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*Russia in the Age of the Enlightenment*

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# The Alexander Brückner Archive and an Unknown Diary from the Period of the Decembrist Uprising

ELENA MARASINOVA

## Abstract

The article concerns a discovery made in Tübingen University's manuscript department – that of the personal archive of the nineteenth-century Russian historian Alexander Brückner, known in Russia as Aleksandr Gustavovich Brikner. Born into a German Protestant family in St. Petersburg, Brückner studied in Germany, taught in several Russian universities, and wrote his many works in two languages – Russian and German. The historian's archive includes both his own drafts and materials as well as a collection of documents concerning the events of the 1825 interregnum and the Decembrist uprising. An anonymous diary contemporary to the uprising was found among Brückner's papers, and an annotated version is presented as an appendix to the article along with an English translation.



While working in Tübingen University Library's manuscript section recently, the author of the present article discovered the archive of Alexander Brückner, a Russian historian of the second half of the nineteenth century. Brückner, known in Russia as Aleksandr Gustavovich Brikner, was born in St. Petersburg in June 1834. His parents had come to the Russian capital from Finland and were members of the Evangelical Church. On finishing gymnasium at the city's Peter and Paul School, Brückner initially followed in the footsteps of his father, a merchant, and served for several years in a trading house. From 1857 to 1860, he studied at several universities in Germany, where he attended the lectures of such major figures as the historian Ludwig Häusser and the economist Karl Heinrich Rau in Heidelberg; the historian Johann Gustav Droysen and the philosopher Cuno Fischer in Jena; and the historians Leopold von Ranke and Friedrich von Raumer in Berlin.

Having received a doctorate in philosophy at Heidelberg, Brückner returned to Russia where, from 1861 to 1867, he taught at the St. Petersburg School of Jurisprudence, along with lecturing at the university as a *privat-docent*. In 1867, Brückner was appointed to a professorship at the University of Novorossiia in Odessa, where he offered a course on world history. He subsequently received a teaching post at the University of Dorpat (Derpt, Tartu) in 1872. As professor of Russian history, he lectured in Russian at Dorpat until 1891, i.e. until the close of his twenty-five year term of public service. He was then given the rank of Actual Privy Councilor with the Order of St. Anne, First Class, and the right to an annual pension above the annual allowance. He registered to live in Kazan, although this was only nominal, because he had decided to leave Russia forever. In that

same year of 1891, he left for Germany, and spent his remaining years in Jena, where he died in November 1896.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1898, after the professor's death, came the publication of P. N. Polevoi's article "A Russian German on Russian History," which concerned Brückner's book *Geschichte Russlands bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, volume one, entitled *Überblick der Entwicklung bis zum Tode Peters des Grossen* (Gotha: Perthes, 1896). Polevoi subjected the scholar to sharp criticism for exaggerating Russia's backwardness and for alleged blatant malevolence in laying out the events of Russian history, bordering on intentional falsification of the facts.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, Brückner was a highly prolific and well-read historian. The fullest list of his works is given in E. Shmurlo's article, an obituary, and comprises over 200 titles.<sup>3</sup> Brückner was known first and foremost as a specialist in Russian history, giving priority to questions of foreign policy, diplomacy, the court life and culture of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Russia. The scholar was also drawn to the genre of biography, particularly the lives of the ruling members of the house of Romanov.<sup>4</sup> Orientation on the printed sources and a journalistic style were the particular traits that enabled Brückner's prolific output. His contemporaries appreciated the author's services in popularizing Russian history through his works, which, though hardly noteworthy for depth of analysis or breadth of sources, were quite readable in style and offered a descriptive and pragmatic relation to the facts.

While professor at the Novorossiisk, and subsequently Dorpat universities, Brückner never lost his ties with Germany, and published his research in both Russian and German journals.<sup>5</sup> One and the same work might simultaneously be published in Russian and, with alterations for a German audience, in German.<sup>6</sup> His works on Russian history that were written in German and , intended for an educated German audience, became virtually the main source of information on Russia's past for the German intelligentsia of the second half of the nineteenth century. However, in neither Russia nor Germany have

1 See: E. Shmurlo, "Brikner," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, 39 (1897), 117-157; F. A. Brokgauz and I. A. Efron, eds., *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vol. 4a (St. Petersburg, 1891), 673; *Nastol'nyi entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1901), 710; *Biograficheskii slovar' professorov i prepodavatelei Imperatorskogo Iur'evskogo, byvshego Derptskogo, universiteta za sto let ego sushchestvovaniia (1802-1902)*, 2 vols. (Iur'ev [Tartu]: K. Mattisen, 1902-1903), 2:546-558; *Istoriia istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR: Dooktiabr'skii period; bibliografiia*, ed. M. V. Nechkina (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), nos. 3919-3931; Gert Voigt, *Russland in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung 1843-1945* (Berlin: AkademieVerlag, 1994), 71-82, 423-424.

2 P. N. Polevoi, "Russkii nemets o russkoi istorii," *Istoricheskii vestnik*, 71 (1898), 265-276.

3 Shmurlo, "Brikner," 117-157; *Biograficheskii slovar'*, 546-558.

4 See for instance: *Peter der Grosse* (Berlin: Grote, 1879); *Illustrirovannaia istoriia Petra Velikogo*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1902-1903); *Der Zarevich Alexei* (Heidelberg, 1880); *Imperator Ioann Antonovich i ego rodstvenniki (1741-1807)* (Moscow: Imperatorskaia tipografiia, 1875); "Zhizn' Petra III do vstupleniia na prestol," *Russkii vestnik*, 11, nos. 1, 2, 10, 12 (1882); *Istoriia Ekateriny Vtoroi*, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg: A. S. Suvorin, 1885); *Kaiser Pauls I. Ende* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'schen, 1897); *Smert' Pavla I* (St. Petersburg: M.V. Pirozhkov, 1907).

5 See for instance: *Die Familie Braunschweig in Russland im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (St. Petersburg, 1874); *Pososhkov kak ekonomist* [= Ivan Pososhkov, *Sochinenie*, vol. 1] (St. Petersburg.: V. S. Balashev, 1876); *Ob izdanii Dnevnika Khrapovitskago* (Derpt: Shnakenburg, 1876); *Iwan Possoschkow: Ideen und Zustände in Russland zur Zeit Peters des Grossen* (Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1878).

6 See for instance: *Patrik Gordon i ego dnevniki* (St. Petersburg: V. S. Balashev, 1878); "Patrick Gordon: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Russlands im XVII. Jahrhundert," *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 5, no. 9 (1879); "O chume v Moskve v 1771," *Russkii vestnik*, 9 and 10 (1884); "Die Pest in Moskau 1771," *Russische Revue*, 24 (1884).

any special investigations been carried out on this unusual phenomenon of a German popularizer of Russian history. All of the biographical works on Brückner are limited to short notices in dictionaries and encyclopedias; to responses, mainly contemporary, to individual books of the scholar; to the obituary by E. Shmurlo; the brief analysis in Gert Voigt's monograph on Russia in German historiography; and several other small pieces.<sup>7</sup> Not one of the publications on Brückner known to me makes any mention of the historian's archive preserved in Tübingen.

The professor's papers were transferred into the keeping of the Tübingen University archives in 1933 by his daughter, Professor Helena Heck.<sup>8</sup> In the same year -- one so significant in German history -- the receipt of over ten of the researcher's monographs was registered at the university library. (Some kind of parallel involuntarily suggests itself between the regime change in Germany and this "nationalization" of a specialist in Russian history...) With time, Brückner's papers found their way into the manuscript section of Tübingen University Library's history reading room, where they were described by the staff (who were clearly well versed in Russian), and then assigned to different collections: the "Hochdeutsche Handschriften" and "Slawische Handschriften".<sup>9</sup> The so-called "German manuscripts" include Brückner's draft materials, connected with his research into Ancient Roman and Ancient Greek history, as well as his work on Russia in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The greater part of the notes, mostly in German, and extracts copied from the sources, relate to the period of Peter I. The other part of the Brückner archive, placed in the "Slavonic manuscripts" section, constitutes a deliberate collection of materials concerning the epochal turning point in Russian history that followed the death of Alexander I -- the interregnum, Decembrist uprising and start of Nicholas I's reign. Unlike the "German manuscripts," the "Slavonic" collection of sources is not generally in Brückner's hand, but includes mostly printed documents and manuscripts from the first third of the nineteenth century. All of these materials were placed by the library staff into themed folders.

