

The Diplomat, Strategist, Intelligence Officer, Historian – in the Service of Russia. Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky¹

Ekaterina S. Fedorova

Lomonosov Moscow State University

Abstract. This article is devoted to the life and various activities of the outstanding diplomat Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824–1896). The name of Lobanov-Rostovsky was not mentioned in the academic literature until the first decade of the 21st century. Then Lobanov began to be remembered thanks to the efforts of his descendant Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky, who initiated a number of studies about the prominent diplomat. A fundamental monograph on Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky has now been prepared. His international activity as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary took place during some of the most difficult political periods of the time: in Constantinople (1859–1863 and 1878–1879), London (1879–1882) and Vienna (1882–1895). He always managed to solve the most pressing problems using skillful diplomatic tools. He was appointed Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the challenging period of restructuring of social and public institutions in Russia. It was the era of the so called Great Reforms of Emperor Alexander II. The position was offered to the Prince on account of his superior intellect, strategic foresight and tactical flexibility. During his 11 years in the post (1867–1878), Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky often performed the duties of a minister. During this time, the legal norms of the state and its relations with society significantly improved. In 1870, Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky received the honorary position of State-Secretary of His Imperial Majesty, that is, the Emperor's personal speaker, a position he held until the end of his life. Both Emperor Alexander II and Nicholas II treated Lobanov-Rostovsky with a special warmth. Lobanov-Rostovsky managed to conclude the Russian-Turkish final Peace Treaty of 1879, which put an end to the war between the two countries. This agreement gave Russia significant moral and material results and marked the beginning of the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria, the first steps towards Bulgarian statehood. Lobanov-Rostovsky served as Foreign Minister for 18 months (1895–1896), during which time he brought Russia significant results on the world stage and was highly appreciated both in Russia and around the world. This article talks about the different sides of the prince's extraordinary personality. A true polymath, proficient in the Russian antiquity, he became a bibliophile, collector, genealogist and historian. He wrote carefully considered commentaries on the historical documents he discovered, and for 14 years (1871–1885) he systematically published his work in history journals. This article examines memoir entries of Lobanov-Rostovsky's contemporaries about the diplomat, as well as the latest research about him.

¹ English translation from the Russian text: Fedorova E. S. 2022. The Diplomat, Strategist, Intelligence Officer, Historian — in the Service of Russia. Prince Alexey B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Concept: Philosophy, Religion, Culture*. 6(3). P. 83–106. (In Russian). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24833/2541-8831-2022-3-23-83-106>

Keywords: Lobanov-Rostovsky, diplomat, Alexander II of Russia, Alexander III of Russia, Nicholas II of Russia, history of Russian diplomacy, diplomatic culture, philanthropy

For a century, the name of one of the most important diplomats in Russian history has hardly been mentioned. Now, one of his descendants, Prince Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky, has taken it upon himself to publish a series of works about his distant ancestor, including the seminal monograph *Foreign Policy-Smith Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky: Diplomat, Foreign Minister, Genealogist, Historian, Collector*, which the Moscow-based LRC Publishing House is expected to release in late 2022. Let us start with the description given in that work:

Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky served as Minister of Foreign Affairs for a year and a half. During this time, he received the highest praise from Tsar Nicholas II as the best foreign minister the Russian Empire had ever seen. What exactly was it that made him stand out among those who came before and after him? As an intellectual, Alexey was a state strategist, much like Tamerlane, who was able to combine the best features of military and diplomatic strategy.

He only took real steps once he had all the necessary criteria to implement them, with a good idea of the consequences the action may have.

His talents were many and varied. He worked as an intelligence officer, sent to Paris to conduct secret negotiations with Napoleon III under the pseudonym of Rubinstein, and was also behind the plot to kidnap the Bulgarian Archbishop Joseph Sokolsky and keep him in a monastery in Russia for his intention to convert Bulgaria into a Uniate state.

The Prince was also a genealogist and historian, a true “hero of intellectual labour”, as well as something of a ladies’ man, full of zest and passion.

One can learn a lot reading about the life and work of this exceptional statesman who served for the good of Russia!

This is where the present book comes in, which contains materials that, for the most part, are being published for the first time. These include:

- Reminiscences of Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s contemporaries about the various aspects of his life and work.
- Multifaceted research into the various periods of the Prince’s life carried out in recent years.
- A collection of publications by Lobanov-Rostovsky in the final third of the nineteenth century.²

[...]

² From the author’s private collection.

A World-Renowned Figure

On an August morning in 1896, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky stepped off the Tsar's train at the suggestion of Nicholas II to get some air at the station. He fell and would be dead less than an hour later.

"Condolences were offered from all corners of the globe, a fact that in itself indicates the magnitude of the loss suffered by our country" writes A. Umansky, a biographer of numerous great figures in Russian history and a regular contributor of entries for the most complete multi-volume collection of biographies in the Russian language – Alexander Polovtsov's *Russian Biographical Dictionary*.³ Section II of the planned publication will contain an "Obituary of A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky". The text goes far beyond what would be considered a typical obituary and is effectively a systematic review of how Lobanov-Rostovsky's death was felt across the world and how his activities were assessed in Russian and foreign periodicals, at the same time offering an overview of the general alignment of international forces and their relations with Russia. Evidently, Lobanov-Rostovsky was such a unique figure that one can judge the true alignment of forces at the time by the response of the international community to his untimely death. To illustrate:

"Lobanov [...] belonged to the school of old boyar diplomats whose numbers have dwindled significantly since the time of Catherine the Great. These were strong-willed people who knew their country inside and out, enriched by a multifaceted European education and, relying on their strong hereditary ties, they feared not what Europe might say about us, understanding that it was the inalienable right of great countries to perform great deeds and lead a great existence among other European nations".

[...] During Lobanov-Rostovsky's time as foreign minister, "relations between the powers" became less tense and even cordial. Russia's position on the Sino-Japanese War eliminated the danger of major clashes, and the restrained attitude towards the Armenian and Cretan issues, which threatened complications throughout Europe, would forever serve as a monument to the country's peace-loving policy during this time...

"Sovereign will" is the most important thing... And quite right too. At the end of the day, however, sovereign will is executed by different people, and, if those entrusted with carrying out this will are not up to the task, even the best intentions can lead ... in this case to the Berlin Treaty...

³ Umansky A. M. 1898. Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Distinguished Figures*. St. Petersburg: Tipolitografiia; Moscow: Paikina. P. 7.

Diplomacy is, first and foremost, an art. And a very difficult one at that ... Prince Lobanov was master of this art. So deft was he with the diplomatic brush that old Otto von Bismarck, who kept a keen eye on all the goings-on in Europe, recognized him as a true master of his craft...

As for the Slavic question, Lobanov-Rostovsky consistently pursued the idea of fraternal rapprochement and complete solidarity between Russia and the tribes kindred to us in blood and spirit. In this sense, he was a big proponent of settling the Bulgarian issue and played a role in ensuring that the steps taken by Bulgaria towards reconciliation were appreciated by Russia, and fraternal ties were strengthened once again”⁴.

The Lobanov-Rostovsky Family Line

“Lobanov-Rostovsky came from a family of appanage princes of Rostov, the first of whom was Vasilko, son of the Grand Duke of Vladimir Konstantin Vsevolodovich (1185–1219). The eighth-generation descendant of Vasilko, Prince Ivan Alexandrovich of Rostov, was nicknamed ‘Loban’ and thus became known as Lobanov-Rostovsky, the first of the line of princes to bear this surname. His great-great-grandson, Prince Ivan Ivanovich (nicknamed ‘Goat Horn’), signed the charter on the election of Mikhail Feodorovich to the kingdom. His eldest son, also Prince Ivan Ivanovich, was a boyar, and his grandson, Yakov (d. May 23, 1732), was a room steward of Tsars Feodor III, Ivan V and Peter I, and later a major in the Semyonovsky Lifeguard Regiment.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Prince Yakov Ivanovich was effectively the last remaining representative of the Lobanov-Rostovsky family of princes⁵. He was married twice and fathered 28 children”. This is how Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s closest friend, First Secretary of the Russian Embassy in Turkey Vladimir Alexandrovich Teplov begins his story⁶.

Genealogical Ties

Alexey Borisovich was a descendant of the senior branch of the Lobanov-Rostovsky princes. His grandfather was Major General Alexander Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1754–1830). All of today’s Lobanov-Rostovskys are descendants of Alexander Ivanovich.

⁴ Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. Obituary. 1896. *History Bulletin. Historical and Literary Journal*. LXVI. P. 308–311.

⁵ Yakov Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1660–1732).

⁶ Teplov V. A. 1897. *Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky. Biographical Sketch with an Appendix (a Portrait) and a Photogravure Picture of the Prince’s Ancestral Home in Moscow*. St. Petersburg: Tip A. Benke. P. 1–2.

