Yuri Rozhdestvensky. Introdution to the Study of Culture. Translated by Ismael Biyashev and Maria Polski

INTRODUCTION

This work is titled "Introduction to the Study of Culture." To date, courses in the disciplines of history and theory of culture are united under the collective name 'culturology'. Conventionally in the Russian language the ending '-ology' -- in the names of sciences like seismology, parasitology, virology, etc. -- denotes disciplines which allow deductive reasoning based on available data and on the logical structure of the discipline. When it comes to the studies of culture, deduction, let alone strict deduction, so far has been impossible. Therefore, it is better in this case to use the word "Studies", as in the model Oriental Studies, Health Studies, and similar. In these disciplines, the key lies not in strict deduction, but rather in the erudition in the subject. In courses and books on culture we deal most often with erudition; thus the term "Cultural Studies" or "The Study of Culture" seems more fitting.

An interest in culture as a part of life of peoples and societies has ever been present. But the very interpretation of the term "culture" is not clear-cut. There are two main branches in this interpretation: a) Culture as a form of communication deemed acceptable in a society or community. b) Culture as the sum of human achievements and accomplishments. The first interpretation is close to philosophical anthropology, the second to the library, museum and archival practices.

Even though these two branches are closely related, they do not overlap completely. Therefore, the question "What is culture?" is pertinent.

This question should be answered in the "Introduction to the Study of Culture", since an introduction to any discipline describes the foundations of the subject, e.g. "Introduction to Psychology", "Introduction to Physics", "Introduction to Language Studies" and similar.

An "Introduction" must describe the object, i.e. explain from what we abstract and which side of the object we do study; it must also show the main components of the object in their interrelations.

Literary criticism, art history, history of technology, political history and many other disciplines study culture. However, they should not be referred to as the "Studies of Culture" because they have their own unique attitudes to facts which make up culture and to facts which do not. Not everything in literature, art or technology concerns culture. Therefore, the first aim of the "Introduction to the Study of Culture" is to define a fact of culture as opposed to facts of literature, art, technology, etc. Then based on the definition the Introduction should demonstrate the main principles of isolating and systematizing the facts of culture, their division and their connection. These principles are introduced in the first chapter.

In our times the interest in the study of culture has especially grown. Since the end of the 19th century, social studies, history, philosophy and the humanities have placed a great deal of attention on economics and interpreted economics as their basisⁱⁱⁱ. English economic theories of the 18-19th centuries laid the groundwork for this outlook. But it was Karl Marx in his "Das Kapital" and a number of other works who established it resolutely and decisively. With all due respect to the theses of "Das Kapital" and the work of the economists in micro- and macroeconomics, one must acknowledge their limitations, since the economic life of society is only one of its sides, and arguably not the most important. It can be viewed as the most important only if personal and societal wealth is the life-goal of people and societies. However, Max Weber has shown that the wealth itself is a function of the morality type and of society's stable goals.

The science of economics postulates that there are only two limited resources for the development of society: land and capital. These two main resources and their combinations are the objects of economic creativity. However, if the society is not adequately educated, how can capital, in the context of modern technological advances, be properly applied to exploit the resources of the earth? The overall education of a society, i.e. its mastery of its own culture, is the main condition that has to be met in order to apply the art of economics.

Education itself is the summation and structuration of culture.

The 20th century provides ample illustrations of the fact that economic well-being generally goes hand in hand with the mastery of culture. The stereotypically rich North and poor South differ not in the

amount of land or of natural resources, but rather in their cultural resources. On the other hand, the example of Japan, Israel and a few other countries shows that poor land and limited capital are no hindrance to economic prosperity, but only if the peoples of those lands possess a rich culture and know how to use it.

Hence, the study of culture cannot be limited to erudition. It should be able to draw conclusions about the life of society and be used to make decisions in the economic and other contexts.

In addition, the facts of culture demonstrate that economic wealth is not the peak of human ambition. Humankind has broader ideals. These ideals include truth, honor, honesty, morality, beauty, basic human health (which, as the saying goes, cannot be bought). They also include creative work and leisure.

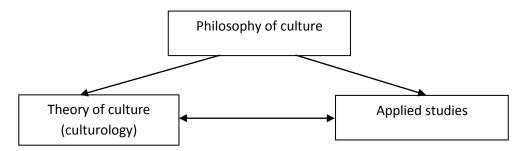
In the present age, ecological well-being has become an important ambition. It is, in essence, the art of living in a community. The 20^{th} century has sharpened the issue of interethnic good will. Interethnic good will is the basis of cultural growth for any given people. From this stems the ambition for a safe world.

CHAPTER 1 The Facts of Culture

I

The study of culture is subdivided into philosophy of culture, theory of culture and applied studies.

The relationship between the three divisions can be shown as in Figure 1:



The figure shows that historically theory of culture (culturology) stems from philosophy of culture. From antiquity philosophers have been interested in the phenomenon of culture. In the antiquity, philosophers were concerned with the veneration of the deeds of ancestors, mythical cultural heroes, lawmakers (teachers who created the society); they were also concerned with the study of tradition and ancestral wisdom. Religious philosophy, when developing dogma, tested the validity of novel treatises against those established earlier. In modernity, the development of new philosophy has led to the emergence of the philosophical discussion of the problems of culture. Every philosophical system either designated a part of the existing system for contemplating the problems of culture or built new systems devoted exclusively to culture. In the XX century the philosophy of culture has been developed especially strongly.

