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WOMAN'S HONOR, OR THE STORY WITH A PIG

The Animal in Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-century Russian Provinces

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One summer night in 1764, in a remote village in the Orel province (*gubernia*), a company of noblemen convened at a local clerk's place. The gathering was rather casual: all guests were neighbors and relatives. Suddenly, a quarrel broke out between two of the guests—the cousins Danila and Vasilii Psishchev. Vasilii, who started the quarrel, did not limit himself to words but tried to provoke a fight. Danila, however, did not respond. Vasilii then rushed outside, grabbed a stray pig that happened to be running in the yard, and threw it at Danila's wife, Ul'iana, who sat at a window inside the house. The pig hit the woman hard, but the affront to her honor (*beschest'e*) was far more serious than physical pain. At least she felt that way and filed a complaint at the local court. The investigation, a record of which has survived in the Orel archives,[1] would last almost thirty years, well past the deaths of both the victim and the offender. Only in 1792 would the plaintiff's heiress drop all charges and have the case finally closed, thus leaving the offense unpunished and the insult unavenged.

Historians studying the behavior of common people in modern Europe have argued that the concept of honor underlay the moral systems and determined social interactions within European communities.[2] This sense of honor allowed a person to "stand out" in a rather communal existence where the boundaries of the public and the private were not clearly defined. While honor gave an individual his or her reputation and sense of public esteem, damage to honor, or dishonor, was often compared to death.[3] As

Nancy Kollmann has shown, early modern Russia "was part of the pan-European culture in which reputation and status, codified as personal honor, were basic building blocks of community and identity." The state provided legal means for individuals to defend their honor, so claims over dishonor were not uncommon. Affronts to women's honor were taken seriously, and Russian women, exercising to no lesser degree than men their right for public vindication, often won litigation and received substantial compensation.[4] According to Irina Reyfman, who studied matters of honor in the nineteenth century, the emergence of the duel as a cultural phenomenon in Peter the Great's time had led to gradual absorption and replacement, in the nineteenth century, of the traditional ways of conflict resolution between noblemen. A woman's honor would often become the issue leading to a duel—a relatively private way of dealing with the problem so as to avoid publicity in this sensitive matter.[5]

Some questions arise then in reference to the Orel case: Why had the two men not resolved their quarrel in a duel (or a simple fistfight), but insulted a woman instead? Why did Ul'iana's honor suffer to such a degree that she took the case to court and continued fighting for the rest of her life? Did the "tool" of the offense—"a live stray pig," as Ul'iana testified in her complaint—play a role in that? And, finally, why did she neither succeed in defending her dignity nor receive compensation for the insult to her honor in the second half of the eighteenth century—the time considered by many to be much more favorable to women than the period analyzed by Kollmann?

To answer these questions, I explore the "pig case" within a broad context of Russian social and legal history, women's studies, and eighteenth-century studies. A close reading of the Ul'iana Psishcheva case reveals complex interrelations of matters such as dignity, gender, property, and power, as seen by the Russian law, and justice and society at large. The pig case also sheds light on people's everyday interactions with animals, for even though the "tool" of offense to Ul'iana might have been accidental, its cultural connotations were not. The image of the pig in the Russian mind, folklore, and contemporary literature is a focal point here, as is speculation on how "accidental" a pig was in the courtyard of a provincial nobleman's estate in the mid-eighteenth century. Also, since the pig case was taken to court, the Russian law's relationship to the animal comes into question.

The main actors in this story—members of the Psishchev family—have left no trace in Russian history. Their names appear in no encyclopedias or history books, nor do the published general registers of the Russian nobility provide any information on this Orel clan.[6] The omission of the name Psishchev even in the Orel nobility registers initially led to doubt about its spelling—the name sounds rather unusual for a noble family.[7] However, the scrutiny of archival documents on economic matters in the region—deeds of land and purchases of peasants, inheritance arrangements, court litigations over land, and so on—revealed that the participants of the "pig story" were quite actively involved in local life.

The night of the quarrel, the tension between the two Psishchev cousins was felt from the very beginning. According to Ul'iana's testimony, Vasilii arrived "later and separately" from the other guests, "was acting quite crazily," and finally insulted her "in front of the whole company."[8] The latter circumstance seems to be extremely important for Ul'iana, so we might take a closer look at the people at the gathering, to better understand why this insult was so damaging to the woman's reputation.

At the time of the incident, Ul'iana Afanas'evna Psishcheva, née Lutovinova (died c.1792), was a woman in her prime with good standing in local society. She came from one of the region's richest and most powerful families—in 1763 the Lutovinovs possessed 22 estates with 1,277 male peasants in the central Black Earth (*chernozem*) region alone and were known for their arbitrariness, cruelty, and unrestrained temper, as they felt themselves the "true masters" of the province.[9] When Ul'iana married lieutenant Danila Afanas'evich Psishchev (1702–after 1788) in 1746, she made a good catch. Although her future husband was not rich—Danila possessed only 36 male serfs in the village of Semenovka Psishcheva in the Karachev district (*uezd*) of the Orel province—his career was moving up. He had first served in the Leib-Guards and then was transferred to the Moscow dragoon regiment. In 1764, Danila, then 62 years old, held the rank of prime major and must have been retired.[10] The couple lived with their two children on Danila's hereditary estate. There, as well as in other parts of the province, they owned considerable amounts of land and peasants—obtained as Ul'iana's dowry, as Danila's inheritance from his parents, and through purchases. By the time of the pig incident, the Psishchev couple's assets grew to about a 100 male serfs, thus positioning them among their peers as apparently well-to-do landowners.[11]

Danila's cousin Vasilii Osipovich Psishchev (d. 1784) had served in the Leib-Guards as well—in 1745 he was a corporal in the Izmailovskii regiment.[12] He must have retired, however, from military service rather early, entered a civil office and acquired, by 1764, the rank of titular councilor. Vasilii lived in the village of Semenovka Psishcheva too, with his wife and their two sons. Vasilii had less property than Danila—in 1763, only 23 male serfs in Semenovka belonged to him and his wife owned some additional peasants.[13]

The gathering took place in Mikhaila Sopov's house in the village of Lunino of the Orel district of the Orel province. The host of the party was of rather low social origin—an undersecretary's son. His wife, Agaf'ia, however, was noble by birth and owned, along with Lunino, the village of Samarokovo in the same district. The couple was anything but rich, as all of the Sopovs listed in the central Black Earth region by the 1763 census possessed only 29 male peasants[14]—our "pig party" hosts, even if they had no namesakes (a rather unlikely situation), would not be considered well-to-do owners. The rest of the company was "honorable people" (that is, of noble origin): lieutenant Sergei Somov, the "landowner" Anna Sibileva, and ensign Mikhaila Alafson. They were not rich either. Sergei Somov, the 44-year-old lieutenant, was Agaf'ia Sopova's brother and had inherited another part of the Lunino village, along with 46 male serfs.[15] Anna Sibileva was married to the *vakhmistr* (a noncommissioned officer) Akinfii Sibilev, whose family had many branches, so their property was quite dispersed.[16] The ensign Mikhaila Alafson, of the "Lithuanian nation," belonged to the lowest stratum of the local noble community: having served in the Russian military and civil service for more than thirty years, he possessed, in 1755, only two male serfs.[17] Thus, Danila and Ul'iana Psishchev were the best-off among the company the night of the pig party.

Mikhaila Alafson was the only person unrelated to the rest by family ties: Anna Sibileva was Danila Psishchev's sister, whereas Agaf'ia Sopova and Sergei Somov were Danila's maternal cousins. Among the guests, Vasilii Psishchev was Danila's only relative from his father's side, which made Ul'iana, Danila's wife, note that Vasilii insulted her while visiting "at this house belonging to a stranger."[18] In addition to that, Vasilii might also have felt socially less welcome at this gathering than Danila. As titular councilor, Vasilii occupied a lower hierarchical position (class nine in the Table of Ranks) than prime major Danila (class eight). The actual difference between their ranks was much greater than one step in the Table of Ranks: at that time, the rank of second major (lower than that of prime major) was rated as class eight as well. But most importantly, Vasilii's rank was in the civil service, which made it much less prestigious and lower in social standing in comparison with a military rank at similar level. So, for Danila, who occupied the central position at the gathering in any respect, the insult from a poorer relative must have felt even more offensive because of the latter's lower social standing. For Ul'iana, with her own family's repute and customs, the humiliation must have been horrendous.