Alexander Ivanovich was the eldest son of Lifeguard Regiment captain Ivan Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1731–1791) and Princess Ekaterina Alexandrovna Kurkina (1735–1802).

Alexander Ivanovich's grandfather was Prince Ivan Yakovlevich the Elder (1687–1840), meaning that he was the eldest son of Prince Yakov Ivanovich (1660–1732). To this day, this branch of the Lobanov-Rostovsky princes is considered the eldest.

The youngest brother of Alexander Ivanovich was Dmitry Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1758–1838), who was a prominent figure both on the battlefield, attaining the rank of General of the Infantry, just one rung below Field Marshal – a fact that afforded him the opportunity to head up major military associations – and as a statesman, securing the position of Minister of Justice and being a member of the State Council. Alexey Borisovich's great-uncle demonstrated such diplomatic talent that he was nicknamed the “Prince of Peace” and awarded the Order of Alexander Nevsky by Tsar Alexander I. In an odd kind of familial succession, Alexander I sent General Dmitry Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky to Tilsit in 1807 to hold talks with Napoleon. The negotiations were a resounding success. Half a century later, Tsar Alexander II would send Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky to engage in peace talks with Napoleon III, and these secret negotiations were similarly successful (Fedorova 2020: 175–183).

Alexey Borisovich's father was Boris Alexandrovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1794–1863), a Staff Captain in His Majesty's Hussar Life Guards Regiment who fought in the Patriotic War of 1812 and numerous foreign campaigns. He would later be a chamberlain, State Councillor, and Chief Prosecutor of the 6th Department of the Governing Senate. He was married to Olimpiada Mikhailovna nee Borodin, who was from a poor but old noble family.

The elder brother of the hero of our book was Mikhail Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1819–1858), a military man who took part in the Caucasian and Crimean wars, as well as a philosopher, graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy at Moscow State University, and political writer who specialized in economics, politics and history. He was also a close friend of Mikhail Lermontov, who wrote about him in his memoirs [...] (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2010: 370–373).

“With a Youthful Fervour...”

Teplov writes: “With a youthful fervour, devoting himself with all his being to working for the good of the fatherland, Prince Lobanov gave everything he had to this task, both physical and spiritual”⁷ [...] He adopted an air of coldness and aloofness in front of strangers, but this deceived only the short-sighted. According to Teplov, Lobanov maintained “a constant restraint that was part of his character, and something

⁷ Ibid. P. 85.

he did not attempt to eschew straight away, but only after he had properly sized up the person approaching him. However, once he let his guard down, you could see just how cordial, kind and eternally loyal he was under that cold exterior”⁸.

Progeny: Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky

Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky ardently carried out his beloved diplomatic duties and his duties as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire during the “Great Reforms” of Tsar Alexander II, and was equally high spirited in his everyday life. I am compelled to note here that his relative, the geologist and philanthropist Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky, is almost exactly the same. Anyone who is close with him knows that he is bursting with energy, and this energy always leads to some kind of tangible result. Yet, profound emotions hide behind the cold-blooded exterior. One of the endeavours to which Nikita Dmitrievich has dedicated much time, effort and finances is this very publication.

A few words about this well-known Russian public figure. Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky is, like the diplomat Alexey Borisovich, a descendent of Alexander Ivanovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, that is, of the elder Lobanovs. Nikita Dmitrievich is six times removed from him.

Alexey Borisovich and Nikita Dmitrievich’s great-grandfather – Captain of the Guard Nikolai Alexeevich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1826–1887) – were cousins.

Nikita Dmitrievich was born in Sofia in 1935. His grandparents were forced to flee Russia after the Revolution, choosing to settle in Bulgaria in 1922, as it was an Orthodox Slavic country (his grandfather, I. N. Lobanov-Rostovsky served as the church warden of the St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia). Nikita Dmitrievich’s father was shot during the repressions in 1948, and he and his mother were sent to prison (he was just 11 at the time). He experienced great hardships as a child and a teenager, but despite the harsh circumstances, Lobanov-Rostovsky did well at school and engaged in numerous extra-curricular activities: he was a pioneer and a Komsomol member, studied minerology and won the Bulgarian national championship in the breaststroke.

In 1953, his uncle on his mother’s side, N. V. Vyrubov (a volunteer in de Gaulle’s army and a personal friend of General de Gaulle himself; a war hero and the recipient of the Chevalier National Order of the Legion of Honour), who worked for the United Nations following the War, and the French writer and diplomat Romain Gary were instrumental, along with Nikita Dmitrievich’s mother, in sending the young man to Paris.

He studied geology at Oxford University in 1954–1958, and in 1960, he earned a Master’s degree in economic geology from Columbia University, where he would teach in the Faculty of Mineralogy and lead numerous geological expeditions. From 1961 to

⁸ Ibid. P. 88

1963, he studied at the New York University Graduate School of Business, while also working in a bank. He moved up the ladder at the bank before being hired as Assistant Vice-President of Prudential in 1967. In 1970, he was named Vice President and Head of Europe, Africa and the Middle East at Wells Fargo. And in 1987, he went to work for De Beers diamond company. Lobanov-Rostovsky was sure to help the USSR out whenever he could, assisting Soviet companies in obtaining loans from banks where he held senior positions.

In 1954, Lobanov-Rostovsky started collecting theatrical and decorative paintings created during the so-called Silver Age of Russian Art, preserving the names of 150 Russian émigré artists for posterity. It is believed that Nina and Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky have the best private collection of theatrical and decorative painting in the world.

Starting in 1970, Lobanov-Rostovsky has regularly donated works of art and historical documents to his Fatherland. Exhibitions of works from his collection are frequently held in Russia. The first such exhibition took place at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts in 1988, while the most recent major exhibitions were “Breakthrough”, held at the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow 2015–2016, and an exhibition held in honour of the 110th anniversary of the St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art in 2019.

Other initiatives of Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky include the Monument to the Heroes First World War in Victory Park on Poklonnaya Hill in Moscow, and the Monument to National Unity in Sevastopol.

Lobanov-Rostovsky has donated works to the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, the House for the Russian Diaspora, the Marina Tsvetaeva House-Museum, the Private Collections Museum, the A. A. Bakhrushin State Central Theatre Museum in Moscow, the St. Petersburg State Museum of Theatrical and Musical Art, the Residence of the Russian Ambassador in Paris, the Residence of the Russian Embassy in London, the Rostov Kremlin State Museum-Reserve, and other places. Outside Russia, Lobanov-Rostovsky is known at world auctions and in museums as a prominent promoter of Russian art. He is a life-long fellow of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 2015, he was named an honorary member of the Russian Academy of Arts. In 2003, Lobanov-Rostovsky co-founded the International Council of Russian Compatriots and served as its first Deputy Chairman for several years. He is currently a member of the Council. Nikita Dmitrievich publishes stories about his amazing life, as well as memoirs, articles, and interviews in his “Rurikids” tales (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2015, 2017, 2020).

The Fate of the Ancestral Home of Alexey Borisovich

Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky was born in Moscow, in the “house of the Slavophile Khomyakov” – number 7 Sobachya Ploshchadka – which was bought by the diplomat’s father. Today, neither the house nor the street exists, much

to the chagrin of Muscovites. New Arbat Street now passes through where it once was. Alexey's childhood, his likes and interests, are described in an essay by his close friend and kindred spirit, the diplomat, historian and social commentator Vladimir A. Teplov⁹. The reader may also wish to read Section II of the forthcoming book *A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky in the Eyes of His Contemporaries*. We should add that, in the 1920s–1930s, Sobachya Ploshchadka housed the “Museum of Noble Life of the 1840s”. Apparently, the house itself and the private life of the nobility had been well preserved, so, in 1929, the Revision Commission decided that such vestiges of the highly cultured life of these people “suppress” the negative attitude of the common people towards the nobility. The museum was closed and its director arrested. But somehow, the building once again became a haven of high art, and was transferred to the ownership of the Gnessim Music School¹⁰.

Activities

The name Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824–1896) was all but forgotten in the twentieth century, and was mentioned a scant few times in academic publications during that time. As the 2000s were coming to a close, works began to appear that dedicated several pages to the man's life (Romanyuk 2009).

In 2010, Nikita Dmitrievich Lobanov-Rostovsky published his book *Epoch. Fate. Collection*, the first work to include details about Alexey Borisovich's life and what he was like as a person. The book also included stories about other members of the Lobanov-Rostovsky family (Lobanov-Rostovsky 2010: 374–378).

Career Overview

Alexey Lobanov finished the Tsarskoye Selo Lyceum with a second [small] gold medal¹¹. We should note here that, as he was approaching the end of his studies, the lyceum moved from Tsarskoye Selo to St. Petersburg and was renamed the Alexandrovsky Lyceum, so, officially, Alexey was a graduate of that school.

There is no doubt that the Prince occupies an honourable place among the most remarkable Russian statesmen who headed up the country's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the age of just 35, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Constantinople (1859–1863). And, as his biographers at the time claimed, he was invariably the one who was sent to deal with the most sensitive “diplomatic issues”.

