical scholars against romantic city promoters, local Muslim intellectuals held few doubts.¹¹⁸ In the 1870s, for example, Marjani described it as “the tower—located in Kazan near the gate of the fortress—which is known to residents of Kazan as the Khan’s Mosque, and is considered to have been built by the wife of Safa Giray, Suyembika.”¹¹⁹ During the early 1800s, many also believed that the orb adorning the tower’s spire contained a trove of precious religious and political documents, which had been secreted as the city fell in 1552.¹²⁰ This suggests that local Tatars conceived of the khanate as more than just a source of collective memories, buried in the past, but as also a living and ongoing presence, whose concealed artifacts (and the wisdom they contained) might one day be discovered to guide the community into the future.

Taken together, a picture emerges of an urban Tatar community that saw itself as grounded by a variety of overlapping allegiances. Kazan’s Tatars felt strongly the bonds of faith, which connected them to co-religionists situated locally, regionally, and internationally; and linked them into vital networks and traditions of culture and scholarship. Their regional ties to other Muslim groups along the Volga carried particular weight, stemming from a legacy of shared historical experience that dated back to the days of the khanate and before. And though religion was crucial, they also took care to celebrate their distinctive linguistic and cultural identity as Tatars. These were not new sentiments during the first half of the nineteenth century, but they continued to wield great influence. Now, however, layered on top of those forms of identity, began to come new explorations into what it meant to be a resident of the city. Focusing

¹¹⁸ Katanov, “Tatarskie rasskazy,” *Izvestiia obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii*, vol. 30, no. 3: 295-296.

¹¹⁹ Shigabutdin [Mardzhani], “Ocherk istorii Bolgarskago i Kazanskago tsarstv (v perevode i v podlinnike na tatarskom iazyke),” *Trudy chetvertago Arkheologicheskago Sezda v Rossii*, vol. 1 (Kazan: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1884), II, 50.

¹²⁰ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 66.

in on the city's past encouraged Tatar thinkers to acknowledge more directly the ethnic and religious conflicts to which Kazan had long played host. Yet facing such facts did not lead these intellectuals down a path of futile grievance and antagonism; and, at least in a very limited way, they seem to have understood that Tatars' ties to the city inevitably connected them to the city's Russians as well. At core, however, the Tatar historical narratives from this period remained fairly insular, making only modest efforts to look beyond the narrowly-construed interests and affairs of local Muslims. Their chief innovation was to identify Kazan's urban Tatar community as a coherent and clearly distinguished group within larger regional Islamic and Tatar milieus—a community bound together in particular ways by an intimate past to which it had exclusive access.

Evergreen Hopes for Cultural Confluence

Though many educated residents of Kazan, both Russian and Tatar, saw the city's existing divisions as facts that had to be explained, accommodated, and perhaps even embraced, there was another thread running through elite Europeanized discourse in the city over the first half of the nineteenth century. This vein of thought was marked by desires, hopes, and expectations that over time, Tatar culture would gradually converge with Russian culture, leading to an eventual confluence [*sblizhenie*] of ethnic harmony and comity in the city. The actual means by which it was imagined that this change would occur were not fixed. From decade to decade, and from observer to observer, many possible mechanisms were suggested, with most of them remaining vague or fanciful. Still, the persistence of the desire is telling; the rich discourse about ethnic *sblizhenie* demonstrates both how important it was becoming to Kazan's educated Russian elites that the city overcome its differences and achieve a greater

degree of metropolitan unity, and how meager their intellectual and cultural toolkit was in supporting them to realize this ambition. Also striking is the way in which such aspirations for ethnic confluence were often paired with hopes for greater social harmony. This suggests that it was not so much ethnic and religious tension, per se, which disturbed local observers, as civic fragmentation in general; and it also underscores the extent to which all of these divisions had originally been creations of the ascriptive imperial state, rather than purely natural or emergent phenomena.

One of the earliest examples of such sentiments appeared in *Kazanskiia izvestiia*'s account of the festivities after the capture of Paris in 1814. This was a moment of wartime passion and shared triumph, which seemed as if it might contain the seeds of more lasting unity in both social and ethnic terms. The unnamed author who described the occasion expressed it this way: “[t]here may not have been one in all of Kazan who did not take a lively part in the general celebration. Joy and warmth were displayed on the face of the person of the higher sort; they were expressed simply and movingly by the Russian [*ruskii*] villager; and with his dignified pride the Asiatic Tatar demonstrated, openly, that he, too, counted himself among the loyal sons of Russia [*Rossiia*].” The passage followed a rhetorical pattern that would become common in Kazan in the decades to come. It paired an open admission of the imperial differences that Kazan encompassed, social as well as cultural, with the implicit hope that some new condition had arisen in the city that was capable of surmounting those differences. In 1814 this new condition was the war against Napoleon, which seemed to have birthed an overarching and unifying patriotism that could act as a force for cohesion. In succeeding years, as war fever died down again, that particular nationalistic formula would fade again from relevance; but the deeper quest

to find a compelling emotional basis for social, ethnic, and religious cohesion in city and empire would prove enduring.¹²¹

