AN ATTEMPT AT SOCIAL DISCIPLINING IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTRY RUSSIA: THE
KALINKINSKY HOUSE. A CASE STUDY

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Submitted to
Central European University
History Department

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary

2010

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## Abstract:

The Kalinkinskaya Commission (1750-1759) has never been researched before. In Russian pre-revolutionary historiography this institution had been labeled as a mere curiousity, implemented by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna by chance. The Soviet historiography was focused on the study of ordinary people, but it must be only right ordinary people which are peasants, workers. Thus, the Kalikninsky house was not a worthy subject of research. I have made an attempt to prove that the Kalinkinskaya Commission logically fitted into the policy of the secularization of moral values and operated within the framework of a common European trend of spreading the principles of social disciplining. The main research chapter of thesis is exclusively based on non-published materials.

# Table of Contents:

# Introduction

The life of ordinary people was not a subject of interest for the pre-revolutionary Russian historian. Nor for the Soviet historians, although the causes of such ignorance were different. Pre-revolutionary historiography[1] dealt mainly with the political issues of Russian history, which is absolutely logical. Of course even in the twentieth century we can find studies devoted to religious questions or economic issues, but these were not widespread topics among the historians of that time. Although I must say that the current social issues nevertheless drew the attention of public figures and jurists[2]. On the contrary, the Soviet historiography was focused on the study of ordinary people, but it must be only *right* ordinary people which are peasants, workers. Thus the truly *marginal* people were a *marginal* object of study. Russian historiography has a great debt in studying this issue, which is intimately connected with social policy, social studies, gender studies, etc. European historiography, especially French[3] and British[4] historiography, has a long tradition of studies of marginal people. Contemporary Russian historiography is still far from a full-fledged development of this topic, although there are some changes[5].

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[1] It is a standard scheme of Russian historiography – pre-revolutionary, Soviet and contemporary historiography.

[2] Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*: *Sex and the Search for Modernity* in. *Fin-de-Siecle Russia*. (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1992).

[3] Arlette Farge, *Le vol d'aliments à Paris au XVII-e siècle*. (Paris, 1977); Arlette Farge, *Vivre dans la rue à Paris au XVIII siècle*. (Paris, 1979); Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris. (*Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[4] Roy Porter, *London. A Social History.* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1994); Frank Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*. (Cambridge University Press. 2007); Al Beier, *Masterless Men: the Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640*. (London and New York, 1985); Lucinda Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England.* (London and New York, 1983); Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the* State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London. Prostitution and Control in Metropolis* 1730-1830 (London: Longman, 1999).

[5] Evgeni Akeliev, "Criminal world of Moscow. Two «Confession reports» of professional thiefs. 1741", *Historical archive*, № 7, (2007); Irina Roldugina, "Kalinkinskaya comission: experience in social disciplining studies". In *New Vision, international paper works of young historian* ( Tambov, 2007): 24-29.

The Kalinkinskaya commission was created in 1750 by a decree issued directly by the Empress Elizabeth Petrovna to promote moral values in Saint Petersburg. The commission existed for nine years. The name of the commission comes from the name of a village Kalinkino, behind the Fontanka river, where the establishment was settled. The Kalinkinskaya commission left a lot of records behind. First of all, the texts of interrogation, which are valuable sources about human consciousness.

This establishment could be an indicator of the important process of secularization and its depth. The Kalinkinskaya commission could be the litmus test and significant sign of this process.

The state gradually replaced the church in controlling human behavior and deeds. The creation of a well ordered state in Russia of the eighteenth century is characterized by changes in all areas of human life and the reorganization of the state apparatus[6]. One of the major issues was related to the church's significance in the new state. Shall it still remain a main judge when bringing up its parish and weighing their sins? We are mainly concerned here with the aspect of sexual relations between individuals, an issue over which both parties - state and church - struggled. These are fornication, adultery, bigamy. Traditionally this realm was dealt with by the church, which had a monopoly for judging and punishment of such sinners.

This thesis combines a few connected tasks. I would try to disprove the opinions existing in historiography that the Kalinkinsky house is a historical paradox and so to say a curious thing. I do understand that this viewpoint was widespread in pre-revolutionary Russian historiography, and it could not have been otherwise – history was not perceived as a social science at that time, which determined such a poor evaluation of the Kalinkinsky house and the

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[6] Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change Through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600-1800*. (Yale University Press, 1983).

history of its origin. In Soviet historiography such a work could not have been written at all: as I mentioned above, the history of marginal groups (the conception of social disciplining didn't exist at that time) did not fit into the framework of history restricted to political history and the history of oppressed classes. The second task is to illuminate the history of establishing this place and its specificity. (What was this place? Who were brought there? How did they live?). It has never been done before. The third task is to try to contextualize the Kalinkinsky house in terms of *social disciplining policy* and try to integrate this establishment into a European context, which correlates with the first task. I am going to compare Kalinkinsky house with the workhouses in England using secondary sources. Of course, any comparison is just a tool, which helps to illuminate the specific features of the comparable object. I am going to concentrate on specific features of the Kalinkinsky house in order to illuminate the origin of this establishment in Russia and trace the possible ways of influence.

The question of methodology and the specificity of historical source analysis, especially when those sources are documents of eighteenth-century interrogations, deserves a serious consideration. What sort of connection do we have with the sources? How should we work with it if we want to extract not only explicit but also implicit information? Is it possible at all? As historians we are the products of our own time and we are not always able to single out actual data which are not so evident to our contemporary view.. This question has become truly widespread, as a product of post-modernist philosophy[7], when deconstruction became an aim and a method simultaneously.

It seems to me that the main useful consequence of this discussion is that the historian should be aware that the evident things are evident for him in his own time, and things that at

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[7] Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact", in *Tropics of Discourse. Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 81-100.

first glance he does not see, nevertheless exist. He could detect them using special practices and special methods[8].

Carlo Ginzburg writes in his book that has become a historical classic: "I wanted to understand what witchcraft really meant to its protagonists, the witches and sorcerers. But the available documentation (trails and especially treatises of demonology) served only as a barrier, hopelessly preventing a true grasp of popular witchcraft. Everywhere I ran up against inquisitorial concepts of witchcraft derived from sources of learned origin. Only the discovery of a current of previously ignored beliefs connected with the *benandanti* opened a breach in that wall"[9]. I am convinced that the issue on *the relationships with the source* raised by the historians of the Annales School and which would be very surprising for Ranke, is treated by the postmodernist historians in a philosophical way, not in a pragmatic one. The main task of a historian is to try to approximate to the historical authenticity of the source, keeping in mind that to catch the *truth* is impossible, it doesn't exist at all - which is successfully proved[10] by philosophers and historians.

In my case I mainly work with bureaucratic writings. My sources are unpublished archival documents: the whole fund of the Russian State Archive of the Ancient Acts in Moscow. Fund 8 is titled "The Kalinkinsky house and the cases against the morality values". This fund was formed in the middle of the nineteenth century from the documents of the Police Department and *the Kalinkinskaya commission of the crimes against morality*, plus the separate documents belonged to the Secret Expedition of the Senate. This fund had been preserved in the State

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[8] This is for example a questioning list to the sources. Or as British historian Martin Ingram says treating the papers of English ecclesiastical courts: "with a proper level of understanding of law and court procedure it is possible to exempt the facts from legal fiction with certain extent of certainty", Martin Ingram, *Church courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*. (Cambridge, 1987) P. 20.

[9] Carlo Ginzburg, *The cheese and the worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. (Johns Hopkins University press, Baltimor, Maryland. 1980) P. 21.

[10] For example: Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. Trans. J. Weinsheimer and D.G.Marshall. (New York: Crossroad, 1989).

Archive, which was established in 1801 as a special depository in the Archive of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Saint-Petersburg. This place had been accumulating material for a special reason sorted out from the Imperial Offices, state and personal archives. In 1840 the archivists had formed 20 subject groups from the personal Imperial Offices and the Departments of Political Investigations including the Fund 8.

This fund contains data on the punitive detention of prisoners, financial questions, on people who worked there, documents from Elizabeth Petrovna's office, and the cases on morality's violation by people who were close to the Court, plus documents on Masonic lodges in Russia (1747-1790). The chronological framework of these documents are 1741-1851. The fund consists of 275 folders (or items), 189 folders directly concern the Kalinkinskaya commission and the Kalinkinsky house, which are the objects of my work. These 189 cases contain earlier cases, before the Commission was established; these cases concern "indecent wives and girls"[11], they were registered by the Saint-Petersburg police since 1741, as the sources demonstrate it.

This fund is interesting and deserves an independent source study. None of the cases have ever been published, and they haven't attracted historians' attention.

The sources belong to the bureaucratic type of texts: rescripts, reports, lists, correspondence of the officials, examination records and of course legal cases. Besides, the documents include a lot of registration data: various references and payable accounts concerning the organization of the house facilities and salaries. Bureaucratic texts are numerous and representative, which makes the work more grounded and unbiased. However

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[11] Russian State Archive of the Ancient Acts (hereinafter referred to as RGADA). Fund 8. Folder 2, Page 26.

these sources must be used very critically and carefully, because all these documents reflect only one side of reality – that of the authorities[12].

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[12] The ways of work with such sources - David Sabean, "Peasant Voices and Bureaucratic Texts: Narrative Structure in Early Modern German Protocols" in *Little tools of knowledge: historical essays on academic and bureaucratic practices*. By Peter Becker, William Clark. (University of Michigan, 2001).

# Chapter 1: Approaches to the Problem of Social Discipline in European History

During recent years it has been possible to observe a new trend in the European historiography – the notion of social discipline and social practices became more widespread throughout historian's works[13]. This notion is central for my research as the core of its conceptual framework. There is no comprehensive study taking into account all aspects of the subject. Whereas the possible existence of social discipline[14] in Russia is an urgent historiographical issue,[15] it has received relatively little attention by Russian scholars. In this chapter I am going to examine the main varieties of the historiographical concept of social discipline, and formulate which one (or which combination of them) is closest to my research.

The idea of social discipline (*Sozialdisziplinierung)* was coined by the German historian Gerhard Oestreich (1910-1978). Oestreich started a huge research on this topic shortly before his death and had no time to finish it. Originally, the concept of social discipline (or disciplining) was developed by Oestreich as an alternative to the etatistic term 'absolutism'. He described 'social disciplining' as a process in which, based on neo-stoic philosophy, the early modern state strove to control the behaviour of its subjects in all areas of life, thus turning them into 'obedient, pious, and diligent subjects'.

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[13] Philip Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[14] "Social discipline" is to denote a conscious effort at changing a society's norms, behaviors and mental culture from above, which presupposes the existence of a central institution such as the state, but also interferes in every individual's social and private life.

[15] Christoph Schmidt, *Sozialkontrolle in Moskau. Justiz, Kriminalität und Leibeigenschaft, 1649-1785.* (Stuttgart, 1996); Lars Behrisch, "Social Discipline in Early Modern Russia, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries", in *Institutions, Instruments and Agents of Social Control and Discipline in Early Modern Europe*, Heinz Schilling, Behrisch, Lars, eds. (Frankfurt am Main, 1999). Pp. 325-357.

Historians like Oestreich and others working in the same tradition have proved that the process of discipline became fundamental not in the eighteenth century, as Foucault argues, but already in the sixteenth –seventeenth centuries in Europe[16]. Discipline is a phenomenon which had been registered for the first time in the urban sources in the sixteenth century.

Oestreich traces this concept back to the philosophical movement of neostoicism, centering around the figure of Justus Lipsius. This topic is quite well-researched[17]. He argued that discipline was a central issue in fifteenth - sixteenth-century Europe and calls it *regulation*. He observed that military ordinances were closely related to the civil and ecclesiastical ones and directed against "cursing, swearing, drinking, gormandizing and whoring".[18] Oestreich marked this as the first phase of the disciplining process (*Sozialdisziplinierung*), which mainly related to the institutions of the army, the bureaucracy and the court. Oestreich argued that the earlier practice of regulation based on coercion differs from the concept of social discipline, which blended the new military drill with Neostoic values, enabling a switch from external coercion (threat of punishment) to internalized self-discipline. He claimed that in Lipsius' sixteenth-century doctrine of discipline exercise, order and self-discipline became intertwined with the figure of *the man of action*. The latter is not only the subject of disciplinary policy, but also a person who makes this policy viable via his own behavior, his self-control. Noticeably, even Lipsius put at the centre of his scheme *man,* not *system*, as Foucault did it subsequently. As Lipsius added to the notion of "iron discipline", which implies severe punishments, the

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[16] Lars Behrisch, "Social Control and Urban Government. The case of Goerlitz, 15th and 16th Centuries" in), *Urban Stability and Civic Liberties. Crime Control and Conflict in Early Modern European Towns*, Joachim Eibach,  Raingard Esser, eds. (Cambridge 2007). Pp. 39-50.

[17] Leira Halvard, "Justus Lipsius, Neostoicism and the Disciplining of 17th Century Statecraft", Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Town & Country Resort and Convention Center, San Diego, California, USA, Mar 22, 2006.

[18] Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and Early Modern State* (Cambridge University Press, 1982). P. 158.

notions of self-discipline, self-control, order and exercise, it became a full-fledged concept of *disciplining policy.*

After the rationalization of the state infrastructure, the process broadened into "fundamental disciplining" (*Fundamentaldisziplinierung*), which is the second phase of the process. Indeed, the concept was extensively turned into practice in the seventeenth century: numerous decrees and ordinances concerning urban life regulated the norms of behavior in a *rational, rank-ordered* way, which were necessary in the new socioeconomic circumstances, i.e. urbanization, the ever greater number of the poor, etc. This policy implied not only obedience and coercion; the basis was a process of *regulation*[19], which is a mutual process in some sense. Disciplining policy was simultaneous with a process of educating people (to a discipline of work, frugality)[20], changing the spiritual, moral and psychological make-up of man. Thus, the new rules were not only imposed from above, they were also prepared from below, which is one of the differences from Russia: "Throughout the country a need was felt for measures to regulate economic and professional life; these were just as vital as the earlier regulations for health, street-cleaning, fire-prevention, building and traffic had been in the towns."[21] What was completely new was the fact that the regulation policy concerned not only the public sphere, but also private one.

Oestreich described it on example of imperial city Strasbourg, using also the notion *regulation-mania*, which is also applied by historians of Russia with regard to Peter the Great's policy: "Large parts of it (*ordinances*) went back to older edicts and decrees, now codified and adapted to the needs of the day. Its aim is stated to be the correction of 'disorder and contempt of goods laws.. all kinds of wrong-doing, sin and vice'. A Christian justification and divine

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[19] Oestreich calls this early form of social discipline *the social regulation.*
[20] Oestreich. P. 159.
[21] Ibid. P. 157.

punishment for the correction of disobedience and infringements of the laws governing conduct was characteristic of many police ordinances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[22] The list of regulations includes: the upbringing of children, the keeping of domestics, expenditure on weddings and christenings, almsgiving, begging, the status of Jews.

As I have already mentioned, Oestreich connected social discipline with the absolutist state, when the state reached out to new spheres that were regulated, such as economics, science, and education. He thought that social discipline is one of the dimensions of the rise of the absolutist state (centralization, institutionalization): "the absolutist state was an organizational replica of society as a whole <...>The absolutist society, rational in conduct, disciplined, and accustomed to commanding and obeying, which supplied the personnel for the proliferating state bodies and the ever-increasing army – both under the leadership of the monarch."[23]

Oestreich's evaluation of the process of social disciplining is, by and large, positive[24]. He saw the moral force behind early modern social discipline, in all the measures of ordering society Oestreich also discerned a modernizing force. Regulation supported centralization and order, but not necessarily autocratic power. Regulation took place within the existing social and political networks, which themselves provided some instruments and methods for this policy. With time the internal dynamic inherent in social regulation began to break its original constraints, it placed these institutions under growing strain. I.e., to Oestreich's mind, one of the consequences of social discipline is a society of individuals instead the corporate social order.