The material in Brückner's archive not only gives remarkable insight into the scholar's interests and research habits, affording us the opportunity to better understand his thinking, but also offers valuable and previously unknown manuscript sources on Russian history that have lain among Brückner's papers for more than a century. Folder Mg 2b "The death and funeral of Alexander I"<sup>10</sup> contains a previously unknown diary of the period of the Decembrist uprising with an appended list of the participants in the rebellion. The diary is written in Russian, and covers the events taking place in the capital on December 14-17, 19 and 21, 1825. It can be said with confidence that this source has so far eluded researchers wishing to shine light on the course of events on December 14,

7 See Leo Loewenson, "The Historian Alexander Brückner: A Neglected Page of Russian Historiography," *Slavic and East European Review*, 64 (1946): 149-158; D. Tsvetaev, "Aleksandr Gustavovich Brikner, 1834-1896," *Russkoe obozrenie*, 42 (December 1896): 842-861.

8 The daughter of Alexander Brückner and Lucie Schiele, Helena (1873-1948), lived in Tübingen from 1901 and was married to the law professor Philipp Nicolai Heck (1858-1943). See "Bieberstein W.F.M. Heck Philipp," *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 8 (Berlin, 1969): 176.

9 UniversitätsbibliothekTübingen, HandschriftenAbteilung. Md Hochdeutsche Handschriften; Mg Slawische Handschriften.

10 UniversitätsbibliothekTübingen, Handschriften Abteilung. Mg 2b. Alexander I: Tod und Begräbnis. №16.

1825. In the most exhaustive collection of memoirs, diary entries and correspondence of witnesses of the Decembrist uprising to date, mention of the diary found in Brückner's archive is notably absent.<sup>11</sup>

The manuscript bears no direct indication of its authorship. The combination of various facts it does relate (e.g., the name of the author's sister, the place the author served, etc.), however, have allowed the name of the diarist to be established. This was Nikolai Nikolaevich Ianovskii, formerly serving in the post of translator to the provincial secretary in the postal department, but by 1825, it appears, in retirement.<sup>12</sup> Nikolai Nikolaevich was the son of the now largely forgotten man of letters, Nikolai Maksimovich Ianovskii, a contributor to the journals *Zerkalo sveta*, *Lekarstvo ot skuki* and *S.-Peterburgskii Merkurii*. N. M. Ianovskii published *Novyi slovotolkovatel'*... (St. Petersburg, 1803-1806) in three parts, and a small book *Plody prazdnogo vremeni, ili raznye melkie stikhotvoreniia* (St. Petersburg, 1788).<sup>13</sup> At one time, state councillor N. M. Ianovskii had served as head of the first section of the postal department, where, apparently, he had arranged a position for his son. In 1816, he had been elected an honorary member of the Volnoe obshchestvo liubitelei rossiiskoi slovesnosti (Free Society of Lovers of Russian Literature),<sup>14</sup> whose membership included many of the participants in the events on Senate Square mentioned in N. N. Ianovskii's diary. As is seen from this manuscript, N. N. Ianovskii was well acquainted with several Decembrists, including K. F. Ryleev, the brothers Nikolai and Aleksandr Bestuzhev, A. O. Kornilovich, E. P. Obolenskii, O. M. Somov, O. V. Gravegorskii, A. A. Storch, and A. N. Sutthof. It is likely that his circle of acquaintances also included Wilhelm and Mikhail Küchelbecker (Kiukhel'beker), as well as D. A. Shchepin-Rostovskii, I. I. Pushchin, the three brothers Murav'ev-Apostol, and P. P. Konovnitsyn.

N. N. Ianovskii was not an eyewitness of the uprising, but discusses the events on the day it occurred, and on following days, with the most informed people. Among those providing him with interesting details were: the journalists N. I. Grech and F. V. Bulgarin, publishers of the then popular periodicals *Syn otechestva* and *Severnaia pchela*; the father of the three Decembrists Matvei, Sergei and Ippolit Murav'ev-Apostol-- Senator I. M. Murav'ev-Apostol, and his son in law, Colonel I. G. Bibikov, adjutant to Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich; the academician A. K. Storch, whose son took part in the uprising; the secretary to Empress Alexandra Fedorovna, Monsieur Chambeau; the above-mentioned historian F. P. Adelung; and, to all appearances, the former director of the Tsarskoe Tselo Lyceum, E. A. Engelhardt.

There are also grounds to suppose the involvement of N. N. Ianovskii in compiling the collection of materials found in the Brückner archive on the death of Alexander I, the interregnum and accession of Nicholas I. Mention is made in the diary of several

11 *14 dekabrya 1825 goda: Vospominaniia ochevidtsev* (St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1999).

12 See *Mesiatseslov s rospis'iu chinovnykh osob, ili obshchii shtat Rossiiskoi imperii na leto ot rozhdestva Khristova 1819*. 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, Akademiia nauk, 1819), 408.

13 See: *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*. 27 vols. (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskoe Russkoe istoricheskoe obshchestvo, 1896-1918), 25: 146.

14 See V. G. Bazanov, *Vol'noe obshchestvo liubitelei rossiiskoi slovesnosti* (Petrozavodsk: Gos. izd-vo Karelo-Finskoi SSR, 1949).

documents from this collection, in particular: specific issues of the *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti* and the *Severnaia pchela*; the imperial proclamations concerning the death of Alexander I, the abdication of Konstantin Pavlovich and enthronement of Nicholas I; and a letter from Nicholas I to Count M. A. Miloradovich, then on his deathbed due to a gunshot wound at the hands of P. G. Kakhovskii. The document “Tseremonialy vysochaishego ego imperatorskogo velichestva utverzhdennyya udostoennyye, dlia sreteniia i pogrebeniia tela v boze pochivaiushchago gosudaria imperatora Aleksandra I” (Ceremonials approved of as suitable by His Most High Imperial Majesty for the purification and burial of the body of the Sovereign Emperor Alexander I, now abiding with God) has annotations in N. N. Ianovskii’s hand concerning the weather on the day of the emperor’s funeral.<sup>15</sup>

Being without doubt a law-abiding and right-thinking subject, N. N. Ianovskii nevertheless felt immediately that the revolt taking place on Senate Square would have immense political and ethical resonance. It was precisely his vague but extremely powerful sense of the significance of these happenings that compelled him to set about committing the events of December 14 to paper at once, and preserving the newspapers, official documents and imperial proclamations of those days, and thus to become one of the first chroniclers of the Decembrist rebellion. It would be incorrect to suggest that the entirety of the collection under consideration was gathered by the diarist. It is likely that a part of the material had belonged to his close acquaintance, the historian F. P. Adelung, to whom a published booklet based on the collection was inscribed.<sup>16</sup> One matter alone is beyond doubt – that Brückner himself did not compile the collection. The professor never demonstrated any particular interest in the reign of Alexander I, not to speak of the Decembrist uprising. He had merely ended up the last to have the collection of materials in his possession, due to circumstances now unknown.<sup>17</sup>

Brückner’s archive, as I was informed by the staff at the history hall in Tübingen University Library, has never caught the attention of researchers and is not recorded in the comprehensive publication *Catalogue of Slavonic Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Federal Republic of Germany*.<sup>18</sup> “Rediscovering” these neglected sheets of paper promises to provide new findings for both Russian history and German historiography.

15 Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Handschriften Abteilung. Mg 2b. Alexander I: Tod und Begräbnis. №10.

16 Folder Mg 2a, “Alexander I’s Journey to Crimea,” contains a small handmade booklet, made up of several sheets stitched together including the printed text of Doctor F. F. Kosegarten’s eulogy on the death of Alexander I. This booklet was published on December 31, 1825, in Revel and, as is noted in the inscription, was given to the historian F. P. Adelung, then serving in Petersburg as head of the oriental languages section at the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on January 15, 1826. (Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen, Handschriften Abteilung. Mg 2a, Alexanders Reise in die Krym. №1).

17 On Adelung’s death, his books and manuscripts were acquired from his heirs by order of the emperor for the library of St. Petersburg University and the Public Library. This occurred in 1858. Arriving in Russia several years later, Brückner could not have been uninterested in the archive of a specialist in matters of particular relevance to his own work and it is possible that he bought up the remaining documents that had not found their way into Petersburg’s libraries from Adelung’s son, including the material under discussion. This is, of course, only a suggestion.

18 *Katalog der slawischen Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990).

## 14 ДЕКАБРЯ 1825 ГОДА

27 ноября 1825 г. получена здесь в Санкт-Петербурге плачевная весть о кончине государя императора Александра I, последовавшей в Таганроге 19 ноября. Только за два дня пред этим стали распространяться слухи о его болезни (см. *Северная Пчела* №144). Тотчас учинена присяга царевичу Константину Павловичу, как Великим князем Николаем Павловичем, так и Государственным Советом и прочими - я присягал в церкви Пажеского корпуса 29 ноября перед обеднею.