According to Ul'iana's deposition, the incident with the pig had resulted from an unresolved argument between Danila and Vasilii. By 1764, there were at least two ongoing litigations involving both cousins, one about the right of succession after their granduncle died childless circa 1692, and a

second related to the death of Danila's father circa 1750.[19] The court file says that, on the night of the quarrel, Vasilii was extremely mad at Danila and tried to provoke Danila's men to start a fight. Instructed in advance to avoid trouble, they had not responded, so Vasilii insulted Danila's wife. As seen from this and other dishonor cases, damage to a woman's reputation constituted a challenge to the reputation of the whole family and was, therefore, often used as a means to dishonor men in conflictive situations. Insult to Ul'iana was meant to set off Danila's response, with results beneficial to Vasilii in their land dispute, and to humiliate both Danila and Ul'iana. The very tool of the assault, a "not small live young pig," brought additional humiliation due to cultural connotations.

Hardly any other animal possesses stronger symbolical meaning and more persistent overtones in people's minds than the pig. Yet the association is not equally widespread everywhere. In many cultures, a pig's image bears positive implications going back deep into history. Thus, according to Chinese tradition, the pig is linked to happiness and prosperity, so that being born in the Year of the Pig is a sign of luck. In Celtic culture, the wild boar was considered a sacred, supernatural, and even magical creature symbolizing protection, hospitality, and fertility. In Greek mythology, the pig was also a sacred animal, a sacrificial creature of Demetra, goddess of fertility; pig's blood had a purifying effect—thus, on a famous Apulian vase now in the Louvre, Apollo uses a young pig's blood to cleanse Orestes from the miasma (guilt) of matricide.[20] In the modern world, the pig may symbolize savings conducive to prosperity, with piggy banks originating from this symbolic meaning of the animal. In Germany, greeting cards, ones with wishes for the New Year in particular, often come with the image of the *Glücksschweinchen* (piglet of happiness); also, the German expression *"Schwein gehabt!"* means that someone was lucky. Sculptures of pigs and swineherds in many European cities convey people's appreciation of the animal.

In other cultures, however, the pig or swine was considered dirty and even devilish. The Egyptians regarded swine as being unclean because of their scavenging habits and prohibited their meat to be eaten, except on specific religious holidays. As some researchers believe, this taboo influenced the Israelites, who, due to their sojourn in Egypt, adopted similar dietary restrictions and attitudes.[21] With the advent of Christianity in Europe, the old pagan adoration for the pig was regarded as devil worship. A sow's farrow, which often consisted of seven piglets, was linked to the seven deadly sins. Pigs were considered to be particularly attractive to demons, as seen from the Bible story of "The Gadarene Demoniac Healed," in which Jesus sent a possessed man's demons, at their own request, into a herd of pigs. Church writers also condemned the pig as an animal with raw bestial passions and excessive sexuality.[22]

The pig's association, in ancient tradition, with the body, sin, and woman's honor is of particular interest here. In early Latin slang, the words *porcus* (pig, sow) and *porcellus* (piglet) were often used to describe female private parts; also, in Greece, prostitutes were called "pig merchants."[23] We can see a reflection of this tradition as late as the nineteenth century in the Russian culture and literature.

Some modern researchers underline, following Bakhtin, the ambivalence toward the image of the pig in European history and culture. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White present the pig as a creature at the intersection of important cultural and symbolic trends, where it seems to bear "the brunt of our rage, fear, affection and desire for the 'low.'" The disgust with the pig stems, as many believe, from the animal's habit of eating "garbage" and wallowing in the mud. The pig's skin color and its apparent "nakedness," particularly in small piglets, "disturbingly resemble the flesh of European babies," as Stallybrass and White note.[24] A focal symbol of the carnival culture of the European Middle Ages and Renaissance, the pig represented their "low" discourses that celebrated and reviled the animal at the same time. The celebration, however, was directly linked to the animal's death—the pig was good only to be devoured (after having been brutally slaughtered) and its worth was commensurate to the pleasure of eating.

In the modern European literary tradition, the negative implication of the pig's image has prevailed for a long time. It is most vivid in Molière's comedy ballet *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac,* first presented in September 1669 at Chambord, with the author himself in the title role. In the play, Monsieur de Pourceaugnac, an arrogant provincial from Limoges, comes to Paris intending to marry a young girl who loves another man, by offering money to her father. His rude behavior appalls everybody, but his self-evident name (*le pourceau*—pig, hog) provokes particular mockery, directly expressed by one of the heroines: "The very name of Pourceaugnac puts me in a frightful rage. I boil over with Mr. de Pourceaugnac. . . . Was ever such a name heard of! No, I could never put up with Pourceaugnac."[25] Since its first huge success, Molière's comedy has run on countless European stages. Throughout three centuries of popularity, it has been subject to numerous translations and adaptations, in Russia as well.

Although piggy banks were somewhat popular in Russia too, the extremely negative implication of the pig's image in the Russian mind is evident from folklore and literature. Russian proverbs collected by Vladimir Dal' in the mid-nineteenth century reflected the old tradition of associating such qualities as dirtiness, stupidity, and boorishness with the pig: "You dress a pig up, yet it wallows in manure"; "Among people a man, at home a pig"; "Angry but helpless like a pig's brother"; "A pig comes in without invitation"; "As important a notable as a pig in the swamp."[26]

Russian literature further developed this tradition by incorporating the European reading of the pig's image into its own discourse. In the 1819 adaptation of Molière's comedy *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* by Aleksandr Shakhovskoi, the very title of the play, *Pourceaugnac Falalei Brute, or Rochus Pumpernikel in a New Light,*[27] provided references to several literary works well known to a Russian audience at that time. Along with the direct borrowing from Molière, it contained the title of another Molière adaptation, the quodlibet "Rochus Pumpernikel" by German composer Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried and librettist Matthäus Stegmayer, first presented in Vienna in 1809 and staged in Russia the same year. The other two names in the Shakhovskoi title referred to Denis Fonvizin's works. The first, "Letters to Falalei," published in 1775 in Nikolai Novikov's satirical magazine *The Painter,* portrays a young boy whose behavior fully corresponded to the then meaning of his name, Falalei, in Russian: a simpleton, vulgar and self-satisfied boor.[28] The second reference was to Skotinin (Brute), the self-evident name of a character in Fonvizin's play *The Minor* (*Nedorosl'*, 1779–1781). Although Fonvizin's works contain no direct references to Molière's comedy, the indirect ones are most relevant to our discussion: pigs play an essential part in constructing portrayals of people. In both works the main characters, ignorant and cruel provincial noblemen, express more care and love for pigs than for people, their serfs in particular. By combining a variety of hints in the title of his play, Shakhovskoi revealed the main features those works had in common—the satirical scorning of arrogance, stupidity, and vulgarity, similar in people regardless of time and place, and identified, directly or indirectly, through the image of pig. It certainly worked in Russia and made the play popular for several decades.[29] In Russian literature the image of the pig also carried heavy social implications. Ivan Krylov's satire "The Pig Under the Oak" stands out among other examples, presenting the pig as an ungrateful, even unpatriotic creature that could not care less about the tree or, more symbolically, the country that feeds it.[30]

At the time of the Orel incident, a literary fight between the two most prominent poets of the period, Aleksandr Sumarokov and Mikhail Lomonosov, shows that the reading of the pig's image was negative then, as well. In 1760 Sumarokov published his satire, "An Ass in Lion's Skin." Some lines of the satire read:

> An ass, all dressed up in lion's skin,
> In his new attire,

Became as proud
As Hercules himself . . .
. . . when you see respect shown to a fool
Or high rank awarded to a freak
Of the lowest birth
Whom nature created to till the land,
He howled, mooed, roared, brayed,
Angry at everybody—
Alexander the Great was not that proud.[31]

Although the satire's addressee was not indicated, Lomonosov took it personally, particularly because of the reference to his low social origin, and countered with his own satire in 1761, "A Pig in Fox's Skin," pointed at Sumarokov. Here is an excerpt from this long piece:

A pig
Put on
A fox's skin,
Twisting its snout,
He blinked,
Dragged a long tail and walked like a fox;
Thus, he now looks quite like a fox.
There's only one thing the pig cannot grasp:
Nature gives to swine no sense at all.[32]

The identification of a stupid, uncultured person with a pig also found its reflection in Nikolai Novikov's satirical criticism of young men sent abroad for education who learned nothing but foreign vices: "A young Russian pig who has traveled in foreign lands to enlighten his mind and who, upon his useful journey, has now come back as a complete pig, can be seen, free of charge, by those interested on many streets of this city."[33]