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[22] Ibid. P. 158.
[23] Ibid. 160.
[24] His famous expression concerning social discipline is "non-absolutist in absolutism".

The role of religion in this process is a separate topic. Many historians beleive that the process of discipline has a religious origin[25]. 'Church discipline', the very diverse measures used by the confessional churches of early modern Europe to discipline their flock, was consequently regarded as part of the larger process of 'social disciplining'. No doubt, religious norms and even some part of the terminology of these ordinances which used the term *vices*, were crucially important for the development of discipline policy. The religious factor was part of the framework, supplemented with completely secular notions. Nevertheless, the secularization of European society, the decline of the earlier emphasis on theology and morals cleared the way for more utilitarian and secular concepts. Though the Church co-operated closely in all the new relief projects, in principle they were controlled and financed by the municipality or the state: charity was not therefore 'secularized', but it was largely taken out of private hands.

Max Weber also worked with the concept of discipline in his numerous essays. Oestreich researched the link between the state and social discipline, whereas Weber explored the link between religion and discipline (*church discipline*), which is a separate research topic. In his essay "The Protestant sects and the Spirit of Capitalism"[26] he discerned congregational discipline (*Gemeindezucht*), typical for the ascetic churches and sects and ecclesiastical discipline, practiced by the Catholic Church, Lutheranism, Anglicanism. In the first case, discipline was enforced by the laity, was communal in character and focused on the moral qualities of the individual believer. In the second case, discipline was enforced by the clergy, with authoritarian features. Weber evidently sympathizes with the first one. He noticed that the Calvinists first reorganized and rationalized the system of poor-relief and they were the first, to

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[25] Gorski, Ibid.; R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social discipline in the Reformation. Central Europe 1550-1750.* (London, 1989).

[26] http://www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/world/sect/sect_frame.html (accessed on June, 2)

his mind, who used the poor law as an instrument of labor discipline. Thus he locates the origins of rational, disciplined behavior in the Reformation, especially in its Calvinist expression.

The concept of social discipline was also carefully elaborated by the French philosopher Michel Foucault[27]. Whereas Oestreich focuses on motive forces and explains change, Foucault mainly describes patterns of disciplining. Unlike Oestreich, Foucault's discipline concept is not related to a single discourse (Neostoicism), but has multiple origins – the Enlightenment, medical science, educational system. They also evaluate these concepts completely differently from each other.

Foucault claimed: "the eighteenth century invented… a synaptic regime of power, a regime of its exercise within the social body, rather than from above it"[28]. He connected the new form of control with the formation of the pre-modern state and the development of capitalism. The world of feudalism with its typical control from above was replaced by industrial capitalism, which required that the individual regulates himself, although it was a *forced self-regulation*. This transition was carried through a process of disciplinary observation: "punishment will tend to become the most hidden part of the penal process."[29]

Michael Foucault's ideas of the mechanisms of domination and discipline have been revalued in the historical process, especially in the context of the eighteenth century. At the same time historians have been trying to prove that Foucault's disciplinarian ideas sometimes are far from the historical reality,[30] and these practices were special and had particular features

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[27] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. (Penguin Books. 1991).
[28] Citation from *After Postmodernism: Education, Politics and Identity*. Edited by Richard Smith and Philip Wexler. (Burgess Science Press, 1995). P. 90
[29] Foucault. Ibid. P. 9.
[30] Laura Engelstein, "Combined underdevelopment: Discipline and the law in imperial and Soviet Russia," in *Foucault and the Writing of History,* Jan Goldstein, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) Pp. 220-236.

in every region. In what measure? This question still demands empirical research, because Foucault's approach was based primarily on French sources.

Norbert Elias in his renowned book *The Civilizing Process*[31] also deals with social discipline, paraphrased as *civilizing*. Unlike Oestreich, who claims that the laws are central to the disciplining process, Elias argues rather that manners are the triggering mechanism and a tool. He traces how post-medieval European standards regarding violence, sexual behaviour, bodily functions, table manners, moral values and forms of speech were gradually transformed by increasing thresholds of shame and repugnance, working outward from a nucleus in court etiquette. The main cause of these processes is the changes of social *figuration,* i.e. growth of interconnections between people, which influenced on their behaviour.

Elias as well as Oestreich connects the civilization process i.e. discipline with the establishment of absolutism. He does not mean that absolutist rulers were the first who paid attention to the codification and articulation of norms, but he thinks that exactly absolutist courts were the first to practice them to any real degree. For Elias the French court at Versailles was and the royal courts in general were the motor of the civilizing process. The court was the main mechanism through which civility spread and diffused.

For my research his thoughts on the change of norms of sexuality are especially important. He argues that gradually, sexuality became associated with the above-mentioned factors, and later a corresponding control of sexual mores spread over the whole society: "Measured by the standard of medieval secular society, and even by that of the secular society of his own time, they (*De civilitate morum*) even embody a very considerable shift in the direction of the kind of restraint of drive impulses which the nineteenth century was to justify

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[31] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. 2000).

above all in the form of morality."[32] He writes that "the feeling of shame surrounding human sexual relations has changed and become noticeably stronger in the civilizing process".[33] His observations are applicable to the case of the Kalinkinskaya commission. It is known, firstly, that the Empress and her closer courtiers (for instance, Ivan Demidov) were the initiators of the Commission and, i.e. decision was not the consequence of some determined regulation of this sphere of life. Secondly, the Commission dealt with common people, not high-ranking statesmen, who nevertheless appear in documents of Commission. Two simultaneous trends are evident: on the one hand, the Commission was a personal project; on the other hand, its establishment fits into the process of civilization, i.e. some common mutual changes in the European experience, concerning sexual policy. As Elias put it, the process of "civilization" was not a conscious product of human "ratio"[34], but the genesis of human behavior in mobile conditions of life which include a wide spectrum of socio-economical factors. Therefore, although it is known that the Commission was just a "a single experiment", a single experiment, it does not mean that its origin has not some general causes. His observation that the monopolization of physical violence results in an increase of areas that are more or less "pacified" is also important and relates to the Kalinkinskaya commission. I elaborate this idea below by showing the non-typical features of the penal system of that time.

Also it must be noted that the process of social discipline acquired additional features during the eighteenth century. New facets of social regulation were set by the Enlightenment. The *notion of common* good stimulated an interest in the practical application of social control[35]

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[32] Ibid. P.144.
[33] Ibid. P.142.
[34] Ibid. 365.
[35] For example, Catherine the Great's reign and widespread social reforms.

14

and the spreading of these ideas in a whole[36]. It could be included into the main trend of emerging "state science"[37]. But I would say that this policy in could be traced only during the Catherine the Great's reign a full measure.

Evidently, all the above-mentioned historians understood discipline differently. The discipline described by Oestreich works from outside, i.e. not from internal impulse of its subject (however, they possessed a *ratio* to accept it), but emanates mainly from above. It is based on certain ideals and principles codified in various rules and regulations imposed by state. The discipline described by Foucault works from outside too and emanates from below. It is a set of strategies and techniques that are embodied in particular institutions (prisons, asylums, schools), and the society as a whole and its specific groups (criminals, madmen) are the subjects of these disciplining modes. The civilizing process which Elias describes also emanates from above and works from the inside, i.e. the principles and norms of civility, initially contained in written codes, become appropriated and internalized within the individual subject through a process of social emulation. I.e. the origin of discipline can operate from above, from below, from the inside and from the outside. Its origin could be traced also from below (ascetic sects), or from above (the court). I would distinguish four types of discipline: communal discipline (social and normative) described by Weber; self-discipline (individual and normative); corrective discipline (individual/social and coercive) described by Foucault; and institutional discipline (social and coercive), which also could be Foucault's case. Evidently, pure social discipline does not exist.

As regards Russia, it is not clear enough whether we can apply the ideas of Foucault and Oestreich. Can we argue that these mechanisms were adopted, or did they arise spontaneously?

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[36] More on this topic: John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire. Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Pp. 111-146

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Were these processes determined just by a similar context, and if so, how can we define these contexts in Russia? Can we trace any features of the disciplinarian revolution in Russia in the first half of the eighteenth century?

The latest and uniquely comprehensive attempt to apply the discipline theory to Russia is contained in the book of Laura Engelstein The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siecle Russia[38]. Although she deals with the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, her methodological approach is related to the theory of social discipline and Foucault's theory on power spreading throughout the society by means of different institutes and practices. She also works with sexual norms as a valid litmus of the society – state – individual relationship. Using Foucault's notion of disciplining institutions which have replaced in modern society the tradition of strict government control typical for the old regime, she tries to prove that if they had been installed in a full measure, Russia could have had a chance of Westernized development, instead of the revolutionary movement. From my perspective, this is a research on the possible ways of the regulation of society in its pre-modern state. Engelstein proves that disciplinarian practices from below (i.e. the medicalisation of sexual problems, the activity of liberal professionals in the sphere of private life such as the lawyers, doctors) were suppressed by the autocratic power. Perhaps, she does not problematize the disciplinarian institutions, and evaluates them in a positive sense, because she locates the power within society and perceives disciplinarian institutes as a mechanism of self-regulation, whereas Foucault regards these institutions as tools of repression (normalization), he sees power omnipresent. Engelstein claims that the power dispersion in Russia after the Great Reforms of the 1860s developed similarly to the European liberal experience. This implies that

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[38] Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness*: *Sex and the Search for Modernity* in. *Fin-de-Siecle Russia*. (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1992).

the locus of power moved from the state to the society (rule of law), but at the end it failed. Why? Engelstein does not give an answer. It seems that the causes of this failure could be traced in the eighteenth century and the above mentioned reforms were doomed[39].

I argue that it is possible to trace the policy of social and religion discipline in Russia in the eighteenth century, and that the Kalinkinskaya commission was one of the products of this process of the formation of the well-ordered state, which had started with the reign of Peter the Great. This process was also one of secularization. Peter was consciously trying to take over the initiative of control over the flock's behavior from the Church. Clearly, it was a long process with its own internal logic. My research is not methodological or historiographical: it is an attempt to set the Kalinkinskaya commission in a scientific context and interpret it using the concept of social discipline. The Commission was concerned with moral values and proper behavior, and I shall explore how exactly these processes of disciplining and secularization were actually implemented.

Discipline in the sense of a total regulation of all spheres of human life began with Peter the Great's reign and was stimulated by new aim: the modernization of the Russian state and society. The modernization triggered by Peter has some commonly known, specific features: quickness, spontaneity, superficiality, accompanied by a lot of adoptions from the West; the religious factor (the state was trying to overrule the church and take over its monopoly on the flock's souls); the unpreparedness of the people to receive all these changes adequately; the mainly coercive character of impending of modernization; the absence of relevant social institutions (there were no towns in Russia in a Western sense with guilds, privileges and rights). All these features made the process of formation of the well-ordered state and its consequences completely different from the European experience.

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[39] Not new, it is one of the historiographical trends.

It seems that the first stage of the imposition of discipline– Peter the Great's reign – excelled in coerciveness and the rationality (which was evident only for a small group of people) of all norms and regulations. The case of the Kalinkinskaya Commission is especially interesting in this light. It happened 25 years later after Peter's reforms, some of new social standards became traditional, some of innovations were still rooting. The word *morality* did not exist, but the word *piety* had become considerably secularized and implied for the most part not the religious discourse, but that of *common good,* social peace, etc. The Commission can be regarded as an instrument of communal, corrective and in some sense institutional discipline, because the Kalinkinsky house was a prototype for subsequent work-houses, almshouses established by Catherin the Great's legislation.

The case of the Kalinkinsky house shows the peculiarities of the social disciplining process in Russia. Initially the urban problem was solved by the order of supreme power, i.e. Empress. There were no mechanisms of regulation of prostitution by local authorities, although this activity was typical for every big city. The main institute which was the birthplace of social discipline in Western Europe, i.e. the city, was absent in Russia.. Lars Behrisch stresses: "As for the scheme of an urban police force envisaged by Peter the Great, it clearly failed to develop beyond the two capitals, but even here remained rudimentary throughout the century. As a result, the country was at the same time *overruled* and *underruled*".[40] Marc Raeff adds that Peter "was not aware of the important role in implementing policies played by co-optation and delegation of authority to intermediary bodies"[41]. This resulted in the limitation of the government's purview "to the central establishment – quite the opposite of the European well-

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[40] Lars Behrisch, "Social Discipline in Early Modern Russia, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries", In *Institutions, Instruments and Agents of Social Control and Discipline in Early Modern Europe*, Heinz Schilling, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), P. 329.
[41] Raeff. Ibid. P. 205.

ordered police state, which aimed at extending to the local level the policies and purposes of the central institutions"[42]. Instead of diffusing the new social practices and conceptions throughout society, the government concentrated them at the capitals, among the privileged groups, which were a tiny minority of the population.

Social discipline did not become a policy in Russia. It was a constant regulation using the typical coercive tools, but this process was not been transformed into a system with its own institutions, openly hated by Foucault.

One of the consequences of disciplinary policy in Central and Western Europe was a process of self-regulation and self-control. These features became typical not only for the individual, but also for classes, groups, professionals and society as a whole. Raeff stresses: "The well ordered-police state initiated a trend that not only brought about great material and cultural progress but also stimulated and strengthened individual initiative, enterprise, and rational or critical constructivist features of intellectual life. A civil society had come into existence, and because the *etat bien police* had made use of (even strengthened) basic social institutions, the clash was a purely political one. Once the barriers of bureaucracy and monarchy had been broken down, once the authoritarian political systems that had initiated the well-ordered police state and modernity had been removed, society was still there, and its members could go on being productively active on their own account. This was not to be case in Russia."[43] In fact, the later attempt of Catherine the Great to establish institutions for social discipline (work-houses, almshouses, houses of correction) were transformed into instruments of social control *from below.* In a word, the coercive social discipline from above was never transformed into normative social discipline from below.

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[42] Ibid. P. 217.
[43] Ibid. P.250

According to the traditional hierarchy of historical methods, my research is a case study, based on an in-depth, multi-aspect investigation of the Commission in order to contextualize this place within the social disciplinary framework, and specify the features and the extent of the implementation of social discipline in the Russian context.

## Chapter 2: The Legislative Context of the Origin of the Kalinkinskaya Commission

Considering law, the historian mainly focuses not on common living practices, but on the established order. Of course, to be effective and to direct behaviour into certain directions, law must take into account the way of people's life.

Concentrating my overview on secular and partly ecclesiastical legislation, I am going to show the evolution of the idea of the sinfulness and the forbidden character of sexuality to its more secular interpretation as a certain violation of public order, and also the gradual transition from the general restrictions of sexuality to the more concrete requirements and norms that had been reflected in the increasing differentiation of the legislative base concerning this question and its quantitative growth[44].

The main purpose of this overview is to prove one of theses of my research, namely, that the Kalinkinsky commission and Kalinkinsky house were not only a piece of Elizabeth Petrovna's freakish petty tyranny, and that it is problematic to explain the fact of the establishment of this Commission only by the bad reputation of the notorious Drezdensha – famous keeper of the whorehouses in Saint Petersburg during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna. Repressions which many inhabitants of St.-Petersburg had undergone, logically fit in the course of a history in which the Commission was one of the stages of the formation of disciplinary society.

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[44] General overview of the secularization of sex in Europe see: Linda Woodhead, "Sex and Secularization" eprints.lancs.ac.uk/794/1/Sex_and_Secularization2-corrected_May07.doc (accessed on June, 2, 2010).

### *Sexual traditions in Kievan Russia*

Sweeping generalizations are especially difficult and risky to apply to Russia. The huge size of the country and its multinationality inevitably generated a set of regional distinctions and variations. The process of Christianization, which continued for centuries with the constant inclusion of new peoples and nationalities, was in many respects superficial. Customs, ceremonies and Christian norms in folk beliefs were not only mixed with pagan ones, but were frequently blocked by them[45].