После переписки с Варшавою утвердилось уже прежде сего по городу распространившееся известие о том, что царевич Константин Павлович отказался от престола. Великий князь Николай Павлович возшел на престол 13 декабря (считай с 19 ноября). Акт или Манифест, при котором приложены отречение царевича Константина 14 января 1822 г. или письмо его высочества к государю Александру Павловичу, 2) ответная грамота государя Александра Павловича, 3) Манифест императора Александра Павловича от 16 августа 1823 о передаче наследства великому князю Николаю Павловичу, 4) письмо царевича к вдовствующей императрице Марии Феодоровне, 5) грамота царевича к Николаю Павловичу.

Пополудни 13 декабря придворным штатом учинена присяга на верность подданства государю Николаю Павловичу и наследнику престола великому князю Александру Николаевичу. 14 числа декабря разослан Манифест. По утру я, по делам как моим собственным, так и моих знакомых объехал почти весь город (был на Выборгской стороне в Медико-Хирургической Академии, потом на Литейном в Шпалерной фабрике, на Невском проспекте у Розенкампа и Митрополита Евгения, близ Чернышева моста у Аделунга, в Почтамтской у полковника Яновского, на английской набережной у графа Н.П.Румянцева, который был отчаянно болен, и в 7 линии у академика Ф.И.Круга, и везде все было спокойно. Возвратившись домой, на Петербургскую сторону (за вторым кадетским корпусом, в большую Гребецкую улицу в дом госпожи Ниппе, через час приходит домой служитель (татарин Авраам) с вестью, что в Петербурге бунт. Что часть Московского полка возмутилась и выступила на Исаакиевскую площадь, где при поддержке Сената окружается другими войсками, признавшими уже императором великого князя Николая Павловича. Московский полк требовал Константина. Народ бросал в конногвардейцев. Слышна была и пальба и восклицания с обеих сторон. Он же известил нас и о том, что граф Михаил Андреевич Милорадович, военный генерал-губернатор, обратившись к воинам и начав читать им Высочайший Манифест, был ранен, а какой-то частный пристав или квартальный (Александров, из калмыков, крестник императора Александра Павловича) убит. Послано было за артиллерией, которая должна была решить дело. С господином Фламмоном я отправился на Тучков мост, и едва дошли мы до половины оною, как началась пушечная пальба. Неизвестно еще было, к кому пристала артиллерия, однако по всем признакам нельзя было сом-

## Appendix: An Annotated Translation of N. N. Ianovskii's Diary<sup>1</sup>

### December 14, 1825

On November 27, 1825, the lamentable news was received here in St. Petersburg of the passing away of Emperor Alexander I, which had taken place in Taganrog on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November. Rumors of his illness had only begun to spread two days previously (see *The Northern Bee*, No. 144). An oath of allegiance was immediately sworn to the Crown Prince Konstantin Pavlovich by Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich, the Council of State, and others – I myself took the oath in the chapel of the Page Corps on November 29 before Mass.

After correspondence with Warsaw, the news that had already spread around town was confirmed, that Crown Prince Konstantin Pavlovich had refused the throne. Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich ascended to the throne on December 13 (his reign to have officially started on November 19). [1] The Act or Manifesto by which Prince Konstantin had renounced the throne on January 14, 1822, or His Highness's letter to the Sovereign Aleksandr Pavlovich, 2) the written reply of the Sovereign Aleksandr Pavlovich, 3) Emperor Aleksandr Pavlovich's Manifesto of August 16, 1823, on transferal of the succession to Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich, 4) the letter of the Crown Prince to the widowed Empress Mariia Fedorovna, 5) the Prince's letter to Nikolai Pavlovich.

In the afternoon of December 13, the staff of the imperial court took an oath of faithful submission to the Sovereign Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich and the heir to the throne, Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of December, the Manifesto was put into circulation.<sup>2</sup> That morning, I had been out across almost the whole of the city, on my own and my acquaintances' business (I had been on the Vyborg side at the Medical and Surgical Academy, then on Liteinyi at the Shpalernaia Factory, on Nevskii Prospect at Rosenkampfs<sup>3</sup> and Metropolitan Evgenii's,<sup>4</sup> near the Chernyshev Bridge

1 N. N. Ianovskii did not intend his diary for print, and it takes the form of rough notes. The numerous abbreviations used by the author have been expanded and the punctuation brought more into line with contemporary style.

2 Alexander I died on November 19, 1825, in Taganrog. News of his serious illness only reached the capital on the November 25. According to the law of succession, the crown should have passed to the next eldest brother of the deceased emperor, Grand Duke Konstantin. However, Konstantin Pavlovich had, back in 1822, renounced his right to the succession in favor of Grand Duke Nikolai, although this renunciation had since then been kept absolutely secret, only to be revealed on November 27, 1825, at a session of the Council of State. Nikolai, however, had not accepted the right to succession conferred on him by Konstantin. From November 27, oaths of loyalty to Emperor Konstantin I began to be taken across the country. Meanwhile, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, who had heard of the death of Aleksandr while in the presence of his brother Konstantin in Warsaw, arrived in St. Petersburg on December 3. Mikhail Pavlovich brought official confirmation of Konstantin's rejection of the throne. Several days more would pass before Nikolai received a decisive refusal from Konstantin to his request that he come to the capital and ease the transfer of power to the new heir. With an effort of willpower, Nikolai decided on December 13 to publish the manifesto on his assumption of the throne and, on Monday, December 14, 1825, he initiated the swearing of oaths of loyalty to himself and his heirs.

3 Rosenkampfs, Gustav Andreevich (1764-1832) – a jurist, scholar and writer, native of Livonia.

4 Bolkhovitinov, Evgenii (1767-1837) – Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich (1822-1837); historian, archaeologist, writer, bibliographer.

неваться в разбитии мятежников. Подоспел и Кавалергардский полк. Государь приказывал щадить Московский полк. Он сам первый от Дворца вышел против них с Михайловским полком. Между тем великий князь Михаил Павлович отвел на Никольскую площадь ту часть Московского полка, которая присягнула Николаю Павловичу. В след за этим он поскакал к Семеновскому полку и их туда же отвел. А генерал Бистром привел Егерский полк. Две пушки были обращены на Вознесенскую улицу. От возмутителей, к которым присоединились некоторые лейб-гренадеры, послана была весть к уланам в Стрельну. При первом пушечном выстреле они поскакали в город и были остановлены у ворот. Послана была, говорят, к ним навстречу часть Конногвардейского полка. Финляндский полк шел, говорят, спокойно от казарм своих до Исаакиевского моста. Тут вдруг закричал он: “Да здравствует Константин”. Начальники стали убеждать их к покорности. Но они двинулись вперед. На половине моста услышали они пушечную пальбу и остановились. (Другие говорят, что Финляндский полк стоял спокойно на Васильевском острове). После пушечной пальбы (ядрами, а не картечью) Московский полк разбежался. К вечеру все утихло, только войска всю ночь провели на бивуаках.

### [15 декабря]

15 Декабря я отправился в город. На Петербургской стороне видны были одни только разъезжающие казаки. Первый пикет регулярного войска стоял тотчас за Тучковым мостом на Васильевской стрелке близ дома Кусова. По всей Кадетской и Первой линии, начиная между большим и средним проспектом до Румянцевской площади (близ Академии Художеств) стояла на биваках конная артиллерия. Многочисленные патрули состояли из жандармов и конногвардейцев (а может быть и Кавалергардов), также из казаков. Близ Зимнего Дворца, говорят, также расставлены были пушки.

Остановившись близ Галерной улицы, я пошел в дом Коссиковского (бывший Устинова) к сенатору Ивану Матвеевичу Муравьеву-Апостолу. Стекла в квартире его были побиты. Он сам с семейством отправились к полковнику Бибикову, зятю его, адъютанту Великого Князя Михаила Павловича. Бибиков был ранен. (За несколько дней пред тем еще графиня Муравьева была довольна, что он по должности своей не может отлучиться из Санкт-Петербурга, ибо в противном случае ему нужно было бы ехать в Таганрог для провожания тела покойного государя императора).