By the early 1830s, with the empire at peace and a relatively optimistic, positivist spirit prevailing in the city, residents began to anticipate that the simple march of ‘civilizing’ progress would eventually bring together the city’s disparate communities. This was certainly the perspective adopted by the first edition of Mikhail Rybushkin’s *Short History*. We have already seen that Rybushkin went to great lengths to incorporate Tatars into his narrative of Kazan’s medieval history; and when it came to the ethnographic portions of this work, he was candid about the complexities of Kazan’s contemporary societal fabric. Following the typical pattern of itemizing and highlighting ethnic and religious distinctions, Rybushkin not only described the customs, cultural markers, and economic activities of the city’s various sub-groups in the appropriate sections of the book¹²², but devoted entire chapters to “Dissenter sects in Kazan,” “Education among the Tatars,” and “Tatar holidays.”¹²³ Moreover, Rybushkin treated the city’s disjointedness as a subject that would naturally raise questions, perhaps even concerns, on the part of educated residents. “The Kazan Tatars live as if isolated from other Russian subjects [*Rossiian*], in two particular neighborhoods,” he noted at one point, “but in our opinion, the still more remarkable mutual aversion is between adherents to the Orthodox faith and the Old Believers, most especially the schismatics.”¹²⁴

Yet with respect to the gap between Russians and Tatars, at least, Rybushkin saw new reasons in the early 1830s to hope that it might be bridged. Where once educated locals thought

¹²¹ “Nechto o byvshem prazdnestve v gorode Kazani,” *Kazanskiia izvestiia*, 1814, no. 19 (May 9, 1814): 207.

¹²² e.g. Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 108-123.

¹²³ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 102, 123, 129.

¹²⁴ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 110.

wartime patriotism held the key, this author now believed that growing cultural sophistication and cosmopolitanism might break down the walls between different ethnic and religious traditions in the city:

From a first glance at local residents, one would think that confession more than anything else distinguishes them, one from another; but this conclusion would be entirely mistaken, since the Kazan Tatars, with respect to social-mindedness, have now been coming together [*sblizilis*] with the Russians [*Russkii*] to such an extent that even the very holidays, recreations, and promenades of one and the other have become occasions of interaction, where distinctions of faith are almost imperceptible. The educated, or more well-born and socially-minded [*znaiushchie obshchezhitie*], Tatars love to attend the theater, masquerades, and other public places, as they do community holidays, where they behave just like the Russians excepting for a few customs that are against their faith; and in the same way, Russians from their side also attend Tatar holidays, and not infrequently take part in them.¹²⁵

This passage was notable for two reasons in particular. First, it showed that Rybushkin and other local residents remained anxious about the city's divisions, and eager to find the means to overcome them. But second, most of this passage was edited out of the revised edition of the *Short History* that Rybushkin prepared in the late 1840s¹²⁶, conveying the distinct impression that the optimism the writer had felt about cultural convergence in the city had diminished in the interim.

By that time, however, another local historian, Nikolai Bazhenov, was advancing his own conception of the path toward civic unity. Bazhenov was a newcomer to the city. He had been born near Tula, in 1804, to a family of the petty gentry, received a medical education, and then served in various postings before coming to Kazan in 1844 to become a staff physician at the gunpowder factory. Sadly he would contract cholera while volunteering at a clinic during the

¹²⁵ Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 109.

¹²⁶ Mikhail Rybushkin, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevits, 1848), 89-94.

1848 epidemic and pass away shortly thereafter.¹²⁷ Still, in just those few short years Bazhenov forged a lasting impression in Kazan. Energetic and earnest to the point of nervousness, he encountered endless misfortune in his professional life, but personally struck up a great many friendships in the city. Among these was the archimandrite of Zilantov-Uspenskii Monastery, Gavriil, who became so close as to help finance the publication of Bazhenov's work after he had been dismissed from the factory and faced impoverishment.¹²⁸

