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PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPACE OF A RUSSIAN PROVINCIAL TOWN IN THE LATE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

Abstract: *The article reveals the results of the research of change in the ratio of public and private space of a provincial Russian town in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, public space tiling features, geographical locus of this public space on the town map. The study provides the data on emerging field of attraction in the town, its center, on the outskirts of the shear. An analysis of the concepts of socio-cultural space, civic engagement, free time, environment, mental map of historical aspect reveal the mechanism of human interaction and environment.*

Keywords: *socio-cultural transformations, modernization, history, Siberia, town, private, public, values, mental map.*

Introduction

Social construction of the town in the era of modernization of the late 19th – early 20th century. is associated with the expansion of its public space. The established private zone (“spatial bubble”) is replaced by new practices and models of social interaction, new leisure places appear. This process in a provincial town is connected with the activities of non-political public organizations and local self-government bodies, newspaper editions, development of cinematography, and attraction of local intellectuals to houses removed by political exiles. A “private person”, having found himself in this public discourse, receives new skills in socio-cultural activities, finds themselves involved in the events that took place in the town, realizes their role in changing the appearance.

The town, as a specific locus, reflects the change in the living space. The emergence of public organizations and new centers of social attraction “shifts” the center: for example, in Siberia, they were the houses of political, social activists located on the outskirts. Architectural objects, mapping confirms these processes.

Methodology

This study is aimed at finding new forms, revealing the interconnection of life values and urban space (K. Lynch). Otto Schluter also pointed out cultural landscape and formulated a comprehensive approach to the consideration of urban space. Morphogenetic analysis should be supplemented by concrete historical studies. However, the process of perception of the urban environment in historical aspect remains poorly understood due to a small number of personal sources. In general, such sources as photographs, urban plans prior to 1917, archival data (official and personal documents) have become the sources for identifying the ways to represent the environment and thereby marking it as a public space.

The study is based on the recognition of system-cultural approach, comprehensively treating towns as a cultural-forming factor. The universally symbolic meaning of the town is based on the understanding of its main dominant (NP and TP Antsiferov), highlighting its main code. Still I. Grevs in the late 19th – early 20th century began to consider town as a cultural and historical organism. It became for him a kind of synthetic source.

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Public places in town, whether it be administrative buildings, religious buildings, shopping and leisure areas or pubs become markers, messages of fixation. These messages form the town's spatial locus. The term "mapping", introduced by European cultural analysts (S. Pyle and A. Frift) suggests the creation of such maps (Landry C., 2005). In addition to geographic coordinates, new notation of geographical, but mental, cultural, emotional orientation, network interaction appears on them.

In this period tightness of the urban space made Siberian town rigidly constrained with an established conservative hierarchy / dichotomy: center-province. Urbanization that began in the period of modernization led to crowding and scarcity of the public space in the former localities: in the market, cathedral square, tavern. The private sphere, this "spatial bubble" (R. Sommer), burst gradually. By mapping and thus reading the text of each particular provincial town, we have noticed that, although slowly, this hierarchy is changing.

C. Landry writes that creating a situation, "in which network interaction is urgently needed, is much more difficult for the town as a whole. Here we are dealing with a complex set of subjects - state, private, public. And each has its own organizational culture and program of actions ... The question remains the possibility of their creative interaction and the search for motives for interaction. Only after discovering the motives, one can hope to introduce creative culture in the "genetic code" of the town" (Landry, 2005).

Space has long been noticed by the researchers as one of fundamental categories of the culture, characterized by universal properties: extent, unity of discontinuity and continuity (Jur'eva, 2007). Symbolic perception of the space of the town gives the urbanists an opportunity to personify space, highlight metaphors of urban space, helps to understand evolution of the citizens' way of life.

Meta-geography stands on the position that "space, as a matter of fact, like its images, is created by the culture and / or civilization, which understands them, lives by them and in them", and that "each culture creates its own images of space in one way or another" (Jur'eva, 2007). Jeremy Whitehand rightly points out that numerous statements about interdisciplinarity do not always lead to them and many of the modern studies remain isolated, and even in them all aspects of urban morphology are not revealed.