Много рассказывали в городе и комических сцен. У нас, например, на Петербургской стороне дамы, нарядившись шли к Тучкову мосту, чтобы видеть сражение. Сестру мою, Надежду Николаевну Яновскую, в Большой Морской Московские солдаты, идучи к площади, заставляли кричать “Да здравствует Константин!” Сестру Н.И.Греча, которая на требования их, отвечала: “Какой Константин, Николай!” они как не приколоты к стене штыком, и т.п.

at Adelung's,<sup>5</sup> in Pochtamtškaia at Colonel Ianovskii's,<sup>6</sup> on the English Embankment at Count N. P. Rumiantsev's,<sup>7</sup> who was desperately ill, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> Line at Academician F. I. Krug's,<sup>8</sup> and everything had been quiet all over town. Returning home, crossing to the Petersburg side (behind the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cadet Corps, on Greater Grebetskaia Street, to the house of Madam Nippe), within an hour a servant entered the house (the Tatar, Avraam) bringing news that there was a rebellion in the city. [He reported] that part of the Moscow Regiment had mutinied and set out for Isaakievskii Square where, with the support of the Senate, they had been surrounded by other forces that had already recognized Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich as Emperor. The Moscow Regiment demanded Konstantin. The people flung themselves against the horse guards. Gunfire and shouts were heard from both sides. He also told of how Count Mikhail Andreevich Miloradovich, the military governor-general, who had addressed the soldiers and begun to read them the Imperial Manifesto, had been wounded,<sup>9</sup> and that some police officer or local constable (Aleksandrov, a Kalmyk, godson of Emperor Aleksandr Pavlovich) had been killed.<sup>10</sup> The artillery was sent for, to finish the matter. I set out for Tuchkov Bridge<sup>11</sup> with Mr. Flammond, and we were barely halfway across when cannon fire began. It was still unclear at whom the artillery had fired, but by all signs there was no doubting that the rebels had been defeated. The Chevalier Guards Regiment had also arrived. The Emperor ordered the Moscow Regiment to be given quarter. He himself was the first to leave the Palace and come up against them with the Mikhailovskii Regiment. Meanwhile, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich had led that part of the Moscow Regiment which had sworn loyalty to Nikolai Pavlovich onto Nikolskaia Square. After this, he rode to the Semenovskii Regiment and led them away too. And General Bistrom<sup>12</sup> brought the Jägers Regiment. Two cannon were pointed down Voznesenskaia Street. The rebels, who had been joined by several of the Life-Grenadiers, had sent word to the Uhlans at Strelna. At the first cannon fire, these had rode into the city and had been halted at the gates. It is said that part of the Horse

5 Adelung, Fedor (Friedrich) Pavlovich (1768-1843) – historian of German origin. In 1803, Adelung had been appointed tutor to the Grand Dukes Nikolai and Mikhail Pavlovich, whom he had, in particular, instructed in logic.

6 Colonel Ianovskii – in all likelihood the father of the diarist, Nikolai Maksimovich Ianovskii (?-1826).

7 Rumiantsev, Nikolai Petrovich (1753-1826) – a diplomat, senator, and the “Maecenas of Russian science.” In the first quarter of the nineteenth century he had succeeded in uniting around himself a group of scholars, primarily historians, that were to form the Rumiantsev circle – an unofficial research association whose scientific pursuits were financed by the senator himself. Rumiantsev's circle notably included F. P. Adelung and F. I. Krug. Metropolitan Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov) and G. A. Rosenkampf had close links with it. Our diarist was also apparently close to the Rumiantsev circle.

8 Krug, Filipp Ivanovich (1764-1844) – academician, historian, numismatist, researcher into the chronology and most ancient period of Russian history.

9 Miloradovich, Mikhail Aleksandrovich (1771-1825) – Adjutant-General, Military Governor-General of St. Petersburg. He was fatally wounded in the uprising by a pistol shot fired by P. G. Kakhovskii.

10 Aleksandrov, Kondratii Aleksandrovich (died 1825) – a collegiate assessor; godson of Alexander I.

11 Tuchkov Bridge crosses the Lesser Neva beside the Second Cadet Corps and the house of Madam Nippe, where the diarist N. N. Ianovskii rented an apartment (see S. I. Aller. *Ukazatel' zhilishch izdaniĭ v Sankt-Peterburge* [St. Petersburg, 1822]; S. I. Aller. *Rukovodstvo k otyskaniu zhilishch po Sankt-Peterburgu* [St. Petersburg, 1824]).

12 Bistrom, Karl Ivanovich (1770-1838) – Lieutenant General of the Jägers Regiment Leib Guard, commander of all infantry in the Guards Corps.

От Алексея Матвеевича Спиридова я впервые узнал, что и Александр Бестужев был в числе возмутителей.

Я поспешил в Департамент Народного Просвещения к присяге, но тут не был еще получен указ. Учинил же я присягу уже в третьем часу, после прочих, подписанием листа, после выслушивания всех соответствующих бумаг в Императорской Публичной библиотеке, где при мне все служащие присягали. После всех их подоспел и Николай Иванович Греч. Из уст его я узнал подробности вчерашних происшествий.

Все братья Бестужевы (4-ре, между прочим, Николай Андреевич лейтенант флота, и Александр Андреевич, адъютант принца Александра Виртембергского, Рылеев (издатель «Полярной звезды» на 1823-1825 г.), князя Оболенский и Одоевский участвовали в возмущении. Большое участие принимал в нем и Гравегорский, бывший кавказский вице-губернатор.

*1[Текст, написанный автором дневника на полях, дается в публикации курсивом - Е.М.]. Николая Бестужева в последний раз я видел у Н.И.Греча.*

*2. Александр Бестужев, будучи у меня в 1824 году, взял для копирования шесть венгерских костюмов, - гусар - и еще не возвратил их.*

*3. Рылеева я видел в последний раз еще до участия его в поединке Новосильцова с ..., он сказывал мне, что собирается ко мне вместе с князем Одоевским, желающим познакомиться со мною и посоветоваться в отношении к предметам мифологическим.*

*4. Князя Оболенского я в 1820 г. видывал у Якова Николаевича Толстова. Он много читал Шеллинга философские сочинения, но едва ли был к тому приготовлен.*

*5. Гравегорский много буянил по России и бил почтовых смотрителей. Он в сопроводительной бумаге подчищал свое имя и писался граф Горский. В 1819 году, когда я ревизовал почты, мне особливо по Кавказской губернии много на него жаловались. А почтовый департамент по этому поводу стал по двум или трем почтамтам, Черниговскому ...*

Одним из главных предводителей был князь Дмитрий Андреевич Щепин-Ростовский, ротный командир Московского полка. В лейб-гренадерском полку офицеры Андрей Андреевич Шторх и Сутгоф распространили известие о том, будто бы великий князь Константин Павлович здесь в Санкт-Петербурге в оковах. В гвардейском экипаже Николай Бестужев предводительствовал мятежниками и лейтенант Михаил Карлович Кюхельбекер (брат стихотворца, бывшего незадолго перед сим участником у Н.Г.Греча и Ф.В.Булгарина в издании Северной Пчелы и пр.).

Один князь Одоевский (брат московского писателя, издавшего “Мнемозину” вместе с Вильгельмом Карловичем Кюхельбекером) застрелился. Прочие все посажены в крепость вместе с бежавшими солдатами, захваченными большею частью на Васильевском острове по фабрикам и пр.

Guards Regiment had been sent to intercept them. The Finland Regiment moved, it is said, from their quarters to Isaakievskii Bridge. Here it suddenly broke out with a cry of "Long live Konstantin." Their leaders then tried to convince them to submit. But they advanced. Halfway across the bridge they heard cannon fire and halted. (Others say that the Finland Regiment remained peacefully on Vasil'evskii Island). After the cannon fire (cannon balls, not grapeshot), the Moscow Regiment scattered. By evening, all had calmed down, apart from the forces spending the night bivouacking.

## [December 15]

On December 15, I set out for the city. On the Petersburg side, nothing was visible except Cossacks on horse. The first picket of the regular forces then stood across Tuchkov Bridge on the spit of Vasil'evskii Island, by the Kusov house. All along Kadetskaia and the First Line, from a point between the large and middle prospects leading up to Rumiantsevskaiia Square (near the Academy of Arts), horse artillery stood in bivouacs. There were numerous patrols composed of gendarmes and Horse Guards (and perhaps also Chevalier Guards), as well as Cossacks. It is said that cannons were also positioned near the Winter Palace.

Stopping near Galernaia Street, I went into the Kossikovskii house (formerly Ustinov's) to see Senator Ivan Matveevich Murav'ev-Apostol.<sup>13</sup> The windows of his apartment had been smashed. He himself had gone with his household to Colonel Bibikov, his son-in-law, an adjutant of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich. Bibikov was injured. (Several days previously, Countess Murav'eva had expressed her satisfaction that, due to his position, he would not have to leave St. Petersburg, which he would otherwise have had to do, to accompany the remains of the deceased Sovereign Emperor from Taganrog.)<sup>14</sup>

There was much talk of comical scenes in the town, too. Among ourselves, for instance, on the Petersburg side, several ladies had dressed up and gone to Tuchkov Bridge to see the fighting. My sister, Nadezhda Nikolaevna Ianovskaia, on Great Morskaia [Street], was forced to shout "Long live Konstantin!" by Moscow soldiers

13 Murav'ev-Apostol, Ivan Matveevich (1768-1851) – privy councilor, senator, diplomat, member of the Russian Academy, writer. His daughter Ekaterina Ivanovna Murav'eva-Apostol (1795-1861) was married to I. M. Bibikov. On December 15, 1825, during his meeting with N. N. Ianovskii, Murav'ev-Apostol was preoccupied with the condition of his son-in-law, who had been wounded by the rebels on Senate Square. He had yet to learn that all three of his sons – Matvei, Sergei and Ippolit – had taken part in the mutiny of the Chernigov Regiment.