The doctor had never written, at least professionally, before coming to Kazan. Having begun, however, he proved startlingly prolific. His crowning literary achievement was a history of the city, titled *A History of Kazan*; but Bazhenov produced a variety of other texts as well, including historical and contemporary descriptions of local religious sites (such as Zilantov Monastery, the Kazan Convent and Raifskaiia Hermitage), travel accounts, a novella about the capers of a young man from Kazan gone to take the waters at Sergievskie mineral springs, and a middle-class comedy of manners set in Kazan—all written during his brief residence in the city.¹²⁹ Bazhenov's writing reflected shifts in public discourse from the early 1830s to the late 1840s, both in Kazan and across Russia, but it was also shaped by his own particular personality and background. Bazhenov was more emotionally invested in Orthodoxy than the majority of local intellectuals, and his histories of Christian holy sites in the region contained an element of personal spirituality that challenged notions of detached historical objectivity.¹³⁰ Also, despite his poverty, he remained proud of his aristocratic heritage. The result was that Bazhenov was

¹²⁷ Nikolaev, et al., eds., *Russkie pisateli, 1800-1917*, 136-137.

¹²⁸ Agafonov, *Kazan i Kazantsy*, vol. 2, 41-48, 53.

¹²⁹ Agafonov, *Kazan i Kazantsy*, vol. 2, 48-56; A. A. Polovtsov, ed., *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Glavnago Upravleniia Udelov, 1900), 411.

¹³⁰ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Plavanie k Zilantovu monastyriu i kazanskomy pamiatniku* (Moscow: Universitetskaia tipografiia, 1846), 17-20.

conservative in a way that fit comfortably in the Russia of Nicholas I, but was something of a mismatch with the prevailing cosmopolitan culture of the city.¹³¹

Structurally, Bazhenov's *A History of Kazan* was divided into three segments—the first covering the period from pre-history through 1552, the second treating the period from 1552 through recent events, and the third providing a contemporary look at the city in physical, statistical, institutional, economic, and ethnographic terms.¹³² Bazhenov thus affirmed the centrality of 1552 in the city's historical narrative, but balanced this by making the urban present-day, in all its complexity, an integral part of the city's history. In effect, he described a city that had been forged in 1552, but which nevertheless looked forward, rather than back, toward a vibrant imperial future. One key distinction of Bazhenov's writing was that although he shared the willingness of other local writers to acknowledge the religious and ethnic differences that existed in Kazan, he was far less interested in examining and cataloguing such differences. Descriptions of Tatar Kazan took up only two pages in his lengthy history, a vastly smaller fraction than in comparable earlier works.¹³³

Moreover, Bazhenov seems to have felt that the perpetual separation of Kazan along ethnic and religious lines was undesirable, and perhaps unsustainable. The frontispiece for the second volume of his *History of Kazan* provides an intriguing visual metaphor for this idea, as it very literally depicts the city's



Figure 55: All Kazan's diversity in one boat

¹³¹ Bazhenov, *Plavanie k Zilantovu monastyriu*, 9-10.

¹³² Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 1, vii-viii; vol. 2, 149-150; vol. 3, 151.

¹³³ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 3, 151.

immense cultural, social, and gendered complexity crammed together in a single boat (Figure 55¹³⁴). In his text, meanwhile, Bazhenov sketched out his own solution for overcoming urban differences. It was through an amalgam of official ideology and civic boosterism, he hinted—a delicate blending of imperial charisma and local history—that the city’s diverse groups might be brought together into closer harmony.

These ideas came into clear focus in Bazhenov’s description of the visit of the crown prince—the future Tsar Alexander II—to the city on July 21st, 1837. After touring various parts of Kazan, the young royal’s visit culminated, Bazhenov told the reader, in a day of recreation on Arsk field, at the park area called *Shveitsariia* [Switzerland]:

Music rang through the gallery, where sat the Guest who fascinated them all—under the shade of the trees a choral anthem was performed by young Russian [*russkie*] village girls, and a series of games was organized by all the tribes living around Kazan. Under the eyes of the Heir to the Throne were nobles, city dwellers, and common folk of all tribes—all were together, all breathed their unbounded love for the Son of their Ruler... and all were charmed. Of course jealous Russia [*Rossia*] does not grant the residents of Kazan the exclusive right to such sacred feelings, but Kazan has her history, which, like a guiding heart and a trusted confidant, will pass [those feelings] on, even to the limits of posterity.”¹³⁵

However unrealistic this vision may have been, its appeal to an enthusiastic subject of empire like Bazhenov is evident. By the 1840s, the idea that loyalty to the central figure of the ruler could continue to unify an empire as large and diverse as the Russian Empire was increasingly hard to reconcile with many of the prevailing currents in European intellectual discourse; yet the principle of autocracy and the charismatic leadership of the Romanov dynasty remained

¹³⁴ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2, frontispiece.