So, for the last 20 years, only 10 studies within historical disciplines have been published in the journal "Urban Morphology", whose editorial board is headed (Whitehand, 2018). Perhaps this is due to a general increase in the specialization of scientific research.

Social psychologists who study the values and quality of the environment, interaction of human communities and environments and create mental maps, try to catch unique shapes of towns (Shabanov, 2004). As a result, a mapping of the town in the inhabitants' minds is superimposed on geographic and architectural reality, although the researchers themselves, of course, understand that the "reality and its reflection do not fit well together" (Shabanov, 2004). Historical modeling of a multi-layered town, both in time and in the system of social coordinates, expands the possibilities of urban morphology. Historical-cognitive component complements multidimensionality in the study of the town. At the same time, mental maps are created not only by representation, but also by social factors.

The mechanism of interaction between man and the environment opens up new opportunities for publicity. After all, the environment itself is understood as a field of human activity, as a process and as a method of stratification (D. Watson), as a spatio-temporal extension of behavior.

Researchers dealing with mental maps of the town draw a conclusion that urban landscapes are created by combining material forms and subjective human experience. "Drawing on the concept of atmosphere, we argue that human experience of urban spaces drives alterations to the built environment.

The atmosphere is created through the combination of human activity, individual emotional responses and subjective perceptions of built-in forms" (Jones, 2017).

Measurement and analysis

An analysis of the urban landscape showing the shift of the center to peripheral points of bifurcation proves a change not only in the location, but also in the volumes of the public space of townspeople. Individual appearance of the town has externally changed little, in comparison with its content. In it, there is a meeting (and often a clash) of different cultures and commercial interests.

For example, in Biysk (Altai mountainous district, Tomsk province), the head of the town, Yakov Sakharov at the end of the 19th century being the city's head, moved the trade from the traditional market square to a non-equipped plot of land on the outskirts of the town to eliminate competitors. So he, a major wine merchant, sought to eliminate competitors from the merchants who sell textile products (Degaltceva, 2005). In the same small county town, we see a shift of public space to the places of settlement of political exiles, and in the beginning of the 20th century to the area of opened "Society for Primary Education". His soul was V.N. Pepelyaev, later shot together with A. Kolchak.

An apartment – private space – becomes a meeting place for the town communities, meetings of public organizations. In the late 1850 – early 1860s such place in Tyumen became the place where a popular teacher lived, while the police "did not give these meetings an unseemly value" (Chukmaldin, 1997). The soul of this community was the teacher of Tyumen school, K.N. Vysotsky, the son of a political exiled Pole, who participated in the rebel of 1831. In his modest apartment "for an evening tea" the merchants known in the town (including the future millionaire N.M Chukmaldin), officials, teachers, artists gathered. Members of the circle discussed social problems, novels LN. Tolstoy, which caused numerous disputes, the holiday was the emergence of a new issue of "Sovremennik", which was passed from hand to hand.

Similar processes occurred in many Siberian towns. So, in Barnaul during the stay of a political exile, a famous scientist, S.P. Shvetsov, his house became a place of attraction for the urban intelligentsia: teachers, workers of the statistical committee, other political exiles. According to the reports of the Police Department that followed him from 1894 in Shvetsov's house, "three times a week from 11 pm to 3 am gatherings were held" (Perepiska, 1894). Another popular place in the town was the Society of Amateurs of Altai Studies, in which Shvetsov also served as secretary. It did not have its own premises and held meetings then at the Mining Assembly, then at the drawing-room of the Main Altai Administration (Perepiska, 1894). In this drawing work engineer A.A. Lesnevsky (later head of the drawing room, and from 1913 – the head of Barnaul). His house, located at a distance from the traditional town center on the bank of the factory pond (now – 56 Polzunov ulsa., Barnaul), became an artistic center of the town: rehearsals were held there, performances of the "Society of Dramatic Art Lovers" were staged.