14 Bibikov, Illarion Mikhailovich (1793-1861) – a colonel in the Hussars Regiment Leib Guard, director of the chancellery of the general staff. On December 14, 1825, he was sent by the emperor to find out the allegiance of the Guards Equipage, then entering Senate Square. Having made his way through a crowd of people and chains of soldiers positioned by the rebels, he was captured and severely beaten. According to the official version, Bibikov freed himself and, wounded, made his report to Nikolai Pavlovich. According to another version, he owed his salvation to his relations with the Murav'ev-Apostols. A great granddaughter of Bibikov and the Decembrist Nikita Murav'ev preserved the following family legend: "When the rebellion broke out, my great grandfather went out to the Guards Equipage, urging the soldiers to disperse. They answered him with drawn swords. Seeing this, Ryleev and several other officers who knew him to be an in-law of the Murav'ev-Apostols, having met him at their home, cried out to the soldiers: 'Stop, brothers, this one's ours!' In a state of delirium they managed to save Illarion Mikhailovich..." (A. Bibikova, "Iz semeinoi khroniki," *Istoricheskii vestnik*, 146, no. 11 [1916]: 422).

Гвардейский Экипаж присягнул 15 числа. 15 числа в 5-м часу утра скончался граф М.А.Милорадович. Еще 14 числа Государь писал к нему прекрасное письмо, которое граф, умирая, прижимал к своему сердцу. Николай Павлович приказал его бальзамировать. Письмо при мне читал граф Апраксин графу Сергею Петровичу Румянцеву.

Великий князь Михаил Павлович много содействовал к скорейшему решению дел 14 числа. И как он помнил все! На пути, ведя Семеновский полк к Исакиевской площади, он узнал Ф.П.Аделунга и кланялся ему, а вечером сказал сыну Федору Федоровичу Аделунгу, который во дворце был в карауле; сегодня я батюшку Вашего видел с братом старшим, но по росту меньшим в толпе; как он не боится, чтобы его не задавили.

Ранены между прочим полковник Велио (конногвардеец), которому 15 числа медики отняли руку; полковник лейб-гренадерского полка Стюрлер, которому пулею прострелен насквозь живот, и которого отнесли в Лобанов дом. †16 декабря по утру. Оба произведены в генералы.

Сказывают, будто бы у одного из состоявших в заговоре найден проект Конституции, и что это будто бы причина, для чего Московский полк и других полков мятежники собраны были пред Сенатом.

*Н.В. О Конституции думал первым на российском языке Татищев: (Конституция Англии. М. 1806-1808). Не этим ли переводом он навлек на себя подозрение в политическом вольнодумстве, о коем говорил Шлецер (Нестор). Н.В. не тот Татищев.*

Яковкин, участвовавший в заговоре, сам явился к государю и присягнул ему на верность. Государь поручил ему усмирить Московский полк; но это он уже не смог; возвратился и донес, что добром уже делать нечего.

Говорят, будто бы офицеры артиллерийские были с утра арестованы.

Господь да благословит царствие нового Монарха, [на полях - в высочайшем Манифесте своем - Е.М.] обещавшего царствовать так, чтобы царствование его было токмо продолжением царствования императора Александра Благословенного!

## 16 декабря 1825

### 17 Декабря

(По слухам)

Молодой граф Андрей Карлович Ливен, служивший при Московском полку, побудил многих солдат своей команды к присяге тем, что встав у дверей объявил, что неприсягнувшие выйдут из комнаты только через труп его. (Со слов графа К.В.Нессельроде Ф.П.Аделунгу).

И.М.Муравьев-Апостол сказывал мне, что зять его флигель-адъютант, полковник Василий Петрович Бибилов, в здоровье поправляется. Солдат ударил его

making their way to the square. N. I. Grech's sister answered their demand with "What Konstantin? Nikolai!" and they somehow escaped being nailed to the wall with bayonets, and so forth.<sup>15</sup>

It was from Aleksei Matveevich Spiridov<sup>16</sup> that I first heard that Aleksandr Bestuzhev<sup>17</sup> was among the troublemakers.

I hastened to the Department of Popular Enlightenment to take the oath, but the order for it had not yet been received. I took the oath after two, after the others, by signing a sheet of paper following a reading of all the corresponding papers in the Emperor's Public Library, where all the staff took the oath in my presence. After all of this, Nikolai Ivanovich Grech arrived. From his mouth I discovered the details of the previous day's events.

All four Bestuzhev brothers (including Nikolai Andreevich, a lieutenant in the navy, and Aleksandr Andreevich, adjutant to Prince Alexander of Württemberg<sup>18</sup>), Ryleev (publisher of *The Polar Star* from 1823 to 1825),<sup>19</sup> and the Princes Obolenskii<sup>20</sup> and Odoevskii,<sup>21</sup> had taken part in the insurrection. A large part in it had been played by Gravegorskii, too, a former vice-governor of the Caucasus.<sup>22</sup>

1. [The text in the margins is given here in italics.] *Nikolai Bestuzhev – last seen by myself at N. I. Grech's.*<sup>23</sup>

2. *Aleksandr Bestuzhev, a guest of mine in 1824, he borrowed six Hungarian suits to have them copied – is a hussar – and still hasn't returned them.*

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- 15 This probably refers to Ekaterina Ivanovna Grech (born 1793). Grech, Nikolai Ivanovich (1787-1867) – a journalist, publisher, pamphleteer, translator, author of works on Russian grammar and philology.
- 16 Spiridov, Aleksei Matveevich (1728-?) – state councilor, serving in the post office department.
- 17 Bestuzhev (Marlinskii), Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1797-1837) – the well-known writer who was a staff-captain of the Dragoons Regiment Leib Guard; adjutant to the chief executive officer by his connections with Prince Alexander von Württemberg, brother of the Empress Mariia Fedorovna.
- 18 The Bestuzhev brothers – Aleksandr, Nikolai, Mikhail and Petr – were sons of the head of the chancellery at the Academy of Arts, the writer Aleksandr Fedoseevich Bestuzhev (1761-1810). Bestuzhev, Nikolai Aleksandrovich (1791-1825) – a prose writer, artist, memoirist, historian of the Russian Navy, and inventor. A participant in the revolt of December 14, he led the sailors of the Guards Equipage onto Senate Square, took part in framing the "Manifesto to the Russian People" from the Senate, laying out the program of the uprising. Bestuzhev (Marlinskii), Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1797-1837) – see note 35. Bestuzhev, Mikhail Aleksandrovich (1800-1871) – a participant in the uprising on Senate Square. Sentenced to hard labor until death. He refrained from taking advantage of the amnesty manifesto of 1856 to return to European Russia. Bestuzhev, Petr Aleksandrovich (1803-1840) – participant in the December 14 uprising, he was instrumental in bringing the Guards Equipage out onto Senate Square.
- 19 Ryleev, Kondraty Fedorovich (1795-1826) – a retired second lieutenant; head of affairs at the chancellery of the Russian American Company. One of the leaders of the uprising on Senate Square. A poet. Condemned at the highest level (vne razriadov) and sentenced to death by hanging. Executed on the crownwork of the Peter and Paul Fortress on July 13, 1826.
- 20 Obolenskii, Evgenii Petrovich (1796-1865) – lieutenant of the Finland Regiment Leib Guard. One of the main organizers of the uprising.
- 21 Odoevskii, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1802-1839) – a cornet of the Mounted Regiment Leib Guard. A poet. He joined the Northern Society in 1825, and participated in the December 14 uprising.
- 22 Gorskii (Grabe-Gorskii), Osip-Julian Vikent'evich (1766-1849) – a retired state councilor. Vice-Governor of the Caucasus from 1819 to 1822. He was not a member of any secret society, nor did he share the objectives of the organizers of the uprising, but his clear proclivity for reckless and doubtful adventures led him onto Senate Square.
- 23 Nikolai Bestuzhev written for the newspaper *Syn otechestva*, published by N. I. Grech, and was a member of the "Mikhail's Chosen" Masonic lodge, into which he also introduced Grech.