¹³⁵ Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2, 133-137.

compelling for many conservative-minded Russian subjects.¹³⁶ This image, then, of Kazan's many social strata and "various tribes" gathering in comity, under the paternalistic gaze of the royal family and cemented together by the emotions that arose out of their common civic history, seems to have suggested a way forward to Bazhenov. By stoking natural local attachments and using them to buttress old patterns of imperial loyalty, it seemed possible that both city and empire could be brought together in greater unanimity and common purpose.

In the early 1850s—and in dialogue with the city's new monument to Gavriil Derzhavin—one more intellectual weighed in with his own conception for harmonizing the city's disparate components. This was Spiridon Mikhailov. Although Mikhailov was not strictly-speaking a Kazan local, he was a remarkable provincial figure who became well-known in the city and developed an attachment to it. He was born in 1821 to a Christian Chuvash family in rural Kazan province, and was by rank a state peasant. Recognized as intelligent at an early age, he received his education with a merchant from the county town of Kozmodemiansk where he would later settle. Continuing to read voraciously throughout his life, Mikhailov found employment first as a scribe and then as a translator and minor official for the county court. In the city of Kazan, however, he became better known as one of the region's foremost Chuvash ethnographers. His works were frequently published in Kazan, both in the form of individual volumes, and in *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti* (to which he subscribed).¹³⁷

In August 1853 that newspaper featured a curious slice-of-life piece by Mikhailov, entitled "Aliens [*Inorodtsy*] of Kazan in front of the Memorial to Derzhavin"—published,

¹³⁶ Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, vol. 1 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 110-114, 299-308.

¹³⁷ V. D. Dimitriev, *O chuvashskom uchenom i pisatele serediny xix veka S. M. Mikhailove i ego sochineniakh o Chuvashakh, Mariitsakh i Russkikh volzhskogo-surskogo kraia* (Cheboksary: Chuvashskii Universitet, 2003), 12-39.

according to editor Ilia Berezin, to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the monument's unveiling. In his article, Mikhailov recounted a time, a few years earlier, when he had accompanied three Chuvash villagers from the province on a visit to Kazan. This being their first time in the city, these rural peasants asked Mikhailov to show them the sights, and he was eager to oblige. First he took them to see the *kreml*, and within its walls they witnessed the Suyembika Tower, the Annunciation Cathedral, and vespers at the Spassk Monastery, along with the various other palaces, churches, and government buildings. Then, he said "come with me, comrades, and I will show you one more wonder-of-wonders."¹³⁸

Mikhailov led the peasants to the main courtyard of Kazan University, and gestured to the recently installed memorial to Derzhavin (Figure 56¹³⁹). The elder Chuvash, who had served in a militia cavalry unit during the crisis of the Napoleonic Wars, guessed that the statue depicted a warrior [*bogatyr*] who had taken part in the conquest of Kazan in the 1500s. He had seen two statues of *bogatyrs* in Moscow, he added, during his army days. No, Mikhailov corrected him, "this man was a *bogatyr*, but

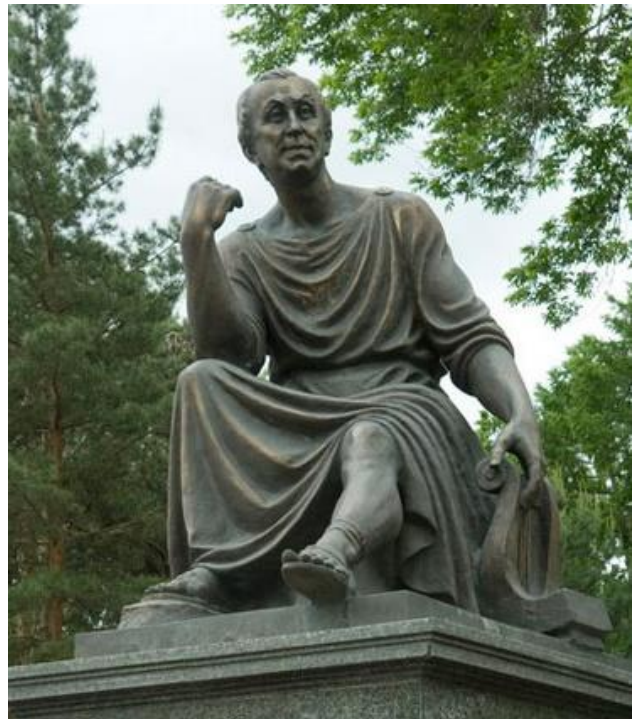


Figure 56: Derzhavin Memorial,

¹³⁸ S. Mikhailov, "Kazanskie inorodtsy pered pamiatnikom Derzhavinu," *Kazanskiia gubernskiia vedomosti*, 1853, no. 35 (Aug. 24, 1853): 277-278.