Linguistic studies analyzing the most common and stable characteristics attributed by the modern Russian language to various animals identify both positive and negative implications of an animal's image in Russian culture. Thus, the horse has four positive and eight negative aspects in its image reading: "healthy, strong, enduring, and a hard worker" are on the positive side, whereas such attributes as "something big, eating too much, snoring, ungainly, clumsy, sly, secretive, and timid" form the negative implication. The image of the pig has no positive connotations at all, just a list of undoubtedly negative ones, heavily loaded with human social and cultural self-identification: "dirty, untidy, glutton, drunkard, greedy, impudent, boorish, rude, and shameless." Contrary to almost all other young animals, even the piglet is denied any positive qualities. He is "chubby, stout, fat, and a drunkard."[34]

The literary use of the pig, along with folklore traditions, clearly shows that the pig's negative connotation as human self-representation was universal in the Russian mind at the time of our pig story. Just placing somebody's name near the word "pig" might tarnish both the name and its bearer's reputation. Mere physical contact with a pig would disgust a noble person. In daily life, however, interactions with the animal were hard to avoid for everybody, including the rich and sophisticated. Cattle on the streets of large Russian cities, even the capital, let alone provincial villages and towns, were common in the eighteenth century. Peter the Great, wishing to transform his newly built capital of St. Petersburg into an advanced European city, regulated the presence of livestock in the urban environment. First in 1719, then again in 1720, decrees were issued to prohibit unsupervised livestock on the streets of St. Petersburg because of "damage to roads and trees." Shepherds were to be appointed to oversee cattle roaming around the city. Another decree announced charges and penalties on owners for leaving unsupervised cattle on city streets. It also permitted the tending of livestock, except for goats and pigs, in forest reserves. Pigs were totally banned from the state forests. A 1724 decree established rules for keeping livestock by military personnel staying in billet homes. Several decrees regulated driving herds for sale across cities.[35]

It would be wrong to think that Russia was far behind Europe in respect to the place of livestock in urban life. Many large European cities were engaged in rural activities well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. Although pigs freely roaming in the streets of Paris or London were more common in the Middle Ages than in the eighteenth century, this kind of scene in German cities and towns was so common that a 1722 treatise on economy recommended that towns be cleared of their livestock and "piles of dung." As late as 1746, pigs in Venice constituted such a problem that the authorities issued a decree forbidding people to keep pigs "in the city and in the monasteries."[36]

A nobleman's encounter with a pig in the Russian countryside was quite a frequent and natural circumstance. Hunters often targeted wild pigs, but the situation could easily reverse itself, as Gavriil Derzhavin discovered in 1763. A young Leib-Guard corporal on leave, Derzhavin was on his way to his family's Orenburg village when the axle of his carriage broke in the wilderness. Leaving his servants to change the axle, the young man picked up his rifle and went along a river looking for game. Suddenly he found himself right in front of a herd of wild pigs with small piglets. A big boar moved in his direction, the fur on his back bristling up and white foam coming out of his mouth. The hunter tried to escape by crossing the small river but the boar ran him down with great violence. Derzhavin jumped up, fired his rifle, and was lucky enough to hit the animal right in the heart. The boar dropped dead and only then did Derzhavin realize that the calf of his left leg was almost completely torn off and that blood was rushing out "like a stream." Unable to move, he would have bled to death—and Catherine the Great would have lost her future stats-secretary and senator and Russia never would have known her famous poet—had not some hunters found him lying there. Derzhavin suffered from his wound for a year and praised God for his miraculous escape.[37]

We might consider this type of encounter with a pig somewhat extreme (although hunting was the nobility's favorite pastime), but provincial noblemen and noblewomen interacted with livestock, including pigs, on a daily basis. A Russian nobleman's country estate in the mid-eighteenth century was supposed to be a self-sufficient economic entity capable of producing enough food for both the owner and his peasants. Thus, it usually comprised the landlord's animals and the peasants' livestock. The owner's cattle were kept closer to the house, in one or several special cattle sheds surrounded by the farmyard and the huts of the house serfs. The sheds would normally house cows, sheep, pigs, and poultry; horses would be kept in a separate stable. In the Orel province in the 1760s, a modest landlord would keep several pigs for his own needs; his peasants would keep pigs too, because their food tribute (*obrok*) to their lord usually included pork. For example, on the estate in the village of Lamovo, owned by the Actual State Councilor Fedor Iakovlevich Zhilin and inventoried in 1764 due to unsettled loans, the landlord's livestock included 5 cows, 2 calves, 6 sheep, 4 lambs, 4 pigs, and poultry of different kinds. His peasants had to provide 14.5 *pood* of pork (240 kg or 530 lbs), 23 sheep, 23 chickens, and 230 eggs annually for his table.[38]

To prevent livestock from entering the landowner's quarters, a fence usually surrounded either the formal part of the estate or the farmyard. A 1762 drawing by Andrei Timofeevich Bolotov, the famous memoirist, of his family estate Dvorianinovo in the neighboring Tula province depicts a typical estate structure of the period. Upon returning from military service that year, Bolotov saw the place for the first time since his childhood. The estate was in derelict condition, as nobody had lived there for several years. Built by Bolotov's grandfather early in the eighteenth century, the estate had remained intact for almost half a century. The estate had two separate parts—the front or the landlord's yard (2) and the backyard (9). The front yard consisted of the master's house (1), his small garden (3), a granary (4), a coach-house (5), and a stable (8). A fence with a huge main gate (6) protected the master's inner quarters and included one of the huts for house serfs (7) to enable easier access for the servants. The rest of the house serfs' huts, "closets and nooks" ("*kleti i zakuty*") were located in the backyard (10), midway from the main gate to the animal farm. The latter contained a cattle shed (11) and a sheepfold (12).[39] Thus, with the fence around the front yard, the noble occupants of the estate would normally be protected from direct contact with livestock.

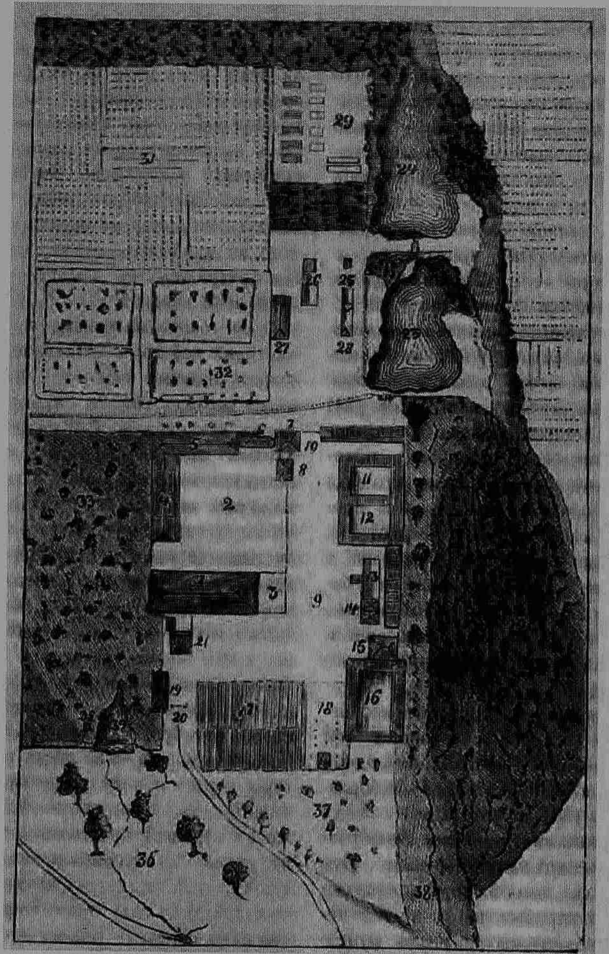

FIGURE 2.1. Drawing by Andrei Timofeevich Bolotov of his family estate Dvorianinovo in the neighboring Tula province. From A. T. Bolotov, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia Andreia Bolotova, opisannye samim im dlia svoikh potomkov* (*1738–1793*), 4 vols. (St. Petersburg: Pechatnia V. Golovin, 1870–1873), 2:327.