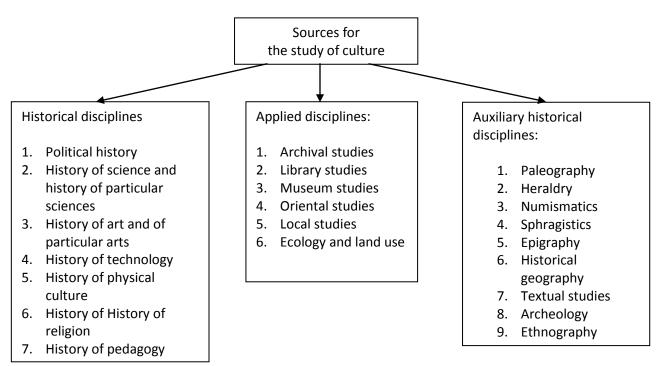
Philosophy of culture was in effect a component of general philosophy in antiquity, the middle ages and modernity. But in the XX century culture has become a separate object of philosophical inquiry. The philosophy of culture in the XX century subdivided into the philosophy of personal culture, or philosophical anthropology, and into various branches of existentialism; the philosophy of the culture of societies crystallized at the same time. Its schools include structuralism, social philosophy and others. Separate branches of the philosophy of the culture of societies also grew, such as philosophy of technology, philosophy of science, semiotic philosophy, methodology of science, philosophy of physical culture and many others. All these branches develop aspects of the philosophy of society. Also, the philosophy of social government was being developed at this time: pragmatism, Leninism, Marcuse theory, the philosophical theory of information (especially its aspects dealing with the processes of

governing and management). These branches of philosophy turned out to go beyond the governing of society as a whole: they also touch on the problems of managing organizations.^{iv}

Simultaneously, political and economic practices in management and consulting have demanded cultural knowledge. They require comprehensiveness, factual correctness, and scientific deduction based on the knowledge acquired empirically and inductively. Therefore, the knowledge of culture must become not only philosophical but also empirical and scientifically concrete. **This empirical and scientifically concrete knowledge is called culturology**. "-ology" here implies the establishment of scientific methodology, rules for the collection, verification and processing of empirical data, rules for reasoning about the data based on the scientific method and on the sources of culturological knowledge. The development of any science begins with the evaluation and analysis of sources. Then, a method is formulated, after which the principle of identifying and operating the facts (i.e. the principle of scientific inquiry) is established.

The sources of culturology (or the study of culture), can be represented as follows:

Figure 2



All the sources of the study of culture as an empirical discipline belong to historical and philological cycle of disciplines. This cycle of disciplines falls into three main areas: the historical disciplines proper, auxiliary historical disciplines, and applied disciplines. Historical disciplines include: political history, history of science and history of particular sciences, history of art and of particular arts, history of technology, of agriculture, of physical culture, of religion, of pedagogy, of military art.

It is characteristic of all these histories that they systematize important facts from the angles of relevant historiographic approaches. Applied value of history is in identifying these facts as precedents with unique value. From the point of view of history, selected facts should always be exemplary, even if, if the historian takes a typical fact. For example, regular harvests are an ordinary repetitive phenomenon, but a historian views them as evidence of the state of agriculture, social relations, local specifics, and is interested not in the regularity of harvests but in the level of agriculture and social relations which is exemplified by the said harvests.

The uniqueness of a historical fact in a timeline, then, is viewed as an example of this timeline, as

a location in time and in historical space -- a chronotope^v.

History is known to be pedagogical (as the knowledge of precedents) and practical (as the knowledge of actions which have in the past led to failure, and thus knowledge of cultural bans). Another important characteristic of history is that it is factually based on biographies and chronology. Biographies and chronology provide the nucleus of initial facts for a historic description created within each historiographic school. Each historiographic school looks for motive forces of history and for circumstances in which these forces have acted.

Applied disciplines include: archival, library, textual, museum and oriental studies, local studies^{vi}, ecology and land use; they describe (a) the operation of culture-preserving organizations and (b) the knowledge needed for consulting in various projects regarding their concordance with the laws of culture.

The purpose of archival, library, textual and museum studies is to teach the methods of operating within culture-preserving organizations. The role of oriental studies, local studies, ecology and land use is to consult based on the combined knowledge about nature, technology and culture of the project locales. The distinctive feature of the applied disciplines studying culture-preserving organizations is that they provide the methods of collecting the facts of culture or information about them, systematize those facts, classify and codify them in order to present the facts and information in a form most conducive to quick and complete access. These are classification disciplines, with classification serving information needs.

Oriental studies, local studies, ecology and land use are disciplines which allow formulating expert judgments about projects. Expert judgments are similar to the products of culture-preserving organizations. The difference is that an archive or a library can provide answers to questions formulated by the users; the users then will need to make their own conclusions based on the information.