¹³⁹ "Literaturnaia Kazan," *Kazan tysiacheletniaia*, http://www.nik-rech.narod.ru/album_kazan/excursion/page/page315.htm (accessed November 17, 2014).

not one of military deeds alone, for he also had the strength of a great mind.” Mikhailov proceeded with an idealized account of Derzhavin’s qualities and accomplishments—his pious and captivating poetry, his love of homeland and virtue, his rise from poverty to high government office—and ended by saying that “our Sovereign, valuing [Derzhavin’s] service to the homeland, ordered that this memorial before which we are standing be raised to him here, in Kazan, because Kazan was the birthplace of Derzhavin.” The three Chuvash peasants thanked Mikhailov for introducing them to such a wise and distinguished man. The experience was so moving, in fact, that when it came time to leave, the youngest of the three burst into tears, crying out “Farewell to you, our great man of Kazan! I will never see you again.” Even now, several years later—Mikhailov wrote—the name of Derzhavin was still often repeated in the village from which the Chuvash visitors had come.¹⁴⁰

Mikhailov’s vignette combined all the elements that had driven local study and the promotion of the city over the first half of the century. It foregrounded the production and consumption of historicized local knowledge—the kind of knowledge that, it was hoped, would mobilize ordinary citizens to become enthusiastic and productive members of the empire, capable of connecting with it at an emotional level. But more than that, it was also knowledge which seemed to carry the potential of bringing people together, creating the conditions in which the city’s many differences could be overcome. For this was not simply a tale of non-Russian peasants, an educated intermediary to Russian culture, and the likeness of a prominent poet. There was one other character in this piece as well, and it was the city itself. Kazan’s presence was felt throughout: in the visit to the provincial capital, the desire to be acquainted with its “wonders,” the existence of the monument there, the recollection of the city’s ancient history,

¹⁴⁰ Mikhailov, “Kazanskie inorodtsy pered pamiatnikom,” *KGV*, 1853, no. 35: 277-278.

and most crucially, the birth-connection with Derzhavin. The story suggests, therefore, that the magical links evoked at this moment—between the ignorant and enlightened, between citizens and empire, between things Russian and non-Russian—could be forged precisely because the city existed to intermediate between them. Mikhailov’s peasants could be brought a step closer to the empire and to Russian culture not just by Derzhavin the great man, but by Derzhavin, “our great man of Kazan.”¹⁴¹

Conclusion

Kazan’s educated elites never found the answers they sought to the puzzle of urban difference. On the contrary, the city’s ethnic and religious landscape would only become more fragmented as its Jewish and Catholic populations expanded in the second half of the century and moved closer to the center of urban society. Meanwhile, not only did the state’s ascriptive regime of confessional and social estate categories continue to function as both a governing principle and a basis for popular beliefs and assumptions, but the empire also began to entertain new categories of linguistic and ethnic classification as well.¹⁴² By the beginning of the twentieth century, parliamentarians from Kazan would occupy prominent roles in the ‘Muslim Party’ in the imperial Duma in St. Petersburg¹⁴³, while back in Kazan, Russian and Tatar merchants would engage in local political squabbles about whose holy days would be respected by city law and

¹⁴¹ Mikhailov, “Kazanskie inorodtsy pered pamiatnikom,” *KGV*, 1853, no. 35: 277.

¹⁴² Juliette Cadiot, “Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897-1917),” *Russian Review*, vol. 64 (Jul., 2005): 440-455.

¹⁴³ Dilyara M. Usmanova, “The Activity of the Muslim Faction of the State Duma and Its Significance in the Formation of a Political Culture Among the Muslim Peoples of Russia, 1906-1917,” in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, Vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. Anke von Kugelgen, Michael Kemper and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998): 417-439.

whose would not¹⁴⁴, and Tatar nationalists would mobilize to develop a distinct theatrical tradition that they could embrace as their own¹⁴⁵.