Although Bolotov described his estate as old and poor—he had only three peasant homesteads in that village and a few more peasants in his other villages—there were even poorer estates almost unsuitable for noble families. The writer N. A. Leskov depicts this type of estate organization in his story "The Vale of Life" ("Iudol'," 1892):

> Alymov, an Orel nobleman, lived alone in his small village where he had a very modest house (*domik*) of five rooms on an estate organized by his mother like that of a single-homesteader (*po-odnodvorcheski)*, not a nobleman. In other words, Alymov's house was built with one façade looking into his garden, with nothing other than fruit trees, while the other three sides of the house looked into the yard surrounded by sheds, granaries, and small barns. This type of [estate] organization is called, in our region, "in the round" and it had the advantage that all people and animals—just everything—was right under the owner's eyes; but nothing else could be observed. Because of that, no wind penetrates these estates—they are warm, practical and very boring.[40]

Although "The Vale of Life" is, of course, a literary work, Leskov repeatedly assures the reader that he describes what he saw himself in the 1840s in the Kromy district of the Orel province. Researchers believe that the story is based on real events: in 1839, Leskov's father bought an estate and moved with his family to the Kromy district, where the writer grew up accumulating impressions that would later underlie many of his novels and stories. The depiction of Alymov's household sounds even more realistic, as the Alymovs were a real, local noble family.

A similar estate layout seems to have been even more widespread among the poor provincial nobility in the 1760s. No wonder the habit of keeping "all people and animals right under the owner's eyes" made a pig quite a common figure in the owner's yard. The low social position and scanty assets of Mikhaila Sopov, the "pig party" host, strongly suggest that his estate was of this traditional structure so, had Vasilii Psishchev premeditated the intention of insulting Ul'iana with a pig, the tool to do so would be readily available. The woman, however, was sitting at a window *inside* the house; accordingly, for the "not small live young pig" to hit her when it was thrown from the yard, both the house and the window had to be of a certain type. Descriptions of provincial houses, made by contemporaries or found in archival documents, provide an idea of what Sopov's house may have looked like.

There is a common perception that, up to the end of the eighteenth century, "even the houses of wealthy provincials were barely distinguishable from peasant huts."[41] This perception is mostly based on A. T. Bolotov's description of his house in Dvorianinovo in 1762. The house looked to him "small, squalid, and [like] a veritable prison, which indeed it was," almost grown into the ground and so low that it was possible to reach the ground by hand from some windows. The house consisted of only three rooms suitable for living, the rest was just a huge storage place.[42] As noted above, however, the grim condition of the house was a consequence of the fact that it had been abandoned for many years.

A landowner coming to his estate to live, upon retirement or for other reasons, would normally try to improve the living conditions for himself and his family. Bolotov saw such an example on his way home from St. Petersburg in 1762, when he visited his sister Praskov'ia and her husband Andrei Travin on their estate in the Pskov province. While the family still lived in the old house, the new one, much more spacious and comfortable, was being built on top of a hill in the most beautiful spot of the estate. Bolotov also describes his visits, after his marriage in 1764, to the estates of his new relatives, provincial gentlefolk of modest means, many of whom owned bigger and better houses than Bolotov's ancestral one. Bolotov himself had his house renovated right on his return—partitions were removed, rooms expanded, larger doors and windows inserted, and the interior decorated after the fashion of the time. He also laid out a garden in the classical French style.[43] To accommodate his growing family, in 1769 Bolotov designed a larger house taking advantage of the location. Built on a high hillside over the river Skniga, the new house featured all of the necessary amenities for comfortable country living: a bright family room with large windows looking out at beautiful meadows and forests, a drawing room, a formal dining room, a dressing room, a master bedroom, bedrooms for the children and for the mother-in-law, and Bolotov's study. Maidservants and lackeys had their separate rooms, and the subsidiary space was divided into a buffet, a cloakroom, a large storage room, and two inner porches at the front and back of the house, each with a toilet. Bolotov decorated the house with wallpaper of his own making and filled it with furniture, household items, and books and paintings dear to his heart. Bolotov was not alone in his domestic endeavors: as property inventories of insolvent provincial noblemen show, many country houses in the mid-1760s already contained foreign furniture, large mirrors, and even paintings. Thus, a variety of houses—from old and small to newer and bigger ones—could be observed on modest noble estates of the period, all of them, though, significantly different from peasant huts.[44]

Given the Sopovs' economic situation, their house was likely to count among the category of old houses described above. As we saw, windows located quite low—so as to allow Vasilii to reach one of them with his "not small pig" —were not uncommon. On the other hand, they had to be high and wide enough for the pig to fly through and hit Ul'iana.

A violent attack involving a pig was, no doubt, extremely humiliating to the Psishchev couple, as it had the potential to make them the laughingstock of the entire neighborhood. The outraged Ul'iana, who most likely fancied herself the grande dame of the community, had to retaliate quickly and effectively in order to restore her reputation. A week after the quarrel she submitted her claim to the Karachev governor chancellery, the local institution for civil and criminal justice in the district town of Karachev. We can assume that, in addition to the moral matters related to honor and its restoration in the public eye, financial compensation—*beschest'e*—was not the least among Ul'iana's motives: in accordance with the law, a major's wife could expect to receive a damage payment of about 600 rubles,[45] enough to buy an estate with several peasant families. The trial took place a year later, but the case was not solved because the defendant, Vasilii, rejected the accuser's witnesses as her near relations. The case could have remained unsolved forever as many cases did, but for Catherine the Great's administrative and legal reforms. After the 1778 restructuring of the Orel provincial government, the new local administration received orders to resolve "cold case files." Reviewed by the Bolkhov district court, Ul'iana's case went to trial in 1784, and surprisingly, she was found guilty of false accusations! Instead of receiving compensation for insult to her honor, she was to pay 714 rubles and 12 kopecks as a dishonor fine to Vasilii's family and 75 rubles 22 kopecks in litigation fees.

Ul'iana refused to accept the verdict that was, in her words, "against all rules of the law." She maintained that the court had acted in favor of the defendant because of his personal contacts and listed the particular law articles violated during the investigation. She signed a special disagreement statement, for a fee of 25 rubles, and appealed to the Orel higher land court. To Ul'iana's disappointment, the new trial one year later upheld the previous verdict. Ul'iana signed another disagreement statement, this time paying a 100 ruble fee plus 6 rubles for a new appeal to the next level of the legal system, the Orel civil court chamber. She also wrote a petition to the Empress asking for "a lawful satisfaction to my rightfulness." The new investigation lasted another three years. Ul'iana was asked to bring additional documents and submit new petitions. New witnesses testified, the lower- and upper-court chambers exchanged orders and reports, and finally, in 1788, the court overturned Ul'iana's guilty verdicts on the grounds of law violations. It also ordered another round of investigations but decided to count the case among the resolved ones until it received the new testimony. With no closure in sight after twenty-four years of proceedings, Ul'iana's dishonor received neither vindication nor compensation. The perpetrator of the offense (actually, his son Iakov who had inherited the litigation after his father's death) got away one more time.

It looks like the investigation never went much further. The next document in the file is an entry in the journal of the Orel civil court chamber made four years later, in 1792, when Ul'iana and Danila, their son Alexei, Ul'iana's offender Vasilii, and his wife and two sons were already dead. The court journal registers receipt of a petition from Praskov'ia Psishcheva, Ul'iana's daughter-in-law and heiress of both her property and litigation. Praskov'ia states that she is not a contestant in the ongoing litigation and will never seek its resolution. At the moment, though, she wants Ul'iana's appeal fees (125 rubles) reimbursed to herself, in accordance with the last verdict by the Orel civil court chamber. Also, as both of Vasilii's sons have died childless, Praskov'ia wants their property auctioned on her behalf so she can recover the money she lent them on promissory notes. Upon examining the petition and the reports on the Psishchevs from local authorities, the Orel civil court chamber ruled on May 31, 1792, to reimburse the appeal money to Praskov'ia, to release Vasilii's sequestrated property, and to close the thirty-year-old lawsuit.

In this case as in many similar ones, the authorities were in no rush to apply their juridical powers to protect and restore the applicant's honor. Ul'iana Psishcheva, whose pride must have suffered for the rest of her life because of that "flying" pig, never received financial or moral satisfaction. If no other issues were involved, court cases over dishonor normally concluded with the parties' mutual agreement to settle.[46] The pig is likely the key—Ul'iana's persistence in the fight for her honor shows that. The humiliation associated with the insult by the animal must have been unbearable.