How did this process of the Christianization of Kievan Russia influence on sexual symbolism and the sexual behaviour of people? First of all, Christianization was accompanied with restrictions unknown before, and a negative attitude to sex altogether[46]. Orthodoxy, as well as Christianity in general, considered sex as "dirty", the "generation of a Satan".

Chastity ("full wisdom"), the preservation of virginity and the refusal of sexual relations even in marriage (to live, "plotnogodya ne tvoryahu") was esteemed as "conduct"[47]. However, deviations from this ascetic principle were not only admissible, but also lawful: "to be with your own wife is not a sin."[48] However, this applied only in lawful church marriage, and exclusively "for the sake of childbirth", instead of "weakness for its own sake"[49].

All physiological displays of sexuality were considered dirty, sinful and deserving a special repentance. Abstention was obligatory on all Sundays and church holidays, and also in all Lenten days.

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[45] Historian B.A.Uspenskii calls it "anti-behavior".

[46] See more: Eve Levin, *Sex and society in the world of the orthodox Slavs, 900-1700* (Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1989); Natalia Pushkareva, *Women in Russian history : from the tenth to the twentieth century* (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

[47] Natalya Pushkareva, "Seksual'naya etika v chastnoi zhizni drevnih russov I moskovitov (X-XVII vv.)" [Sexual ethic in a private life of the ancient Russians] *in Seks I erotica v russoi tradicionnoi kul'ture*. (Moscow, 1996). Pp.44-45.

[48] Ibid. P. 44.

[49] Ibid. 45.

As the only excuse of a sexual life was childbearing, any attempt to prevent conception was so sinful that contraception, abortion and infanticide were not fundamentally distinguished, and were equally called "evil deed" (murder). Attempts to prevent conception by means of grasses or plots sometimes were punished even more severely than abortion, because it was not only an attempt at the unborn baby's life, but also a pagan, Antichristian sorcery and fortune telling of "impious women". It is also necessary to notice that sexual sins in Russia as well as in the West were often associated with sorcery.

With the adoption of Christianity, justice concerning marriage affairs including divorce became the exclusive business of spiritual power. The inconsistency of decisions and decrees of the secular power confirmed this duty of church[50].

The church aspired to put under control not only the flock's behaviour, but also its thoughts. Though all sexual relations not sanctified by the church were sinful, basic attention was given to the protection of the institution of marriage. Adultery was considered as a much graver sin than fornication, the intercourse of the unmarried man or the woman. Matrimonial fidelity was the main family virtue, especially for women. The husband was recognized as a fornicator only if he had children with unmarried woman or if he had a relationship with married woman, whereas a woman was blamed for any illegitimate relationship. Generally speaking, women were much more vulnerable vis-à-vis the legislative limitation of sexuality than men. This is testified by the statistics of Kalinkinsky house.

"Unnatural sex" is an extensive topic in the Russian penitentials. I did not find such cases in the Kalinkinsky documents, thus I am not going to focus on this theme. Also I do not

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[50] Ustav Yaroslava, st. 3,7,14 (Vladimirskii-Budanov. Vip.1.P.220); Ustavnaya gramota smolenskogo kniazya Rostislava Msticlavicha (1150 g.), DAI. T.1.№4; Pouchenie mitropolita Fotiya o vazhnosti svjashennogo sana I obyazannostyah svyashennosluzhiteley (RIB. T.6,chast' 1. Stolbec 501-521); Stoglav, glavi 18-23, 68-89, etc.

consider legislation concerning sexual violence, as far as it is not included in a context of this research.

As Eve Levin correctly remarks, many restrictions which the church imposed on sexuality, objectively were in the interest of women, protecting them from male arbitrariness, and had played an important positive role in the business of softening customs and relations between sexes[51].

How much effective were church instructions? How did the religious norm correspond with daily life? How did these norms change with time?

Firstly, norms were often pretty ambiguous. The church canon often demanded one thing, whereas tradition and customs implanted in ancient pagan representations demanded something else. Traditional consciousness did not take many church instructions seriously, thus it is impossible to speak about the full observance of prohibitive church norms concerning sexual behavior. Nevertheless, I want underline that the official church attitude to illicit sex was clearly negative. Eminent American historian of medieval Russia Eve Levine noticed: "In the official view of the medieval Russian Orthodox Church, sex was always suspect, even in marriage for procreation. The ideal life was marked by total abstinence<…> Childbearing resulted from God's blessing, not from sexual intercourse. Any of sexual expression was essentially unnatural, unhealthy, and indecent"[52]. This rigorous tone also refers to the ecclesiastical literature – the sexual imagery is necessarily one-sided, comprising only "proper", high culture. Of course, there is no doubt that 'profane' expressions of sexual ideas also existed in the medieval period, unfortunately, Russian medieval written sources for low culture are exceedingly few, thus, it is not possible to reconstruct actual usage of its sexual vocabulary. Eve

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[51] Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900 – 1700.* (London, 1989). P. 134.
[52] Eve Levin, "Sexual Vocabulary in Medieval Russia" in *Sexuality and the Body in Russian Culture,*ed. Jane Costlow, Stephanie Sandler, Judith Vowles (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993). P. 42.

Levin notices that even folklore and ethnography, usually the most valuable sources in reconstructing traditional society, could not help historians of medieval times. In the post-Petrine period sexual attitude changed as Western ideals filtered into popular culture. For example, Medieval Russian authors generally did not use the word *love* in connection with sex. This emotion associated exclusively with God and could not have any connection with the Devil or devilish things such a sex.

Secondly, sociocultural norms are nowhere and never fully respected . There is always a set of social, class, historical, regional and the specific features defining different variations. A more complex society implies more complex behavioural distinctions, which cannot be averaged.

Thirdly, the evolution of forms of sexual behaviour is inseparably connected with the change of institutions, forms and methods of the social control. Some actions are supervised by the church, others by the family, and third by the rural community, and fourth, by the state. Different institutions and ways of social control always co-operate, supporting or weakening each other.

### *Confession as a way of recognizing sexual deviations against the canon*

Confession was a traditional method which the church used to inform itself about the sexual sins of its flock. What exactly the church was interested in is clear from the numerous questionnaires. The text of the confession was opened with a question devoted to the elucidation of the sin's circumstances. The manual of Ioann Postnik (582—595) had as yet contained the prototype of the questionnaire concerning fornication, which later became spread

throughout the Greek confession books[53]. Translated into the Slavic language it occupied a predominant place in Russian questionnaires, as well as in Greek ones.

Questions on fornication occupied the central position in Russian church books (up to 2/3 total amounts of the text, sometimes even more). Thus, the stable attention to fornication was defined by the traditional perception of similar sins as the gravest, and demanding the fullest repentance. This perception, as I have already mentioned, had come from Byzantium. The basic list of the "lascivious" sins which were almost not changed in Russia, were adopted also therefrom. Sins had been accurately differentiated and defined: questions about fornication (relations of unmarried people), adultery (illegitimate relations of married people), about incest, about pandering, etc. A detailed elucidation of the circumstances of the case, and a definition of the offence were necessary for church for two main reasons. Firstly, punishment had to correlate with the gravity of the sin. Secondly, it was the church that dealt with questions of marriage and divorce; in such circumstances it was extremely important to be clear and precise, because the consequences of divorce defined the subsequent position of the men and women concerned in the social scale. The Church's power depended on how effectively clerics solved these questions.

### Secular Law

The theme of fornication (or the synonymous concept *prostitution*) was for the first time reflected in civil legislation in the new Russian code of laws (*Sobornoye Ulozheniye*) of Tsar Alexei Mihailovich in two articles of the twenty-second chapter, titled "For what fault to mete out the death penalty, and for what faults to mete out a punishment" (25): "*If someone – female*

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[53] Korogodina M.V., *Ispoved' v Rossii v XIV-XX vv*.[Confession in Russia in XIX-XX centuries] (Moscow. 2006). P.129.

*or male – forgets the Christian order and the fear of God and engages in pandering, and it is found out , the punishment for this crime is beating by the whip.*"[54] The theme of fornication is the subject of the twenty-sixth paragraph:" *If a wife fornicates and as a result of this fornication she gives a birth to children, and later murders them, then she and also those who helped her, must be punished by death without mercy in order that the rest see what would happen for such an illegal and nasty deed.*"[55]

The concept of fornication and adultery, withdrawn for the first time from the exclusive competence of the church, did not instantly become a subject of strictly secular legislation. Undoubtedly, illegal relations of married woman came within the purview of law. The violation of matrimonial fidelity by a husband was also marked as offence, but, most likely, as a simple fornication.

The punishments of the secular power did not cancel simultaneous church punishment: the church meted out punishment depending on circumstances – usually it was penance, and in certain cases even excommunication for a long time.

### *Peter the Great's law concerning the restrictions of sexuality*

The next stage of the secularization of punishment for sexual offences is Peter the Great's reign[56]. This period is marked as the beginning of the full-fledged secularization of Russian marriage law. During the same period prostitution became increasingly concern. It is connected, firstly, with the organization of the regular army, secondly, with the urbanization process. From

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[54] *Sobornoye Ulozheniye of Tsar Alexei Mihailovich 1649 g.* (Moscow., 1951). P.288.
[55] Ibid. P. 288.
[56] This is a well-researched area of Russian history, but not in regard of sexuality. See Alexander Muller, *The Spiritual Regulation of Peter the Great.* (Seattle, London: University of Washington, 1972); Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia.* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great* (Macmillan, 1971).

the earliest years of his reign Peter's legislation served to reverse the recent tendency to conciliate the clergy in respect of their judicial immunities. In 1692 he ordered that the jurisdiction of the patriarch's courts over litigation involving clerics with laymen was to be shared in some cases with certain secular courts in Moscow[57]. In 1697 ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all clergy and laymen in 'ecclesiastical matters' (church discipline, marriage, case offences, divorce cases) was guaranteed by the tsar, with ultimate appellate jurisdiction assured to the patriarch. In a word, the deeper trend towards judicial centralization asserted itself, and for the first time the flock became liable to secular jurisdiction in other than criminal matters. In 1690 a juridical distinction between strictly ecclesiastical and other matters clearly emerged. Subsequently it was reinforced by Peter's legislation.

During the pre-Petrine period, the Patriarch's prikaz decided all the cases controlled by church. The Monastery Ordinance (*Prikaz*) was issued on January 24th 1701 under the nominal Decree of Peter I[58]. Unlike the Patriarch's Prikaz, the Monastery Prikaz is a secular institution possessed the right to implement regulation concerning ecclesiastical affairs.

The Patriarchal and Episcopal households, all ecclesiastical property and dependants were for administrative, juridical and taxation purposes subjected to this office. Suits from all classes of ecclesiastical persons, lay and clerical were to be brought to it or to another prikaz[59]. In November 1701 Peter confirmed that the jurisdiction over all clergy involved in civil cases with laymen once exercised exclusively by the patriarchal courts were now to be shared with a secular office (Court Prikaz), and that in all cases clearly belonging to the jurisdiction of other

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[57] *Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* [Complete Law Collection of the Russian Empire] (hereinafter referred to as PSZ). Volume III, № 1452.
[58] PSZ. Volume IV: № 1818.
[59] PSZ. Volume IV: № 1829.

secular *prikazi*, suits by ecclesiastical persons were to be lodged there – in effect, in most cases in the newly formed Monastery Prikaz[60].

As soon as adultery with other former spiritual crimes had been subjected to the secular court, the secular law had to take care of the regulation of these changes. New definitions appeared in the Military Articles, which constituted the second part of the Army Regulations issued by Peter in Danzig on March 30th, 1716. As it is known, contrary to the name, the Military Articles embraced also the general crimes, and were the compulsory law not only for military men, but also for all the population of Russia. Borrowed from the Western legislations - Danish, Swedish and mainly, Saxon - they reflected the Western influence more strongly than the pre-Pertine legislation reflected the Byzantine one.

A whole chapter of the Army Regulations was devoted "to sodomical sin, violence and fornication". The most important points for my research, which were used subsequently by the Kalinkinskaya commission, are:

Article № 169: "If a married man has an affair with a married woman, and they engage in adultery, these both must be punished depending on heaviness of their fault"[61];

Article № 170: "If one person is married, and the other is unmarried, and they engage in adultery, the unmarried one also must be punished by severe incarceration, must be flogged, dismissed from the regiment and condemned to penal servitude"[62]. This article has a very important interpretation: "If an innocent spouse intercedes for his (her) guilty spouse, and if he is reconciled with him (her), or if the guilty spouse can prove that he is not physically satisfied by his innocent spouse, then the punishment can be reduced"[63]. I.e. the question on sexual sins

[60] PSZ. Volume IV: № 1876.
[61] Voinskie artikuli Petra I [Military Statute of Peter the Great]. ( Moscow, 1960). P.40.
[62] Idiv. P.40.
[63] Ibid. P. 41.

passed from the church to secular authorities, which obviously understood the importance of transformations in this sphere for the state of the type of new police. In Mark Raeff's formulation: "The regular police state has been interested in the rational organization of all public spheres, including church sphere. But those means which were at the disposal of the Russian governors brought in the subsequent evolution interesting features.<…> They should create "matrixes" for the future society, which were available in the West"[64].

Nevertheless, marriage questions during Peter the Great's reign were secularized in full measure. For example, the article 171 of the Army Regulations stipulates "whoever has a wife, but remarries, must be condemned using church law".

How ambiguous these norms had been implemented in practice is evident from one of the cases of the Kalinkinskaya Commission bearing the title "About the baptizing of the foreign woman Maria Vil'mos and her marriage with clerk Boris Saharov"[65]. Using this case I have detected that new rules concerning the cases subjected to the Synod were issued in 1722. Saharov was charged of illegal life with a foreign woman and of begetting children. He testified that they had only one baby, who was baptized and died soon after that. Saharov noticed that the priest did not know that he and Vil'mos were unmarried (F. 92. P.2). The Commission ascertained that the only fault of this couple was illegal marriage. They were married in church and then the case was sent to the ecclesiastical consistory, nevertheless the Commission got an answer: "Saharov was unmarried and fornicated with that woman, and had a child with her, thus this case can not be considered by the consistory, because on April 12th 1722 Peter the Great ordered that the cases concerning fornication, forced fornication, children born out of

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[64] Marc Raeff, "Reguliarnoe policeiskoe gosudarstvo I poniatie modernizma v Evrope XVII-XVIII vekov: politika sravnitel'nogo podhoda k probleme"[Well-ordered State and concept of modernism in Europe in XVII-XVIII centuries] *Amerikanskaya rusistika.* (Samara, 2002). P. 48-79.
[65] F. 92.

fornication, must be considered in a secular court." (F. 92. P. 5.). Unfortunately, I could not find the rest of this case in the documents of the Kalinkinsky commission, however I found the above mentioned decree, which divides the power of the Synod and the power of the secular court also concerning of sexuality. The competencde of the secular court includes: "cases about fornication; adultery; forced fornication; violence of masters over their serfs: children born in fornication". I consider this decree as one of the stages of the secularization of law concerning sexuality.

The issue of double jurisdiction of sexual crimes is a well researched topic in European historiography[66]. Noticeably, disciplinary works of the church were ceased by 1700 also in England: "Taken as a whole, by 1700 the spiritual jurisdiction was only a shadow of what it had been a few generations earlier. By the nineteenth century the church courts, once so prominent in English social life as agents of ecclesiastical and communal discipline over immortality and irreligion, were in full decay <…>"[67]

I am not inclined to consider that new decrees, which subjected adultery and fornication to the secular court as well as other crimes, were a mechanical adoption, made in passing, together with the transfer of other foreign norms in Russian legal life. More likely, these decrees were the result of the persistent and coherent endeavour of Peter I to weaken the power of the church and to narrow its competence, which was proved by the regulations of the Spiritual Board, signed in January 1721:"the question of the parity of church and monarchy in

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[66] Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] : Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Desire and Discipline. Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
[67] Ingram. Ibid. P. 374.