Still, the open conversations about difference taking place in Kazan in the first decades of the nineteenth century are revealing in several respects. First, the way that local literary and educational institutions could foster such discussions, while simultaneously reproducing the very urban differences under discussion, highlights the fact that new ideas, technologies, practices, and reforms could not be relied upon to correspond in any predictable way with deeper and more ‘progressive’ changes in attitudes and assumptions. Second, the content of these discussions demonstrates clearly that imperial difference was not an issue that snuck up on the empire, only emerging into the light along with open conflicts like the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863; but was instead being problematized by local residents throughout this period, even in the provincial context of Kazan at a time of calm. And third, the nature of these discussions shows that even though imperial policy had played the major part in creating Kazan’s societal fault-lines, those lines had become ingrained in popular consciousness over time—so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the edifice of religious and ethnic division in Kazan was sustained by a deeply intertwined system of official and unofficial supports that was very difficult to unravel. In sum, this was a time when new ideas and new challenges were having very real effects—they cast a harsh light on the cracks in the imperial order, rousing citizens to worry about the city’s divisions and to seek ways to achieve greater unity. And yet, for all that, these citizens remained

¹⁴⁴ Norihiro Naganawa, “Holidays in Kazan: The Public Sphere and the Politics of Religious Authority among Tatars in 1914,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 71, no. 1 (Spring, 2012): 25-48.

¹⁴⁵ Madina V. Goldberg, “Russian Empire—Tatar Theater: The Politics of Culture in Late Imperial Kazan,” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009).

embedded in that imperial order, and its power was such that, in the end, they were never able to fully transcend it.

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Conclusion: Looking Back, Looking Forward

When educated residents of Kazan looked back from the 1840s and '50s, they often did so with a great deal of satisfaction. They saw a city changed for the better—improved, even transformed, within the space of living memory. They recalled sweeping physical alterations, which had made Kazan larger, cleaner, more orderly, and more imposing (Figure 57¹). And they associated these material transformations with a parallel reformation of the city's culture, marked by the advance of knowledge, sophistication, and generosity. Residents tended to connect these changes with their own personal Kazan narratives and chronologies. Typical, for example, was Ivan Vtorov—a high-ranking official who retired in Kazan, and also the father of scholar and journalist Nikolai Vtorov—who recalled in 1843:

In the thirty years since I was first acquainted with Kazan, it has taken on a completely different appearance... After the terrible fire of 1815, which destroyed almost half the city, Kazan began to gradually grow and improve, with the erecting of new buildings, levelling of steep hills, covering of gullies, and paving and straightening of roads... Kazan was dressed up and beautified like a bride, until it became the very best city after the capitals.²

Different individuals focused their attention on different aspects and dimensions of civic progress. In 1845, *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti* [*Kazan Provincial Gazette*], editor Aleksandr Artemev emphasized the statistical evidence for increases in population, construction, and industry, arguing that “these numbers stand as reliable proof of the steady advances in Kazan's development.”³ Doctor and writer Nikolai Bazhenov, himself still a fairly recent arrival

¹ *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg: M. O. Volf, 1901), 158.

² Ivan V...v [Vtorov], “Moi vospominaniia o Kazani.” *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1843, no. 50 (Dec. 11, 1843): 319-320; Ivan Alekseevich Vtorov, “Moskva i Kazan' v nachale XIX-go veka,” *Russkaia Starina*, vol. 70 (April-Jun, 1891), 17.

³ [A. I. Artemev?], “Statistika: o sostoianie Kazani v 1844 godu,” *Kazanskiia gubernskiiia vedomosti*, 1845, no. 34: 328.

in the province, suggested instead a link between the remaking of the city and the reign of the current tsar—since the accession of Nicholas I in 1825, he wrote, Kazan had “expanded, built up, and improved... A fifth ward of the city had been formed... In a city submerged in filth, the streets began to be paved... And the governor became regarded as the soul of society.”⁴ Karl Fuks, that beloved local polymath, praised the development of the city’s intellectual climate. Speaking with a student, Fuks recalled that when he had first arrived in Kazan in 1805, “the people I found here were practically savages, and I encountered obstacles to my work at every step.” By 1843, he saw the city’s culture as having been elevated: “these days your labors are easy; the times have changed.”⁵



Figure 57: An orderly view of Kazan from the kreml, late nineteenth century

⁴ Nikolai Bazhenov, *Kazanskaia istoriia*, vol. 2 (Kazan: Tipografiia L. Shevitsa, 1847), 119-120.

⁵ M. De-Pule, “Nikolai Ivanovich Vtorov,” *Russkii arkhiv*, 1877, no 7: 347.



Figure 58: Churches and mosques, rich and poor on the shore of Lake Kaban, late nineteenth century

This was not a false perspective; but neither was it the whole story. Much had changed in Kazan, but much remained the same. And among the most persistent characteristics of the city was that it remained divided along confessional, ethnic, and social lines (Figure 58⁶)—divisions of a sort that prevented many residents from fully participating in the city's remaking. Here again, the silences in this narrative speak volumes. We can infer with some confidence that men like Shihabetdin Marjani, Hussain ibn Amirkhan, and Ibragim and Iskak Iunusov were also enthusiastic about the city's advances, its achievements, and its future. But their enthusiasm reaches us only in comparatively faint echoes, because both the scope of their strivings and the outlets for their thoughts continued to be circumscribed by the city's persistent divisions.