A woman's honor and a pig found themselves connected in the Orel province once again in another court case, under investigation three years after Ul'iana Psishcheva's case was closed. On January 28, 1795, inside a church in the district town of Mtsensk, located in the northeastern part of the province, Nikolai Fedorovich Barykov, a local merchant's son, held his wedding ceremony in the presence of a big crowd of local residents. The nobility occupied the best place in the church, near the holy gates. Fedor Drachev, the district land surveyor, and his wife Anna were positioned at the left side of the gates, among other noblefolk. In the couple's close vicinity stood the wife of Gerasim Pushechnikov, a provincial registrar "of noble origin." The two women did not like each other's company and started a quarrel that quickly escalated into a fight. The ugly scene had its continuation in the local court—both women felt offended and filed complaints. The registrar's wife, Nastas'ia Pushechnikova, acted first, visiting the Mtsensk lower land court on January 30. Anna Dracheva, the surveyor's wife, showed up the next day to submit her complaint. Both women claimed damages to their honor perpetrated by the other. Their testimonies of what had happened in the church, however, differed dramatically.

In her complaint, Nastas'ia Pushechnikova described how, when she entered the church and approached the Drachevs, Anna Dracheva gave her an unfriendly look and "without any reason" started insulting her with "coarse offensive words" (*"nepristoinye ponositel'nye slova"*), with no consideration to the holy place. Then Dracheva's husband, Fedor, came up and punched Nastas'ia in the cheek, saying that she was lucky to be in the church, otherwise she would get much more. Nastas'ia claimed to be dishonored by these actions and asked the court for satisfaction.[47]

Anna Dracheva told the court that she was standing in the church at the holy gates when Nastas'ia Pushechnikova, "a former house serf maid" (*"byvshaia otpushchennaia na voliu dvorovaia devka"*), came close to her and pushed her "with agitation" (*"s azartnost'iu"*) and "without any reason." "Feeling sad" at that circumstance, Anna did not respond, as was appropriate for a worshipper in the house of God, and made room for Nastas'ia in hope that she would behave decently. Anna insisted in her testimony that she stood "calm and decent," while Nastas'ia, having no respect for decency but wishing to cause Anna more sorrow, kept pushing her until she almost fell into the holy gates' entrance. Only then, and just to stop Nastas'ia's misbehavior, did Anna say that "only an ignorant and a slave" (*"nevezha i kholop"*) could have such "impudence." To that Nastas'ia, "in her ineradicable willingness to offend" Anna, called the latter "a slave, a pig, and a beast" (*"nazyvala ee . . . kholopkoiu, svin'eiu i bestieiu"*), which amounted to "a heavy personal offense" to Anna. Anna Dracheva asked the authorities to find Nastas'ia, interrogate her, and try her in criminal court.[48]

The investigation went on unhurried, lingering over formalities. Both women made appeals to the upper level of the authorities. As the procedure required, the Drachevs had to pawn their estates—since the case had been initiated by Nastas'ia's complaint, they were considered offenders. Nastas'ia committed slight irregularities in handling her claim, so the Drachevs requested dismissal of charges on the grounds of procedural violations. She, in turn, sought protection as "the poorer one" against the court's transgressions and bureaucratic delays (*volokita*) from the governor general of the Orel and Kursk provinces. Half a year later, however, in July of 1795, both women wrote a joint petition to the Empress seeking to close the case and free the Drachevs' estates from sequestration, because the parties "willing to live peacefully have talked with each other and reconciled amicably."[49]

We don't know what exactly made Nastas'ia Pushechnikova agree to drop her charges. Quite possibly, she felt she was losing the case due to her failure to appear in court two weeks after filing complaint (she was sick). But more likely, she yielded to the pressure of the Drachevs, who were obviously better positioned within the local noble community both in terms of their means and their connections to the authorities. Nastas'ia's low social status—former house serf with noble status obtained through marriage—along with her demonstrative efforts to appear equal to a "real" noblewoman, obviously looked dishonorable per se to the local nobility. This circumstance must have provoked the quarrel in the first place and played its part in the authorities' unwillingness to act in Nastas'ia's favor. Despite its formal abolition nearly a century before, the old order of precedence (*mestnichestvo*) surfaced alive and well.

Although both Ul'iana Psishcheva and Anna Dracheva emphasized that a pig had been involved in their dishonor—one literally, the other figuratively—the authorities paid little attention to it. The specific measures and procedures provided by Russian law for dishonor cases include almost nothing regarding animals and their involvement in people's affairs.

The 1649 Code of Laws, which was actively used in the second half of the eighteenth century (and cited many times in our "pig case"), treats some domestic animals in chapter ten, "The Legal Procedure." While stating penalties for crimes, mostly the dishonor compensation for different offenses and insults, the statute depicts situations in which somebody's animal—dog, cow, sheep, or goat—offended a person or damaged another domestic animal. The next article describes the situation in which somebody illegally possesses another man's animal. The law mentions pigs, horses, cows, and sheep, in that order, and states that the offender should pay the cost of the animal. The price list for compensations is given in a special law on Atamans and Cossacks: a steed (*kon'*) —8 rubles, a Russian horse (*kobyla russkaia*)—3 rubles, a cow—2 rubles, a pig—20 altyn, a one year piglet—5 altyn, a young ram—3 altyn, and so on.[50] The 1649 Code of Laws is silent on any other interactions of people with animals.

The Church canons, however, showed much more specificity, especially concerning people's sexual contacts with domestic animals. The Orthodox Church considered bestiality a serious sin. An Old Believer miniature of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, "The Judgment of the Men Who Fornicate with Animals," depicts men engaged in bestiality becoming bestial themselves.[51] The eighteenth-century canons stipulated punishment for sexual use of a variety of animals, most commonly cows but also pigs, dogs, birds, and reptiles. Thus, they prescribed 3 years of penance (*epitim'ia*) and 300 days of intense bowing down for sexual use of a small inedible animal, 10 years and 300 days of bowing for repeated use of the same animal, and 16 years and 500 days for intercourse with edible animals. Those terms would be increased to 25 years and 500 days for a married man. For people over fifty, the penance was to last until death. The animals involved in such sinful actions were to be killed, and their use as food was prohibited.[52]

We find similar prohibitions and penalties in the Catholic Church canons.[53] Animals' role in bestiality, although passive, was also regarded as a serious crime. In early modern Europe there were numerous cases where accused animals were taken to prison, interrogated, tried in courts, and publicly executed. A 1531 treatise detailed the order that should be observed in excommunicating animals.[54] The convicted animal would most commonly hang, often dressed in human clothes, upside down by its hind legs.[55] Public burnings of animals used in bestiality were practiced in France up to the mid-eighteenth century; a 1795 Prussian law prescribed the killing of such animals or their expulsion from the country. Animals were tried and executed for a variety of human crimes, from murder to larceny to obscenity, well into modern times.

It seems that pigs were accused of crimes much more often than other animals. Historians cite dozens of court cases from all over Europe against pigs that were subsequently executed. Thus, in 1799 a judge near Woodbridge, England, found two pigs guilty of digging up and eating a corpse; the delinquents were sentenced to death by drowning. In Slavonia, a pig was publicly executed as late as 1864.[56] While many testimonies present animal trials as serious undertakings—with public charges, offenders summoned up by the court, and even lawyers appointed to represent the accused—they also describe mock trials and executions, either for fun or as part of carnival ceremonies. As scholars have proved, the torture of animals was a popular amusement in early modern Europe. The occult power of some animals, pigs and cats in particular, associated with their excessive sexuality, their attraction for demons, their mysterious ontological position at the edge of the taboo sphere, suggested witchcraft and called for massacre. In conformity with the condemnation by the church, people tended to see human features (for example, stupidity, arrogance, boorishness) in pigs and identified their own vices ("drunk as a swine") with them. As carnival ceremonies are known to have turned into riots, public animal trials and executions might have served to ridicule the legal system or challenge the social order.[57]

There is, however, no evidence of animal trials in Russia. Historians refer to a couple of cases of animal punishment but without trial. In one case, during Mikhail Fedorovich's reign (1613–1645), a monkey was executed by a direct order from the Patriarch for running into a church and causing havoc; in a late seventeenth-century account, a billy goat was sent to Siberia for pushing a boyar's son down the stairs.[58] Although some believed that the devil possessed the souls of criminal animals, the purpose of their public punishment staged by the authorities was not, of course, to impress other "potentially delinquent pigs"; executions obviously aimed to show people that even pigs must pay for breaking the law.[59] This implied that if and when people behaved *like pigs,* the law would punish them without mercy.