But the expert judgments provided by oriental studies, local studies and ecology are formed by a person with relevant expert knowledge (a consultant) and do not depend on the phrasing of the inquiry. This knowledgeable person has relevant training, has acquired necessary information and has conducted relevant research. He/she usually formulates the response as a critique of the project under consideration. The critique helps avoid mistakes in project development and points the development in a culturally more sound direction.

Auxiliary historical disciplines include archaeology, ethnography, historical geography, paleography, epigraphy, heraldry, numismatics, sphragistics and textual studies. These disciplines are sometimes called the historic-philological disciplines: with the exception of archaeology they all work with texts, but process them differently. Ethnography collects data from informants, sums up and systematizes the data; historical geography processes textual sources and engages in cartography; textual studies, epigraphy, paleography, numismatics and sphragistics study texts produced on non-writing and on writing media^{vii}; heraldry studies descriptions and depictions of coats of arms representing people, organizations and places. Auxiliary historical disciplines interpret historical facts based on the content of texts and systematize materials in the service of historical disciplines. They deal with the facts of material culture, i.e. with concrete remnants, and study production and application of the media on which the texts are produced. The knowledge of place, time and agents of events is formed based on these data.

П

The concept of the fact of culture connects branches of history, auxiliary historical disciplines and applied disciplines in the study of culture. However, it is hard to identify a fact of culture. A fact of culture must be isolated from the other facts, those that represent transient activity viii.

Auxiliary historical disciplines deal with facts in general, not necessarily with the facts of culture. Thus, archaeology or ethnography deal with any facts that are pertinent to the life of humankind, present or past; so do textual studies and other disciplines in this group. But as the result of the selections made by experts in these disciplines, only that which is relevant to history and ethnology is described, rather than all observed occurrences. For example: the classification of any concrete remnants, essential customs of an ethnic group, rules of text production acceptable during a certain epoch are viewed under the lens of chronology; only those objects, customs, rules (and physical and legal entities, in the case of numismatics,

heraldry or sphragistics) are selected that are characteristic of the time.

That means that from the point of view of the auxiliary historical disciplines only **facts that characterize a certain time period** must be selected.

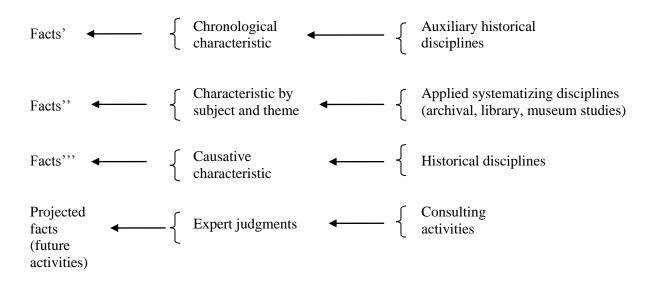
After the selection, objects and texts are systematized for preservation (in an archive, library, or museum). These are so called "snapshots" or images of the time. For subsequent use these objects are systematized not only by their time period but also by their function. In archives objects are classified by case name, source and theme; in a library - by author and subject in a catalog. In addition to chronological classifications, thematic ones are developed.

Historians working in archives, libraries and museums deal with precisely this chrono-functional classification, interpret it and build their theory of the historical process, in which the passage of time is viewed in the context of historically significant facts and causes of events are followed. Historical facts receive causative characteristics.

An orientalist, ethnographer or ecologist uses these classifications to give an expert judgment about the future of a project.

Overall, the facts are reviewed following this pattern:

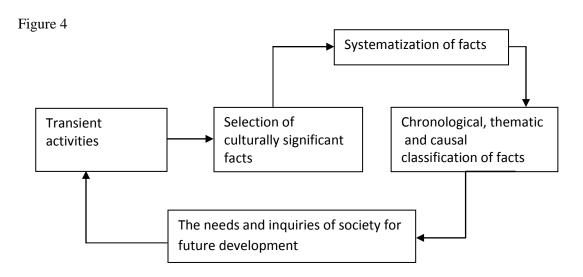
Figure 3



The figure shows that facts are, first, selected and, second, given new meanings. Selection is aimed at facts that are meaningful for future activities. Only facts that have causal, thematic and chronological characteristics can be meaningful; any fact which does not have these characteristics is not meaningful for the future.

Thus, two types of facts can be meaningful for the future: **precedents**, i.e. facts that serve as models for activity and/or conduct, and **rules**, i.e. facts that reflect the norms for actions. Therefore, a **"Fact of Culture"** is not any fact but a fact that is either a precedent or a rule.