In Omsk, local intellectuals often gathered in the Museum of Omsk Division of Imperial Russian Geographical Society, in the attic of which S.P. Shvetsov hid from the police. Apparently, the mental map of the town is formed by the activities of such charismatic enthusiasts, consolidating local intellectuals. In Siberia with educated cadres there was a deficit and the political exiled or educated engineers that appeared here immediately became such centers of attraction.

This geospatial metaphor reveals a change in the way of life. If in the middle of the 19th century. The main public places of Siberian towns were the cathedrals with the adjacent market and the presence of places, where by the beginning of the 20th century individuality started to show off (Meves, 1863).

The composition of urban plan, for example, the town of Tyumen by 1917 can be regarded as a form of expression of the social life; it shows us peculiarities of its perception by the inhabitants of urban environment, the places allocated by them for public space. The location of cultural and educational facilities is clearly shown.

However, we must not forget that until the beginning of the 20th century there was no marked urban space and dens and restaurants, creating a kind of spherical belt on the outskirts of the

town. In Tyumen, for example, until the middle of the 19th century there was a steadily growing number of restaurants. If in 1825 there was 1 tavern and 25 lodging houses, in 1869 they were 3 times more of them with a population increase of only 1.5 times. And in a small district Biysk in 1868 there were 68 taverns, in 1883 there were 60 drinking spots in the town where alcohol was sold “for a drink and for a take-away”.

One tavern accounted for 116 people, including the number of women, elderly and young people (Degaltceva, 2002). In them, along with churches and fairs, the need for social communication was met. However, in the late 19th – early 20th century there was a decrease in the number of taverns. In Biysk in 1912, one tavern accounted for more than 600 people.

According to an American historian A. Kimball, in the atmosphere of the tavern (“the secular hypostasis of the soul of provincial Russia”), we are presented with ‘the image of a newly discovered provincial civil society’ (Cimball, 2004). An analysis of the results of a questionnaire survey conducted in 23 provinces by Prince V. Tenishev, began at the end of the 1880s, leads the author to believe that the tavern was the heart of both the provincial town and the village (Cimball, 2004).

A tavern (kabak) in these questionnaires appears as the most significant after the church public space. However, in our opinion, it is unlikely that the entire society (especially a rapidly changing town) could fully express its interests and needs in a tavern. In Siberia in the late 19th century, for example, there was no increase in the number of taverns, which the author claims. Thus, with a rapid increase of 4 – 5 times the population of small towns in the last 30 years of the 19th century, there the number of taverns decreased three-fold.

Although indeed, for all the negative aspects, the tavern cannot be considered only as a stash of drunkenness and debauchery, since it was an open public space and for many years served to people from various estates as the only entertainment, giving opportunities for self-realization and self-expression. “Opening the door of the tavern, it was possible to experience the energy of social passions crossing there” (Cimball, 2004). The atmosphere of equal opportunities that reigned there contributed to the process of social dialogue that begun, rapprochement and alignment of relations between classes, reflecting the crisis of hierarchies.

The fairs also became a landmark in the urban public space. They were seasonal in nature and carried a holiday atmosphere. In 1880, for example, only in Altai region there were 22 fairs, and by 1895 – already 45. Among the largest – Nikolskaya, Krutikhinskaya, Smolenskaya. In January, a famous Vasilyevskaya Fair in Tyumen (Tobolsk province) was usually opened. In a cold big booth in the center of the town there were temporary shopping benches set up. Summer fairs were accompanied by festivities, “under the belts” wrestling, singing. During the fairs in the towns new taverns were opened, magicians, musicians and puppeteers-comedians came on tour. Colorless provincial life became alive for a time.

Conditional division of the town into several parts reflects a tradition such as fisticuffs. In many Siberian towns, fistfights remained a favorite entertainment of citizens for a long time, when the streets gathered with the fighters and spectators from different parts of the town. In Tyumen, for example, the local club of clerks even transferred this amusement to their stage, causing just public indignation (Degaltceva, 2005).