⁹ Ibid. P. 3–4.

¹⁰ Khorvatova E. The Death of Sobachya Ploshchadka. Livejournal. 27.10.2013. URL: <https://eho-2013.livejournal.com/179334.html> (accessed 10.11.2023).

¹¹ Teplov. P. 5.

After taking a break from the civil service (which we will discuss below), Lobanov was appointed Governor of the City of Oryol (1866–1867). He then served as a comrade (deputy) of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, sometimes acting as minister (1867–1878). This was the era of the “Great Reforms” during the rule of Tsar Alexander II, which was very much one of those “sensitive diplomatic issues”, expanding the framework for the development of capitalism significantly, and changing the legal norms of the state and its relationship with society for the better. Alexey’s efforts were mostly directed at reforming the “investigative unit”, provincial institutions and the urban structure.

He then served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Constantinople (1878–1879), London (1879–1882) and Vienna (1882–1895). On February 26 (March 10), 1895, Tsar Nicholas II appointed Lobanov Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire.

Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky’s resume thus looks like this: Minister of Foreign Affairs (1895–1896), chamberlain, senator, Acting Privy Councillor, Secretary of State.

Secretary of State: A Special Relationship with the Royal Family

In 1870, long before serving as minister of foreign affairs, Alexey Borisovich was appointed to the honorary position of “Secretary of State to His Imperial Majesty”, that is, the personal reporter to the Tsar. Only a very select few ministers were granted such an honour. Appointment to the position was at the “highest discretion” of the sovereign himself, and it indicated a personal relationship with the Tsar and the royal family. Both Alexander II and Nicholas II were extremely fond of Alexey Borisovich. Despite the scheming of envious people, Tsar Alexander III valued Lobanov-Rostovsky’s talents, in no small part thanks to his flair for diplomacy, “contrary to what people may have said about him, he became close to Republican France, establishing friendly relations with the country”¹².

However, we can say with certainty that Tsar Nicholas II treated Lobanov-Rostovsky like a member of the family. And we have evidence of this. For example, according to the statesman, governor, senator and later emigrant Petr Stremoukhov, the Emperor considered Lobanov-Rostovsky’s untimely death one of his biggest failures: “... What do you want, Mr. Ambassador? We are Russians and, therefore, superstitious. But isn’t it obvious that the Sovereign brings nothing but disaster?”

He then goes on to list all the failures that had befallen him during his reign: the Khodynka Tragedy, the sinking of a steamship before his very eyes in Kyiv along with three hundred spectators, and the death of his beloved minister Lobanov-Ros-

¹² Ibid. P. 55.

ovsky on the royal train. The Tsar desperately wanted an heir, and after having four daughters, one finally appeared, but he turned out to be sick with an incurable disease (Stremukhov 2017: 315).

Minister of Finance Sergei Witte also wrote about the sadness felt by the royal family following Lobanov-Rostovsky's death, adding that the foreign minister would not have allowed many of the events in Russian politics that ended so badly to happen had he lived¹³. And this despite the fact that the relationship between Witte and Lobanov-Rostovsky was far from rosy.

St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv was consecrated on August 20, 1896, two days after Lobanov-Rostovsky's sudden death on a train bound for the city. The artist Mikhail Nesterov writes:

"We went to the cathedral at 9 o'clock the next morning. By 10 o'clock, the Metropolitan bishop had arrived, as had grand princes, ministers, and so on. At ten on the dot, the ringing of bells announced the arrival of the emperor and empress. They led the procession. The Tsar was sombre and pallid, the Tsarina was also sad. Word has it they she shed many a tear after Princess Lobanova-Rost[ovskaya]'s death; and the emperor appeared to mouth the words "what rotten luck I have!"¹⁴

In this context, Nesterov appears to have made a typo: it should, of course, read "after Prince Lobanov-Rost[ovsky]'s death". Plus, no one with the surname Lobanova-Rostovskaya died in August 1896.

According to Teplov, the illuminations that had been planned for the Tsar's arrival in Kyiv were cancelled.¹⁵

Here is what Prince Dmitri Obolonsky, Marshal of Nobility and head of the court of Alexander II who published interesting works in exile about the time of Nicholas II, wrote:

"The Russian cabinet was by no means bad under Nicholas II, and the emperor was generally quite good at finding outstanding people to fill government posts. The government was no worse under him than it had been under his predecessors, and was often superior to those in Western European countries – both those that had parliaments and those that did not. Foreign ministers the likes of Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, Alexander Izvolsky, Sergey Sazonov and Nikolai Pokrovsky do not come around every day, and they were envied in England, France and Germany. Their policies were successful, sometimes even brilliant..." (Obolonsky 2017: 119).

"Blame for the war with Japan is placed squarely on Nicholas II, who is seen as the sole culprit for the entire affair. This is how he has gone down in history. But it was not Russia that declared war on Japan, nor did it even issue a challenge to the country. As we all know, Japan turned its sights towards mainland Asia in 1894, some ten years before the war with Russia, attacking a defenceless China, capturing Korea and Kwan-

¹³ Witte S. Y. 2003. *From the Archive of S. Y. Witte. Recollections: In Three Volumes. Vol. 1*. St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin.

¹⁴ Nesterov M. V. 1988. Letter to A. A. Turygin dated August 28, 1896. In M. V. Nesterov *Letters*. Moscow: Iskusstvo.

¹⁵ Teplov. P. 96

tung and then threatening the Russian Far East, which was extremely vulnerable at the time. Could Russia really be expected to do nothing about this? Russia stood up to Japan. And it did not do this alone, but rather in alliance with France and Germany (and against Great Britain). Nicholas II was the one who brokered this alliance. And he had a truly exceptional assistant by his side – Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky, who replaced the wishy-washy Nikolay de Girs. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky was able to do the impossible – bring Germany and France together, and to steer this coalition for the benefit of Russia. The combined fleet (under the command of a Russian admiral) forced Japan (without a declaration of war, and without a single drop of blood being shed) to end the war with China and make concessions. As a result, Japan was banished from mainland Asia, and had to be satisfied with the Republic of Formosa and reparations (from China)” (Obolonsky 2017: 149).

The First Publication of Kushniarev’s Systematic Study

Until now, the only systematic study that covered every aspect of the Lobanov-Rostovsky’s work was a dissertation, a “manuscript”, completed back in 2008.¹⁶ The work reads like an academic CV. Drawing on the vast corpus of various documentary evidence, including the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the author convincingly lays out the achievements of the diplomat, filling in the “blank pages” with historical materials, presented for the first time, and pointing out which of his personality traits were key to the successful resolution of complicated issues. In this sense, the work can be called a textbook for modern diplomats.

The 1879 Peace of Constantinople. Designed and Developed by Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky

Until recently, little was known about Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky’s role in the conclusion of the 1879 Peace of Constantinople. The treaty represented a significant moral and material victory for Russia. It also laid the foundation for the creation of the autonomous principality of Bulgaria, that is, it gave life to Bulgarian statehood.

A special place in the publication (Section III) is devoted to the part played by Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky in the signing of Peace of Constantinople with Turkey and the resulting formation of an independent Bulgarian state.

In 1878, the magazine *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya* (*World Illustrated*) published an article on Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, complete with a portrait of the diplomat:

¹⁶ Kushnarev I. S. 2008. *Life and Statesmanship of A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky: 1844–1896*. Doctoral dissertation, Saratov Chernyshevsky State University.

“During his first stay in Constantinople, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky conducted himself in a conciliatory manner and knew how to curry favour with everyone in attendance. For this reason, those in diplomatic circles hope that his appointment as ambassador to Constantinople will contribute to rapprochement between Russia and the Sublime Porte”.¹⁷

In 2019, Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky led a discussion about the role of the Peace of Constantinople in the House for the Russian Diaspora.¹⁸ Historians, public figures and journalists from Russia and Bulgaria (most notably Rumen Petkov, leader of the Alternative for Bulgarian Revival party) offered their thoughts on the issue. Section III of the upcoming book is devoted to this discussion, and will also include the full text of the peace agreement.

Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky writes:

“The Russo–Turkish War of 1877–1878 is of great historical international significance. First of all, it was fought because of the Eastern question, one of the most explosive issues in global politics of the time. Second, it ended with the Congress of Berlin, which redrew the political map of what was perhaps the ‘hottest’ region in Europe – a “powder keg”, as diplomats referred to it.

The war was caused by the upsurge of the national liberation movement in the Balkans and the aggravation of international disputes in connection with this. The war ended with the liberation of the Balkan peoples from Ottoman rule, the independence of Serbia, Romania and Montenegro, and the formation of Bulgarian statehood.

Russia lost 140,000 people, with a further 60,000 wounded. Yet the foundations of modern Bulgaria were laid...