Adultery was one of the crimes most often associated with piglike behavior. Thus, we find such a reference in a Russian court document. In 1742, the Holy Synod pronounced its final verdict upon an almost twenty-year-long investigation of a couple from Sevsk, a town in the same region as Orel. This was a second marriage for both Maksim Parkhomov and his wife, Dar'ia Koltovskaia. Dar'ia was a widow and Maksim's first wife, Irina, was a nun. The latter circumstance, along with Irina's testimony about how the veil had been forced on her and her husband's adulterous relations with Dar'ia before her widowship, already had come to the Synod's attention in 1726 when it ordered the marriage between Maksim and Dar'ia annulled. When Parkhomov appealed the ruling, he was taken for interrogation to the Justice College, held there as a convict, and freed only on signing a repudiation of his marriage to Dar'ia. But the lovers started living secretly together again and had several children. The Synod kept insisting on their excommunication and ordered their neighbors and relatives to denounce them to the church. However, nobody obeyed and the couple lived in peace for a number of years. In 1741, Parkhomov went to St. Petersburg in hopes of getting a pardon from the new ruler, Anna Leopol'dovna, but was arrested instead. In January of 1742, the Synod finally closed the case and announced the verdict: Maksim Parkhomov and Dar'ia Koltovskaia had "shamelessly and stoneheartedly wallowed *like pigs* for many years in adultery" and because "there is danger that they can, due to their lack of fear and their stoneheartedness, sink in the same nasty lawlessness again," they both should be bound in irons and put away as convicts—Maksim at Solovki and Dar'ia at the Suzdal' Pokrovskii monastery. They were prohibited to correspond with each other, and their children were declared illegitimate.[60]

The verdict's reference to the adulterers as pigs reflects the direct link between that animal's image and women's honor in the Russian mind, for adultery constituted the strongest cause of a woman's dishonor. A false accusation with respect to somebody's illegitimate origin was a serious crime for which the offender would pay the victim twice the dishonor fine. If the accusation was correct, however, the accused had no right for compensation; on the contrary, his or her status as illegitimate had to be clearly established so they would be denied any of their parents' social privileges.[61]

The association of illegal sexuality (and dishonor, respectively) with piglike behavior also found its way into Russian literature. A young girl in Leskov's novella "Night Owls" ("Polunoshchniki," 1891) loves a man who, in her words, has used the expression "to tend pigs" ("*svinei pasti*") to describe the sexual relations he suspects her of seeking:

> [H]e says: "You are mistaken in your feelings—you love my despicable body and want to tend pigs with me, but you do not love me and cannot love me because we have different ideas and work for different masters; but I want to work for my own purpose and do not want to tend pigs with you . . ." So, in his opinion to make love is to tend pigs.[62]

In "The Kreutzer Sonata," L. N. Tolstoy calls all sexual relations, even in legal marriage, *swinish*, if they are not intended to create new life. His hero, Pozdnyshev, in his night confession to an accidental fellow traveler bitterly admits, "theoretically, love is something ideal, lofty, but in practice love is something ignoble, swinish, equally disgusting and shameful both to talk about and to remember."[63]

Here, it would be relevant to recall another story that connected the pig and a woman's honor, this time in a more humorous and gentle way. In her memoir, Ekaterina Moyer, daughter of Mariia Protasova, the lifelong love and inspiration of the famous poet Vasilii Zhukovskii, tells a story that happened in the early nineteenth century, again in Orel province. Zhukovskii's niece, Mariia Svechina, had no children in her marriage. She was a nice and naive person, a little absentminded. The then young Zhukovskii, seeking to underline Svechina's latter quality, once entrusted her with his secret—he told her he was in love with a woman who had borne him a child. He would like to raise the child but could not, due to its illegitimacy, and did not know what to do. Deeply moved, Mariia immediately offered to take in and bring up the child as her own, keeping its origin in secret. Although emotional and nervous, she was absolutely ready to sacrifice her honor for the child's sake. Finally, Zhukovskii handed over to her a piglet swaddled like an infant.[64]

This episode reveals the universal nature of the pig image in European culture, with the Russian tradition as part of it. Young Zhukovskii's practical joke resembles a modern circus act described by Paul Bouissac: A clown called "August" wears grotesque female clothes with huge artificial bosoms and enters the stage carrying a "baby" in a blanket, which is sucking milk from a vast bottle. When the baby cries, August picks it up and the audience discovers that the baby is actually a piglet. Bouissac presents this act as "the profanation of the sacred": the mother is transformed into the grotesque August and the baby into a piglet. The act, Bouissac notes, depends upon "foregrounding similarities which are culturally suppressed." Stallybrass and White, who cite Paul Bouissac, add that "often aspects of the human world are coded through perceived homologies with the pigs' world, particularly those qualities which are denied or negated as being supposedly antithetical to the civilized world."[65]

Although Zhukovskii's practical joke might have suggested the same disturbing homologies, its cultural meaning goes far beyond "the profanation of the sacred." When it was over, Zhukovskii's niece Mariia did not get angry with the young poet but tenderly laughed over the situation. Despite Zhukovskii's intentions, this story showed her extraordinary kindness and generosity, rather than her absentmindedness. A pig, presented this time as a fruit of forbidden and thus dishonorable love, helped to reveal, by contrast, the noble cause that made a woman forget her honor.

The negative implications of the pig's image in the Russian mind, folklore, history, and culture might have had some justification, but it is people who loaded the innocent animal with heavy social and cultural connotations. By ascribing human vices such as stupidity, dirtiness, lust, and ill manners to an animal, people identified a simple way to cleanse their own self-image, to distance themselves from the "bad" qualities they found in animals, and to highlight their own virtues. In our stories, the pig serves as a tool for human dishonor and a measure for human honor. But most importantly, the pig thrown at Ul'iana Psishcheva on a summer night in 1764 has helped us bring that woman and her family out of oblivion to the light of history. Without the animal, they—the humans—would be lost forever.

Russia: Popular Culture, Sex and Society since Gorbachev, ed. Adele Barker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 266–77.

35. Natal'ia Vyshegorodskikh, "Psovaia okhota," *Best of Guns & Ammo: Spetzvypusk rossiiksogo oruzheinogo zhurnala,* March 7, 2004.

36. Arja Rosenholm, "'There is no Russia without the Cow': The Russian Mind and Memory: The Cow as Symbol" in *Understanding Russian Nature: Representations, Values and Concepts,* eds. Arja Rosenholm and Sari Autio-Sarasmo (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Aleksanteri Institute, 2005), 69–96.

37. Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster,* trans. Keith Gessen (University of Illinois, Champaign: Dalkey Archive Press, 2005), 68.

38. "Russian Army + Nashi," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_jNBieB4d8 (accessed July 21, 2009).

39. Nikolai Solovtsov, dir., *Ves'egonskaia volchitsa* (Aktual'nyi Fil'm, 2004).

40. William Cronon, "Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (1992): 1375.

2. Woman's Honor, or the Story With a Pig: The Animal in Everyday Life in the Eighteenth-century Russian Provinces

This chapter is part of a bigger project, "Woman's Honor, or a Flying Pig: Everyday Life of Noblewomen in the Eighteenth-century Russian Provinces," which is currently being fashioned into a book. The project won the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies' 2006–2007 Émilie Du Châtelet Award for Independent Scholarship. The research was funded by the General Research Grants (SIG 2005 and 2006) of the School of Graduate Studies, University of Toronto.

1. Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Orlovskoi oblasti (hereafter GAOO), f. 19, op. 1, d. 3.

2. Arlette Farge, "The Honor and Secrecy of Families," in *A History of Private Life,* vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance,* ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1989), 571–607.

3. Farge, "Honor and Secrecy," 579.

4. Nancy Shields Kollmann, *By Honor Bound: State and Society in Early Modern Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 4. See also, André Berelowitch, *La hiérarchie des égaux. La noblesse russe d'Ancien Régime, XVI–XVII siècles* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

5. Irina Reyfman, *Ritualized Violence Russian Style: The Duel in Russian Culture and Literature* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1999).

6. A. A. Polovtsev, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'.* 25 vols. (St. Petersburg, Moscow: Imperatorskoe Russkoe istoricheskoe obshchestvo, 1896–1919); V. V. Rummel' and V. V. Golubtsov, *Rododslovnyi sbornik russkikh dvorianskikh familii.* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1886–1887); GAOO, f. 68, op. 1, d. 55, 58; *Alfavitnyi ukazatel' . . . Dvorianskikh rodov, vnesennykh v Dvorianskuiu rodoslovnuiu knigu Orlovskoi gubernii* (Orel: N.p., 1901); M. I. Lavitskaia, *Orlovskoe potomstvennoe dvorianstvo vtoroi poloviny XIX–nachala XX vekov (proiskhozhdenie, infrastruktura i sotsial'no-kul'turnyi oblik)* (Orel: Veshnie vody, 2005), 183–210.