The history of social processes is still mainly considered without taking into account spatial factors. The historians usually do not care where the events took place, whether the geography of civil activity has changed. However, this attempt to comprehend the spatial reference points of civic activity that change the space of the town leads to understanding of many other aspects of the social history. The network interaction in different societies, clubs, cinemas became a new phenomenon in the sociocultural processes of the initial period of modernization (late 19th – early 20th century).

Through the destinies of many people infected with the virus of social activity, and the places of their settlements and public interests, one can trace the mechanism of the individual's “intrusion” into the social process and change with this mechanism the hierarchy of urban space.

We allocate such places of public space as ordinary apartment activists, literary and art salons, editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, premises of public organizations and clubs, park areas. All of them made the concept of the former traditional town center conditional, forming a new urban space and filling it with new meanings.

The morphology of provincial urban development since the second half of the 19th century began to include park areas. The parks were also projects of public organizations and were considered as leisure recreation places for citizens. Previously elite, they gradually became more open to all the layers of urban society.

The necessity in ecological development of urban space has led to parks creation. Overcoming in this way not only privacy, but also dejection became one of the factors shaping a new urban way of life. The citizen was included in the urban environment, in public organizations, and the issues of urban development were actively discussed; the activists proposed and built skating rinks, playgrounds, parks.

On holidays, and sometimes in the evenings, the townspeople played ball, bass and dough. In the summer time, they made walks along the river on boats. Sitting in a boat, singing songs, landing on a clearing, organized a tea party. In the bazaars, various sobriety societies opened tea rooms and organized folk festivals. The merchants – members of these societies – provided necessary materials, tea, dishes, furniture, samovars (Degaltceva, 2005). Folk festivals attracted a large number of local residents of different classes. They turned into a real holiday. So, every summer (usually in the beginning of July) the Tobol'sk sobriety society organized a celebration in a picturesque place on the bank of the Irtysh on the Suszgun Cape. There the people of Tobolsk and surrounding villages gathered, danced rounds, music and choral singing sounded. Such Sunday festivals outside the town were almost the only entertainment of local residents.

Almost every town had such parks. These country gardens were located, as a rule, on the banks of rivers. V.M. Florinsky in his memoirs describes in detail the Tomsk country holiday place. The role of the country club was played by the officer's canteen (Florinskiy, 1906). In the evenings on weekends and on holidays on the steep bank of the river. Local residents came to Tom' to breathe clean air, listen to military music and soldiers' songs. The lines of carts were loaded with children and adults, samovars, bowlers, and provisions. Having settled on the carpets, the townspeople who arrived at the picnic drank tea and wine, sang songs to a guitar or accordion, fished and cooked an ear in a bowler hat. In 1851 a country garden opens in Tyumen. It was a restaurant and pins.

The town head I.V. Ikonnikov together with the caretaker of the district school, the horticulturist-amateur Popov, broke a garden outside the town (on 100 descents of land), planting it with lindens, fir trees, birches, pines with regular couples and alleys. Soon the park became a favorite place of rest for the townspeople. Here passed the festivities, played a military orchestra. On the territory of the garden was a greenhouse, where pineapples and other tropical plants grew (Degaltceva, 2005). In early 1865, a local philistine E. Pavlov built a booth for the theater, where the entire local community gathered in the summer (Degaltceva, 2005).

The continuous line of building official buildings in the center was opposed to the zone of public activity of citizens – parks, circuses, cinematography, public organizations and clubs, located perpendicular to it. The open space of parks, circuses and fairs made it more accessible to all layers of citizens.

The change in time has not changed the public space of small Siberian towns – it is also structured around leisure venues – shopping centers, circus arrivals, station squares. The social and spatial system of the town also remains closely related to the general level of life and the level of development of culture.

This new public space has a woman's face. Activation of women's activity is observed only after 1905 and their share in the composition of public organizations in the pre-revolutionary period ranged from 20 to 40%. Women and those organizations that, in addition to openly proclaimed goals, were also illegally engaged in political struggle. The example of Siberia shows

that the active life position (forced, based on the status) was occupied by the wives of high-ranking officials, merchant widows.