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[67] Ingram. Ibid. P. 374.

the system of power has been definitively solved, and the idea of the inadmissibility of another spiritual power, except the power of the state embodied in the Emperor, was proved."[68]

Nevertheless, I also believe that moving the questions concerning sexuality from the field of ecclesiastical law into the area of secular law is not only a matter of Peter I's subjective thirst for concentrating power in his hands. The secularization of ecclesiastical law concerning divorce and punishments for various sexual sins is the result of a more general process: that of strengthening autocratic power. This power aspired at the total control over a human body, which is accurately reflected in the legislation.

Numerous decrees on "suspicious houses" and "ribaldry" show an obvious concern of the authorities. In the decree to Saint Petersburg chief of police issues on May 25th 1718: "to submit delations about all suspicious houses and other ribaldries, and examine these places in order all those nasty things were eliminated"[69]. In the decree to governors issued on September 12th 1728: "where suspicious houses and commoners (people not of noble birth) are spotted, complain to the police; if merchants are spotted, complain to the town hall. All must be punished in order to eliminate such evil".[70]

The next decree, concerning "suspicious houses", appeared during Anna Ioannovna's reign. A senatorial decree was issued on May 6th 1736: "It is known to the Senate that in many free houses many disorders happen, and especially many freethinkers host indecent women and maids, which is against the Christian pious law. If there are such indecent women and maids, they must be beaten by *koshki* and turned out of the houses. Declare to those innkeepers that

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[68] Alexander Kamenskii, *Rossijskaya imperia v XVIII veke: tradicii I modernizacija* [Russian Empire in the 18th century: traditions and innovations] (Moscow, 1999). P. 125.
[69] Blud na Rusi.[Fornication in Rus'](Moscow, 1997). P.79.
[70] Ibid. P. 81.

they must not support such indecent women and maids, under the pain of severe penalty and punishment"[71].

Peter the Great also secularized charity, which traditionally was a church activity. Secularized almshouses and schemes for provincial asylums appeared at that time[72]. The field of social welfare started to develop during the Peter's reign. The main aim of numerous decrees was to eliminate the time-honoured custom of public begging and idlers (*prazdnoshatajushiesya*). The appearance of the latter was the result of vigorous urbanization in Moscow and later in Saint Petersburg, caused by innovative modernization policy.

By an edict of 1710, people living in the almshouses had to undergo a monthly examination to determine who were really fit, had wives and children, or knew a trade, for any of which reasons they were to be immediately expelled[73]. A personal decree of Peter proclaimed in 1712 forbade begging anywhere in Moscow by persons of either sex or any age; offenders had to be arrested and brought to the Monastery Prikaz (but still not in the police office), where they were to be thoroughly inspected, punished and sent to an almshouse or to a monastery or back to their former villages[74].

The practice of begging was criticized at length in a passage of the *Ecclesiastical Regulation* of 1721. There, as well as in the preceding legislation, the problem was inevitably connected with that of the excessive mass of clergy, the elimination of whom was the main aim of Peter's government from the early days of his reign.

Thus for almost a century the legislation concerning the restrictions of sexuality traversed a path from being mentioned in the secular law (I mean the *Cathedral Ulozhenie*) to its more

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[71] Ibid. P.81.
[72] PSZ. Volume IV, № 2467, № 2477.
[73] PSZ. Volume IV, № 2249.
[74] PSZ. Volume IV, № 3213.

careful regulation, withdrawal from under church influence. I argue that the essence of sexual crime was obliterated by the multiplicity of definitions.

Thus, for almost the century the legislation concerning the restrictions of sexuality has transformed from a mention in the secular law (*Cathedral Ulozhenie*) to its more careful regulation, sexual offences had been withdrawn from the exclusive church monopoly. The punishment of such offence became all-important because such crimes were perceived as a social challenge, a threat to the public order and morality. I argue that this is a part of a bigger trend: the church, which used to control crime and disorder and regulate many aspects of social life, was suppressed in order to develop a well-order state. Piety became secularized and transformed into *morality*, which was a new notion for society. The main difference between these notions is that *piety* was a *private* category, whereas *moral* is a social one.

In this sense the English experience in the same period deserves some attention. As I have tried to show, the Russian rulers of the first half of the eighteenth century were clearly concerned about moral values, and in England a similar role was played by special societies approximately at the same time: "The increasing concern of some in the late seventeenth century that irreligion and vice were sweeping the country and, more particularly, London, prompted the formation of societies whose aim was the finding out and punishing of the sinful <…> A morals police emerged, with paid agents operating local offices. The suppression of streetwalking prostitutes was a central aim of the Societies and it was clearly important that their members were aware of the laws under which such women could be successfully prosecuted"[75]. To my mind, it testifies to the existence of a full-fledged policy of social discipline in the sense and terms of Oestreich. The main actors of this policy are not only the

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[75] Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London. Prostitution and Control in Metropolis 1730-1830* (London: Longman, 1999). P. 86.

officials, but also the society, disciplining itself[76]. An absolutely opposite situation could be seen in Russia, which is proved by the Kalinkinskaya case. It also interesting, that the first important innovation in the laws concerning prostitution in England coincides with the Kalinkinskaya commission: the Disorderly Houses Act of 1752[77]. Prior to this act, whorehouses had been indictable as nuisances under the law. This act permitted to offended parishioners to initiate a prosecution themselves: "The legal basis was their perceived threat to the public peace and their 'tendency to corrupt the manners of both sexes'"[78].

I have concentrated on the transformation from ecclesiastical to secular, *public* interest in sexual behavior; I was trying to show that with the development of the state into the absolutist regime[79], had an impact on this particular sphere of human life; sexual behaviour become relevant to the "public good", and was not perceived exclusively as a sin. It means that the transgressors of sexual norms were labelled as a threat to *public order*, *commonwealth*. In Europe from the late Middle Ages onwards secular authorities increasingly took over the enforcement of mentioned values from the Church. It could be named *renewed moralism,* typical especially for *urban* culture.

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[76] As I have already mentioned, Laura Engelstain argues in her book that this process started in Russia after the Great Reforms, but failed.

[77] Henderson. Ibid. P.91.

[78] Ibid. P. 91.

[79] On the link between sex and absolutist state see: Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, state, and civil society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Cornell University Press, 1996).

# Chapter 3: Kalinkinskaya commission: A case study.

Toutes ces vies qui étaient des tinées a passer au-dessous de tout discours et a disparaitre sans avoir jamais été dites n'ont pu laisser de trace – brèves, incisives, énigmatiques souvent – qu'au point de leur contact instantané avec le pouvoir.

"La vie des hommes infâmes"

Michel Foucault

## §1. The Kalinkinskaya Comission: an overview.

### The main features

The Kalinkinskaya commission existed for nine years, which was an average term for the existence of such establishments. On the basis of its duration this commission could be marked as a temporary one, which usually lasted no more than ten years, as against the commissions that existed for more than 10-15 years and are treated in the Russian historiography as "permanent" ones.[80]

Having entered into the Russian language together with other terminological adoptions from the European administrative practice in second half of the 1690s and the early 1700s, as a designation of a state institution, the name commission became firmly established a little later[81]. During the Petrovsky period 1700–1720 when the commissions were the most numerous and diverse, the term "commission" was used in a literal translation from Latin (*commissio*) or French (*commission*) in the sense of diplomatic "commission" or commercial assignment, and later it became a synonym to any other "business".

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[80] Babich M.V. Gosudarstvennie uchregdenia XVIII veka: komissii petrovskogo vremeni. [State institutions in eighteenth-century ] (Moscow, 2003). P. 5.
[81] Ibid. P.6.

The commissions have never been researched in historiography carefully, nor do they receive proper attention from historians today[82]. The reason is probably that historians used material of "non collegiate" commissions only for especially applied purposes, and historians with a theoretical approach bypassed them altogether[83]. The maxims of non-collegiate institutions: absence of staff and regulation, undivided authority (instead of the Colleges - *Kollegii*)[84]. The overwhelming majority of commissions in the eighteenth century belonged to the middle section of the governmental structure. Partly because of this the major achievements of domestic historical science of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries have contributed little to the accumulation of systematic knowledge about it. The most recent work by M.V. Babich "The State establishments of the 19th century: the commissions of the Peter the Great's epoch" partly fills this historiographical gap.

The findings of the past decades have affirmed some general representations of the commissions: the commissions were established for a certain period of time for the discussion or solving of special, urgent questions; their staff worked as "emergent" agents of the supreme power besides those who were usually responsible for the given area (or region) of the state regulation. Nobody has challenged Yorii Gotie's statement that the commissions, at least of Peter's reign, were united in the parts of which "were integrally connected by internal similarity."[85]

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[82] For example non of two main books on Russian government in the 18th century mention commissions: George Yaney, *The Systematization of Russian Government*. (University of Illionois Press. 1973); John LeDonne, *Absolutism and Ruling Class. 1700-1825*.(Oxford University Press. 1991).

[83] There are some exceptions – works of A.D. Gradovskii, M.M. Bogoyavlenskii.

[84] Evgenii Anisimov. *Gosudarstvennie preobrazovanija Petra Velokogo* [The State Reforms of peter the Great] (Saint Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Dmitrii Bulanin, 1997). P. 149; See also Evgenii Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress Through Coercion in Russia* (M.E. Sharpe, 1993).

[85] Yurii Gotie, "Iz istorii oblastnogo upravlenia XVIII v.: Postoyannie uchrezhdenia I osobie poruchenia"[From the history of local authorities in the XVIIIth century] in *Sbornik statei v chest' D.A.Korsakova*. (Kazan', 1912-1913). Pp. 187-194.

The accumulation of material on the separate commissions, however, has not yielded a general outline of the existing and developing concepts of a machinery of government of imperial Russia, in which the structure of the commissions is elaborated in detail and with precision.

Among the newest assessments of the commissions, the position of Natalia Kozlova's is of a great importance. She argues that the proliferation of the commissions throughout the nineteenth century had been caused by an inability to work out and solve the strategic problems of internal policy by permanent central "boards and offices" which focused only on the execution of orders of supreme power[86]. Even contemporary statesmen thought that Peter's domestic reforms (in 1718-1720 the colleges were set up as functional agencies of the Senate) had not improved the system of Russian government, the typical procrastination was reinforced by centralization[87].

## The origin of the Kalinkinskaya commission

One of the first dates in the history of the Kalinkinsky commission is June, 28th, 1750 though at that time, the commission had no name as yet. That day Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, being in Peterhof, ordered councilor of state Vasily Ivanovich Demidov to go to Saint Petersburg, to find and begin an investigation concerning "an indecent foreigner woman, named Drezdensha," about whom all Petersburg was gossiping. Major Danilov in his memoirs wrote: "the magnificent place near the Voznesenja hosted by the foreign woman from Dresden caused a commotion in society. Drezdensha conducted affairs in such a broad scale that complaints

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[86] Natalia Kozlova, *Rosskiiskii absolutism I kupechestvo v XVIII veke (20-e-nachalo 60 godov)*[Russian absolutism and merchant class].( Moscow, 1999). P. 24.
[87] Anisimov. Ibid. P. 232.

have reached the Empress. After that the strict commission under the chairmanship of office-secretary Demidov has been created."[88]

The adviser of the Office of Her Imperial Majesty had to collect all similar "women and maids" in a fortress and "put them on a vessel, and send the abroad by sea" (F. 2. P. 1 – 1 verso)

On the same day the Office of Her Imperial Majesty issued a decree to Nikita Beketov who was an assessor of the Main Police office, which department, apparently, was responsible for the allocation soldiers for the investigation and capturing of Felkner (F. 2. P. 2 – 2 verso). Demidov had left Saint Petersburg to the Petropavlovskaya Fortress and during the night on June, 29 Drezdensha was arrested in "an apartment hired by general-major Ivan Golovin on Vasilevsky island".

On July, 5th Vasily Ivanovich Demidov submitted to the Empress the official report about the work that was done and the results of the first interrogations, mentioning some sort of comical moments: "she was found and brought to the fortress; she was accompanied by two maids, of whom one was taken out from a trunk. She told us nothing during the interrogation, but after she was beaten up she revealed many places, where we found a lot of procuresses and loose women - more than fifty persons, they were trying to hide in different places: in taverns, under the beds, in wardrobes. All these women are mostly from Gdansk, Luebeck, Riga, we are looking for more. Nowadays there is such a silence in the streets, guards are on the watch" (F. 2. P. 8). Elizabeth Petrovna in response dictated to Baron Ivan Antonovich Tcherkasov a detailed instruction for Demidov, showing all the gravity of intentions of the empress. In particular, she ordered to find out "from whose yards all these whores were taken, who

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[88] Danilov M.V. Zapiski artillerii mayora Mikhaila Vasilievicha Danilova, napisannie im v 1777 godu. M., 1842. P. 96-98.

accepted them in those houses, for what payment, whether or not they were registered in police by the owners of those houses <…> All the houses along the coast of Moyka and Fontanka must be registered by the police office - who lives there, what kind of people"(F. 2. P. 52). Using the correspondence of Ivan Antonovich Tcherkasov, who was the head of the Empress' Office, and Vasily Ivanovich Demidov, it seems that Elizabeth Petrovna supervised attentively the succession of events concerning Drezdensha and gave instructions personally. It is testified by the frequent phrases such as: "Her Imperial Majesty has desired to hear your report <…>", "Her Imperial Majesty has desired to ask your report <…>", etc.

The decree was issued on August 1st (a month later). It was a so-called "personal" decree from the Office of Her Majesty to the Main Police Office "about a capture and a drive into the Main Police Office of indecent wives and maids". This decree is available in the *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire*[89] and in the second folder of the Kalinkinskaya commission fund about the creation of the Kalinsinskaya commission[90]: *As it is evident from the testimonies of the captured procuresses and whores, some of whom are still free, the rest is hiding near Saint Petersburg in different islands and places, and others retired in Kronshtat. Gradually some of those women come by themselves. But those who are still hiding (Russian and foreign) will be found, captured and led to the Main Police Office, after that to the Kalinkinskaya commission with the arrest report. Those guards who are looking for indecent women should not hurt and damnify the honest-minded people [1750].*

Ivan Demidov was one of the possible initiators of the usage of the Kalinkinsky house as a jail for loose women. Nevertheless, the correspondence which was conducted by Baron Tcherkasov between Elizabeth Petrovna and Demidov during the month preceding the

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[89] PSZ. V. XIII. № 9789, August 1st 1750.
[90] RGADA. Fund 8. The Kalinkinskaya Commission against violations against moral. File № 2, P. 40-40 back.

Commission's creation, only partly answers the question how the idea of Kalinkinsky house was conceived. In one of the letters Demidov writes that there were difficulties with placing maidens in the Petropavlovskaya Fortress. Newcomers could not be placed because of the lack of space. This problem could only be aggravated with time. The Kalinkinsky house was mentioned on July 12th for the first time: "Permit us to obediently inform Her Imperial Majesty that we have no space in the fortress to place all the women. All the prison cells are occupied, we have no place for interrogations and we have to do it in the shed.  Would Her Imperial Majesty wish to place that commission in the Kalinkinsky stone house" (F. 2. P.55). A few days later the above mentioned decree about the establishing of the Kalinkinsky house as a place for indecent women was issued. Obviously, there was already some certain plan about what would happen with those women, because the place where they were lodged had its own story, which is one of the characteristics of the Kalinkinsky house.

The analysis of the biography of Vasily Ivanovich Demidov in regard of his acquaintance with the English or other experiences concerning the establishment of workhouses has been unproductive[91]. I could not find any previous mention of his possible interest in this sort of problem. Surely, the very idea of such a place has an English origin. The first workhouses were created in the sixteenth century in England.