I remember singing this song at school in Bulgaria some eighty years or so ago:

From the Black Sea to Lake Ohrid

From the Danube to the Aegean

A single people live.

These words are from the text of the Treaty of San Stefano (February 13, 1878), which was signed three weeks after the ceasefire agreement of January 19, 1878. The agreement was unacceptable for Great Britain because it gave Russia influence on the banks of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles straits. England demanded a meeting in London on May 18, 1878 to discuss the treaty. The wording of the agreement was subsequently modified heavily, and Bulgaria lost two-thirds of the territory it had originally been promised.

The agreement between Russia and Great Britain was discussed at the Congress of Berlin (June–July 1878). Eight months later (on February 8, 1879), the Peace of Constantinople was signed. One of my ancestors, Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky, who

¹⁷ Prince Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky: Russian Ambassador at the Turkish Court. 1878. *Vsemirnaya Illyustratsiya*. 491. P. 1.

¹⁸ The 1879 Peace of Constantinople. Round Table in Honour of the 140th Anniversary of the Signing of the Peace of Constantinople. House for the Russian Diaspora. Moscow, February 8, 2019. N. D. Lobanov-Rostovsky Publications. London, April 2019.

served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Constantinople under Sultan Abdul Hamid II during 1878–1879, signed on behalf of Russia, while Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander Karatheodori Pasha and Ali Pasha, the Minister presiding over the Council of State of the Ottoman Empire, signed for the Turkish side

The Principality of Bulgaria was created on the basis of this treaty, and the first Bulgarian Constitution was adopted on April 16, 1879.

Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky deserves credit for successfully negotiating in favour of the Bulgarian side to develop the agreement. He managed to get clauses included in it that were not even considered at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. He was also able to get some parts of the Treaty of Berlin replaced with articles from the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) that had been taken out of the text at the Congress of Berlin. He was able to do all this because he enjoyed the trust and respect of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, a result of their close friendship, which was built in the days when Abdul Hamid was still the heir to the throne and Lobanov-Rostovsky was a young ambassador in Constantinople”.

Personalities and Pastimes

Art and the Fullness of Life

It is known that Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky demonstrated a flair for art from a young age, and that he took part in theatre productions at the lyceum (Kobeko 2008: 339). He once used his acting skills in secret negotiations with France, when he was able to organically become an “illegal negotiator”, penetrating the country’s inner circles disguised as a “philistine”:

“The outstanding abilities of the young diplomat did not go unnoticed, and such a favourable opinion was formed of him that when Emperor Napoleon²⁰ started to show signs after the Crimean campaign in 1856 that he wanted to reconcile with Russia, Prince Alexey Lobanov-Rostovsky was sent on a secret mission to Paris, where he arrived as a tradesman named Rubinstein. There, he conducted secret preliminary negotiations with the Saxon Count von Seebach, which paved the way for a final agreement”.²¹

The Prince was into the history of extinct lineages and preserving the memory of ancient noble families, which led him to carry out numerous genealogical studies.

¹⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2022. *Foreign Policy-Smith Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky: Diplomat, Foreign Minister, Genealogist, Historian, Collector*. Moscow: LRC Publishing House.

²⁰ Charled Louis Napoleon III (1808–1873) was a nephew of Napoleon 1, the first President of France and the last monarch of the French Second Empire.

²¹ Teplov. P. 6.

In addition to mastering his everyday activities, both official and academic, Lobanov-Rostovsky also “knew how to live”: he would go to art exhibitions, presentations of antique collections and private theatre performances; listen to Italian music and gypsy singing; and attend meetings on antiquity, leading group discussions on the topic and impressing everyone with his erudition and understanding of the essence of the issue at hand. He also loved to hunt bears and travel to the resorts of France for some R&R. He was a lover and a great friend. It is known that he would throw himself at the feet of his beloved, moving heaven and earth to try and win the affections of the wife of the French ambassador to Turkey, Juliette de Bourquene. But it turned out that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a man of dignity and was hardened enough to accept the hand that fate had dealt him – the affections of the object of his desires. His ability to protect and respect his personal life matched his willpower and professional honour that allowed him to successfully defend the interests of the Fatherland. The happy lovers spent three years in Lobanov-Rostovsky’s secluded villa in France before her premature death.

Having lost his Juliette, Lobanov-Rostovsky did not betray his feelings and would forever be grateful for this strange period of his life. From the moment he fled with his beloved in 1863, he would live “three plus thirty years” – three years breathing the joy of love, and thirty years in service to his country. He was a passionate man and entered into numerous romances, and, according to some reports, had a daughter from his French lover. But he never got married and lived out his life as a bachelor...

Lobanov-Rostovsky was on friendly terms not only with the insular diplomatic and aristocratic society, but also with bohemians. It is no surprise that he was friends with people from completely different circles – from the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich to the writer and Secretary of the Russian Society for Encouraging Artists Dmitry Grigorovich, author of *Gutta-Percha Boy*, to the art historian, archivist and critic Vladimir Stasov, a man of very advanced vires on the art of that time. For example, Stasov once wrote to Vasily Vereshchagin:

“Your brother came to visit maybe two times during those days, then he left for Vologda. This morning, I did what he asked and sent, *poste restante*, a recommendation to both governors – of Vologda and Arkhangelsk – and a glowing recommendation at that, from my good friend, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky”.²²

The Prince was well versed in all kinds of areas. For example, as Deputy Minister of the Interior, he had to deal with the issue of sectarianism in Russia, which was very complex, dangerous for public sentiment, and deeply rooted in the worldview of different strata of society.

²² V. V. Stasov to V. V. Vereshchagin. St. Petersburg, Nadezhdinsk[aya], 9; July 3 [18]76. In Lebedeva A. K. (ed.). 1950. *Correspondence between V. V. Vereshchagin and V. V. Stasov. Vol. I. 1874–1878*. Moscow: Iskustvo.

His activities frequently brought him into contact with objects of art, which gave him a similarly impressive understanding of the structure, classification and features of art:

“In 1876, a special commission was set up under the Ministry of National Education to discuss and finalize the draft of the II Archeological Congress [on the Classification of Monuments]. It was chaired by Comrade Minister of Internal Affairs A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky and was made up of representatives of the imperial academies (of arts and sciences), the journal *Proceedings of the Imperial Archaeological Commission* and the Synod”.²³

In a word, the Prince knew how to live a full and varied life, no matter what he was involved in, and he was always highly active in his endeavours, the lessons of the past firmly in his mind.

What His Contemporaries Thought of Him. The Lobanov Formula

As we have already noted, Section II of our publication is a collection of recollections about Lobanov-Rostovsky – what he was like as a person, and what he liked to do. Secretary of State Alexander Polovtsov discovered a “formula” for how Lobanov-Rostovsky carried himself as a diplomat: “cheerful, hospitable, level-headed and firm in relations” (Polovtsov 2005a: 323). Polovtsov and Lobanov-Rostovsky were extremely close, completely at ease in each other’s company. Polovtsov had no problem at all letting his friend stay in his house if he had to go away on business: “March 24, 1887. Leaving for Paris. Lobanov will be staying at my place” (Polovtsov 2005b: 49).

Polovtsov was fascinated by the inner workings of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s mind. “May 24, 1883. Tuesday. I had a long conversation with Lobanov today about the sorry state of affairs in which our country’s internal and external affairs finds itself. The autocracy that everyone is talking about is nothing but a façade, an intensified expression of an inner content that isn’t there. When things are quiet, things are limping along, but God forbid a thunderstorm... who knows what will happen then...” (Polovtsov 2005a: 108).

These words can be used to describe the world today. There is no doubt that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a uniquely courageous man of conviction. But he would not share his sobering assessment of the situation at home and abroad with just anyone, only his most trusted confidants, and Polovtsov was surely one of them. For example: “March 16, 1886. Invited to breakfast at the Gagarins, along with Lobanov and Palen. We reminisced about the past and, of course, the present leaves much to be desired. Universal dislike for Pobedonostsev, who is accused of holding narrow views, as well as shallow priestly biased foibles...” (Polovtsov 2005a: 441).

²³ *Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Russia: 18th – Early 20th Centuries*. Moscow, 1978.

Lobanov-Rostovsky appears to have been a fiercely independent person, pursuing his own line, while at the same time being able to remain objective in the face of hostility. For example, (on March 18, 1888), the Prince was “extremely dissatisfied with the way things [were] going at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, saying that had we adopted the position we now hold on the Bulgarian issue (a year ago), then there would be no issue to speak of now. The problem is that Girs, due to his spinelessness, does not enjoy any authority in the eyes of the emperor. Lobanov, who has no love for Ambassador Shuvalov in Berlin, understands that his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs would benefit the cause” (Polovtsov 2005b: 99).