To express themselves in the public space of the urban environment, men had much more opportunities and ways, and hence experience. Social dialogue in the male environment was preceded by other forms of communication.

We have already mentioned the role of a tavern (pub) in public life. He served, among other things, a point of bifurcation on the map of a small town, a place for exchanging news, where many issues were discussed, including and socio-political life, there was active social communication among men. It is noteworthy that in England of 17th - 18th centuries. Voluntary associations were usually located in coffee shops and pubs.

The space of the town is closely connected with the category of time. In the early twentieth century. there is a new category – free time – and its borders gradually begin to move apart, parallel to the expansion of the public space of the town. According to E. Durkheim, the category of time is the key rhythm of social life. In the early twentieth century. townspeople in a much more significant degree than ever began to realize the time and were now able to count it. We see the announcements about the beginning of the meetings of the organizations, as moved to dinner (thereby increasing) the time of communication.

Flexibility and scope of goals attracted to many volunteer societies many citizens: representatives of national, religious and social minorities, people suffering from any diseases, people with unsettled personal lives. The man was in the public space of the town choosing his own ways of mastering it. It was easier for the Siberians to “get out of his house”, from this “spatial bubble”. His private space was previously open. In the reminiscences of the trustee of the West Siberian district V.M. Florinsky, in 1880, sent to Tomsk, you can find an interesting description of the hospitality of Siberians.

An invasion of private life seemed unacceptable to a Moscow official, but circumstances compelled him, on the advice of a fellow traveler, to go to the nearest house at night, when he had nowhere to stay in Tyumen, waiting for the ship. The hosts were already asleep, and the first three rooms were free, where the Florinsky family settled down. Imagine the surprise of the guests, when the master “asked permission to enter the occupied room” in the morning, kindly met them and fed them lunch (Florinskiy, 1906). It turned out that in Tyumen it was the usual thing.

The openness of the public formations under consideration made them an important element of public urban space. This fact attracted many in the absence of full-fledged political life in pre-revolutionary Russia. Within the framework of the organization, everyone had the right to initiative, all together openly discussed the issues. The atmosphere of such meetings was most often characterized by emotional openness, informal communication of people of different ranks, sincere concern for the common cause.

Conclusion

The dynamics of public space in late 19th – early 20th century was not connected, as now, with a new quality of architecture. However, the essential renewal of the public space helped to expand the functions of public organizations, including, among other things, the organization of leisure for citizens. During the modernization period, the development of life standards was gradually proceeding, when participation in the activity of an organization became the necessary norm for the behavior of a successful citizen. Expansion of the public space of the provincial Siberian town in the late 19th – 20th centuries shows the formation of a new social behavior of citizens, the growth of civil activity.

The social composition of public associations, as well as their profile, reflects the code and, at the same time, the social specificity of Siberian cities – a “university” Tomsk, “military” Omsk, “spiritual” Tobol’sk, “bureaucratic” Barnaul, “merchant” Tyumen and Biysk, filled with political exiles Mariinsk, Tara, Ishim, Yalutorovsk and other towns.

Through the fate of many provincial activists infected with the virus of social activity, it is possible to trace the mechanism of "invasion" of an individual into the urban public space.

I distinguish such forms of public activity of Siberians as literary and art salons, journalistic and writers' activity, education, non-conformism (friendship with political exiles), creation and participation in amateur organizations and local self-government bodies.

Expansion and movement of public space led to metamorphosis of social roles of citizens. The city became a marker of transformations and modernization in the late XIX - early XX century. And the town begins to pulsate not in the public space set on top, not in official places or cult places, but in places chosen by the people themselves.

As a result, obtained on the example of the Russian provincial town of the late 19th – early 20th century geospatial data allow to model mental schemes of changing the urban space, visualize the tightening / pulling of the public space, improve the understanding of modernization processes and expand the possibilities of urban morphology.

The use in the future of GPS and historical maps of Siberian towns contributes to the personification of urban space, the understanding of the evolution of its spatial locus and can be used not only for academic purposes, but also quite applied - for the development of urban tourism.

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