The selection of rules and precedents is made on the basis of expert assessment. These assessments are always subjective, but never arbitrary, because arbitrariness is checked by the methodologies and the collective annals of acquired knowledge in the disciplines. But the most important check of arbitrariness lies in the fact that society constantly poses both general and specific questions regarding its future. It thus directs the selection of the facts of culture, their separation from transient activity and their description as culturally significant. Hence, the process of the formation of culture ^{ix}looks like this:



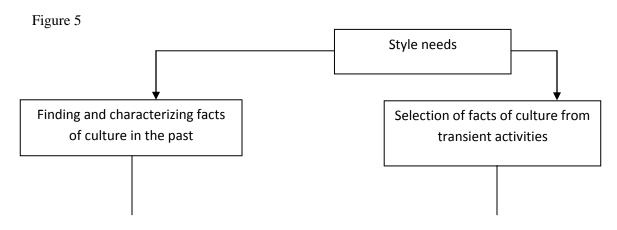
Because each fact of culture is a precedent or a rule, each is unique; each possesses its own chronotope (i.e. time and place). Uniqueness means the fact cannot be duplicated. Hence, historical timeline has only one direction: from the past to the future. The uniqueness of an occurrence is the key criterion in selecting facts from transient activity into culture.

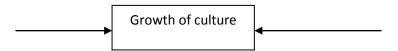
That means that if in the course of transient activities habitual, routinely repeated and relatively equal facts emerge (for example commute to work by train), then culture need not select every train ride but rather it is enough to note the general rules of commuting by train.

On the other hand, if something extraordinary or unique happens as a result of a special condition, e.g. a unique, not ordinary building is constructed, then such a building may become a cultural artifact, as a precedent for architectural and constructional developments^x.

The uniqueness of the facts of culture makes them carriers of the history of style. Style -- as the new form and content of actions -- represents the motive force for the development and evolution of society. Style reflects the modernization of public life. Modernization is inevitable. However, any modernization in order to stand on firm ground seeks a precedent -- either in past rules or in previous unique facts. Thus, any new stylistic development requires a foundation in the past. This means that it is necessary to find facts of culture not only in our present, but also in the past activity, in order to support a new style.

Development of culture, therefore, happens not exclusively from the present but also from the past. It can be demonstrated in a diagram:





Examples abound.

The Ancient Egyptian language was forgotten after the Christianization of Egypt and development of the Coptic language. But advances in Oriental Studies in the XVIII century forced specialists to strive to decode Ancient Egyptian language. Champollion succeeded after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone by Napoleon's expedition in Egypt. Afterwards, the ancient cuneiforms of Asia were likewise decoded.

The Renaissance created a new technique in painting: perspective. The emergence of perspective awoke an interest in and collecting of ancient sculpture and painting, which had until then been considered pagan and thus outside culture.

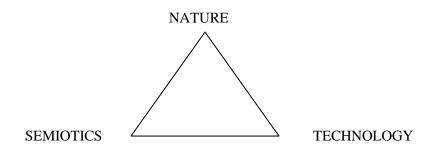
Developments in the field of aviation in the early 1900's revived the interest in Leonardo Da Vinci's flying machine designs; until then the drawings in his notebooks were seen not as prototypes of the XX century flying machine, but as a genius entertaining himself.

The current revival of religious interest in Russia has made virtually every church a fact of culture, while in the XVII-XIX centuries only a select few church buildings were considered as such.

Ш

Culture, due to its outlook from the present to the past, is historical memory. Memory should be expanded and enriched, but its units should also be allotted sparingly. Locke's tri-part division of knowledge is a convenient way to graphically illustrate the role of culture^{xi}.

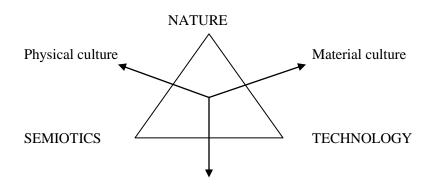
Figure 6



This triangle represents society^{xii}.

If society is the union, expressed through human activities, of nature, semiotics and technology, and if culture makes up the social historical memory of these activities, then this memory will connect the points of the triangle.

Figure 7

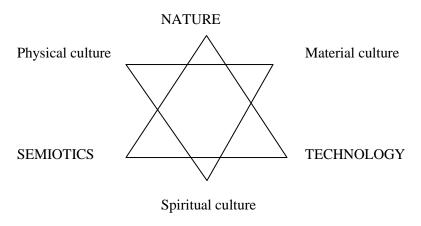


Spiritual culture

The growth culture can be expressed as vectors denoting the development of the three main forms of culture. Movement along these vectors is cultural growth.

The correlation between culture and transient activities can be presented as in figure 8:

Figure 8



This correlation clarifies the forms of culture which have long been noted in the humanities and codified in dictionaries: physical culture, spiritual culture and material culture.

Physical culture is the correlation between the vectors of nature (that is the physical nature of humans) and semiotics (the discovery of their moral, aesthetic, volitional and intellectual abilities linked to their physical nature). Spiritual culture is the system of moral, aesthetic and intellectual rules and precedents which stems from the physical culture and is directed towards the formation of human environment. Material culture is the processing of natural resources by means of technology and the creation of man-made environments.

The relationships between the forms of culture can be presented in a table:

Figure 9

Forms of culture	Formed in a person	Requires energy	Exists in semiotics
Physical	+	+	
Spiritual	+		+
Material		+	+

The table shows the correlations and connections between the forms of culture. Physical and spiritual culture are connected by the parameter of being formed in a person. This means that every individual person is the carrier of both physical and spiritual culture. But unlike physical culture, spiritual culture can be recorded and preserved in material objects -- signs, whereas physical culture cannot be preserved in signs outside the individual.