ружьем; он упал, его бросили в толпу народа, который топтал его ногами. Когда же солдат хотел ударить штыком в его голову, то он, нагнув голову, старался рукою отразить удар, он только штыком легко ранен в руку. - Государь присылал к нему военного министра (Татищева), чтобы узнать какую он желает себе получить награду. “Прошу об одном только, отвечал он, чтобы меня вообще не награждали; я исполнить только свой долг .. уверен, что каждый другой офицер на моем месте поступил бы также как и я. (Он стал было увещевать бунтовщиков). Жена его, получив весть, будто бы он убит, с распущенными волосами от дома Рекети, близ Полицейского моста, пустилась бежать на Исаакиевскую площадь.

Александр Бестужев явился сам к суду: он желал поговорить с Государем наедине.

Николай Бестужев пойман в Кронштадте в матросском платье. На Маяке квартальный, весьма хорошо его знавший, едва мог узнать его.

Шторху Государь сказал, как же ты восстал против меня, когда еще за час пред тем присягал мне на верность. Государыня императрица Мария Федоровна, увидав Шторха у графини Ливен, сказала ему, “сожалею о Вас, как об отце! Но будьте уверены, что я сделаю в Вашу пользу все, что только будет возможно”. Он содержан в крепости, не в казематах, на гауптвахте.

Ламсдорфу Государь сказал: от Вас то я этого не ожидал. Семейство Ваше сколько облагодетельствовано нами!

Графу Коновницыну Государь приказал написать к своей матери для того, чтобы ее успокоить, а Великому князю Михаилу Павловичу Государь поручил на обороте письма сказать матери, чтобы она была спокойна; что сын ее будет наказан только шестинедельным арестом.

Поручик Федор Федорович Аделунг был в карауле, когда привели во дворец связанного Корниловича.

Ор. М.Сомова, говорят, немедленно отпустили.

Сказывают будто бы Греч и Булгарин также замешаны в это дело. Но несправедливо. К Гречу только приезжал полицмейстер, чтобы узнать квартиру Кюхельбекера.

Булгарина спрашивали, что он знает о заговорщиках. Некоторые из них, Рылеев, Бестужевы Николай и Александр, Корнилович, наши сотрудники и они обедали у Греча дня за два пред сим (12 декабря).

К Гречу Государь присылал с запросом, почему *Северная Пчела* не вышла в свое время (во вторник 15 числа). Потому, отвечствовал он, что я живу на Исаакиевской площади, и что Булгарин выгнал из типографии всех наборщиков, боясь, чтобы возмутители иногда не завладели бы типографией и не стали бы печатать чего-либо.

Граф Нессельроде, увидавши Ф.П.Аделунга сказал ему – Hier vos élèves vous ont fait honneur! – et avec quelle logique ont ils parlé aux militaires. – La logique, отвечал Ф.П., - ils l'ont de moi!, (ибо он-то Великих князей обучал логике).

3. Ryleev I last saw before he took part in the fight of Novosiltsov with ...,<sup>24</sup> when he told me he would pay me a visit with Prince Odoevskii, who wished to make my acquaintance and discuss mythological matters with me.

4. Prince Obolenskii I saw at Iakov Nikolaevich Tolstoy's<sup>25</sup> in 1820. He had read a great deal of Schelling's philosophical works, but scarcely had the education for it.

5. Gravegorskii had raised hell all over Russia and had assaulted postmasters. In an accompanying document, he had erased his name and wrote it out as graf[count] Gorskii.<sup>26</sup> In 1819, when I was carrying out an audit of the post office, I heard many complaints about him, in particular from the Caucasus province. Because of this, the postal department determined that only two or three post offices, the Chernigov ...

One of the ringleaders had been Prince Dmitri Andreevich Shchepin-Rostovskii, a company commander in the Moscow Regiment.<sup>27</sup> In the Leib-Grenadiers Regiment, the officers Andrei Andreevich Storch<sup>28</sup> and Sutthof<sup>29</sup> had spread word that Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich was here in St. Petersburg in manacles. In the Guards Equipage, Nikolai Bestuzhev had led the mutineers along with Lieutenant Mikhail Karlovich Küchelbecker<sup>30</sup> (a brother of the poet,<sup>31</sup> and who had not long prior to this worked with N. G. Grech and F. V. Bulgarin<sup>32</sup> in publishing *The Northern Bee* and other titles).

Only Prince Odoevskii (brother of the Moscow writer who published *Mnemozina* together with Wilhelm Karlovich Küchelbecker) was shot.<sup>33</sup> The others were all

24 This refers to V. D. Novosiltsov's duel with K. P. Chernov, Ryleev's cousin, for whom he acted as second.

25 Tolstoi, Iakov Nikolaevich (1791-1867) – staff-captain of the Pavlovskii Regiment Leib Guard, senior adjutant of the General Staff. A member and one-time president of the “Green Lamp” society, and an acquaintance of A. S. Pushkin, who dedicated his “Stanzas to Tolstoi” to him (1819).

26 O.-Iu. Gorskii called himself “count” (in Polish - *hrabia*) Gorskii, passing himself off as a scion of a Lithuanian-Russian princely house.

27 Shchepin-Rostovskii, Dmitrii Aleksandrovich (1798-1858) – staff-captain of the Moscow Regiment Leib Guard. Together with A. A. Bestuzhev and several other company commanders, he had led the soldiers of the Moscow Regiment out onto the square.

28 Ianovskii mistakenly refers to Aleksandr Andreevich Storch as Andrei. Storch, Aleksandr Andreevich (1804-1870) – second lieutenant of the Grenadiers Regiment Leib Guard. Not a member of the Decembrists' secret societies, he ended up on Senate Square by chance. “On the 14<sup>th</sup> of December, in the morning, after the oath, being in the palace and having seen the Leib-Grenadiers Regiment marching past, he counted it his duty to join in, unaware of whither they were going or why. Having reached Isaakievskii Square, he remained in the middle of a swiftly moving infantry square. To the questions of the Commission as to what had caused him to go against his oath, he replied that it had been purely from foolishness.” *Dekabristy: Biograficheskii spravochnik* (Moscow: Nauka, 1988): 341.

29 Sutthof, Aleksandr Nikolaevich (1801-1872) – lieutenant of the Grenadiers Regiment Leib Guard, who had led his company onto Senate Square.

30 Küchelbecker (Kiukhel'beker), Mikhail Karlovich (1798-1859) – a participant in the mutiny on Senate Square.

31 Küchelbecker (Kiukhel'beker), Wilhelm Karlovich (1797-1846) – a Lyceum comrade of Pushkin and Pushchin. Participant in the uprising on Senate Square. During which he tried to kill Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich.

32 Bulgarin, Faddei (Tadeusz) Venediktovich (1789-1859) – journalist, prose-writer, critic, publisher. After the uprising, on the request of the police who were looking for W. K. Küchelbecker, then in hiding, he gave them a spoken description. While not officially counted among those serving in the 3rd Department, he took an active part in its work, submitting notes which, in essence, played the role of denunciations.

33 Odoevskii, Vladimir Fedorovich (1803/1804-1869) – cousin of A. I. Odoevskii. A writer, philosopher, and music critic. The diarist is in error. A. I. Odoevskii was not shot, but handed himself in to the St. Petersburg Senior Chief of Police A. S. Shul'gin and was sent to the Peter and Paul Fortress the following day.

Говорят, что были заготовлены проекты двух конституций. - Один из них - точный список французской! - Заготовленное знамя, говорят, было с надписью. Вольность, свобода, конституция.

Уверяли, что солдаты намеревались погубить в городе всех, кроме бородачей. Штиглиц, узнав об этом, разложил по ящикам в своей конторе 30 000 рублей, а прочие деньги припрятал.

Солдаты кричали: «Ура Константин!»; офицеры же: «Да здравствует Конституция!»

Морской экипаж (в котором остались верны: Качалов, Арбузов, Добровольский) кричал молодец Николай! - но ура Константин!

## 19 декабря

Секретарь императрицы Александры Федоровны сказывал мне, что Государь Николай Павлович в прошедшее воскресенье, когда он на короткое время успел побывать в Аничковом дворце, сказал своей супруге, подошедши со слезами к окну: теперь кончилось мое семейственное счастье. Я усыновил 52 миллиона детей - и не буду уже в состоянии принадлежать только тесному кругу моих домашних.

Путешествие его и государыни в Германию стоило ему около 1/2 миллиона собственного капитала. К счастью г. Шамбо успел сберечь часть получаемого ею дохода (150 000 рублей ассигнациями в год); а то бы пришлось войти в долги. Теперь сказал он, я могу представить государыне по крайней мере 75000 рублей серебром, сбереженных мною из ее капитала. При рождении принца или принцессы Государь присылал в подарок как Николаю Павловичу, так и ей по 60 000 рублей ассигнациями. Но за крестины и проч. приходилось издерживать около 100 000 рублей, так что остаток, (за который Государыня покупала какой либо фермуар или т.п.) был весьма незначителен. Когда же ей оба раза случились несчастные роды (*faux couches*), то она подарков вовсе не получала; а расходы были почти те же. Государыня имеет капитал, назначенный ей от Прусского двора в приданое. С оного она получает проценты.