⁶ *Zhivopisnaia Rossiia*, vol. 8, pt. 1, 164.

In 1855, at the height of the Crimean War and scant years before the Great Reforms, the imperial government made an ambiguous gesture toward tearing down the walls of confessional separation. It was in that year that the Tatar Ratusha was abolished, with its budget and functions subsumed into the City Duma. Instead of running their own separate and comparatively disempowered institution, Tatar politicians now became participants in the Duma and Magistrate, enshrined as a permanent minority with a fixed one-third of the seats in each body.⁷ But to whatever extent this represented a weakening of Kazan's institutionally-endorsed silos, it was still outweighed by practices of spatial separation which were only becoming more rigorous. Whereas in the past the dividing line between Tatars and Russians had been relatively fluid—made up of streets, or rows of shops, or city blocks, which could and did flip their status over time—by the late nineteenth century the Bulak Canal increasingly came to be seen as an immutable boundary between Kazan's two cultural spheres, with the “Trans-Bulak” area [*Zabulachnaia storona*] south of the canal and Lake Kaban now inscribed as the city's Tatar space. When, toward the end of the nineteenth century the first (and for many decades, only) mosque on the Russian side of the Bulak challenged this boundary, locals, with perhaps a degree of irony, called it the “Trans-Kaban” [*Zakabannaia*] Mosque⁸, in a turn of phrase that reoriented the city to place its Russians on the ‘other side’—yet which also connected this very moment of transgression with a subtle endorsement of the idea that each community had a side.

Given these conflicting realities, it is tempting to make this tale of Kazan either a story of ‘success,’ in which residents came together to remake the city along enlightened lines, or a story of their ‘failure’ to overcome imperial legacies of insularity, division, and mistrust. But rather

⁷ *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, Sobranie Vtoroe*, vol. 29 (Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia i Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi E. I. V. Kantseliarii, 1855), 5-6.

⁸ Maksim Glukhov-Nogaibek, *Kazanskii retro-leksikon* (Kazan: Izdatelskii tsentr osnova, 2002), 178.

than trying to judge Kazan's past against a set of desirable outcomes, it is best taken for what it was: the narrative of what happened in a particular provincial city, set in an ancient, diverse, contiguous European empire, when it began to run up against the changing conditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The resulting tale highlights how tightly early-nineteenth-century Kazan was linked into vast networks of material and intellectual exchange, both within the border of the Russian Empire and beyond. Its residents did not always reflect deeply on their connections to Europe and the world: they tended to be receptive to particular advances in science, technology, commerce, art, and culture, but it was less easy for them to recognize the way the broader opportunities and challenges of the early nineteenth century affected them. Yet it seems clear those opportunities and challenges were crucial in spurring them to pursue new forms of public initiative at this time. There is little doubt, for example, that urgent questions about confessional and ethnic diversity in the city, and the desire to forge deeper emotional bonds with the empire, both arose in the context of growing pan-European nationalist discourse. Similarly, the self-direction, resolve, and public-spiritedness necessary to improve the city's infrastructure and social services drew strength from rising transnational expectations for what citizens could expect from the communities in which they lived. And likewise, the challenges of urban growth, industrialization, overcrowding, and disease that Kazan faced were in no way unique to Russia. In short, much of the impulse toward public initiative in the city had its roots in larger forces, both constructive and disruptive, that emerged in the wider European context around this time.

Yet Kazan remained tightly woven into the fabric of the empire; and when, as often happened, residents fell short of achieving their aspirations, it was usually on the shoals of the city's imperial legacies, past and present, that their hopes foundered. Imperial governance had its

failings—in fact, these failings, too, played a role in goading the city’s inhabitants to action. Still, it was comparatively rare for the imperial government to take active steps to impede residents’ urban initiatives. The impacts of empire were far more than just the officials and policies of the moment, however. Being a subject of the empire meant bearing an ancient and complex legacy, one that had built up in layer upon layer, to form what Alfred Rieber has called a “sedimentary society.”⁹ In Kazan, as locals worked to reform and reimagine the city, they often found it impossible to peel back all those layers; with the most resistant of them being the old imperial divisions of social estate and, especially, religion. At times, residents were at least able to recognize that the differences raised by imperial categories were problematic, and to express the hope that they might be overcome. But it was almost impossible for local leaders to think outside the categories that they inhabited with sufficient dedication and imagination to truly begin breaking down the city’s barriers in earnest.