Both physical and material culture require the gathering and expenditure of energy (in the same sense of the word as used in physics: biological, mechanical, electrical, etc.), while spiritual culture cannot be viewed from the energy perspective.

Material culture is not limited to objects (buildings, infrastructure, soils, etc). but also exists in the form of plans, maps, drawings, diagrams and so on; i.e. it is preserved in sign systems, similar to spiritual culture which is preserved in music, dance diagrams, paintings, books or manuscripts, etc. Thus, each

form of culture has a dual nature.

Physical culture viewed as a skill is not energy-dependent, but as actions it requires the accumulation and expenditure of energy; spiritual culture as a state of mind exists within the person in the form of knowledge and emotions, but it is socialized in sign systems which are independent of human carriers; material culture exists both in representations and 'in the flesh' as man-made environments.

Because of the innate duality of every form of culture, all of the forms are inter-connected. The connection is not only ideological but also physical: a person's growth unites his/her spiritual and physical culture; semiotic representation ties together into a cohesive whole material and spiritual culture through sign-systems; and both physical and material forms of culture require energy to be spent.

Division of the forms of culture depends on the storage of the facts of culture, on the use of culture and on education, and does not depend on transient activities. In the daily transient activities of organizations, families or governments all of the forms of culture coexist and play out at the same time; e.g. every family contains all forms of culture and if a family does not use one form of culture, it cannot exist.

It is important to distinguish between forms of culture and cultural activity, i.e. current transient activity based on culture. Conflating the two may lead to incomprehension of this distinction. For example current transient activities in the realm of physical culture entail the use of buildings, infrastructure, uniforms, symbols, especially heraldry, and so on. Therefore, activities of physical culture involve relevant elements of spiritual and material culture.

When starting an archive -- a typical depository of culture -- the organizers should plan for the building, equipment, ventilation, sanitary conditions for the employees and users of the archive (up to and including specialized applied physical culture). But the archive's purpose is still in the rhelm of spiritual culture, even though elements of physical and material culture are required for its proper functioning.

IV

Differentiation of the forms of culture is tied to types of culture. There are three types of culture: personal, organizational and societal.

Figure 10

Types of culture	Preserved in knowledge and skills	Preserved in objects and signs	Publicly accessible
Personal	+	+	
Organizational	+		+
Societal		+	+

Personal culture is the culture of a separate individual. Clearly, an individual has no secrets from him/herself, but does not have to share his/her knowledge, skills, or emotions with anyone else. The individual's knowledge and skills may or may not be accessible to anyone who comes into contact with that person. Because it is not housed in objects, personal culture cannot be transmitted to others by means of sign systems. Societal culture is objectified in things and signs and should be commonly accessible. Organizational culture (like that of a family, a company, an army, etc.), should be known to every member of the organization, and be embodied in work practices, knowledge and skills of its individual members. An organization keeps its secrets, lest it cease to be an identifiable separate part of society distinct from its other parts.

Forms and types of culture are in the following relationship:

Figure 11

Types of culture	Personal	Organizational	Societal

Forms of culture			
Physical	+	+	
Spiritual	+		+
Material		+	+

The table shows how types of culture belong to different forms, and forms belong to different types. A separate individual cannot be a carrier of material culture -- he/she can carry only physical and spiritual forms. A separate organization cannot be a carrier of spiritual culture, but its individual members can; however, an organization possesses material and physical culture: material as a system of objects, and physical as its hygienic rules and organization of physical activities. A society as a whole does not possess physical culture. It participates in physical culture through separate individuals and organizations; it does, however, possess material and spiritual culture in the form of

Society as a whole is a consumer of physical culture, whereas the producer of physical culture is the teacher and/or specialized organization. Organizations are the Consumers of Spiritual Culture, whose repository is with individuals who create it and the cultural institutions (museums, archives) which represent society as a whole. The individual person is a Consumer of Material Culture, whose creation lies with Society as a whole and the Collectives that exist in the society. Here it is important to highlight the major difference in the dogmatic outlook of Sociology and Cultural Studies – the former looks at society as a collection of individuals, while the latter views the same entity as a historic summation of factors. For example, Sociology would not recognize Pushkin as a member of society while cultural studies view him as a contemporary. Therefore, the individual in cultural studies is viewed as independent of material culture.

An organization is a characteristic of its time, but it is not eternal, and therefore Spiritual culture that is by definition eternal is not a defining trait of collectives. Society as a whole cannot generalize the achievements of its sports records and the like to all members of the society because they are the individual achievement of the sportsman or the collective achievement of an institutional team. In the entire course of the existence of physical culture society as the sum of all cultural achievements is not even remotely equal to the sum of individuals that make it up the Consumers of cultural forms.