Lobanov-Rostovsky saw the role of Empress Maria Fedorovna in politics as pernicious, and he would not hold back when revealing his true feelings about her to his closest and most trusted friends: “April 3, 1889. The concert ended at 8, and everyone went to the so-called arsenal hall, where a table had been laid for forty guests. As the senior-most official there, Lobanov sat to the right of the Empress, from whom he did not hear a single sensible word! What a stupid, vapid woman!” (Polovtsov 2005b: 194).

Lobanov-Rostovsky had no qualms about writing “unpleasant” reports: “November 29, 1891. They’re saying that my friend Lobanov has stooped to new lows, in uninterested and does not write anything serious. My response to that would be that Lobanov does not write to Girs because, as far as he is concerned, it is not worth it, because he’ll never get a sensible word out of him.

I asked Shishkin how the extracts from the foreign newspapers that are given to the emperor to read are chosen, and he tells me, ‘the person charged with this has orders from Girs not to include anything unpleasant in them, so as not to put the emperor in a bad mood whenever Girs has to give him a groveling report on something’ (Polovtsov 2005b: 194).

Polovtsov respected Lobanov primarily because he was not one of those officials, “who, under external pressure, have but one concern – covering their own behinds” (Polovtsov 2005b: 473). He also respected him for his good upbringing and his ability to carry himself in such a way that, no matter what country he was in, he was able to curry favour with the high-ranking statesmen and leaders: “April 8, 1892. Dinner at the Abaza’s in honour of Lobanov. These dinners are an annual affair, but the number of people who attend them dwindles with each passing year. This time around, there are Timashev, Ubri and Balashev. As for new faces, there is Durnovo, who was a terrible governor back when Lobanov was running the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But he may just be the most acceptable of those who haven’t been at one of these dinners before and now find themselves in power, because Filippov, Witte, Vyshnegradsky and Ostrovsky are barely fit for the janitor’s room” (Polovtsov 2005b: 474).

Teplov gives us an insider’s account of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s life, as he knew the man well, unlike Kartsov, who apparently was not part of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s inner circle and whose recollections, given below, are those of an onlooker. Teplov was the one who, in his role as First Secretary of the Embassy in Constantinople (1878–1879), brought the final draft of the peace treaty between Russia and Turkey signed by Prince

Lobanov-Rostovsky to St. Petersburg to be ratified. His recollections are thus of particular value. We should point out here that despite his obvious admiration for the prince, Teplov is objective in his assessment of his notes, drawing attention to the scrupulousness, dryness and rawness of the material. Bear in mind that we are publishing his memoirs about Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky for the first time – 125 years after they were written.

Why did we decide to put the memoirs of Lobanov's obvious detractor, Yuri Kartsov, among others, in Section II? Kartsov was an extreme conservative, and his views appear reprehensible to us. He did, after all, become a member of the Union of the Archangel Michael, a known Black Hundreds organization. He was mostly critical of Russia's flexible policy when it came to interacting with other countries and cultures, believing that it was Russia's calling to stand alone. This is why he could not have looked favourably on Lobanov-Rostovsky's diplomatic successes in terms of Russia's rapprochement with Bulgaria's. Lobanov-Rostovsky's close friend Vladimir Teplov explained why Kartsov's memoirs contain negative undertones:

"Prince Lobanov's appointment as a minister aroused the concern of the Slavophile party, whose members feared that the extended periods he had spent abroad had led him to him completely to Western European views on the Slavic question.

Prince Lobanov was not a Slavophile in the generally accepted sense of the word; Slavophiles were typically provocative and offensive, whereas Lobanov valued friendly relations with all Slavic peoples. But he was a true Russian, through and through, and always put the interests of Russia ahead of all else, never losing sight of the fact that if the Slavs matter to Russia, then Russia is a thousand times more important to the Slavs, if only for its role as a powerful shield and driver of the independent development of the Slavic peoples. A weakened Russia would inevitably have a detrimental effect on the political fate of the Slavs in general".²⁴

Kartsov subtly constructs his memories in such a way that he puts unflattering remarks about Lobanov-Rostovsky into the mouths of other people. He tries to describe all the shortcomings of the prince, and shines a light on these qualities only. He even criticizes Lobanov-Rostovsky for being attracted to ladies who were close to him in age, rather than to younger women. This is somewhat excessive and out of place for "diplomatic" memoirs. But even the title of Kartsov's book demonstrates his slyness – *Political and Personal Recollections*. Kartsov disliked everything about Lobanov-Rostovsky, from his penchant for art collecting to his love for historical detail and fact. He even reproaches him for pursuing what is the main goal of diplomacy – "maintain good relations with the powers of the West and, of course, primarily with Austria-Hungary and Germany",²⁵ as well as for the affinity he felt for the first prince of

²⁴ Teplov. P. 53

²⁵ Kartsov Y. 1906. *Seven Years in the Middle East. 1879–1886. Political and Personal Recollections*. St. Petersburg: Ekonomicheskaya tipolotografia. P. 12.

the Principality of Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, and the fact that the latter spoke about Lobanov-Rostovsky with the same kind of warmth: "Prince Lobanov is a pearl of Russian diplomacy".²⁶ All this criticism of Lobanov-Rostovsky hints subtly towards what Kartsov evidently sees as an excessive commitment to the West, something that Vladimir Teplov laconically refutes:

"The time he spent in Moscow, during those years when the mind is most impressionable, with its monuments to antiquity and its truly Russian spirit, inspired in him a passion for our country's past, which laid a solid foundation for a conscious love for his fatherland. He was proud to be Russian, a feeling that did not grow weaker as he got older, either under the influence of his comprehensive European education, or the extended periods he spent living abroad".²⁷

In his memoirs, Kartsov even spins rumours as if they were true, putting them into the mouths of his interlocutors. For example: Lobanov-Rostovsky's mother was a merchant's wife, which is where his profound arrogance came from. In actual fact, his mother, O. M. Borodina was from a poor, but ancient noble family. Or the obvious lie that Alexander III did not trust Lobanov-Rostovsky and would not have been his minister if he had lived longer. This is contradicted by the fact that, according to Teplov, the Tsar told Lobanov-Rostovsky that his posting as ambassador would be his last stint abroad, as he was to be appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. Teplov goes on to say that Lobanov-Rostovsky himself "repeatedly called himself the only person to continue the policy of Alexander III".²⁸

And this is how Kartsov created a "negative" image of Lobanov-Rostovsky. But what came of it? Despite his efforts, even the detractor Kartsov failed to squeeze anything serious out of the tube of poison that could possibly discredit the reputation of the prince, except for the usual weaknesses inherent in any person, such as, "the man is a conceited snob, from head to toe".²⁹

Lobanov-Rostovsky knew how to be a social chameleon. As a diplomat, Kartsov had to understand that restraint, isolation and detachment are necessary qualities for such work – a mask of sorts. His coldness and unwillingness to let a single wanderer into the Russian embassy in Constantinople, even if they were from Russia, was a matter of caution more than anything else. For, as the First Secretary of the Embassy Vladimir Teplov writes, "Even in times of peace, the post of Russian Ambassador in Constantinople is an extremely challenging one, one of constant conflict. The city serves as the point where the intrigues of foreign officials intersect, as they direct all their efforts towards counteracting or even eliminating Russia's influence on the Sublime Porte, and towards the desire to pull Turkey into the orbit of Western Europe, having, of course, obtained the lion's share of the benefits... and the Russian repre-

²⁶ Ibid. P. 11.

²⁷ Teplov. P. 4.

²⁸ Ibid. P. 55.

²⁹ Kartsov. P. 175.

sentative is left to fight the onslaught alone, with no support whatsoever. At the same time, he has to navigate the machinations of the evasive and two-faced policies of the Sublime Porte, condemned by her very weakness to constant subterfuge, in the hope that the never-ending rivalry between the powers will give it an opportunity to somehow avoid fulfilling its obligations, which sound so good and look just as compelling on paper. In such conditions, protecting our interests in Turkey and pursuing our goals in the East, which involve the concerns that arise from our time-honoured patronage of fellow believers and fellow countrymen, impose a heavy burden on the Russian ambassador under the Sultan and require his complete and total attention”³⁰

The memoirs of detractors such as Kartsov do the opposite. Full of petty trifles, they expose the pettiness of the memoirist himself. And, as such, they actually serve to reinforce the generally positive assessment of the historical figure of Lobanov-Rostovsky. Although we have a living image of the prince, an opportunity to picture this truly unique person from among the faceless figures that make up the history of diplomacy.

