

# CONTENTS

Foreword to the Second Edition	xix
Foreword	xxi
Chapter 1: The Environment and its Consequences	1
1 The geographic setting: vegetation, soils, climate, precipitation and waterways	1
2 The influence of Russia's northern location on her economy:	5
A Short farming season	6
B Poor yields	7
C Lack of markets	9
D Unprofitability of farming	10
E Industrial side-occupations ( <i>promysly</i> )	12
3 Influence on population movement	13
4 Influence on social organization:	16
A Joint family	16
B Peasant commune ( <i>obshchina</i> )	17
5 Influence on political organization:	19
A Incompatibility of means and ends	19
B The 'patrimonial' system as solution	21
PART I: THE STATE	
Chapter 2: The Genesis of the Patrimonial State in Russia	27
1 Slav colonization of Russian territory	27
2 The Norman (Kievan) state:	28
A The commercial nature of the state	29

	B Succession pattern	31
	C Assimilation of Normans	32
	D Origins of the name <i>Rus'-Rossiia</i>	33
	E The Norman legacy	34
3	The dissolution of the Kievan state:	35
	A Centrifugal forces	35
	B North west: Novgorod	36
	C Lithuania and Poland	37
4	The appanage (patrimonial) principality of the north-east:	39
	A The colonization of the Volga-Oka region	39
	B New political attitudes	40
	C The appanage principality as property	40
	D The prince's domain	43
	E The princely administration within and without	44
	F Boyars and boyar land	46
	G 'Black land'	47
5	The problem of feudalism in appanage Russia:	48
	A Political decentralization	49
	B Vassalage	50
	C Conditional land tenure	52
	D The political consequences of the absence in Russia of feudal tradition	53
6	Mongol conquest and domination:	54
	A The invasion	55
	B Character of rule and its influence on Russian politics	56
Chapter 3: The Triumph of Patrimonialism		58
1	The rise of Moscow:	58
	A 'Monocracy' and 'Autocracy'	58
	B The Great Principality of Vladimir and the Nevsky clan	59

# CONTENTS

C	Ivan I Kalita	61
D	Succession by primogeniture	63
2	The patrimonial principality:	64
A	Confusion of <i>dominium</i> and <i>imperium</i>	64
B	Domainial origin of Russia's administration	66
C	Failure to distinguish crown and state properties	69
3	The politicization of Moscow's patrimonial rulers:	71
A	Dissolution of the Golden Horde and collapse of Byzantium	71
B	The Mongol-Tatar sources of the Russian idea of kingship	73
C	<i>Gosudar'</i> as sovereign	77
4	The expansion of Moscow :	79
A	Its psychological effects	79
B	The conquest of Novgorod by Ivan III	80
C	Subsequent acquisitions	83
Chapter 4: The Anatomy of the Patrimonial Regime		85
1	Servitors and commoners	86
2	The service estate:	87
A	Boyars lose right of free departure	87
B	<i>Mestnichestvo</i> as last boyar weapon	90
C	The rise of <i>dvoriane</i>	92
D	The <i>oprichnina</i>	94
E	Terms and forms of service	95
3	Commoners:	98
A	<i>Tiaglo</i>	98
B	Serfdom: its rise and spread	100
4	The administration: Duma, Sobor, bureaucracy	106
5	Mechanism of control and repression:	108
A	Denunciation as civic duty	109
B	Closed frontiers	110

Chapter 5: The Partial Dismantling of the Patrimonial state	112
1 The crisis of the patrimonial system	112
2 The military reforms of Peter I:	115
A Shortcomings of the old army	115
B Creation of a standing army	120
C Effect on commoners: soul tax and conscription	120
D Effect on servitors: compulsory schooling and Table of Ranks	122
3 Construction of St Petersburg	126
4 The idea of 'public good' and its implications	127
5 Creation of a political police under Peter I	129
6 Dvoriane emancipate themselves from service	130
7 The bureaucracy slips out of the crown's control	134
8 The dyarchic constitution of post-1762 Russia	137
PART II: SOCIETY	
Chapter 6: The Peasantry:	141
1 The routine of peasant life	141
2 Social stratification:	144
A Proprietary peasants and state peasants	144
B Peasants on quit rent and corvée	146
3 The condition of Russian serfs	148
4 The effect of serfdom on the peasant psyche	153
5 Some traits of the peasant mentality	157
6 The political outlook of the muzhik	161
7 The Emancipation settlement of 1861:	162
A Causes of emancipation	162
B Provisions of Edict of 19 February 1861	164
C Shortcomings of the settlement	165
8 The agrarian crisis at the turn of the century	167
Chapter 7: Dvorianstvo	171
1 Dispersal and rapid turnover of landed wealth in Russia	172