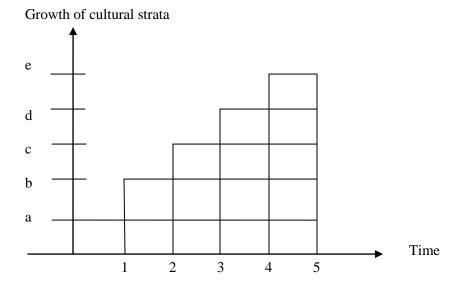
V

Figure 11 shows the basic structure of culture. The differentiation of forms and types of culture represents a structural and functional dependence, and is demonstrated in the distributive matrix. This matrix is valid for any level of the development of culture (see fig. 5 and 7). As shown in fig.5, culture is constantly growing and evolving. The word "growth" implies the increase in the number of facts of culture and in the complexity of connections within culture. Growth and evolution of connections follows the main laws of culture:

- 1) Any new fact of culture (a fact of current or past activity newly included in culture) cannot cancel out other facts previously included in culture.
- 2) Facts of culture are grouped by time period. These groups, which include all forms and types of culture, comprise structural units. Structural units of each social and historical epoch are called strata (i.e. layers) of culture.
- 3) The emergence of a new stratum fosters the development of and restructuring of the preexisting strata^{xiii}. The restructuring of the old strata is called the evolution of culture. This evolution is spontaneous and is processed by cultural establishments.

The main laws of culture can be illustrated thus xiv:

Figure 12



Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 represent the state of culture as a combination of its strata.

Each stratum, denoted by letters a, b, c, d, e is a new stratum superimposed on the chronologically previous one: state of culture 2 contains strata a and b, state 3 contains strata a, b, c, state 4 contains strata a, b, c, d, and state 5 contains strata a, b, c, d, e.

The diagram shows that the emergence of a state of culture, e.g. b2, does not destroy a1, but on the contrary creates a2 -- a new section in the emerging stratum. This repeats for each new state of culture.

Let us explore some examples.

Oral speech is universal for all human societies (let's call it a1). With the addition of a writing system, in addition to the folkloric oral speech a1 the society develops literary oral speech a2^{xv}. When literary oral speech (a2) and folkloric oral speech (a1) are combined, they create common parlance, or colloquialism (the relationship between a1 and a2). The invention of printing (c3) engenders the division of literary writing (b2) into scientific writing, journalism and fiction (b3); simultaneously, when the manuscripts of sacred texts are printed, the structure of the texts is augmented (by division into verses, unification of orthography, textual criticism, etc.), which represents the relationship between b2 and b3.

Folk physical culture contains characteristic folk exercises, competitions, hygiene (a1). Development of ancient gymnastics entails the establishment of education in the form of gymnasia, the apportioning of sports (pentathlon) and exercises (b2). Ancient gymnastics does not destroy folk physical culture, but entails the creation of Olympic and city games, of relevant organizations and means of record-keeping (b1).

In a pre-literate society domestic animals (horses, oxen, donkeys, mules) are used to generate power (a1). Ancient civilizations develop mechanisms which harness the energy of wind and water (windmills, water wheels) (b2). However this does not preclude the continued use of domestic animals to generate power (a2); on the contrary artificial selection creates improved breeds (relationship between a1 and a2). Examples of this nature exist in all forms of culture at all time periods.

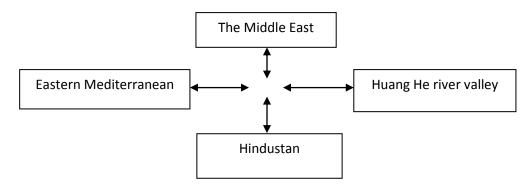
This historic stratification of culture requires that culture be studied, first and foremost, chronologically, and classified by historic strata; it also requires the understanding that each individual stratum undergoes internal evolution with the addition of other, newer strata.

Culture, besides containing historical periods, has regional peculiarities. Each folk group (ancestral social organization) — a clan, a tribe, a confederation of tribes — has its own art (a subset we may remember of Spiritual Culture) (music, dance, ornaments, dress, architectural forms, utensils, ways of predicting the future, rites, games etc.), which makes one folk group different from another.

The creation of writing systems and ergo the establishment of civilization unites various folk groups by common literary language and common rites grounded in this literary language. New, relatively independent centers of civilization emerge. They are the Far East, with its cultural center in the Huang-He river valley, the northern part of Hindustan, the Middle East* and the Eastern Mediterranean civilizations.

Just like folk groups, early civilizations constantly influence one another.

Figure 13

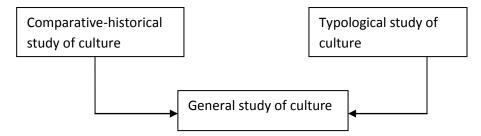


The diagram shows that the independent centers of civilization find a point of geographical connection while having their specific geographic locations.

Because of this, in each separate location the processes both of independent evolution and of mutual influence take place, the latter mainly due to cultural borrowings.

These two processes require that the methods of the study of culture be divided into comparative-historical and typological ones.

Figure 14



The aim of comparative-historical study of culture is to trace the growth of culture and its source, including the growth stemming from internal sources and from cultural borrowing.

The aim of typological study of culture is to compare and contrast various cultures regardless of their origins or methods of growth, and to identify similarities and differences in the growth processes in these cultures.