But even Kartsov had to concede that Lobanov-Rostovsky had performed brilliantly in his role in developing and concluding Peace of Constantinople, subconsciously replicating the only correct policy that the prince could have pursued: “Unlike other ambassadors, he did not pester the Turks, nor did he try to introduce any new issues into the conversation. Rather, he kept to the main lines of the instructions he had received. He was thus able to curry the favour of Sultan Abdul Hamid like no ambassador before or after him”. However, note the peculiar way in which Kartsov describes how Lobanov-Rostovsky was able to achieve peace – not with his diplomatic skill or the experience of an ambassador, rather, “with his lazy and indifferent character, Lobanov-Rostovsky responded to the general need for reconciliation”³¹

Oh, envy, mixed with a feeling that he would never be as good as the prince! This can clearly be seen in a comment he made when seeing the order in which the royal family came out, and who followed them: “the closest relatives of the Tsar, followed by Prince Lobanov and other *dii minores*³²...”³³

Teplov would respond to Kartsov’s depiction, calling Lobanov-Rostovsky “a person who only knew how to organize his day, alternating between his work as a civil servant and his academic pursuits”³⁴. He further noted that, “nothing was so contrary to his temperament as to interfere in trifles: for the head of an embassy or government ministry, it is necessary, as he understands it, to retain general leadership only, to outline only the main strokes in order to give a clear understanding of the main idea,

³⁰ Teplov. P. 24–25.

³¹ Kartsov. P. 9–10

³² Latin for “minor deities.”

³³ Kartsov. P. 237.

³⁴ Teplov. P. 54.

which should always be kept in sight. It is not the minister's job to add colour or detail to the background, for, if he does, he will inevitably drown in a sea of minutiae, and his obsession with the latter will cause him to lose sight of the big picture..."³⁵

The shallow waters of Kartstov's thinking, seasoned with a dash of malevolence, only colours Teplov's version of the same events: "Once the Russo-Turkish War had ended and relations with the Sublime Porte had been restored, it was necessary to send an experienced diplomat to Constantinople, someone who was familiar with the East and the specifics of diplomatic activity there, someone who would be able to unravel the many knots that made up the legacy of the war that had altered relations both between Turkey and its neighbours, and between the peoples on the Balkan Peninsula, some of whom had finally achieved independence, some of whom gave rise to new political organisms with their own separate aspirations".³⁶

Looking at other unquestionably positive achievements of Lobanov-Rostovsky's diplomatic work, Kartsov somehow manages to turn positives into negatives, offering absolutely no evidence to support his conclusions. For all the hostility that seeps through the pages of his book, however, Kartsov nevertheless finds the fortitude to praise Lobanov-Rostovsky the minister, emphasizing his strength of character, the "calibre", as he puts it, of a man who is worthy of his position, and his incorruptibility, calling the prince a "star of the first order" in the diplomatic sky – although, as was often the case with Kartsov, these were not his words, but rather those of A. I. Nelidov. He also points out that the other embassy employees, who had led rather lavish lifestyles before Lobanov-Rostovsky arrived in Constantinople, were forced to "cut down" on their "spending" under the new ambassador.³⁷ Lobanov-Rostovsky's firmness was evidently in stark contrast to what had come before. Polovtsov noted in his diary:

"Spent the evening at Lobanov's, who was ill. Girs does not have the courage to show the emperor Lobanov's messages when they are expressed boldly" (Polovtsov 2005a: 98–99).

Historian

Genealogist, Bibliophile, Collector

Lobanov-Rostovsky grew up among Moscow aristocrats. He loved hearing stories about the old days, and started writing them down when he was a child. He was particularly interested in the era of Emperor Paul, as his ancestors played prominent roles at the royal court during that time. The uncle of his great-grandmother Princess Ekaterina Alexandrovna Lobanova-Rostovskaya, nee Kurakina, Count Nikita Panin, who was a mentor to Prince Pavel Petrovich, Ekaterina Alexandrovna's father, Prince Alex-

³⁵ Ibid. P. 53–54.

³⁶ Ibid. P. 23.

³⁷ Kartsov. P. 30.

ander Borisovich Kurakin, was in power under Tsarina Anna Ioannovna. Lobanov-Rostovsky started to take an interest in genealogy, plotting family linkages and the role of these families in national and global events. He devoted himself to “clarifying the familial relations of the higher Russian nobility” because it “played a leading role in the political and cultural life of Russia at the time”, as Vladimir Teplov writes.³⁸

Several articles by Lobanov-Rostovsky that appeared in the journals *Russky Arkhiv* and *Russkaia starina* and which we cite in an upcoming publication demonstrate the thoroughness of his genealogical studies. Lobanov-Rostovsky’s noble nature also shows through in his dedication to the study of noble births so as to remember those who are no longer with us. The desire to trace one’s family ties is a distinctive feature of the Russian nobility, especially the Moscow nobility, which has survived to this day, despite the fact that many of their forebears left the country. It would seem that Lobanov-Rostovsky did this for the sheer pleasure of it, that he felt a spiritual attachment to it – to the Byzantine bonds of endless family entwinements. This aspect of noble life was so ingrained in the psyche that the poet Aleksey Apukhtin dedicated a humorous, parodic but generally accurate poem that was quite well-known and popular at one time. The first and last quatrains were passed by word of mouth:

Ivan Ivanovich Fanderfleet,
Married to Vorontsov’s aunt.
Some of them were put to sleep
In the glorious Sleptsov’s detachment...

And in the end, the reference books
Give but one true fact
That Ivan Ivanovich Vorontsov
Is married to Fanderfleet’s aunt. (1902)

With the same love, Lobanov-Rostovsky collected information about old trade and industrial families, quite literally piece by little piece, as there was far less information about them than about noble families. And he could not restrain his giddiness as a researcher: “I am so grateful to the kind old woman for the genealogical information she gives us that I am ready to take her word for everything and not have to deal with all the formal nonsense...”³⁹

³⁸ Teplov. P. 16

³⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Zemsky and the Zatrapeznys, Members of Eminent Merchant Families in the 18th Century (letter to the editor of *Russkaia starina* M. I. Semevsky). In A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky’s Book of Letters. 1884. *Russkaia starina*. P. 217.

History and Contemporary Society

Last but not least, Lobanov-Rostovsky's interest in history, his ability to "live among the facts of antiquity", cultivated a profound vision of the events that unfolded during his lifetime. Foreseeing their consequences, he took a proactive stance on current events and sought to strengthen the position of the Russian nobility. In 1873, Lobanov-Rostovsky published the first book in a two-volume study called *Russian Genealogical Book*, with the second part coming two years later. Section V of the present publication offers an in-depth review of Lobanov-Rostovsky's genealogical studies by Anton Sergeev.

Lobanov-Rostovsky's love for history as a child made him an avid reader as an adult, engendering in him an interest in genealogy and heraldry, and eventually collecting not only printed publications, but also manuscripts, portraits and coins.

The Prince's Numismatic Collection

There is no way we could leave out the fact that Lobanov-Rostovsky was a coin connoisseur, and he amassed an impressive collection during his lifetime, especially on his stints in Constantinople. Experts have called his collection of "eastern" coins (some 2000 items) "one of the most significant numismatic collections" in this area. It was acquired from the minister's heirs by the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg a year after his passing. The collection includes extremely rare Russian and Byzantine coins. Wherever he served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, he demanded, in addition to the usual political, economic and trade reports, archaeological and ethnographic journals from those in his charge (Guruleva 2001).

New Documents Discovered by Lobanov-Rostovsky on the History of Russia

Between 1873 and 1888, the journals *Russkaia starina* and *Russky Arkhiv* published several documents on famous historical figures discovered by Lobanov-Rostovsky that were completely new to historians of the time, along with detailed comments by the Prince. We have dedicated Section VI of our work to Lobanov-Rostovsky's publications. Researchers at the time were impressed by the rigorousness of the Prince's academic work, which in no small part contributed to his election as an honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1876.

“A Man of Duty, Labour and Experience”

Lobanov-Rostovsky was, as he himself wrote in an essay about Prince Pavel Lopukhin, “an ardent lover of Russian antiquity”.⁴⁰ As an academic writer, Lobanov-Rostovsky was modest about his contributions: he did not always sign his correspondence in periodicals, often leaving his initials only, and sometimes just a single letter. He would gladly hand over the materials he had collected to other researchers so that they could publish works under their own names.

Kartsov writes: “Prince Lobanov [...] dabbled in historiography, worked on *The History of Emperor Paul I*, published letters from Ms. Coigny, read everything he could about the unfortunate fate of Mary Stuart at the British Museum. And for what? He would make a molehill out of a mountain: everything was reduced to a bibliography, to collecting, to a historical anecdote”.⁴¹

This is patently untrue. As one of Lobanov-Rostovsky’s classmates at the Lyceum testifies, the Prince was from a young age “oblivious to class prejudices, striving to recreate the past in its untarnished truth”.⁴² As a historian, approximation repulsed him. At the same time, “in his historical research, Prince Alexey Borisovich was most interested in those figures whose lives contained something mysterious, still unknown or unclear, or in people who suffered terribly at the hands of fate”, wrote Vladimir Teplov.⁴³ We can add that, judging by the documents he published, Lobanov-Rostovsky was interested in those moments in Russian history that can be seen as harbingers of the events that would eventually topple the monarchy: the case of the Lopukhins, Artemy Volynsky, the Gruzinov brothers, etc.