Г-ну Шамбо она приказывала осведомиться о партикулярных лицах, пострадавших 14 декабря, чтобы оказать им от себя пособие. Говорят, что в Обуховской больнице было очень много изувеченных.

Для российской переписки, г. Шамбо рекомендовал ей какого-то чиновника, уже занимавшегося по ее канцелярии и ей известного. Она предварительно одобрила его представление.

Г. Шамбо сказывал мне, что ему, когда он только 2 месяца находился при Александре Федоровне (когда он некогда был учителем), ему в Берлине предлагали место *bey der Generaladjutantur*, где бы он мог работать *à deux mains*, т.е. по французской и немецкой переписке. Но он по личной приверженности остался при Александре Федоровне.

incarcerated in the fortress along with the fugitive soldiers, a large part of whom had been caught on Vasil'evskii Island in the factories, etc.

The Guards Equipage had taken the oath on the 15<sup>th</sup>. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, at 5 o'clock in the morning, Count M. A. Miloradovich died. Still on the 14<sup>th</sup>, the Emperor had written him a beautiful letter, which the Count, dying, had pressed to his heart.<sup>34</sup> Nikolai Pavlovich ordered him to be embalmed. The letter was read in my presence by Count Apraksin to Count Sergei Petrovich Rumiantsev.<sup>35</sup>

Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich was of great assistance in the speedy resolution of matters on the 14<sup>th</sup>. And how he remembered everything! On the road, leading the Semenovskii Regiment to Isaakievskaiia Square, he recognized F. P. Adelung and bowed to him, and in the evening told his son Fedor Fedorovich Adelung,<sup>36</sup> who was then on sentry duty at the palace; today I saw your father and elder brother, but by height he was the shortest in the crowd; how does he not fear that he will be crushed?

Wounded meanwhile were Colonel Velho (Horse Guards),<sup>37</sup> whose hand was amputated by doctors on the 15<sup>th</sup>; Colonel Stürler of the Leib-Grenadiers Regiment, who had been shot through the stomach with a bullet, and who was taken to the Lobanovs' house. †<sup>38</sup> on the 16<sup>th</sup> December in the morning.<sup>39</sup> Both were made generals.

They say that a project for a Constitution was found on the person of one of the conspirators, and that this was the reason why the Moscow Regiment and other mutineer regiments had gathered before the Senate building.

*N.B.<sup>40</sup> The first to muse upon a Constitution in the Russian language was Tatishchev: (Konstitutsiia Anglii. Moscow, 1806-1808). Was it not through this translation that he drew upon himself the suspicion of being a political free-thinker; as Schlözer (Nestor) had said? N.B. not that Tatishchev.<sup>41</sup>*

Iakovkin,<sup>42</sup> who had taken part in the conspiracy, went of his own accord to the Emperor and swore loyalty to him. The Emperor entrusted him with the task of pacifying the Moscow Regiment, but he was unable to do so; he returned with the report that nothing further could be done.

34 The wounding of the military governor-general, his death and the farewell message from the Emperor were to be one of the most important episodes of the uprising for the inhabitants of St. Petersburg. The letter was at once broadcast in innumerable copies. Two copies are among the papers at the Tübingen Library.

35 Rumiantsev, Sergey Petrovich (1755-1838) – senator, chamberlain. Brother of Nikolai Rumiantsev.

36 Adelung, Fedor Fedorovich (born 1800) – a lieutenant in the Sappers Regiment Leib Guard. Son of F. P. Adelung.

37 Velio, Iosif Iosifovich (1795-1867) – a colonel of the Horse Regiment Leib Guard.

38 Here and subsequently in the diary, “†” signifies a fatality.

39 Stürler, Nikolai Karlovich (1786-1825) – colonel, commander of the Grenadiers Regiment Leib Guard. Stürler's death wound was the work of P. G. Kakhovskii.

40 This text in italics was written by the author of the diary in the margin and then crossed out.

41 It is likely that the author had once seen a translation of an English constitution made by the diplomat I. I. Tatishchev at the house of his good friend the historian F. P. Adelung. Having been somewhat vaguely reminded of this half-forgotten episode by talk of the constitutional hopes of the mutineers, Ianovskii confused the diplomat with the renowned historian V. N. Tatishchev (1686-1750). Having realized his mistake, he crossed out the entirety of this marginal note.

42 The author is incorrectly reproducing the name of A. I. Iakubovich. Iakubovich, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1796/1797-1845) – a captain of the Nizhnii Novgorod Dragoons Regiment; man of letters.

При крестинах и т.п. Александра Федоровна всегда разделяла расходы с супругом своим.

Изданное 15 декабря прибавление к *СПб-м Ведомостям* (№ 100) дает точное понятие о происшествии 14-го числа. Жаль, что в оное вкралась неточность в словах: причиною (неполучения известия) полагали отдаленность казарм (Московских и др.) от дворца [*далее текст зачеркнут*].

## 21 декабря

(По слухам)

Поручик саперного батальона, батальонный адъютант Константин Маркович Ивелич пожалован в флигель-адъютанты за то, что первый выпалил из пушки, когда артиллеристы приступили к делу с нерешимостью.

Энгельгардт, бывший директор Лицея Царскосельского, чрезвычайно любил одного из Пушиных (бывших в числе бунтовщиков), когда он находился еще в Лицее. В субботу Пущин пил еще у него чай, и был как сын в доме его. В понедельник Энгельгардт увидел его в числе мятежников на площади. Он призывает его, просит выйти к нему, но Пущин отвечает только: «Что Вам угодно?» «Что Вы делаете?» - говорит Энгельгарт. «Je suis à ma place», - отвечает Пущин. Когда же Энгельгарт повелительным голосом сказал ему: «Poustdchine, je vous ordonne de vous approcher de moi», он вышел и твердым голосом пред солдатами повторил: «Что Вам угодно», а по-французски прибавил, что советует удалиться, ибо здесь он находится в опасности.

Таким образом расстался с ним Энгельгардт.

Шторх, академик, говорят, от государыни Марии Федоровны первый узнал о проступке своего сына, который по глупости вмешался в ряды бунтовщиков, и потом уже не был выпускаем. «Je vous plains, сказала императрица, у Ливеной увидев Шторха, - votre fils est coupable. Mais je ferai mon possible pour le sauver». Государь Николай Павлович, говорят, сказал молодому Шторху: «Ты всегда был дубиной». Старушка, нянька его, не выходящая уже из дома, пустилась в путь к Исаакиевскому мосту, вскарабкалась на возвышенность и хотела махнуть ему рукою, чтобы он возвратился домой (!) Шторх искал спасения на Сенатском дворе. Вскоре он решился отправиться домой («к матушке, - говорит Энгельгардт, чтобы выпить чашку кофе»). Какой-то полковник и генерал как не изрубили его. Но один из них сказал: «Пощади его, ведь он не защищается!»

Князь Трубецкой.

Князь Голицын при конной артиллерии (Сергей Михайлович?).

Князь Константин Петрович Оболенский, лейб-гвардии Павловского полка поручик, адъютант при генерал-адъютанте Потемкине.

Князь Оболенский.

Князь Дмитрий Александрович Щепин-Ростовский.

It is said that the artillery officers were arrested that morning.

May the Lord bless the reign of the new Monarch [*in the margin*: in his most high Manifesto] who has promised to rule in such manner that his reign should be like a continuation of that of Emperor Alexander the Blessed!<sup>43</sup>

## December 16, 1825

### December 17

(According to rumors)

- The young Count Andrei Karlovich Lieven, serving in the Moscow Regiment, prompted many soldiers under his command to take the oath by means of standing in the doorway and announcing that those who did not swear loyalty would only leave the room over his dead body.<sup>44</sup> (From the words of Count K. V. Nesselrode<sup>45</sup> to F. P. Adelung).

- I. M. Murav'ev-Apostol informed me that his son-in-law, the aide-de-camp, Colonel Vasilii Petrovich Bibikov, was returning to health. A soldier had hit him with his gun; he had fallen and been thrown into a crowd of people who trampled him underfoot. When the soldier had aimed for his head with a bayonet, he, ducking, had tried to parry the thrust with his arm, which was slightly injured.<sup>46</sup> – The Emperor sent the War Minister (Tatishchev)<sup>47</sup> to him, to ask in what way he wished to be rewarded. "I ask only one thing," he answered, "that I not be rewarded at all; I merely did my duty... and I am sure that any other officer in my place would have done the same as I." (He had tried to remonstrate with the mutineers). His wife, having received news that he had been killed, had ran out of the Reketi house,<sup>48</sup> near the Police Bridge, with her hair down, onto Isaakievskaiia Square.<sup>49</sup>

Aleksandr Bestuzhev went of his own free will to the court: he wished to speak with the Emperor in private.