General study of culture seeks to synthesize the data collected by the other two branches and to find general laws of life and growth of culture overall and of local cultures in particular^{xvi}. Among other objectives, general cultural studies aim to understand processes of the convergence and divergence of cultures. The general, comparative-historic and typological study of culture seeks to establish the objective laws of culture.

Besides establishing objective laws (the goal of general, comparative and typological studies), the

study of culture as a discipline also has applied goals. These goals have already been addresses in the applied disciplines: the systematizing (archival, museum and library studies) and the consulting ones (oriental studies, ecology, ethnography).

The current state of culture and its intense growth pose new challenges for the applied studies in systematizing the facts of culture and in consulting; they demand a new level of decision-making, using a new level of technologies. Nevertheless, the over-arching aim of applied studies remains the same – to combat the destruction of culture, to protect and develop it. This over-arching goal should be called the **advancement** of culture.

Culture as a whole is a product of human activity. Advancement of culture is part of this activity. This advancement is expressed, first and foremost, in protecting culture, keeping it safe. Actions directed at the destruction of culture (against which culture is to be protected) are called **vandalism**.

There are three avenues for the manifestation of vandalism:

- 1) The physical destruction of facts of culture -- of objects and signs (such as the burning of the Alexandrian library).
- 2) The destruction of systems created to organize, classify and codify the facts of culture, which leads to a hindrance in the availability of culture for ready use. This type of vandalism can take place also when applied studies cannot keep up with the systematization of new facts and do not reflect the current state of culture.
- 3) The decline of education or insufficiently modern level of education. This type of vandalism erases the users' demand for cultural materials, which erode from neglect.
- 1) Physical, systematizational and educational vandalism become glaring when a mass of people quickly joins a new culture or when a society stands on the verge of a new cultural stratum. Exploration of a new stratum is taking place now with the advent of informatics and computer technologies.

"it had meant, primarily, the "tending of natural growth", and then, by analogy, a process of human training"... but later "came to mean first, the general state of habit of the mind', having close relation to human perfection. Second, it came to mean 'the general state of intellectual development in a society as a whole'. Third, it came to mean 'the general body of the arts'. Fourth, later in the century,

ⁱ In the American of culture the term culturology is not widely used; it was introduced in America by Leslie White (1949:2005) and continues to be developed around the world, e.g. in Azerbaijan (Fuad Mamedov), in Canada (Mario Bunge), in China (Yu Xintian), in France (Fabrice Rivault).

ii In the Western canon, however, the term Culture Studies is mainly linked to the schools of literary analysis, e.g. the Birmingham school where the movement started (see Gibson, 2007, XXXX Birmingham writers, Muirhead). But it does not refer to a discipline which would study the logic, history or theory of culture. Such aspects are addressed partly in anthropology, partly in the semiotic branch of communication theory. We therefore prefer to translate Rozhdestvensky's term as "The Study of Culture" to avoid confusion or expectation that it should align with existing Western schools.

iii Not only in Soviet Union; see, e.g. the many Marxist approaches to culture: the work of Leslie White, Raymond Williams, etc.

This classification of the branches of philosophy does not entirely correspond to the classification accepted in the Western canon. In the West, "Philosophy of culture" is not usually treated as an identifiable branch, and "philosophy of society" is distributed between political philosophy

^v The concept of the chronotope was introduced by Mikhail Bakhtin as a "unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories presented" (see The Dialogic Imagination by M.M. Bakhtin, ed. Michael Holquist, 2008, p.425)

vi Local studies approximately translates the Russian word kraevedenie: description and collection of facts regarding a specific locale (e.g. most small towns have a "local studies museum").

vii E.g. papyri, clay tablets and paper are media dedicated to writing, while seals, labels and money are produced on non-writing materials like stones, fabric and metal.

viii In the Western canon, there are numerous separate disciplines studying culture; each defines it differently, and has a different view on what constitutes a fact of culture and what does not. R. Williams (1958) surveys the changes in our points of view on culture:

it came to mean 'a whole way of life material, intellectual and spiritual'. It came also, as we know, to be a word that often provoked either hostility or embarrassment" (p.xvi).

Clifford Geertz "what one needs to know to be accepted by the natives", CITATION. Muirhead (2009) surveyed the approaches to culture in anthropology, cultural studies, education, linguistic anthropology, literary criticism, philosophy, sociology and World Languages education, and offered the following definition:

"culture is a fluctuating embodiment of a group's products, practices and perspectives. Inseparable from language, culture is also impacted by issues of power as it can be used to marginalize or privilege" (p.244).

Muirhead and all the scholars working in this field call for sensitivity to points of view and to the marginalization of "the other", especially considering that educators to a large extent are able to control students' perspectives.