The investigation, i.e. the directly organized search for "lascivious woman", lasted five months. On November 19th V.I. Demidov reported to the Empress about the results of his

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[91] The main biographic dictionaries do not contain mentions concerning him. Poor data was gathered from several research works. V.I.Demidov was the namesake of known factory owners - the Demidovs. He was born as a commoner and gained nobility in 1741. He served in various state institutions: in the Military board, then in the Senate, in 1742 he was appointed to the Office of Her Imperial Majesty. In 1748 he became councillor of state. Serving at the Imperial Office, he managed the storehouse of the Empress and was engaged actively enough with the clothes of the empress. He had Elizabeth Petrovna's full confidence and also was under the patronage of the prominent noble of that time - chancellor A.P.Bestuzhev. Krichevtsev M.V, *Kabinet Elizabeth Petrovny i Peter III*. (Novosibirsk, 1993); A.D.Rittih, "Imperatrica Elizabeth Petrovna Empress and her notes to Vasily Ivanovich Demidov" *Russian archive*. 1 (1878): Pp..23 – 45.

work, hinting that it was time to finish the investigatory actions. He explained this initiative, that the sense of the accomplished work consisted not only in the capturing of the specific loose women, but also in generating fear among the populace: "Your Majesty, permit me to obediently Your Imperial Majesty. Nowadays there are 193 of indecent wives, maids and men in the Kalinkinskaya Commission . We are expecting to find more - approximately 250 persons. The number of prisoners will be increased and the commission is about to finish its work, as it is not possible to find and catch all indecent people. It is known, that there is some gossip not only here and in Moscow, but also abroad, which is the direct result of the work of the commission. Indecent people are in great fear now, and their impious actions are ceased and reduced. Would Your Imperial Majesty want to stop the work of the commission? The fear ahead remains." (F. 2. P. 133 – 133 verso)

The overwhelming majority of the considered cases are dated in the year 1750. But there were also exceptions.[92] Three women were accused of dissolute behaviour and were sent to the Kalinkinsky stone house in 1751.

Loose and indecent women drew the authorities' attention not for the first time. They were registered even before the creation of the commission at least since 1741, as sources testify.[93] The sheets about "women of indecent behaviour who were taken into the Main Police Office" contain minimum information: name and surname, social status of the woman, the name of the punishment exercised over and a name of the one who bailed her "with receipt". The sheet, which was conducted from 1741 to 1750, counts 75 women taken to the Main Police Office, and accused of violation against the sexual norm. Evidently, not so many people as it might be expected, but it is necessary to have it in mind that the special investigation was not

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[92] File № 180, File № 181.
[93] F.2 P.23-45.

conducted at that moment. Obviously, they were taken to the police office after denunciations, and they were released after the punishment. The guarantor was usually a relative (frequently the husband), but not necessarily. The penalty could be paid by a friend or someone else, as sources testify: the surname of the "lascivious woman" did not always coincide with the surname of the guarantor.

I have reconstructed the history of the origin of the Kalinkinky house using the voluminous second case, which is titled "Business on the Highest command to the declared Adviser of the Office Ivan Vasilievich Demidov, about the prosecution of all women of indecent behaviour in Saint Peterburg and about their confinement in the Kalinkinsky house". Possibly, some documents of the Commission can be found in other funds of the archive; in particular, in the fund containing documents of the Office of Her Imperial Majesty Elizabeth Petrovna. However, in the present work I am consciously limiting myself to documents of the fund 8. Therefore, the conclusions about the evolution of Elizabeth Petrovna's approach from the intention "to place [the women] on a vessel and send them by sea abroad" to the idea about creation of the Commission and the Kalinkinsky house have a preliminary character.

## *§2. The Kalinkinsky house*
### History of the Kalinkinsky house

The Kalinkinsky commission carried out its mission in "the Kalinkinsky stone house," as it is called in documents, in Kalinkino village . Geographically this place was located far enough from the city centre at that time, behind the Fontanka river. The fact that dozens of women were lodged there to live and work logically fits into the history of the Kalinkinsky

house. To keep these women in the Petropavlovskaya fortress was costly and out of proportion with their fault.

Flax manufacture had been based in Kalinkinsky village in 1718 by the decree of Peter the Great, and the place was conducted by the Berg Kollegia (roughly the Department of the Interior). A "school for training of crafts" was organized in this manufacture[94]. L.N. Semenova, the Petersburg researcher of a daily life of factory people in the eighteenth century, writes that skilful foreign craftsmen were invited to the Kalinkinsky manufacture. They drew high salaries, and their main task was to prepare local craftsmen. One of them was a future commissioner of the Kalinkinsky stone house, Boris Shablykin, to whom I shall return later on. In 1724, 148 persons worked in the factory: "with church man and with other attendants of workmen are 148 persons" (F.1 P.5.). All of them lived in the factory. It is confirmed, for example, by the list of the expenses on products: "provisions of a flour rye, etc".

The decree was issued in 1727: "under the decree issued by the Supreme Privy Council, it is ordered to give mentioned linen and *kolomyankovaya*[95] manufactures to the maintenance of eager people" (F.1 P.3), one of whom was Boris Shablykin: "From the Commission on Commerce to the former Manufactories Office. By the decree those factories must be given to the nobleman from Novgorod Boris Shablykin and to the merchant from Yaroslavl' Maksim Zatrapaznikov.". Apparently, the manufacture's stuff (the equipment and material) were given, the yard has been lodged by the Izmajlovsky regiment: "And the yard on which those factories were must be given to the Izmajlovsky regiment in 1734" (F. 1. P. 14)

The place was not forgotten by the authorities. In 1743 the yard was examined and described by an order of Baron I.A.Cherkasov. This fact allows to assume that the idea to set up

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[94] Lidia Semenova, *Bit i naselenie Sankt Peterburga v XVIII veke* [Everyday life and inhabitants of Saint Petersburg in the 18th century]. (Saint Petersburg, 1998). P. 75.
[95] A type of textile.

there the Kalinkinsky house for loose women could belong to him. The aim of the yard survey, most likely, was to find out whether it was possible to adjust there manufacture again. The answer was affirmative, because after a couple of months the decree about factory renewal followed: "1743, June 16 under the decree of Her Imperial Majesty. To establish linen and kalaminkovaya factories in the Kalinkina village as it was before. For equipping (tools, supplies, etc) use up to thousand roubles which must be given to that factory master Boris Shablykin, how many will demand, writing down in a special writing-book with receipts"(F. 1. P. 23 verso - 24)

The following era in the history of this place is 1750, when the Kalinkinsky commission was founded there.

## Organization of the Kalinkinsky house

Thanks to the inventory valuation of the Kalinkinsky house made by Boris Shablykin after an order from the Office of Her Imperial Majesty in 1761, we have an approximate idea how this place looked like: "to make an inventory of the Kalinkinsky stone house with all wooden structures and give an inventory with notice of receipt to the architect Savva Chevakinskii, sent by the Senate. And afterwards to make a report to the Office of Her Imperial Majesty. On July 4th, 1761" (F. 1. P. 116).

The word "stone" in the name of this place means that it still quite special - the stone house - in the Saint Petersburg area. According to this data by the end of the reign of Empress

Elizabeth 4554 buildings (big houses and yards, except small ones) had been constructed, among them only 460 were built of stone[96].

According to the inventory, the two-storied stone house was the main building of the Kalinkinsky courtyard. It was divided into some chambers, among which was the church: "on the second floor there is a church Sacred Great Martyr Ekaterina with an attached wooden bell tower" (F. 1. P. 118.). There were six chambers on the second floor, whose ceilings "were lined by canvas", and bleached walls. There were three chambers on the ground floor, and the rest of the space was occupied, most likely, with a waiting room, economic premises and "rooms for officers and soldiers" (F. 187. P. 4). There was a kitchen "from the boards, too decrepit", the furnace and the hearth in the middle of a yard. A cellar and even such a luxury for prisoners as a bathhouse are also mentioned.

The bathhouse in the Kalinkinsky house appeared in September, 1750 thanks to the enterprising Boris Shablykin, but prisoners were not allowed to use it until Vasilii Demidov had learnt about it: "As we know commissioner Borish Shablykin has constructed a bathhouse in the Kalinkinsky yard without any report to the Office. There are a lot of prisoners who are in need of a bath after the linen work[97]. Shablykin asked them to pay for using it, saying that it is an order from the Commission. Take that bathhouse and heat it for the prisoners. And ask him why did he build this bathhouse without report and where did he take money for that." (F. 1. L. 147 – 147 verso) Although the bathhouse was built on his own money and he used his own peasants and "use it for my own purposes not for the trade" (F. 1. P. 149 – 149 verso). Finally Shablykin has suffered losses, and the bathhouse became available for the prisoners free of charge.

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[96] Semenova. Ibid.. P. 54.
[97] Work with flax and raw material is a dirty thing.

## Service staff of the Kalinkinsky house

Son of an impoverished Novgorod nobleman, commissioner Boris Shablykin was the head official of the Kalinkinsky house. Work people, copyists and prisoners were subordinated to him. Later he even became the head of the guard command. This instruction was given to him by Demidov in 1758 on February, 11th: "<…> for the most efficient prevention of prisoners from escaping, I order the commissioner, lieutenant Boris Shablykin to oversee the officers." (F. 187. P. 36)

It seems that Shablykin was an unusual personality, and possessed a number of abilities thanks to which he not only preserved his place, but also moved upwards on the career ladder, in spite of the fact that he was thievish. Lidia Semenova in her book "Life and the population of Saint Petersburg" notices the curious history characterising Shablykin as a tenacious and sharp-witted person[98]. Semenova writes that Shablykin was one of the first destined to study in the new manufacture, opened in 1718, and soon he vindicated himself.

Once Peter I visited the manufacture, and Shablykin complained to the tsar that his instructor - the foreign craftsmen - consciously refrained from opening all secrets of the business to him. Peter was amused by such a diligence in study. He apparently noticed and remembered Shablykin, a fact that affected his later life. From the petition submitted to Office of Imperial Majesty by lieutenant Shablykin in 1761, concerning the payments, I am able to reconstruct the main moments of his biography. From 1718 to 1723 Shablykin resided at a state manufactory, from 1728 to 1743 he "was the head of his own gobelin factory," and on March 9, 1743, by the decree of the Main Office he was taken with his own equipment to the renewable

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[98] Semenova. Ibid. P. 75.

Kalinkinskaya factory <…> Since 1750 he blamelessly served as the head of the Kalinkinsky house - he ruled over the prisoners and soldiers" (F. 1. P. 144.) Indeed, lieutenant Shablykin served at the Kalinkinskaya commission the longest time, till the end, although in 1758 he asked to resign because of "an old age and illness"(F. 1. P. 107.)

The staff of the Kalinkinsky house consisted of skilled women workers (from two to four) who were the supervisors over the prisoners during their work; the master who was watching on serviceability of the equipment; bureaucrats; guard officers. Carpenters were called, if needed. (F. 1. P. 47). There was also a doctor in the Kalinkinsky house, who examined women, whether there were pregnant among them, and rendered medical assistance to whom it was necessary[99].

The guard of the Kalinkinsky house periodically varied. Firstly, it was a procedure, secondly, because of the frequent escapes and disorders. The number of the guard also varied. Basically the soldiers were taken from Koporsky and Izmailovsky regiments; the average quantity of the guard soldiers were 12 persons. Several non-commissioned officers were in command over them.

## Work in the Kalinkinsky house

The idea of making prisoners work was not an innovation, tested in the Kalinkinsky house. Andrey Vinius, one of the Peter the Great's friends and a statesman, suggested to employ dependent people for building of the rowing fleet. He was the organizer of a mountain-metallurgical manufacture in Russia, in 1688 in a note submitted to the Ambassadorial order, referring to an example of foreign states, he recommended: "Any thieves and foreign captives must be sent to hard labour, using chains to prevent escapes. It is better to use them this way

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[99] F.2. P.124.

than feed them vainly."[100] Subsequently this idea was fully implemented. For the first time such forced labour was applied by the imperial decree of November 24th, 1699, which starts the history of the Russian penal servitude. The decree ordered condemned people to be "put on the executioner's block and, lifting them from the executioner's block, to have them whipped instead of putting them to death without mercy, and to send them to Azov with their wives and children, into penal servitudes in work"[101].

So, the inmates of the Kalinkinsky house, both women, and men, worked. I know more about the work of women than of men. Firstly, because the main business of the Kalinkinsy house - work with flax - is traditionally a female employment. Secondly, documents contain much more information on a life of women than men. Probably it can be explained by the fact that the details of female daily life are shown in documents more carefully in connection with the frequent scandals, quarrels during the working time. The basic source concerning their work appeared just as a result of the scandals between women and commissioner Shablykin. The title of this file is "About the flax yarn by the female prisoners of Kalinkinsky house and about the insults caused by them to commissioner Shablykin".

Women were not sent to work automatically. Special "appointment" was needed. It was preceded by a medical examination and a conversation with the commissioner about the duties and the features of work. For example, for the 30th of January 1751, according to "to the register of the commission Kalinkinsky stone house only four Russian and thirteen foreign women were appointed to work". Shablykin complained that "there are 133 persons in the renewed Kalinkinsky house linen factory, but no more than 30 or 40 are working. They do not feel any fear and work too lazily and do not obey the commands, neither mine nor those of the

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[100] Cited by A.D Margolis, *Tiur'ma I ssilka v imperatorskoi Rossii*. [Prison and Exile in Imperial Russia] (Moscow, 1995). P. 34.
[101] Ibid. P. 34

supervisor women. They often leave their workplace for their chambers. Soldiers usually order them to go back to work, but they say that feel unwell. (F. 188. P. 8-9 verso) It is clear from this document that a certain schedule of work existed, however, it was not respected by the prisoners on the pretext of the illness. And the second important notice - officers and soldiers who guarded the prisoners were not allowed to use force for their compulsion. Some of the women were engaged in small utility assignments of the staff of the Kalinkinsky house, and under this pretext did not come to work. For example, Alena Kashperova who "is washing for the secretary his clothes, often does not work in a spinning chamber" (F. 188. P. 10) Absence of the prisoners seriously affected the general development of the business. Shablykin writes in a special report: "If some prisoners had worked everyday as it was during last November till the 19th, now all the flax would have been spun. Thus permit me obediently to inform Her Majesty's Head of Office Ivan Vasilievich Demidov about this, in order not to punish me. (F. 188. P. 8) Demidov replied to the desperate complaints and asked Shablykin (?) "to inform all prisoners who have an assignment to work, besides those who are ill, that if they bunk off, they would not get the fodder money" (F. 188. P.10 verso) The fodder money was some sort of salary which the inmates could use to buy some food, etc. Thus, it was especially emphasized in sources that commissioner Shablykin "must be given some help by the soldiers, but an officer should watch that no compulsion or beating were afflicted on the prisoners. (F. 188. P. 11) Thus, the use of force was not welcomed in the Kalinkinsky house, although I have found a statement that those who do not appear to work must be beaten publicly. After Shablykin's complaints the officers began to watch more seriously over women's absence from work, and started to write reports on their behaviour: "To the Kalinkinsky stone house Commission from Apollon Ladizhenskii, the second lieutenant of Ingermolansky infantry <...> As it was ordered, on February 1st , all female prisoners, apart from those who felt ill, 62 in number, were sent for

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work and worked till the prescribed hour. The second lieutenant, Apollon Ladizhenskii, February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1751." (F.2. P.12)

I have much less information on men's work. Men carpentered, apparently, did some sort of male housework, chopped firewood. The majority of men were skilled in some craft, which was very useful for a prisoner. For example, Andrey Pumlin, tailor, repaired the guard officers' clothes.

As I have already mentioned, work in Kalinkinsky house differs from work at a forced-labour camp not only in the substance of executed work, but also in the authorities' attitude to the prisoners and to their work. Special conditions of work were created for prisoners: they were helped by "the skilled spinner" (one or several); a craftsman, who repaired the broken equipment (F. 188. P. 23.); they worked according to a schedule; and they received pay. (F.128. P.23 verso).