7. Although Russian surnames, including those of noble families, often originate from nouns denoting animals, the Psishchev one is particularly rare. The name derives from the word "*pios*" (dog, cur, which often sounds derogative compared with the more neutral "*sobaka*") or "*psina*" (dogmeat), so one considers it appropriate for a commoner rather than a nobleman.

8. GAOO, f. 19, op. 1, d. 3, ll. 1, 3 ob., 32. Here and throughout, translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

9. S. V. Chernikov, *Dvorianskie imeniia Tsentral'no-Chernozemnogo regiona Rossii v pervoi polovine XVIII veka* (Riazan': N.p., 2003), 278; V. N. Zhitova, *Vospominaniia o sem'e I. S. Turgeneva* (Tula: Tul'skoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1961), 21; N. Chernov, *Dvorianskie gnezda vokrug Turgeneva* (Tula: IPP "Grif i K," 2003), 110.

10. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv (hereafter RGVIA), f. 490, op. 1, d. 143, ll. 41ob–42; d. 383b, ll. 30ob–31; GAOO, f. 19, op. 1, d. 3, l. 1.

11. GAOO, f. 847, op. 1, d. 110, ll. 1–1ob.; f. 6, op. 1, d. 1528, ll. 4–4 ob., 11; f. 760, op. 1, d. 5, ll. 3–42; d. 114, l. 145; d. 125, ll. 382–382ob., 387–387ob.; d. 235, ll. 116–18 ob. For the Russian nobility's ranking, see Boris N. Mironov with Ben Eklof, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700–1917.* 2 vols. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 2:208.

12. Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (hereafter RGADA), f. 1209, kn. 8/9218, no. 3, l. 386 ob.

13. GAOO, f. 760, op. 1, d. 5, ll. 79–86 ob.

14. Chernikov, *Dvorianskie imeniia,* 307.

15. RGVIA, f. 490, op. 1, d. 383b, l. 52ob; d. 517, l. 49ob.

16. The 1763 census registers listed about six hundred male peasants under the Sibilev name. See Chernikov, *Dvorianskie imeniia,* 304.

17. RGADA, f. 286, op. 1, d. 419, l. 912 ob.

18. GAOO, f. 19, op. 1, d. 3, l. 1. Future references to the Psishchev case and quotes from it are from this same file.

19. RGADA, f. 1209, kn. 8/9218, no. 3; GAOO, f. 6, op. 1, d. 90 and 1528.

20. James Hastings and John A. Selbie, eds., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Part 20* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 470–73, 487.

21. Orland Soave, *The Animal/Human Bond: A Cultural Survey,* 2nd ed. (Lanham: Austin & Winfield, 2000), 7–8.

22. Matthew 8.28–34, Luke 8.26–39 (King James Version, 2000), as published at http://www.bartleby.com/108/41/5.html (accessed July 20, 2009); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 80–81.

23. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 53.

24. Stallybrass and White, *Politics and Poetics,* 44–45; the authors refer to Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1968).

25. J. B. Molière, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac,* trans. C. H. Wall (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), 7. For a more current interpretation of the pig image, see George Orwell's *Animal Farm,* where the pigs, as the cleverest creatures among other animals, are first in charge of education and organization work but soon take over leadership.

26. V. Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo iazyka,* 3rd ed. (St. Petersburg: M. O. Vol'f, 1909), 4:1129–30.

27. A. A. Shakhovskoi, *Purson'iak Falalei Skotinin, ili Rokhus Pumpernikel' v novom vide. Sviatochnyi vodevil' v 1 d. Peredelka s frants. A. A. Shakhovskim* (1819). The play has never been published, manuscript is in the Saint Petersburg Theatre Library. See *Istoriia*

russkogo dramaticheskogo teatra, v semi tomakh, vol. 3, 1826–1845 (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978), 302.

28. Dal', *Tokovyi slovar'*, 4:63–65.

29. D. I. Fonvizin, *Izbrannoe* (Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1983), 80–138; N. I. Novikov, *Zhivopisets* (St. Petersburg: N. Novikov, 1775), parts 10–14: 121–31; F. F. Vigel', *Zapiski* (Moscow: Zakharov, 2000), 243.

30. I. S. Krylov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (St. Petersburg: Knigaizdatel'stvo tovarishchestvo Prosveshchenie, 1896), 4:279. See also his satire "Svin'ia," in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 190.

31. Aleksandr Sumarokov, "Osel vo l'vovoi kozhe," *Prazdnoe vremia, v pol'zu upotreblennoe* (19 February 1760): 146–48.

32. M. V. Lomonosov, "Svin'ia v lis'ei kozhe," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1950–1983), 8:737–41.

33. N. I. Novikov, *Truten'* 6 (2 June 1769): 38.

34. T. V. Kozlova, *Ideograficheskii slovar' russkikh frazeologizmov s nazvaniiami zhivotnykh* (Moscow: Delo i Servis, 2001), 8–11.

35. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, Series 1 (1649–1825) (St. Petersburg: Tipografii II Otdeleniia Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatorskago Velichestva Kantseliarii, 1830–1843), vol. 5, no. 3386; vol. 6, nos. 3589 and 3649; vol. 7, nos. 4533, otd. 1, st. 7; 4535, st. 9; 4634, and so forth.

36. Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 487–88.

37. G. R. Derzhavin, *Zapiski, 1743–1812* (Moscow: Mysl', 2000), 25–26.

38. Iu. A. Tikhonov, *Dvorianskaia usad'ba i krest'ianskii dvor v Rossii 17 i 18 vv. Sosushchestvovanie i protivostoianie* (Moscow: Institut rossiiskoi istorii, RAN, 2005), 318–19.

39. A. T. Bolotov, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia Andreia Bolotova, opisannye samim im dlia svoikh potomkov (1738–1793)*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg: Prilozhenie k "Russkoi starina," 1870–1873), 2:315–30, 327.

40. N. S. Leskov, "Iudol'," in *Sobranie sochinenii v odinnadtsati tomakh* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1956–1958), 9:247–48.

41. Priscilla Roosevelt, *Life on the Russian Country Estate: A Social and Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 167, 245, 157–91; V. Ia. Grosul, *Russkoe obshchestvo XVIII–XIX vv. Traditsii i novatsii* (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), 66–67.

42. Bolotov, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia*, 2:304–6.

43. Bolotov, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia*, 2:268, 401, 514, 547, 565, and throughout.

44. The most important difference was the method of heating: all peasant huts known to us up to the end of the eighteenth century are the so-called black houses with chimneyless stoves (*chernye* or *kurnye izby*); no inventory mentions a nobleman's "black" house, as all known noble houses in the mid-eighteenth century were "white"; see Tikhonov, *Dvorianskaia usad'ba*.

45. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, Series 1, vol. 1, (Ulozhenie 1649), chap. 10, art. 99 (p. 27); vol. 43, Kniga Shtatov (1764), chap. 1, to no. 12157 (p. 90).

46. Nancy Kollmann states that only one-fourth of dishonor suits in Muscovite Russia she analyzed had court verdicts; the remaining cases had no resolution or were settled out of court. See Kollmann, *By Honor Bound*, 23. I examined a number of dishonor cases under investigation in the Orel gubernia courts in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries and found the majority of them having received either no resolution or an out-of-court settlement as well: GAOO, f. 31, op. 1, d. 737; f. 41, op. 1, d. 1255; f. 43, op. 1, d. 910; f. 43, op. 1, d. 1099; f. 43, op. 1, d. 1771, f. 43, op. 1, d. 1260; f. 43, op. 1, d. 2032; f. 43, op. 1 d. 2037.

47. GAOO, f. 43, op. 1, d. 1896, 25 ll.

48. GAOO, f. 43, op. 1, d. 1897.

49. GAOO, f. 43, op. 1, d. 1896, l. 27.

50. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiisskoi Imperii*, Series 1, vol. 1, (Ulozhenie 1649), chap. 10, art. 283, 284, 285 (pp. 61–62); chap. 24, art. 2 (p. 157).

51. See the image in Eve Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 206.

52. Ibid., 205–7; N. L. Pushkareva, ed., "A se grekhi zlye, smertnye," *Liubov', erotica i seksual'naia etika v doindustrial'noi Rossii (X- pervaia polovina XIX v.). Teksty. Issledovaniia* (Moscow: Ladomir, 1999), 109–10.