We can also see that Lobanov-Rostovsky stayed true to his convictions in his academic pursuits: just as in his diplomatic activities he would find himself in the throes of the most difficult situations in the present, unravelling them in his mysterious way, so too did he deal with the most “inconvenient” historical events and figures in the past for his publications. Teplov mostly lauds Lobanov-Rostovsky’s work as a historian.

Lobanov wrote historical essays. His psychologically insightful portrait of E. I. Nelidova and the period she lived in is thus presented here. Although, more often than not, the diplomat preferred to remain anonymous in his academic writings. Thus:

“The fate of the eminently talented Count N. P. Panin, whose misfortune as a statesman saw him live in disgrace for over thirty years, could not but interest Prince Lobanov [...] Prince Lobanov made every effort to find out the real reason why Count

⁴⁰ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. His Serene Highness, Prince Pavel Petrovich Lopukhin, 1788–1873. Compiled by Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. 1872. *Russkaia starina*. P. 729.

⁴¹ Kartsov. P. 12

⁴² Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (inscription to a portrait of Prince Alexey Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky by K. Adt). *Russkaia starina*, 1896. P. 691.

⁴³ Teplov. P. 42.

Panin fell so far out of favour, and talking to people who were close to the events and searching high and low for letters from that time, he was able to uncover a long-kept secret. He compiled a monograph that he called *Count Nikita Petrovich Panin*, and it is of considerable interest. But, judging by the information contained in it, it could not be printed, and the Prince was limited to reading it to a circle of close friends and acquaintances. Clearly, the details somehow trickled down to Brikner, who used them in his work *Materials for the life of Count Nikita Petrovich Panin*. At times, Brikner disagrees completely with Prince Lobanov's opinions or conjectures, but he nevertheless quotes his story verbatim, neglecting to reference the source".⁴⁴

Lobanov-Rostovsky played a huge, albeit anonymous, role in the publication of a unique collection of letters written by historical figures of the late eighteenth century entitled *Private Correspondence of the Count of Vaudreuil and the Count of Artois*⁴⁵ *During the Emigration (1789–1815)*.⁴⁶ He practically gifted "all author's rights", as Teplov put it, to Leons Pingo. He also published, anonymously, the *Letters of the Marquise de Coigny*.⁴⁷ And he did not put his name to the obituary he wrote about the His Serene Highness, Prince Pavel Lopukhin, which was very personal in tone.

"In general, it should be noted that Prince Lobanov was not one of those people who jealously keep the information they collected under seven seals. Quite the contrary, when researchers and historians turned to him for advice, guidance or information, he was only too happy to share all his knowledge with them, give them the information he had obtained, or offer his conjectures and assumptions. In a word, he did not hoard the extremely valuable materials he had collected with such love and unmatched skill",⁴⁸ Teplov notes.

What is more, Lobanov-Rostovsky was unable to publish a true account of the life and times of Tsar Paul I, having uncovered secret information about the Romanov dynasty. All he could do was allow the reader to use their own judgement and rely on their intelligence and analytical skills to make sense of the documents he published. Polovtsov's diaries, fragments of which have been included in this article, contain hints at the mystery that hovered over the murder of Paul I – the Prince was particularly interested in the reign of this emperor. If we take a close look at the documents from the era of Paul I submitted to *Russkaia starina* for publication by Lobanov-Rostovsky, we can see how much he wanted to draw the attention of readers to the excessive severity, or occasional absurdity, of his rescripts...

⁴⁴ Teplov. P. 44.

⁴⁵ Count Francois Vaudreuil (1740–1817) was a nobleman who lived during the time of King Louis XVI and was part of the circle of close associates of Marie Antoinette and a personal friend of the Count of Artois – the future King Charles X. He left France during the French Revolution, returning after the fall of Napoleon's empire, playing a role in the restoration of the Bourbons. Charles d'Artois (1757–1830) served as King of France from 1824 until 1830.

⁴⁶ *Correspondence intime de comte de Vaudreuil et du Comte d'Artois pendant l'Émigration (1789–1815), publiée avec introduction, notes et appendices par Léonce Pingaud*. Paris, 1889.

⁴⁷ *Lettres de la Marquise de Coigny et de quelques autres personnes appartenant à la société française de la fin du XVIII siècle*. Paris, 1884.

⁴⁸ Teplov. P. 45.

The memoirist A. M. Umansky notes: Lobanov compiled “collections of material on the history of the reign of Paul I, which was a favourite subject of his. Two huge volumes of his *Diary of Emperor Paul I* remained in manuscript form only as a monument to this work, produced on the basis of information obtained from the Chamber Fourrier Journals,⁴⁹ Rostopchin’s handwritten diary,⁵⁰ and other materials. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky’s books and manuscripts are sprinkled with his handwritten, sometimes very valuable, historical and bibliographic remarks. Given his extensive knowledge and sizable collections, Lobanov-Rostovsky published very little considering how long he lived. On the one hand, this can be explained by the fact that his official activities prevented him from properly processing the raw historical data he had obtained. On the other hand, the quality of the handwritten testimonies he managed to find often did not allow him to put them to print, for numerous reasons.”⁵¹

Lobanov-Rostovsky would also act as a translator if he needed to present interesting historical facts to the reader, for example “Prince Karl Ernst of Courland” for *Russkaia starina*,⁵² and August von Kotzebue’s manuscript about the assassination of Paul I. He confines his own opinion to a brief preface, which we include in this book. But it is obvious from the phrase: “There is no doubt that the murder was not justified, and no justification can be expected for the unfortunate Paul.”⁵³

Obviously, Lobanov-Rostovsky could not develop these views into a detailed study. We should note that Lobanov-Rostovsky had no desire to “mollycoddle” the reader. He merely presented facts that he himself found fascinating. For example, the rather “dry” story about Governor Krivtsov, who was known for mercilessly beating his servants and subordinates, was removed from his post, but then later reinstated after the investigation came up with nothing.⁵⁴ The diplomat kept a storm of emotions to himself, but an analysis of the selection of historical facts and documents that appear in Section VI suggests that he nevertheless did let some of his personal opinions be known.

Also, having uncovered the document “On the Enslavement of a Girl to a Priest”, written at a time when the secular clergy were not allowed to have serfs, Lobanov-Rostovsky published a simple text about how the unfortunate girl came to be in the possession of her new “spiritual” master, who had the full power to exact any kind of punishment he so desired here, and only expresses his protest and revulsion tangentially, below the text, mimicking the “high style” in which it is written: “This letter was uncovered on May 20, 1803 in the Tikhvin District Court, by the landowner Kachalov himself [...]”⁵⁵ It should be clear to the reader from this.

⁴⁹ The Chamber Fourrier Journal was a chronicle of the life of the royalty and the court kept by chamber fourriers.

⁵⁰ Count Fyodor Vasilyevich Rostopchin (1763–1826) was a favourite of Tsar Paul I and responsible for his foreign policy.

⁵¹ Umansky. P. 21–22

⁵² Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Prince Karl Ernst of Courland in the Bastille: January 8 – April 24, 1768. *Russkaia starina*, 1888. P. 739–750.

⁵³ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Preface. In August von Kotzebue, *August von Kotzebue’s Notes. An Unpublished Essay by August von Kotzebue on Emperor Paul I. Regicide, March 11, 1801. Notes of Participants and Contemporaries*, translated with comments by A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1908. P. 319.

⁵⁴ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. N. I. Krivtsov: The Krivtsovs. A Biographical Sketch. *Russkaia starina*, 1888. P. 730.

⁵⁵ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. The Enslavement of a Girl to a Priest [Document] 1803. *Russkaia starina*, 1874. P. 178

A Man with an Eye for Detail, Admirer of Microhistory, Historian, Collector, Philologist, Textual Critic and Translator

In addition to censorship considerations, we should also note that, as a historian, Lobanov-Rostovsky naturally emanated towards the scientific method. There are two groups of historians that are important for the development of science. The first strives for interpretations, lengthy speculations and privileges ideas above all else, while the second prefers to present facts in a systematic manner, revealing the fulness of the context surrounding them. Lobanov-Rostovsky, of course, belonged to the second category.