Not only do these twin narratives—of self-directed public initiatives and stubbornly persistent imperial legacies—serve to illuminate the forces that guided Kazan’s residents through the early decades of the nineteenth century, but they also help connect the events in Kazan at this time with developments that would unfold across Russia in the latter part of the century, after the Great Reforms of the 1860s. In the empire’s last decades, Russia would see accelerating patterns of mass political and social engagement. Some of this engagement would emerge out of an increasingly vibrant and assertive cultural sphere—marked by the strivings of scholars and provincial *zemstvo* activists to rationalize and improve Russian society; of artists, thinkers, and entrepreneurs to make Russia cosmopolitan, creative, and productive; and of peasants and

⁹ Alfred J. Rieber, “The Sedimentary Society,” in *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow and James L. West eds. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991): 343-366.

factory workers to learn to read, to become politically active, and to imagine themselves as part of a much wider world.¹⁰ Other forms of mass engagement more clearly pitted themselves against the empire. Among those most visible of these were the empire's increasingly strident ethnic nationalist movements—groups which challenged the very idea that such a diverse population could ever live together in lasting peace and security.¹¹ What is striking about early-nineteenth-century Kazan is the way that it anticipated both of these developments, in incipient form. Kazan certainly did not have anything resembling mass politics in the early 1800s. But the trend lines that connected the city with future events can be discerned: from the initiative and public-spiritedness of local residents, toward the mass cultural, social, and political engagement of later years; and from the habits of imperial separation and the concerns it raised, toward the

¹⁰ Joseph Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 4 (Oct., 2002): 1094-1123; Boris Ivanovich Kolonitskii, "'Democracy' in the Political Consciousness of the February Revolution," *Slavic Review*, vol. 57, no. 1 (1998): 95-106; Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow and James L. West eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Culture, 1861-1917* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2005); Jane Burbank, *Russian Peasants Go to Court: Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905-1917* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004); E. Anthony Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia*. Berkeley (CA: University of California Press, 2002); James L. West and Iurii A. Petrov, eds., *Merchant Moscow: Images of Russia's Vanished Bourgeoisie* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Reginald E. Zelnik, "Russian Bebel: An Introduction to the Memoirs of the Russian Workers Semen Kanatchikov and Matvei Fisher," *Russian Review*, vol. 35, no. 3 (Jul., 1976): 249-289, and vol. 35, no. 4 (Oct., 1976): 417-447; Vera Shevzov, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹ Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Dilyara M. Usmanova, "The Activity of the Muslim Faction of the State Duma and Its Significance in the Formation of a Political Culture Among the Muslim Peoples of Russia, 1906-1917," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, Vol. 2: Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. Anke von Kugelgen, Michael Kemper and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998): 417-439; Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Nicholas B. Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers: Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005); Willard Sunderland, "Russians Into Iakuts?: 'Going Native' and Problems of Russian National Identity in the Siberian North, 1870s-1914," *Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 4 (Win. 1996): 806-825; Virginia Martin, *Law and Custom in the Steppe* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2001); Agnes Nilufer Kefeli, *Becoming Muslim in Imperial Russia: Conversion, Apostasy and Literacy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014); Mustafa Tuna, *Imperial Russia's Muslims: Islam, Empire and European Modernity, 1788-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and 'Bulghar' Identity Among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

particularistic forms of ethnic nationalism that would soon develop. In this way, Kazan highlights the continuities of empire, and suggests that the role of the Great Reforms in destabilizing Russian society should not be overstated.

Whatever the future held for local residents, however, their turn to the city in the early nineteenth century was not without its effects. Kazan's inhabitants missed some of the goals they set for themselves, but they achieved others. They remained the subjects of an autocratic state, but some, at least acquired significant agency and competency in running local affairs. They set new expectations for what the people of the city could accomplish by working together, and for what residents could expect to receive from the place where they lived in return. They did not vanquish disease, but they coped with rapid growth while making slow but real improvements to the built landscape, and along with it, collective health and quality of life. They created vibrant spheres of local literary production, both in Russian and in Tatar and Arabic—connected with distant centers of learning from Bukhara to St. Petersburg and beyond, to be sure, but distinguished by their own independent perspectives and qualities. And they spread learning to a growing slice of the urban population. They accomplished all these things not in fulfillment of any grand vision, but through a patchwork of initiatives and collaborations that addressed the particular needs they saw before them. At a time when so many things were uncertain, it felt natural for residents to turn to their city, to “our sweet, dear Kazan” (in Karl Foigt's words)¹², as the focus for such responses. And in the end, more often than not, they and their city proved able to rise to the occasion.

¹² Foigt, *Rech pri otkrytii v Kazani*, 53.

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