2	Impoverishment of dvoriane :	175
A	Poverty of the rank and file and absence of primogeniture as its major cause	176
B	Statistics of serf distribution	177
3	Serfdom as cause of dvorianstvo dependence on the crown	179
4	Absence of corporate institutions and spirit	180
5	Political ineffectiveness of this class	183
6	Political attitudes:	186
A	Grandees	186
B	The middle group ('gentry')	188
7	Catastrophic decline of dvoriane after 1861	190
Chapter 8: The Missing Bourgeoisie		191
1	The aptitude of Russians for trade and industry	192
2	The Muscovite monarchy monopolizes industry and trade:	193
A	Regalia	194
B	Domestic merchants ( <i>gosti</i> ) and foreigners as servants of the crown	196
3	Russian urban institutions:	198
A	The city of the western type	199
B	Muscovite cities as microcosm of Russian society	200
4	The Muscovite merchant class:	203
A	Levantine characteristics	203
B	Pre-capitalist economy	206
5	Change in the government's attitude towards merchants in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Peter's policies	207
6	The policies of Catherine II:	211
A	Freeing of trade and manufacture from restrictions	211
B	Effect of these measures on dvoriane	212
C	Emergence of serf-entrepreneurs	213
7	New policy towards the cities	215

# CONTENTS

8	The merchant of imperial Russia	217
9	Economic and political inertia of Russian merchants	218
Chapter 9: The Church as Servant of the State		221
1	The aesthetic and spiritual aspects of Orthodoxy	221
2	Orthodoxy and state: <i>symphonia</i> as the ideal	223
3	The Golden Age of the Russian Church (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries):	226
	A Growth of monasticism	226
	B Effect on clergy	227
	C Controversy over monastic landholding	228
4	The church works out the autocratic and imperial ideology for Moscow's rulers	232
5	The Schism:	234
	A Its origins and political aspects	234
	B The dissenters: Old Believers and Sectarians	236
6	The subordination of church to state in the eighteenth century:	239
	A Peter's measures	240
	B Secularization of church land under Catherine II	242
7	Growing isolation of church and clergy	243
PART III: INTELLIGENTSIA VERSUS THE STATE		
Chapter 10: The Intelligentsia		249
1	Inability of 'interest groups' to restrain Russian autocracy	249
2	The 'intelligentsia': origins and meaning of the term	251
3	Emergence of public opinion under Catherine II:	253
	A Antecedents	253
	B Catherine's own contribution	255
	C Novikov	256
	D Radishchev	258
	E The Decembrists	259

# CONTENTS

4	The generation of Idealists:	259
	A Impact of German Idealism on Russia	259
	B Psychological consequences	260
5	Social and institutional characteristics of the intelligentsia:	261
	A Influx of commoners after 1855	261
	B Salon, university, circle, journals, and zemstva	262
6	The Slavophile-Westerner controversy:	265
	A Chaadaev opens the debate	265
	B Slavophile theory	266
	C The 'Westerners'	268
7	Crystallization of opinion in the 1860s	269
8	The new radicalism:	270
	A Its western sources	270
	B 'Nihilism'	271
	C The historic function of the intelligentsia as seen by itself	272
	D Socialist-revolutionary tactics, 1860-80	273
	E Perplexed reaction of the liberal camp	275
9	Conservatism:	275
	A Conservative analysis of 'nihilism'	276
	B Need to rediscover lost roots	277
	C Political attitudes	277
10	The conflict between radicals, intellectuals and writers:	277
	A Utilitarian aesthetics	278
	B Pushkin as object of contention	279
	C The writers fight back	279
	D Long term implications of this conflict	280
Chapter II: Towards the Police State		281
I	The bureaucracy in Russia:	281
	A Relative understaffing	281

# CONTENTS

B	Corruption as inherent in the Russia system of administration	282
C	Underpayment	283
D	Hierarchical distinctions	286
E	Gulf between central and provincial officialdom	287
2	Late and weak development of legality	287
3	Evolution of anti-subversive statutes:	290
A	Absence of adequate measures before 1825	290
B	Creation of regular political police (Third Section)	291
C	Censorship Code of 1826	292
D	Crimes against state defined and punishments provided for them	293
E	Efforts to improve justice for political offenders after 1864 frustrated by the intelligentsia	295
4	Initial government reactions to revolutionary terror:	297
A	The radicals go over to terror	297
B	Government over-reacts and lays bases for police state in Russia	298
C	Security measures, 1878-80	299
D	Creation of the Department of Police State (1880)	300
E	Its uniqueness	302
5	Failure of efforts at political reform	302
6	The 'Temporary' Law of 14 August 1881	305
7	Police interference in everyday Russian life	307
8	Exile and hard labour	310
9	Summary of police institutions in Russia of the early 1880s	311
10	Zubatov and portents of totalitarianism	312
11	Imperial Russia not an effective police state:	313
A	Private property	313
B	Foreign travel	314
C	Cultural inhibitions	314
12	Police powers undermine the old regime	315



# CONTENTS

13	Concluding remarks	316
	Notes	319
	Chronology	333
	Index	343