The characteristics of Kalinkinsky house as a place of incarceration are quite unusual. The living conditions of "lascivious women" by far exceeded the average level of prisoners' life in 18<sup>th</sup> century Russia. What was the usual environment for transgressors? Commonly, the monasteries served as places of detention for both male and female convicted offenders, and the regime was often extremely harsh: small, damp, unheated and unlit cells, poor food and brutal treatment.[102] Some urban prisons existed in the chief towns and fortresses, but the bulk of the inhabitants consisted of people awaiting investigation or runaways. The state made little provision for the subsistence of prisoners, which could range from one to three kopeks a day. Hence it was common in Russian provincial towns to see a procession of prisoners, some in chains, wending their way under escort and begging for alms in the streets. In these prisons no

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[102] There were usually not many prisoners at any one time in these monasteries, which also harbored criminal lunatics, plain lunatics, convicted priests, sectaries, sexual offenders, drunks and retired soldiers.

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distinctions were made between old and young, sick and healthy, men and women, hardened criminals and first offenders[103].

As I have already mentioned the commission for the first time in Russian history treated offenders against sexual morality not only as sinners, but as violators of social order and peace. Therefore, Kalinkinsky house, in which the prisoners were detained, had a number of important features. For the authorities it was important not to torture the prisoners by the incarceration itself, but to make them live in a special environment, which taught and stimulated them to be more socially adapted. Besides, the Kalinkinsky house was mainly populated by the marginalized categories of the society. The list the particular features of a specific lifestyle includes:

- Prisoners (the number of inhabitants ranges from one hundred fifty to two hundred) lived in a house built of stone, while the general population of Petersburg lived in wooden houses;

- Men and women lived separately. It was an innovation for the penal system at that time; the standard practice was to settle men and women in prison together;

- The prisoners were guarded by soldiers, but it is also clear from the sources that resort to violence was strictly forbidden;

- They were not put into chains;

- Prisoners engaged in work;

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[103]Isabel de Madariaga, Rossia v vek Ekaterini [Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great].(Moscow., 2002). Pp. 96-97.

- They worked according to a schedule. Women spun the flax; men were engaged in some type of manual labor, for instance, chopping wood. Women worked under the supervision of a skilled woman in order to preserve the expensive instruments;

- It was a paid job. The earnings could be spent in the grocery, which was situated in Kalinkinskaya village (F. 187. P. 5);

- A doctor monitored the inmates' health. Medicines (sic!) were sent into the house (F. 188. P. 38 verso); those who were ill lived in a separate room. They also had such a luxury as the regular use of a bath house.

- Russians and foreigner (de facto) were living in the different rooms (F. 188. P. 10 verso)

## *§3. The prisoners of Kalinkinsky house.*

### An overview

Evidently, one of the main criteria which the authorities used to define who would be sent to Kalinkinsky house for re-education was the absence of children (either adult children, or children who lived with relatives): the women were unmarried and widows. Indeed, in a copy of the decree to Vasilii Demidov, which is not dated but was presumably issued in August (when the first set of women arrived in Kalinkinsky stone house), it is said that *the widows and Russian maids* must be sent for spinning work, others - to Orenburg (F. 2. P. 132.) The rest were those who had families; their cases are not found in documents of the Kalinkinsky commission. It had been mentioned specifically that married women, "whose husbands were not involved in such affairs" must be sent to Orenburg and "their husbands must be signed up

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for service in local regiments"(F. 2. P. 133 – 133 verso). Thus, those who were sent to the Kalinkinsky house were widows, maids, and special category: soldier's wives (*soldatki*) accused of pandering, adultery/fornication. *Soldatki* are the consequence of the military conscription introduced Peter[104]. They often found themselves in the most marginal position[105]. Because conscription emancipated the serfs from the authority of the landlord, his wife and children also became *free*. As a free person, woman often lost her husband's share of the communal land and all other benefits from estate. Some were reduced to begging, others continued to live as dependants with their husband's family or with relatives. Such women became highly vulnerable. *Soldatki* often turned to prostitution as a temporary or permanent expedient and acquired an unsavoury reputation. This trend is reflected in historiography[106].

The decree ordered that the foreigners accused of fornication and obscenity must be sent after corporal punishment back to their native cities - Riga, Narva, Reval, Dorpat and to "others coast cities". A special list must be issued to prevent them from returning to Saint Petersburg. Also those women could not possess a passport. Certainly, de facto those women were considered as foreigners, whereas de jure they were Russian citizens by the Treaty of Nystad, which was concluded between Russia and Swedish empires in 1721. Those who were known but still not found must be registered and that list must be sent to the Main Police Office. It was specially mentioned that "the Russian maids who were given to the panders and whores by noblemen must get passports" (i.e. they could be free) (F. 2. P. 135). It was a usual practice: serf woman was a subject ("maid for service") that could be given by her man owner to his

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[104] From time of Peter's reign until the reform of the military in 1874, recruitment into army removed millions of able-bodied men from their families.

[105] Russian historian Pavel Sherbinin is author of numerous articles concerning this topic. For example: Pavel Sherbinin, "Zhizn' russkoi soldatki v XVIII-XIX vekah", [Life of the Russian soldier's wife in the XVIIIth -XIX centuries] *Voprosi Istorii* no.1 (2005): 79-93.

[106] Barbara Engel, *Women in Russia, 1700-200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). P. 62; Robin Bisha, "Marriage, Church, and Community in 18th-century St Petersburg" in *Women and Gender in 18th-Century Russia, ed. Wendy Rosslyn.* (Ashgate, 2003), 227-243.

mistress as instead of a payment or in addition to money. For example, a young maid Elena Ivanova appears in the case of "Fedosia Petrova without kin accused of a dissolute life". Ivanova was a serf of Nikolay Arseniev, quartermaster of the Semenovsky regiment. She was sent to the Commission in connection with the case of the indecent maid Petrova. Ivanova. was given to Petrova by Arseniev, "against spiritual and temporal rules," as a gift for indecent affairs in "possession in perpetuity" with a letter which I also have found in the file.  The investigation proved that Elena Ivanova was beyond suspicion. The commission decided to liberate her from her former owner Arseniev and from Petrova too. She was given a passport (F. 16. P. 52-52 verso). I.e. Elena Ivanova became a free woman.

## Gender aspect

The majority of inhabitants of the Kalinkinsky house were women, but there were also men (see the diagram). As I have calculated, using the titles of 175 cases, 25 % of the inhabitants were men. For instance, in August Demidov reported to the Office about 90 foreigners and 88 Russians in the Commission, of whom 29 were men and 149 were women. (F. 2. P. 98.). The total number of men and women, is almost impossible to detect. Firstly, prisoners often escaped; secondly, many of them were released after an investigation. The men's charges show that there were no strict criteria for their incarceration, each case was individual. There were male panders, including foreigners, for example, the hairdresser Iogann Grefel'[107]. There were also organizers of illegal dancing-parties, among them was a tailor, Andrei Pumlin[108].

The organization of public parties was not supervised by the authorities until 1745.  They drew this sort of activity under control after a huge massacre in the house in Millionnaya street,

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[107] F.127.
[108] F.128.

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on November 18th, 1744. The Chief of Police Anton Devier reacted with a resolution on January 29th, 1945. From that moment parties' organizers had to apply to the Main Police Office in order to get a special document – a permit, which was sent to the local police office (s'ezjaya izba) of that area where the party would take a place. The applicant would be given soldiers to stay on guard.

Iogann Ginz, the assistant of a doctor, was accused of dissolute woman keeping[109]; Mikhail Avramov, a copyist, was condemned for leading a dissolute life.[110] The fact that there were three times less male prisoners than women, does not testify to a female preponderance in sexual offences. Men appear in some female cases with a direct indication on their sexual offence (fornication, adultery), although no indication on their subsequent punishment could be found in the most cases. Not all men, whose fault was apparent, could be wanted at all. Therefore, male prisoners in the Kalinkinsky house can be considered as exceptions to the rule: men's sexual offences did not draw attention as inevitably as women's. One can probably assume that there were no worked-out criteria of moral behaviour concerning men at that time. Nevertheless, punishable male offences also existed.

It seems that in the absence of accurate criteria for men's incarceration in the Kalinkinsky house, most likely, their legal status and social origin played a role. Vasily Baskov, a nineteen year old merchant, taken into the Kalinkinsky house because of a dissolute life with Elena Kajander, was released after investigation, while Kajander remained imprisoned till the end of the Commission in 1759.[111] Apparently, Baskov was released thanks to his father's high reputation and his status as a member of the city magistrate. Semyon Pirskii, thirty-five year old attendant of the bishop's house, accused of "violent fornication and debauchery of youth" with

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[109] F. 132.
[110] F. 136.
[111] F. 30.

his own serf maiden Tatiana Fedorova (her precise age is not indicated), was also released after investigation[112]. Pirskii was punished according to *The Russian Law Code* of 1649 (chapter №20, paragraph №80) and simultaneously according to *the Civil Statute* (chapter №49, paragraph №60): "Beat mercilessly and release a prisoner" (F.152. P.7. – 7 verso). Noticeably, the sexual criminal was condemned using a double legal standard - spiritual (The Russian Law Code sent him into the Patriarchal office[113]) and secular.

All male prisoners of the Kalinkinsky house had one common feature: they were free townsfolk (tradespeople), and by no means marginal people, all of them possessed some craft. One of the possible explanations for their incarceration in the Kalinkinsky house is that the authorities wanted to test the idea of correction not only of women, but also of men.

## Terminology of accusation

The terminology concerning the definitions of offences used in documents seems to be crucially important. Looking at the church documents, in particular, at the confessionary questionnaires, one may notice a clarity of definitions of sinful sexual acts. The terminology of accusation in the documents of the Kalinkinsky commission is constructed differently.

I have carried out an analysis of accusation definitions and came to the conclusion that female prisoners were charged with:

- immoral behaviour;
- indecency
- adultery
- a dissolute life

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[112] F. 153.
[113] *Who tries to make such unlawful action with serf or with wife <...> sent him to the Patriarchal office<...>.*

- a lecherous life

- a vicious life

In the process of analysis of the cases it became clear that practically in all cases various definitions of accusation are intersected. For example, Arina Nikitina, condemned for a dissolute life, was a married woman, thus she was also an "adulterer". As one can see from the reference, she also accused of "lascivious fall", later of "lechery" (F. 180. P. 12 - 12 verso). The footman's daughter Avdotya Stanislavova, condemned for a dissolute life when she was seventeen years old, was a widow.[114] In documents she is also named as "loose woman", "profligate", "indecent woman", and "whore". Praskovia Ivanova, wife of Matvei Ivanov, a medical assistant, was not married on him in church. She is called a "whore" (F. 130. P.2 verso), and her husband is accused of "lascivious life"; "engaging in fornication" they gave a birth to a two children. Obviously, Ivanova did not deserve such a severe definition: she was not accused of something else and she was not reported by other female prisoners of the Kalinkinsky house. Anna Vasilieva, wife of copyist, accused of adultery (which means that she was a married woman), is named in the documents also as "loose woman", "whore", "profligate."[115]

The same multiplicity is apparent in the above-mentioned *List of women of indecent behaviour*.[116] It can be assumed that *adultery* meant the infidelity of a married woman; *lascivious fall* meant an affair between an unmarried man and woman. To my mind, specific usage of these terms in the lists testifies that they only mark violations against public moral, but did not describe fault accurately and strictly. For example, Avdotya Kirilova, wife of Kuz'ma

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[114] F. 180.
[115] F. 122.
[116] F. 2. P. 23-45.

Zhuravlyov, who was a coachman of the Horse regiment, was accused of lascivious fall instead of adultery.[117] Ulyana Timofeeva, wife of Ivanov, who was a soldier of the Preobrazhensky regiment, was accused of lascivious life with Captain Vasilii Barykov, instead of adultery.[118] However, Avdotia Pimenova, wife of Chechelin, soldier of koporskii (trans?) regiment of Saint Peterburg garrison, was accused of adultery.[119]

The real difference between those offences is truly vague, but such instability of definitions of the accusations testifies that for the authorities the exact nature of their offences was not a crucial matter. The terminology of accusation becomes clear and strict if the matter is the pandering. It was the most serious sexual offence in the eyes of the authorities. The reason is probably that it is not only a sexual offence, but also a violation of order and moral values. Pandering occurs in the documents less frequently than other offences. The punishment for this type of crime is severe beating (beating by *koshki,* i.e. a cat-of-nine tails - it is a lash with several ropes, instead of beating by a whip). As regards other crimes, such as adultery and fornication, it seems that the main point for the authorities was the moment of discipline/punishment of those women who were exposed as violators of sexual values, rather than strictly defined culpability.

### Women's story: portraits of female prisoners

Each woman who was interrogated in the Kalinkinsky house was required to define her social status. It is quite evident, that women were closer to marginality than men. Among the female prisoners we find the most fragile members of society: soldiers' wives, whose husbands served far away; soldier's widows, whose sole source of subsistence - the widow's money

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[117] F.2. P. 24.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid. P. 26.

(*vdov'i den'gi*)[120] – was apparently scanty; orphan maidens; foreigners (from Estland and Livland), who arrived in Saint Peterburg, often illegally, i.e. without passport, in order to earn some money.

The life story of Maria Bolotova, thirty-seven year old soldier's wife[121], is quite typical. She was condemned for a dissolute life. "Taken drunk", she was detained in the police station and then incarcerated in the Kalinkinsky house. She was the widow of podkonstapel' (rank of non-commissioned officer) Ivan Bolotov, and after her "husband's death four years ago, she took to living by begging" (F.153. P.2). She was taken to the police station after "she drank wine on her own money in a tavern, and after that she was about to go home, but four soldiers of an unknown regiment took her into some empty tavern and during the lascivious fall she was taken by police officer into the local Kronshtadt police office and then to the Main Police office" (F. 153. P.2 verso). The interrogation reveals that she had been married since the age of fourteen; she had two children, who were evidently adults and lived separately from her in Kronshtadt. (F.153. P. 3) After her husband's death Bolotova rented a part of room for 8 kopecks a month. Unfortunately, her sentence is missing, but the beginning of her case and its end are marked on the first page of the file: she was released in March 1759, when the Kalinkinsky house was closed, after that Bolotova was put into an almshouse.

The life story of Avdotia Staniclavova is also typical. She was a servant's daughter, condemned for a dissolute life and lived in the Kalinkinsky house till its end. At the moment of her arrest Stanislavova, a native of Saint Petersburg, was seventeen years old. She was raised "in the house of court outrunner[122] Jagan Redeinbah as a daughter" and taken into the Commission directly from her house. (F. 98. P.5) During the first interrogation she told how she

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[120] Pension.
[121] *Soldatka.*
[122] I.e. messenger, "outrunner" is a more specific term.

"inclined to lascivious life". It occurred "because of love" for a certain Kutuzov, who promised her to take care of her, but went back on his promise. Drezdensha, a neighbour of Stanislavova, renting an apartment in the same building, helped her to earn a living by herself: Drezdensha invited Stanislavova to her place for parties and Stanislavova started to fornicate again "because of love". Drezdensha paid her for this activity. Even count Feodor Andreevich Apraksin was among her clients, he always paid Stanislavova generously, and presented her stockings and boots. Stanislavova enumerated all women from that special apartment, adding that she did not know about any other "whorish house" besides Drezdensha's place (F. 98. P. 7 verso). She was sentenced to beating by *koshki* and incarceration for work in the Kalinkinsky house.