53. Salisbury, *Beast Within*, 84–101.

54. B. Chasseneux, *Consilium Primum, quod tractatus jure dici potest propter multiplicem et reconditam doctrinam, ubi luculenter et accurate tractatur quaestio ilia: De excommunicatione animalium et insectorum* (Lyon: N.p., 1531). See Edward Payson Evans, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906), 21–33; and William Ewald, "Comparative Jurisprudence (I): What Was It Like to Try a Rat?," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 143, no. 6 (June 1995): 1,900.

55. See the painting "The execution of the sow of Falaise (Normandy) in 1386," at "Animal Criminology.com," http://www.animalcriminology.com/ (accessed July 20, 2009).

56. Evans, *Criminal Prosecution*, 313–34; Nicholas Humphrey, *The Mind Made Flesh: Essays from the Frontiers of Psychology and Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 235–54; Peter Dinzelbacher, "Animal Trials: A Multidisciplinary Approach," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 3 (Winter, 2002): 405–21. Although some scholars find Evans's approach to animal prosecutions and trials outdated and thus unreliable, earlier works by law experts, particularly in France, corroborate Evans's reports: see Jacques Berriat Saint Prix, "Rapport et recherches sur les procès et jugements relatifs aux animaux," *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires de France* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1829), 7:403–50; Leon Ménabréa, *De l'origine, de la forme et de l'esprit des jugements rendus au Moyen Âge contre les animaux* (Chambéry: Puthod, 1846); A. Sorel, *Procès contre les animaux et insectes suivis au Moyen Âge dans la Picardie et le Valois* (Compiègne: Imprimerie de H. Lefebvre, 1876); Carlo D'Addosio, *Bestie Delinquenti* (Napoli: L. Pierro, 1892), Ia. Kantorovich, *Protsessy protiv zhivotnykh v srednie veka* (St. Petersburg: N.p., 1897). Recent studies based on trial records add new evidence on animal prosecutions: Jonas Liliequist, "Peasants against Nature: Crossing the Boundaries Between Man and Animal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sweden," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 3 (January 1991): 393–423; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983); see also: Salisbury, *Beast Within*; Jan Bondeson, *The Feejee Mermaid and Other Essays in Natural and Unnatural History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); Jeffrey Kastner,

"Animals on Trial," *Cabinet Magazine* 4 (Fall 2001), http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/4/animalsontrial.php (accessed July 20, 2009).

57. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985).

58. Evans, *Criminal Prosecution*, 331; Kantorovich, *Protsessy protiv zhivotnykh*, 5.

59. Humphrey, *Mind Made Flesh*, 245.

60. Italic is mine. The case is cited in Igor' Kurukin, "Romans o preliubodeitsakh," *Rodina* 7 (1999): 54–57.

61. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiisskoi Imperii*, Series 1, vol. 1 (Ulozhenie 1649), chap. 10, art. 280 (p. 61); for details, see Olga E. Glagoleva, "The Illegitimate Children of the Russian Nobility in Law and Practice, 1700–1860," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 6, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 461–99.

62. Leskov, "Polunoshchniki," in *Sobranie sochinenii*, 9:216.

63. L. N. Tolstoy, "Kreitserova Sonata," in *Sobranie sochinenii v dvadtsati dvukh tomakh* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1982), 12:151.

64. Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka, otdel rukopisei, f. 99, op. 1, kart. 23, d. 14, l. 37.

65. Stallybrass and White, *Politics and Poetics*, 58–59.

3. Treating the "Other Animals": Russian Ethnoveterinary Practices in the Context of Folk Medicine

1. See, for example, Arthur Kleinman, *Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture: An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine, and Psychiatry* (Berkeley: University of Claifornia Press, 1980); Deborah Lupton, *Medicine as Culture: Illness, Disease and the Body in Western Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1994); Anne Hunsaker Hawkins, *Reconstructing Illness: Studies in Pathography* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1998); Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: FontanaPress, 1999); Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power, and Imperialism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Konstantin Bogdanov, *Vrachi, patsienty, chitateli: Patograficheskie teksty russkoi kul'tury XVIII–XIX vekov* (Moscow: Ob"edinennoe gumanitarnoe izdatel'stvo, 2005).

2. German Popov, *Russkaia narodno-bytovaia meditsina* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo A. S. Suvorina, 1903); Rose L. Glickman, "Peasant Woman as Healer," in *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation*, eds. Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Christine D. Worobec (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 148–62; Samuel C. Rammer, "Traditional Healers and Peasant Culture in Russia, 1861–1917," in *Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia, 1800–1921*, eds. Esther Kingston-Mann, Timothy Mixter, and Jeffery Burds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 207–34; Natalia Mazalova, "Narodnaia meditsina lokal'nyh grupp Russkogo Severa," in *Russkii sever: k probleme lokal'nyh grupp*, ed. Tatiana Bernshtam (St. Petersburg: Muzei antropologii i entografii Rossiiskoi akademii nauk, 1995), 63–109; William Francis Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: A Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1999); Galina Lindquist, *Conjuring Hope: Magic and Healing in Contemporary Russia* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

3. Here and throughout the text, I use past tense to denote historical practices; present tense indicates practices still documented in contemporary peasant culture.

4. Constance M. McCorkle, "An Introduction to Ethnoveterinary Research and Development," *Journal of Ethnobiology* 6, no. 1 (1986): 129–49.

5. Marina Martin, Evelyn Mathias, and Constance M. McCorkle, *Ethnoveterinary Medicine: An Annotated Bibliography of Community Animal Healthcare* (London: Intermediate Technology, 2001).

6. On this occasion I would like to express my gratitude to Andrea Pieroni (School of Life Sciences, University of Bradford, UK) and Lucia Viegi (Department of Botanical Sciences, University of Pisa, Italy) for their kind support and advice, particularly as regards the Western literature on Russian practices.

7. Evelyn Mathias, "Ethnoveterinary Medicine in the Era of Evidence-based Medicine: Mumbo-Jumbo, or a Valuable Resource?" *The Veterinary Journal* 173 (2007): 241.

8. For example, Lucia Viegi, Andrea Pieroni, Paolo Maria Guarrera, and Roberta Vangelisti, "A Review of Plants Used in Folk Veterinary Medicine in Italy as Basis for a Databank," *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 89 (2003): 221–44.

9. Ivan Popov, *Russkaia narodnaia veterinariia. Opyt issledovaniia sueverii, koldovstva, znakharstva, konoval'stva i prochikh uslovii v narodnom skotovrachevanii* (Kazan': Tipografiia B. L. Dombrovskago, 1901).

10. Two other publications on Russian folk veterinary practices deserve special note. First, an influential study by the folklorist Georgii Vinogradov describing the methods used to treat humans and animals among ethnically Russian populations in Siberia in the early twentieth century (Georgii Vinogradov, "Samovrachevanie i skotolechenie u russkogo starozhilogo naseleniia Sibiri [Materialy po narodnoi meditsine i veterinarii]," *Zhivaia starina* 4 [1915]: 325–432), and a chapter about epidemics among cows and horses by the contemporary ethnolinguist Anatolii Zhuravlev in *Livestock in the Folk Beliefs and Magic of Eastern Slavs* (Anatolii Zhuravlev, *Domashnii skot v pover'iakh i magii vostochnykh slavian. Etnograficheskie i etnolingvisticheskie ocherki* [Moscow: Indrik, 1994], 99–142).

11. However, Anatolii Zhuravlev tried to map folk methods of treating livestock epidemics (Zhuravlev, *Domashnii skot*, 99–142).

12. A variety of sources inform this chapter. First of all, I draw from published ethnoveterinary materials of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (including Popov's *Russkaia narodnaia veterinariia* and Vinogradov's "Samovrachevanie i skotolechenie") but also published materials from various folklore fieldwork expeditions of the 1970s through the 1990s. In addition, I use research about herb usage in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries (Aleksandra Ippolitova, *Russkie rukopisnye travniki XVII–XVIII vekov: issledovanie fol'lkora i etnobotaniki* [Moscow: Indrik 2008]) and material from my colleagues' and my own fieldwork conducted in Russia's Arkhangelsk region over the last twenty years.

13. Vinogradov, "Samovrachevanie i skotolechenie," 379–88.

14. Materials of the expedition to the Kargopol district of Arkhangelsk region are held at the Russian State University for the Humanities (hereafter RSUH) in Moscow.