He had a talent for reporting facts, and he was passionate about clarifying and verifying every little detail of a given historical event. For, as a professional, he understood that a lack of clarity on even one aspect could cast doubt on the entire work. And the notion, which sometimes escapes modern history publications, that, without comments, the historical text loses its import, may turn out to be incomprehensible, and thus uninteresting, to the reader. This is why, despite his hectic schedule, Lobanov-Rostovsky set about writing footnotes to the lengthy “Diary of Zinoviev’s Travels”, caring not one bit about the modesty of his role.⁵⁶

Lobanov-Rostovsky’s correspondence is also interesting, in that it shows a lively discussion between historians on the pages of *Russkaia starina* and *Russky Arkhiv*, who published their reflections, clarifications, and materials on topics that were popular at the time, as well as those that were of interest to publishers of other journals. Lobanov-Rostovsky, who was a regular reader of these journals, often sent corroborating materials he had found in the documents in his collection in response to certain articles. He was always quick to respond. For example, Lobanov-Rostovsky’s response to a question asked by a contributor from Dresden and printed in the October issue was published the very next month. Alternatively, Lobanov-Rostovsky would use *Russkaia starina* as a means to conduct a joint search for answers to micro-historical lacunae. For example, he had no qualms about showing his lack of knowledge about the case of Prince Shcherbatov, all he wanted was to find the answer. “In June 1802, a duel took place between Prince Zubov and the Chevalier de Saxe Joseph [...] Prince Shcherbatov was Prince Zubov’s second [...] But who was this Prince Shcherbatov? Perhaps it was Prince Alexander Feodorovich [...] I would be most indebted to the readers of *Russkaia starina* who would take the trouble to resolve this issue.”⁵⁷

Lobanov-Rostovsky was a talented editor and proof-reader of history texts. He was particularly fond of correcting inaccuracies, misprints, and typos, filling in gaps in information, checking every word in the texts he studied in history periodicals, and

⁵⁶ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Diary of Zinoviev’s Travels around Germany, Italy, France and England, 1784–1790s. Correspondence between N. P. Baryshnikov and A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky. *Russkaia starina*, 1878. P. 207–240, 399–440, 593–630.

⁵⁷ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. A Question Concerning Prince Shcherbatov. *Russkaia starina*, 1886. P. 228.

keeping a close eye on the issues covered in the journals he read. And he would waste no time correcting them with publications of his own. To paraphrase the classics of the theatre, we could say that Lobanov-Rostovsky did not love himself in the science of history, but rather the science in himself. This explains why he undertook all kinds of undistinguished yet nevertheless vital historical activities – the “dirty work” of the historian, as it were.

Lobanov-Rostovsky was a collector of historical artefacts. He referred to historical facts obtained from ancient sources and unknown to his contemporaries and readers as finds that speak for themselves, admiring them and offering comments and clarifications in the proper context.

Every one of his factual notes contains a number of valuable aspects from the viewpoint of history, tidbits that other researchers may need or find useful – Lobanov-Rostovsky was always looking to the future of science. For example, the “List of Wives of the First Five Classes”⁵⁸ he published information about where prominent figures of that time resided, as well as the geography of churches of the late eighteenth century, and the secrets of the births of famous people. Elsewhere, he gives an accurate bibliographic description of the book, offering his opinion about the literary and historical quality of the work, and a theory about its true author. Everything fits on a single page, like a report, or a diplomatic communique: the prince taught his employees how to identify the main idea in a text.

We should note here that some rare documents, along with Lobanov-Rostovsky’s own explanations for them, continue to be the primary source material for researchers today.

Sometimes Lobanov-Rostovsky acts as a historian, philologist and textual critic all rolled into one. This was the case with his published comments to the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*, which give a perfect description of their distinguishing features, both external and linguistic, including typos, errors, and crossed-out fragments, reproduce the original texts, and then his translations of them. The material is organized the way that a professional textual critic would do today. He also gives his opinion on the principles of translation in connection with the English version of the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*, surprisingly anticipating the words of Vladimir Nabokov that the “worst degree of turpitude is achieved when [the original] is planished and patted” into shape: “I [...] cannot speak in defence of Ms. Bradford’s English translation”, Lobanov-Rostovsky writes. “She is constantly carried away by the desire to smooth out the roughness of the original and give a more palatable appearance to what she believes is excessively sharp or bold, caring little about preserving the accuracy and energy of Princess Dashkova’s turn of phrase. But she shares this shortcoming with almost all translators of her time,

58 Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. List of the First Five Classes of Female Persons in Moscow in 1775. Correspondence of A. L. [Prince A. B. Lobanov-Rostovsky]. *Russkaia starina*, 1873. P. 94–97.

and it would, in my opinion, be extremely unfair to demand from this respectable lady those learned methods to which we are now accustomed and which we have the right to expect from any experienced translator or publisher”.⁵⁹

And Lobanov-Rostovsky's credo that we mentioned earlier – respect for the reader's intellect and acumen – is evident in the preface to the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*. That is, he published individual historical facts only, never offering his own opinion and “leaving the reader to either accept or reject what is written”.⁶⁰

About the Author:

Professor **Ekaterina S. Fedorova** – Ph.D. Philology, a doctor of Culture Studies; Professor at the Department of Theory in Teaching Foreign Languages, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Bldg. 13–14, 1, Leninskie gory, Moscow, Russia, 119991. E-mail: ledentu@mail.ru

Conflicts of interest.

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

This article was submitted on July 8, 2022; approved after review on August 3, 2022; and accepted for publication on September 14, 2022.

References:

Fedorova E. S. 2020. Napoleon. Til'zit 1807 [Napoleon. Tilsit 1807]. In *Ryurikovich na perelome epokh: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: zek, 'vor', chempion-plovets, geolog, bankir, metsenat* [Rurikovich at the turn of the era: Prince Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovsky: convict, 'thief', champion swimmer, geologist, banker, philanthropist]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. P. 175–183. (In Russian).

Guruleva V. V. 2001. Russkiye kollektsionery pamyatnikov numizmatiki (Vtoraya polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka) [Russian collectors of numismatic monuments (Second half of the 19th - early 20th century)]. In *Pilgrims: The Historical and Cultural Role of Pilgrimage*. St. Petersburg: Ermitazh Publ. P. 165–178. (In Russian).

Kobeko D. F. 2008. *Imperatorskiy Tsarskosel'skiy litsey: nastavniki i pitomtsy* [Imperial Lyceum in Tsarskoye Selo: mentors and pupils]. Moscow: Kuchkovo pole Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2010. Mikhail Borisovich – Voyennyy [Mikhail Borisovich: A Military Man]. In *Epokha. Sud'ba. Kolleksiya*. [Epoch. Fate. Collection]. Moscow: Russkij Put' Publ. P. 370–373. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2015. *Ryurikovich v emigratsii. Knyaz' Nikita Lobanov-Rostovskiy: stat'i, interv'yū, retsenzii* [Rurikovich in Exile. Prince Nikita Lobanov-Rostovsky: Articles, Interviews, Reviews]. Moscow: Poligraf-Plus Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2017. *Ryurikovich v KHKHI veke: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: stat'i, interv'yū, pis'ma, retsenzii* [Rurikovich in the XXI century: Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky: Articles, Interviews, Letters, Reviews]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. (In Russian).

Lobanov-Rostovsky N. D. 2020. *Ryurikovich na perelome epokh: knyaz' Nikita Dm. Lobanov-Rostovskiy: zek, 'vor', chempion-plovets, geolog, bankir, metsenat* [Rurikovich at the Turn of the Era: Prince Nikita D. Lobanov-Rostovsky: Convict, 'Thief', Champion Swimmer, Geologist, Banker, Philanthropist]. Moscow: Minuvsheye Publ. (In Russian).

⁵⁹ Lobanov-Rostovsky A. B. Some More Words on the *Notes of Princess Dashkova*. By Prince A. B. Lobanov. *Russky Arkhiv*, 1–2. 1881 P. 379.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

Obolensky D. D. 2017. Imperator Nikolay II i yego tsarstvovaniye (1894–1917). In *Tsar' i Rossiya. Razmyshleniya o Gosudare imperatore Nikolaye II* [*Tsar and Russia. Reflections on the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas II*]. Moscow: Otchiy dom Publ. P. 116–164. (In Russian).

Polovtsov A. A. 2005a. *Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya: v 2 t. T. 1: 1883–1886* [*Diary of a Secretary of State: in 2 vols. Vol. 1: 1883–1886*]. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf: Moskovskaya tipografiya Publ. (In Russian).

Polovtsov A. A. 2005b. *Dnevnik gosudarstvennogo sekretarya: v 2 t. T. 2: 1887–1892* [*Diary of a Secretary of State: in 2 vols. Vol. 2: 1887–1892*]. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf: Moskovskaya tipografiya Publ. (In Russian).

Romanyuk S. K. 2009. *Russkiy London: pervyy i yedinstvennyy putevoditel' po mestam, svyazannym s prebyvaniyem russkikh v britanskoy stolitse* [*Russian London: The First and Only Guide to Places Associated with the Stay of Russians in the British Capital*]. Moscow: AST: Astrel Publ. (In Russian).

Stremukhov P. P. 2017. Imperator Nikolay II i russkoye obshchestvo v kontse yego tsarstvovaniya v osveshchenii inostrantsev [Emperor Nicholas II and Russian Society at the End of his Reign as Covered by Foreigners]. In *Tsar' i Rossiya. Razmyshleniya o Gosudare imperatore Nikolaye II* [*Tsar and Russia. Reflections on the Sovereign Emperor Nicholas II*]. Moscow: Otchiy dom Publ. P. 288–409. (In Russian).