There is some difference between rural orphans and city ones. A rural orphan can be taken in care by relatives or by community. Urban relations are completely different: not so close and deterministic as rural relations (besides, operative always in need in a country). Therefore a city orphan is much closer to marginality rather than a rural orphan. Those women who had some problems in their relationships with their husbands and who tried to hold their own were also closer to marginality. For example, Arina Nikitina, wife of a sawyer, was condemned for "dissolute behaviour". Using her interrogation, I have reconstructed her biography, at least its main stages. She was sent into the Kalinkinski house from the Main Police Office in 1751. "She is called Arina Nikitina, fifty years old, she was born in Nizhnii Novgorod, her father was a townsman, later her family moved to Saint Petersburg, where her father worked as a craftsman in the Admiralty. Nikitina was bestowed in marriage by her mother at the age of twenty-seven. Her husband is Tit Ivanov, a sawyer, who is alive, they have two daughters, both married. Besides those daughters she has nobody and she is not pregnant at the moment" (F. 180. P. 5 - 5 verso) Nikitina was divorced, the Commission had checked her words, sending a request to the consistory and her testimony were confirmed: "In a reference given to Nikitina on September

23, 1744 it is said that she got divorced on August 23, 1744 by the consistory of Right Reverend Nikodim. He decreed that she can be divorced because of her husband, Tit Ivanov, a sawyer, because of adultery. The issued decree was given to her and to Ivanov <...> He can not be married again as long as his wife is alive." (F. 180. P. 15) Although she had a right to remarry, Nikitina chose a different style of life. At least, she left her faithless husband, who "beat her and tortured without love" (F. 180. P.13) Surprisingly, she was taken from the Kalinkinsky house by her former husband in 1759. In a petition he asked to take her home: "he wants to live with her and asked to remarry her." (F. 189. P. 20 verso). She was released and sent to the consistory.

I have noticed that penance - traditional church punishment - is rarely found in the documents. Moreover, I have not noticed the word *sinner* at all. There is also no mention that the staff of the Kalinkinsky house watched over visiting of church by the prisoners. There is no information on the priest in the local church that was situated in the Kalinkinsky house. These facts testify that the authorities' attitude to the prisoners was secular, which it is one of the features of the Kalinkinsky house. Strictly speaking, incarceration there was a punishment of sinful persons; it was an attempt to adapt the people of certain social strata. There were no strict criteria for releasing someone from the Kalinkinsky house. Each case was individual. Usually, if someone bailed out for the prisoners, the Commission did not refuse. There were cases when the suspicions of sexual offences did not prove to be true. Escapes were quite frequent.

### The end of the Kalinkinsky house

I could not find the decree on the closure of Kalinkinsky house. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence that this establishment was closed in March, 1759. The majority of the prisoners were released exactly in March, 1759. The reasons for its closure could be various.

Probably, the Empress decided to close the Kalinkinsky house after the death of its chief, Ivan Demidov, who passed away in 1759.

There is no evidence that the Empress and Demidov had in mind any particular model of workhouse, nevertheless the organization of this house, the precise selection of the inmates, the fact that according to the law they even must not be incarcerated, and the personal involvement of the Empress prove the seriousness of intentions and the sophistication in realization. The combination of all these facts points to the probable existence of an initial conception or of approach to the correction and normalization of marginal people (in the present case, prostitutes). What could be the pattern? Due to the lack of sources[123], the broader contextualization of this institution could produce an answer. It seems that the Empress repeated her father's experience, and relied on the widely known European experience in correction. In the third chapter I am going to show that the problem of correction and normalization was an urgent one in Europe throughout the two centuries.

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[123] Although I am naturally going to continue digging through the archives.

# Chaper 4: Contextualizing the Kalinkinsky house. European experience

## *Europe in new socioeconomic circumstances*

This chapter looks at the European experience of disciplining, normalization and correction of marginal people, not only the prostitutes. As I have mentioned there is no evidence that the Empress and Demidov were having in mind some special model of work-house to establish,[124] nevertheless the organization of this house, the precise selection of the prisoners, the particular attitude to them, to my mind, insert this place within the common European trend, dating from the sixteenth century. This topic is actively researched on the European sources[125] as opposed to the Russian historiography. It is stated in historiography, that imprisonment in Europe began around 1600[126]. The main stimulating factor was the economic changes. There had always been poor, but contemporaries agreed that mass beggary was new; and there had always been vagrants, but mass vagabondage was apparently recent. The dates - the end of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth century - coincide with major social and economic changes. The epoch of price revolution, demographic increase, social change and political crisis, contributed to the greater polarization between rich and poor[127].

The first is the urbanization which went hand in hand with population increase, and started in the sixteenth century[128]. One of the consequences of this process is that social rules

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[124] Although I can take it for granted: I'm going to continue digging through the archives.

[125] *Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950.* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); Pieter Spierenburg, *The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe* (New Brunswick, N.J., and London, 1991); Robert Jutte, "Poor Relief and Social Discipline in Sixteenth-Century Europe", European Studies Review 11 (1981): 25-52.; *Germany: A New Social and Economic History Volume 2: 1630-1800.*(Arnold: London, New York, Sydney, Auckland, 1996).

[126] *The Oxford history of the prison: the practice of punishment in western society.* Norval Morris, David J. Rothman, eds. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).P. 47; Pieter Spierenburg, Inid. P. 23.

[127] More on this topic see in Henry Kamen, *European Society, 1500-1700* (Routledge: London, New York, 1992).

[128] The process of the European urbanisation has three phrases: between eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, the sixteenth century, the eighteenth century. This topic is well elaborated in the European historiography, see more:

regarding family formation became more flexible, allowing differentiation in response to economic opportunities and personal circumstances. There was a considerable scope for individual differences within overall social norms[129]. The problem of poverty, well known since the Middle Ages, and became ubiquitous and perennial for the European societies. Poverty was experienced at many social levels, although evidently the lower classes were prone to life-threatening deprivation. Not only day-laborers, smallholders, and wage earners but also artisans and middle-ranking peasants were at risk[130]. Recovery was almost impossible: social security did not exist at that time, in these circumstances impoverishment and destitution were occurring everywhere. Demographic expansion reinforced this problem, and the balance of internal migration was move from land to the towns. Thus poverty became in the first place an urban phenomenon, a problem of overcrowded cities in early modern Europe[131]. Many of the poor came originally from the countryside. Mobility was one of the main aspects of the new poverty. The drift from the land to the towns was aggravated by enclosures, expropriation, creating a drifting, workless class of people. They crowded into towns, there they aggravated social problems and helped to depress wages. Poor living conditions stimulated crime. A combination of changing social circumstances, governmental and intellectual factors appears to have determined that the sixteenth century could be characterized, both in England and in Europe, by a great efflorescence of interest in the improvement of traditional ways of relieving and governing the poor.

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*The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Volume IV.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); *Germany. A New Social and Economic History, 1630-1800*, ed. Sheilagh Ogilvie (Arnold, 1996).

[129] Ernest Benz, "Population Change and the Economy" in *Germany. A New Social and Economic History, 1630-1800*, ed. Sheilagh Ogilvie (Arnold, 1996). P. 39.

[130] Robert Jutte one of the most prominent researchers of this topic, for example: Robert Jutte, "Poor Relied and Social Discipline in Sixteenth-century Europe" in *European Studies Review, Volume 11* (1981): 25-52.

[131] Ibid. P. 25.

### *Changes in perception of the poor*

All these socioeconomic factors influenced the *concept* of poor, on the way how poor people were perceived by society[132]. Two completely differing views of the poor were held in this period. One derived from an old humanist and Christian ancestry: the poor deserved well of society since society had not done them well. The other, which obtained greater prevalence after the Reformation, was that the poor needed reforming, since their own incapacity had put them in such miserable condition. Society and magistrates clearly differentiated the poor and the beggarly, who were living thanks to almsgiving. Begging had been at the centre of the medieval practice of charity, not least because of the teachings of Francis of Asissi and other Franciscans such as Bernardino of Siena, who had emphasized that begging most fully expressed a person's relationship with God. However, by the end of the fifteenth century the humility traditionally associated with the poor begging for alms was quickly disappearing, for the most part because of their numerical increase. Instead begging became increasingly associated with the aggression and threat represented by sturdy beggars and vagrants, it perceived as a threat to society. Furthermore the motives and humility of the mendicant orders, the leading representatives of the voluntary poor, were increasingly questioned by the urban laity.

The Protestant Reformation only reinforced this perception. According to Protestants, voluntary – lay or ecclesiastical – made a mockery of real poverty[133], which fell to the Christian commonwealth to tackle as an expression of neighbourly love, but not in order to earn points towards one's salvation, towards which humanity by definition was not able to contribute. Consequently, Protestants strove to eliminate all begging rather than just trying to regulate and

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[132] Ястребицкая А.Л. Бедность, бедняки и маргиналы в европейском городе XII XVII вв. (Социокультурная реконструкция)// Культура и общество в Средние века-ранее Новое время. М.: Б.и., 1998. 280
[133] *Health care and poor relief in Protestant Europe, 1500-1700.* (Routledge, 1997). P. 4.

control it, which tended to be the Catholic solution. Many historians deem that it was the beginning of the church discipline[134].Nevertheless,  the main trends of new social policy were not necessarily of ecclesiastical origin:

1.        The increasing role of the state which led already in the sixteenth century and also later on to highly influential debates about the proper relationship between public and private charity. Since the late Middle Ages leading preachers and theologians demanded the more positive intervention of the civil authorities in caring for the poor. The merging of the ecclesiastical with the secular authority in the administration of poor relief can, therefore, be traced back to the eve of the Reformation.  At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century many town councils were already more or less successful in attaining the right of supervision of hospitals and charitable institutions, exercising a control over their internal management and their external affairs[135].

2.        An increasing rationalization, bureaucratization and professionalization of relief work. The number of needy became larger; reformers insisted that traditional forms of charity would never again be able to contend with the real job of poor relief. Arbitrary and unfounded alms-giving seemed to them old-fashioned, counterproductive and disastrous not only for the individual and his family, but also for the community. Here we can see the traces of the ideology of the Reformation. More effective forms of help for the needy had to be found. Poor relief administrations began to undertake the meticulous investigation of each individual case of poverty. This individual and

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[134] Comprehensive research concerning Reformation and Discipline is: Michael F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform. 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (E.J.Brill: Leiden, New York, Koln, 1996).
[135] This topic is well elaborated in works of the Polish historian Bronislaw Geremek, for example: Bronislaw Geremek. *Poverty. A History*. (Blackwell, 1994).

personal supervision was seen by magistracies all over Europe as the solid foundation for more efficient poor relief. Professionalization and bureaucratization were the result of this new social policy. The trend towards bureaucratization and rationalization was to continue until the end of the old regime.

3. The links between Catholic and Protestant attitudes towards the poor are unusually clear in the case of education. In the Reformation and Post-Tridentine period as well as later on within the Enlightenment reorganization of poor relief and educational reform overlapped. The education of the impoverished constituted a kind of litmus test for the ubiquity of the reorganization of poor relief in early modern Europe. However, if education could not cure the present social evils right away, it nonetheless seemed to provide the best chance of reducing poverty in the next generation. The training of pauper children in some kind of work or craft, so that they might learn habits of industry and acquire the ability to support themselves when they were grown up, was a distinctive feature of sixteenth-century social policy.

I would say that by breaking the ancient bond between almsgiving and religious merit, the reformers made it possible to reconsider poor relief as a civil obligation to the Christian commonwealth that concentrated not on the hereafter but the living poor and their social problems. English Protestantism especially helped to break down medieval structures which defined individual and national behaviours. The rejuvenated commonwealth ideal became the temporary replacement focus for many, this concept was in part the creation of the humanistically educated pamphleteers of early Tudor England and in part also the social ideal

within which the Anglican Reformation achieved some sort of domestication in English culture[136].

### *Bridewells*

The bridewells[137] were logical extension of the above-mentioned policy. The rise of imprisonment marked transformation. The novelty of prison workhouses lay in approach to marginal people which was both positive and more repressive. Instead of being banished as it was in the Middle Ages Europe, although numerous prohibitive decrees were not very effective, new trend implies that people who were not  entitled to relief but still begged were in fact lazy and should to be compelled to work.

House of correction or *bridewell* as it is called in British historiography emerged in late-sixteenth century London in response to the growing problem of vagrancy[138]. By the early seventeenth century approximately 170 such houses had been opened across the country.[139] The specific purpose of these institutions was not only *to punish*, but also *to reform, to correct*. The authorities were trying to employ the prisoners of the workhouses so that the inhabitants would learn skills and habit to work. Money was spent not only on the organization of incarceration,

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[136] Ben Lowe, "War and the Commonwealth in Mid-Tudor England", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (Vol.21), No 2. P. 171-192.

[137] Early modern Europeans made a linguistic distinction between jails and prisons, referring to prisons as "bridewells" or "houses of correction" (in England), tuchthuizen (in the Netherlands), and zuchtauser (in Germany), the latter two terms literally meaning "houses of discipline", see more in *The Oxford History of the Prison*, ed. Norval Morris, David Rothman (Oxford University Press: New York, Oxford, 1995). P.67.

[138] 'Bridewell Hospital', the name of its institution derived from its site (similarly to the Kalinkinsky house), the abandoned Palace of Bridewell, standing outside the City walls, deserted because of its insalubrious location and subsequently given to the City for use as a hospital.

[139] Randall McGowen, "The Well-Ordered Prison. England, 1780-1865", in *The Oxford History of the Prison. The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*, ed. Norval Morris and David J.Rothman (Oxford University Press, 1995), P.83.

but also on salaries for the prisoners. In England and other European countries the magistrates were responsible to oversee the institution[140].

The first bridewell was an urban institution, established by men active in city government striving to grasp urban social problems. Their intention in establishing bridewells appears to have been chiefly to enhance their capacity to police city streets, keep them clear of beggars, the homeless, and the destitute. According to contemporaries, the streets of sixteenth-century English cities were characteristically embarrassingly thronged with beggars and ragged vagrants. While many of these were accepted to be genuine unfortunates, others – so-called *sturdy beggars* – were suspected of having adopted an idle and parasitic mode of life by choice. It was primarily for the correction of such people that bridewells were first devised: London (1555) and other English towns (from 1562), Amsterdam (1596) and other Dutch towns (from 1598), Copenhagen (1605), Bremen (1608) and other North German towns (from 1613), Antwerp (1613) and other towns in the southern Netherlands (from 1625), Lyon (1622), Madrid (1622), Stockholm (1624).

Historians are relatively well informed about the daily life of inhabitants confined to early modern workhouses. Two significant aspects of workhouse life are the concept of the prison workhouse as a household and the role of its managers in this household; and the nature of the institutional regime and the inmates' reactions to it.

As Pieter Spierenburg, a prominent historian of the penal system in Europe, notes: "the management of prison workhouses did not change very much between the introduction of the first such institutions around 1600 and the firs half of the nineteenth century, when solitary

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[140] Ibid. P. 83.

confinement and the panoptic principle took center stage. Most workhouses[141] were managed

by a complex hierarchy of supervisors consisting of four levels of officers." The first level were

the magistrates who founded and ultimately directed the bridewell; the second level, the

administrators, who were responsible for financial providing (both the magistrates and the

administrators spent little actual time at the bridewell); the third level, the staff, who oversaw

the inhabitants and internal affairs as a whole; the fourth level: the assistance, who were

subordinated to the managing staff. The resident staff was the group with the most

responsibility for managing the workhouse. They had three main tasks: to keep inmates busy

with work, to provide them with food, and to secure internal order. Staff members usually lived

in workhouse.

Spierenburg wittily notes that there were three main inmate activities, two that complied

with official prison order and one that hoped to subvert it: labor, religious exercises, and

preparation for escape.

The workhouse regime revolved around forced labor. Prison trades varied widely, but

rasping and cloth work were most important. Cloth work included spinning, weaving and

fabricating such clothes as bombazine, canvas, or linen. Rasping involved the pulverization of

logs of dyewood to produce powder for coloring material. The last was mainly men' work,

women did the spinning. Whatever the task, the authorities normally required a minimum

output from each inmate.

Conflicts and violence among inhabitants, sexual contacts between inmates and staff,

refusal to work and other forms of disobedience, preparations for escape, were widespread

practice.

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[141] Pieter Spierenburg, "The Body and the State", in *The Oxford History of the Prison*, ed. Norval Morris, David Rothman (Oxford University Press: New York, Oxford, 1995). P.68.

The practice of compelling the poor and marginal people to labor was certainly far from unknown before even the bridewells. But earlier efforts to this effect had commonly focused on supplying an *existing* demand for labor. New to the sixteenth century were determined efforts by governments *to create* work opportunities for the workless, idle people, and the poor.