In schools of thought which employ evolutionary approaches, the angle is different. Richerson and Boyd (2005) propose to view culture as "information capable of affecting individual's behavior that they acquire from other members of their species through teaching, imitation and other forms of social transmission" (p. 5). Tooby and Cosmides (1992) say culture is "any mental, behavioral, or material commonalities shared across individuals" (p.117), with special attention to the "selective retention and accumulation of favored variants over time (p.120), The Psychological Foundations of Culture 1991? CITATION. Sperber and Claidiere (2008) feel that "culture is better viewed as property that human mental representations and practices exhibit to a varying degrees than as a type or subclass of these representations and practices", thus accenting not the description of act and artifacts, but the study of "what causes some of the causal chains to extend more than others in time and space and to stabilize better than others the contents they vehiculate".

As Sperber and Claidier (2008) point out, a definition is "a matter of explanatory adequacy" and depends on what we want to study. Biological aspects can be successfully studied on the level of one pair of humans; social aspects would require a "generation-to-generation" view. Descriptive and interpretive interests are better served by the definition focusing on a set of facts/artifacts/rules; theoretical view is served more by the definitions focusing on the process of culture formation and on "causal understanding of how psychological mechanisms and populational processes shape its content" (Tooby & Cosmides, 1992? p.118).

ix Cultural selection, cultural evolution, formation of culture and development of culture are terms that have a different definition in sciences. Evolutionary psychology, neuroscience and some fields of anthropology study the evolution of human capacity for culture, its neurological basis, biological mechanisms that may lie behind human selection of valid practices (e.g. Tooby & Cosmides 1992, Dawkins 1976, Boyd & Richerson 2010; Richerson and Boyd, 2005, Sperber 1996; Pinker, 1997). Rozhdestvensky picks up where these topics stop: he analyzes ways by which experts and users judge if the facts are unique or useful enough to be preserved for the future, leaving aside the question of biological mechanisms.

^x This division into precedents and rules is parallel to the Western division of culture into Big C (elite culture, a collection of masterpieces – in Rozhdestvensky's terms, precedents) and little c ("the ordinary ways that people lead their lives, such as forms of greeting or daily activities" (Muirhead, 2009. P.255) – in Rozhdestvensky's terms, rules. The distinction was pointed out by Raymond Williams and developed by others, e.g. Brooks, 1971 and Nelson, 1972.

xi Rozhdestvensky starts developing his blueprint for the study of culture from John Locke's (1690) three parts of knowledge. For Locke "all that can fall within the compass of human understanding" is of three sorts: physica (natural philosophy), practica ("the skill of right applying our own powers and actions, for the attainment of things good and useful") and semeiotike ("the nature of signs the mind makes use of for the understanding of things, or conveying its knowledge to others"). See Locke, J. (1690). An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/locke/locke1/Essay_contents.html,

Anthropologists discuss the issue of fluidity in the composition of groups and question how the culture of a "group" can be transmitted if human members of the group come and go and are influenced by surrounding cultures. E.g. Palmer et al (1997) argue that "at some degree of fluidity a group ceases to be a group" (p.300) and that sometimes we deal only with "the illusion of being an enduring gathering of individuals" (p.302). Rozhdestvensky's answer to this problem would refer us to the semiotics of a society: while individuals come, go and undergo influences, the collective knowledge of the group is stored in sign systems independent of individual carriers. The semiotic systems of otherwise fluid groups bind them and establish boundaries.

xiii In the Western schools of media ecology a different understanding has been prevalent: each new technology is interpreted as subsuming and negating the previous stratum, e.g. Marshall McLuhan says: "That each new method of transporting commodity or information should have to come into existence in a bitter competitive battle against

previously existing devices is not surprising. Each innovation is not only commercially disrupting, but socially and psychologically corroding, as well" (McLuhan & Gordon, 2003). Where Rozhdestvensky sees the interplay between the media, McLuhan (McLuhan & Gordon, 2003) sees a civil war raging (p.73, p.335). McLuhan imagines us "caught between the Scylla of a literary culture and the Charybdis of post-literate technology" (p.77); we are in agony, heading towards a vortex, experiencing a trauma, awakening our archaic animosities, lapsing into primitivism.

xiv Thus, this book offers a deductive approach: aspiring to make the study of culture a self-standing discipline, Rozhdestvensky postulates laws of culture, thus moving away from the traditional inductive and descriptive mode. xv For example, forensic speeches, homily and lectures can all have written prototypes and be polished and rehearsed in advance and written by someone else. Theatrical speech must have a written prototype which is them memorized by the actors and is most often not written by the people who perform it.

xvi General Cultural Studies in America have a different angle. Browsing publishers' catalogues by subject, "general cultural studies" yields film, gender, women's, Jewish, American, masculinity, youth and other separate "studies" not necessarily sharing a theoretical framework; anthropology textbooks are sometimes included under "General Cultural Studies", some of them boasting the absence of a general theoretical framework. The school of structural anthropology does call for comparative analysis of social structures and for "perceiving possible general laws in the circumstances of special cases" (Leach, 2004, *Rethinking Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg Publishers p.5) Outside structural anthropology, however, discovery of the general laws of culture does not seem to be an important goal. Rozhdestvensky 's study of the general laws of culture is different from Leach of Levi-Strauss in several ways; one is that Rozhdestvensky postulates the laws and proceeds deductively; another is that Rozhdestvensky's approach is interdisciplinary, drawing on history, arts, psychology, anthropology and many others.