One aspect of the intentions of those who established Bridewell remains unclear (it is also the question concerning the Kalinkinsky house): the *length of time* inhabitants of Bridewell were intended to spend in the workhouse. Was their sojourn designed to be fairly brief: were they committed for a penal and re-educative short, sharp shock? Or was there some thought of the hospital as a kind of labor colony?

Who were the idle and disorderly committed to Bridewell? It is known, than many were picked up in the streets, Spierenburg also notices that grounds for commitment cited in late sixteenth-century Bridewell court books include *prostitution*, he says that it was a frequent charge, especially in the early days, *adultery, bigamy, profane swearing, dice-playing, drunkenness, slander.* I.e. in some extent it seems possible to speak of a *campaign* against disorder and vice, associated with the establishment of Bridewell. Prostitution and other forms of sexual immorality were favored targets[142]. Thus, Bridewell was closely linked into a drive to intensify certain forms of urban police[143]. The Bridewell became an excellent example, at least a quarter of English countries had their own bridewells (some more than one) by the end of the sixteenth century; by 1630 a network of bridewells covered the whole England[144]. New county bridewells continued to be founded into the early seventeenth century. Similarly, in the 1690s, when much of Europe suffered some of the worst harvest failures and hardship for years, there

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[142] *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective,* ed. Francis G Snyder (Rutledge, 1988), P.59.
[143] More on this issue in Paule Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government 1547-58", in *The Mid-Tudor Policy*, ed. J. Loach, R.Tittler (London: Macmillan, 1980): pp. 107-108.
[144] *Labour, Law and Crime: An Historical Perspective,* ed. Francis G Snyder (Rutledge, 1988), P.62.

was a wave of a new incorporated bridewells in England, whilst in Denmark there was a flurry of new legislation and commissions of enquiry from 1697 right through to the substantive legislation of 1708[145]. In Denmark a net of workhouses or house of correction appeared in the eighteenth century: Moen (1739), Stege (1742), Viborg (1743), Odense (1752), etc.

The intensification of social and moral discipline in new socioeconomic circumstances was a common European trend. Discipline as a mode of correction was especially strictly elaborated in England, perhaps thanks to the strong traditions of the Protestant Reformation. The specific features of English bridewells, no doubt, could be found in the Kalinkinsky house: the strict management of the workhouse, incarceration not only as a punishment, but also as a way of correction, including a humanitarian aspect.

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[145] Thomas Munck, "Forced Labour, Workhouse-Prisons And The Early Modern State: A Case Study" : http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/e-seminars/munck-paper (accesses on June, 2)

# Conclusion

The process of the secularization of private life was a common European trend, typical for all countries. It was mainly connected with the development of the new state. It is proved, that this process became especially intensive with the development of the absolutist state, which could be explained by the character of power and its resources allowing the implementation of control over all areas of human life. It can also be named *disciplining*, because the purpose of this control was not spreading exclusively coercive order, discipline had clearly rational roots, i.e. commonwealth. Although a fully-fledged policy of social discipline closely connected with the increase of the state, this policy had roots in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when European societies for the first time were confronted with new socioeconomic challenges: urbanization, migration, mass poverty stimulated the development of self-regulation tendencies. As soon as the church was not able to be the main actor in poor relief policy, due to a lack of resources, many of the social problems which previously belonged to the church control became secular ones. This meant that many notions, traditions also transformed.
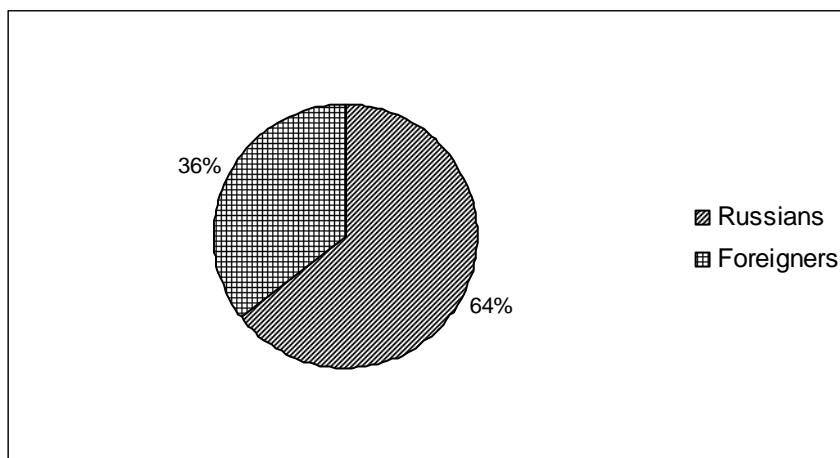
The mentioned process also happened in Russia, but later and in a different way. Russian society did not have any experience in self-control and self-discipline. There were no cities in such a scale as in Europe, whereas it was the cities that were the place of birth of social discipline. Nevertheless, the first stage of policy of social control had been triggered by Peter the Great, who mostly copied European experience. The next stage of this process happened during Catherine the Great's reign and was influenced by the philosophy of the Enlightenment.
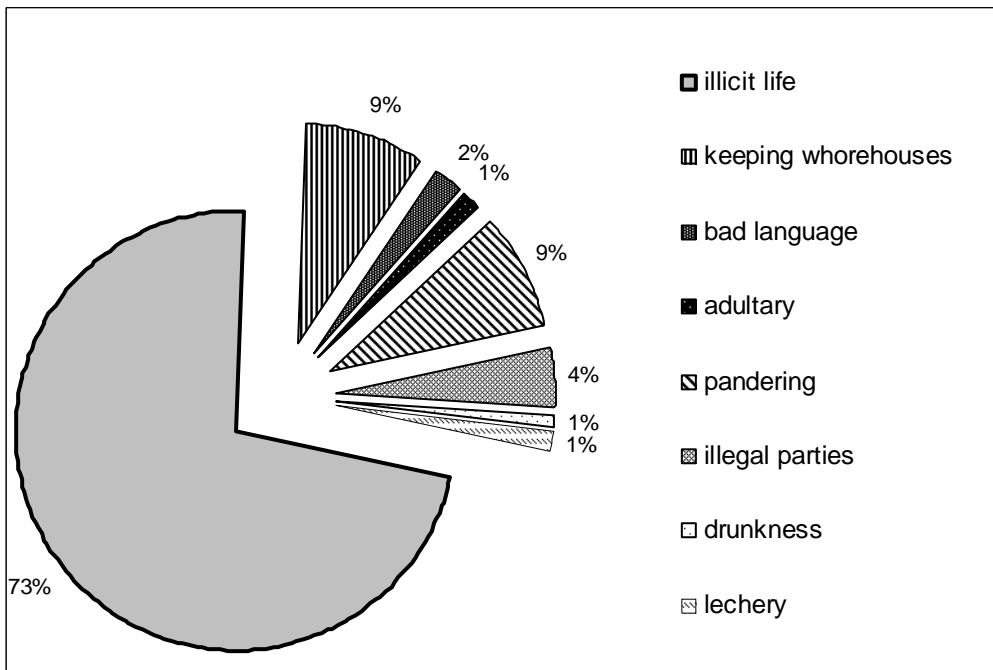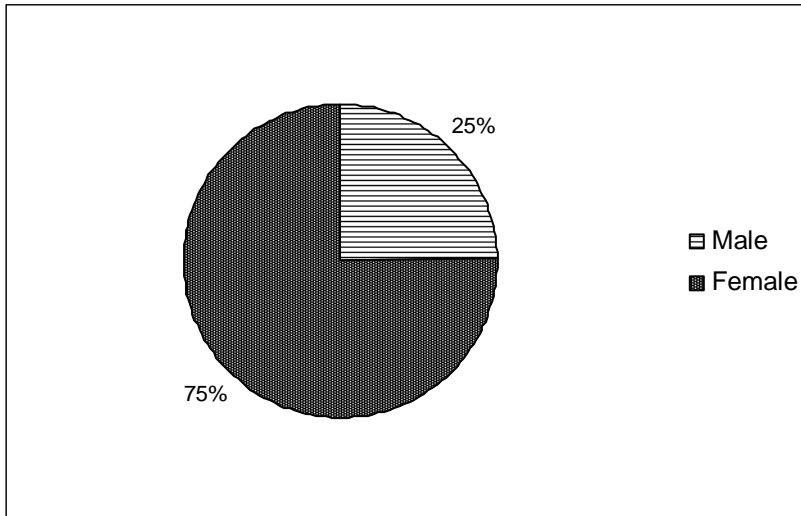
The Kalinkinsky house was a part of such policy, implemented with a great comprehensiveness and carefulness. It clearly fits into the main trend of European policy to control marginal people, especially those (prostitutes) who violate social/moral norms and

74

peace. As I have tried to prove, for the most part the Kalinkinskaya commission was ahead of its time and the existing penal system. Years later Catherine the Great elaborated legislation concerning workhouses, houses of correction, almshouses, which had never become widespread in Russia. Anyway, the Kalinkinskaya commission was not a curious, casual place, implemented by chance. The existence of this institution has demonstrated that Elizabeth Petrovna and those who helped her with Commission, were well informed how and why to correct marginal people. It seems that the archetypical way of thinking on such issues applied to Russia.
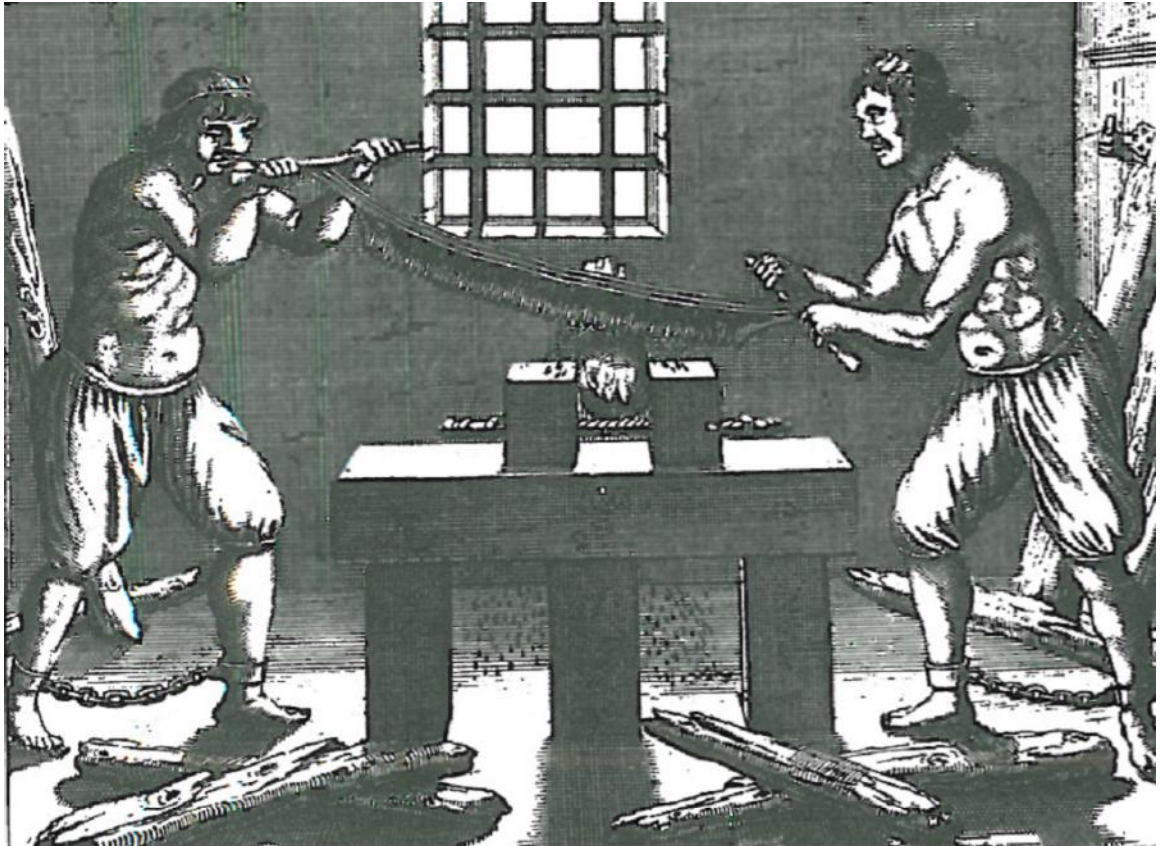
# Appendix 1

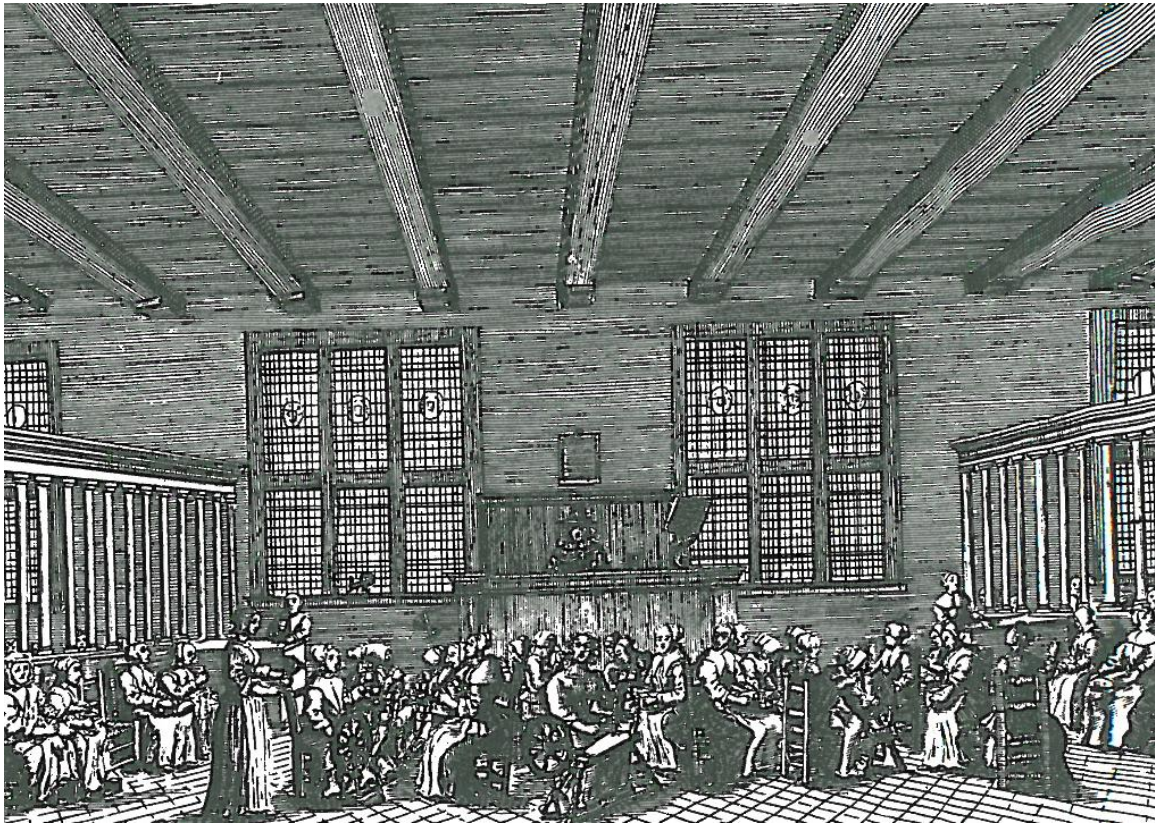**Statistics is based on 175 cases.**

25%

75%

☐ Male
■ Female

9%

2%
1%

9%

4%

1%
1%

73%

☐ illicit life

▥ keeping whorehouses

▦ bad language

■ adultary

▧ pandering

▦ illegal parties

☐ drunkness

▨ lechery

# Appendix 2



Two inmates of a rasphouse in 1663.

Female prisoners at work in an Amsterdam spinhouse in 1664.

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