Nikolai Bestuzhev was captured at Kronstadt in the uniform of a sailor. A constable at the Lighthouse, who was very well acquainted with him, had barely been able to recognize him.<sup>50</sup>

43 This is a reference to Nikolai Pavlovich's manifesto on ascending the throne, which, together with N. N. Ianovskii's diary, is found among the Brückner papers.

44 The author is in error – it was not Andrei Karlovich Lieven, but his brother, Lieutenant Aleksandr Karlovich Lieven, who had kept the First Fusiliers Company of the Moscow Regiment Leib Guards in their barracks.

45 Nesselrode, Karl Vasil'evich (Karl-Robert) (1780-1862) – head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1816-1856).

46 The author is in error. This episode refers to the son-in-law of Ivan Matveevich Murav'ev-Apostol, Illarion Mikhailovich Bibikov.

47 Tatishchev, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1763-1833) – War Minister (1823-1827); president of the Investigative Committee on the Affair of the Mutiny of December 14, 1825.

48 Reketi – the owner of the building.

49 The spouse of I. M. Bibikov – Ekaterina Ivanovna Murav'eva-Apostol (1795-1861), daughter of I. M. Murav'ev-Apostol and sister of the Decembrists Matvei, Sergei, and Ippolit.

50 After the crushing of the mutiny, Nikolai Bestuzhev had managed to reach Kronstadt. Having borrowed a sheepskin coat from a servant and changed clothes, he made his way toward the Tolbukhinskii Lighthouse.

Князь Александр Иванович? Гагарин, прапорщик гвардейской конной артиллерии (Андрей Иванович?).

Князь Одоевский.

Отставной статский советник Гравегорский, бывший кавказским вице-губернатором.

Кондратий Федорович Рылеев, служивший при Американской компании, отставной артиллерии подпоручик; правитель канцелярии российско-американской компании.

Вильгельм Карлович Кюхельбекер, (захвачен в Варшаве унтер-офицером Григорьевым!).

Михаил Карлович Кюхельбекер, лейтенант гвардейского экипажа.

Николай Александрович Бестужев.

Александр Александрович Бестужев, штабс-капитан (лейб-гвардейского) Драгунского полка, адъютант при генерале от кавалерии герцоге Виртембергском.

Бестужев.

Бестужев.

Александр Осипович Корнилович, при училище гвардейском генерального штаба.

Свечин.

Кахановский или Каховский.

Александр Андреевич Шторх (отправлен в Выборгскую крепость).

Сутгоф.

Граф (?) Ламсдорф.

граф Коновницын.

Булатов, полковник Карабинерного полка † в сухопутном госпитале).

Орест Михайлович Сомов (в последствие временно отпущен).

Арсеньев.

Максимович - обучавшийся некогда в Петропавловской школе.

Пушиных три брата.

Пушин.

Пушин.

Привезены из 2-ой армии.

Муравьев-Апостол, два брата.

другой

майор ... Матвей Спиридов (Пензенского пехотного полка).

полковник Аврамов, сын советника Императорской Академии наук.

Муравьев (Муравьевых всего, говорят, замешано по сему делу 9 человек, один свояк министра финансов Конкрина).

Тизенгаузен полковник?

Из Грузии

Грибоедов, поэт (сочинитель комедии Горе от ума)

Storch was asked by the Emperor why he had risen against him, when he had only just sworn an oath of loyalty to him an hour previously. The Sovereign Empress Mariia Fedorovna, who had met Storch at the house of Countess Lieven,<sup>51</sup> told him, "I am sorry for You, as I am for your father! But be assured, I will do all that is possible in your favor." He was held in the fortress, not in the barracks but in the detention quarters.<sup>52</sup>

To Lambsdorff, the Emperor said: I did not expect this of you. Your family has been greatly favored by us!<sup>53</sup>

The Emperor ordered Count Konovnitsyn to write to his mother in order to calm her fears, and then had Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich write on the reverse of the letter to tell the mother not to worry; her son's punishment would be limited to a six-week imprisonment.<sup>54</sup>

Lieutenant Fedor Fedorovich Adelung was on sentry duty, when Kornilovich<sup>55</sup> was brought bound to the palace.

Or. M. Somov, they say, was immediately released.<sup>56</sup>

It is said that Grech and Bulgarin were also involved in this affair. But this is unjust. The Chief of Police only came to visit Grech in order to ascertain the address of Küchelbecker.

Bulgarin was asked what he knew about the conspirators. Several of them, Ryleev, Nikolai and Aleksandr Bestuzhev, and Kornilovich, had been our colleagues, and had dined at Grech's two days before this (on December 12).

The Emperor had Grech answer the question as to why *Severnaia pchela* had not come out on time (on Tuesday the 15<sup>th</sup>). This was, he answered, because I live on Isaakievskaiia Square and Bulgarin had driven all the typesetters out of the printing house, fearing that the insurrectionists might seize it, wishing to print something.

Count Nesselrode, having seen F. P. Adelung, told him – Hier vos élèves vous ont fait honneur! – et avec quelle logique ont ils parlé aux militaires. - La logique, answered F. P., - ils l'ont de moi! (as it had been him that had taught the Grand Dukes their lessons in logic).

It is said that two projects for a constitution had been prepared. – One of them being an exact copy of the French one! - The banner that had been prepared, they say, bore the inscription: Liberty, freedom, constitution.

51 Lieven (née Posse), Charlotte Karlovna (1783-1828) – a lady in waiting and governess of the Grand Dukes.

52 This participant in the uprising, second lieutenant of the Grenadiers Regiment Leib Guards, Aleksandr Andreevich Storch, was the son of Andrei Karlovich Storch (1766-1835), academician and scholar of political economy and statistics. A. K. Storch had served as tutor to the Grand Dukes Nikolai and Mikhail Pavlovich. He was close to the circle of N. P. Rumiantsev. This explains the diarist's awareness of the events concerning the participation in the uprising and arrest of Second Lieutenant A. A. Storch.

53 Ianovskii mistakenly includes Lambsdorff among the Decembrists.

54 Konovnitsyn, Ivan Petrovich (1806-1867/1871) – a participant in the activities of the Northern Society; he had opposed swearing the oath to Nikolai Pavlovich.

55 Kornilovich, Aleksandr Osipovich (1800-1834) – staff-captain of the Guards general staff. A litterateur and historian. In 1825 he had joined the Southern Society, and participated in the December 14 uprising.

56 Somov, Orest Mikhailovich (1791-1833) – head of the management department of the Russian American Company, where K. F. Ryleev was head of the chancellery.

It is averred that the soldiers had intended to kill everyone in town, apart from those with beards. Stieglitz, hearing of this, had put 30,000 rubles in the drawers of his desk and hidden the rest of his money.<sup>57</sup>

The soldiers had shouted: “Hurrah for Konstantin!”; the officers: “Long live the Constitution!”

The Naval Equipage (in which Kachalov,<sup>58</sup> Arbuzov and Dobrovolskii had remained loyal) had cried – Well done, Nikolai! - But hurrah for Konstantin!

## December 19

The secretary of Empress Aleksandra Fedorovna told me that Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich, the previous Sunday, when he had managed to spend a brief moment at the Anichkov Palace, had told his wife, walking to the window in tears: “Now my family happiness is over. I have adopted fifty-two million children – and will be unable henceforth to belong solely to the intimate circle of my own household.”

His trip with the Empress to Germany cost him around a half million of his own funds.<sup>59</sup> Fortunately, M. Chambeau<sup>60</sup> had been able to save part of her revenues (150,000 rubles in paper money); otherwise it would have been necessary to go into debt. Now, he said, I can give the Empress at least 75,000 rubles in silver that I have saved from her funds. On the birth of a prince or princess, the Emperor had sent both her and Nikolai Pavlovich 60,000 paper rubles. But around 100,000 rubles had to be put aside for christenings and other matters, and so the remainder (with which the Empress purchased some kind of locket or similar thing) was quite inconsiderable. And when she twice suffered a miscarriage (*faux couches*), she received no gifts at all; but the expenditure was almost the same. The Empress has her own capital, given her by the Prussian court as a dowry. From this she receives interest.

She ordered M. Chambeau to acquaint her with the details of those people who had suffered on December 14 that she might give them assistance. They say that there were a great many crippled lying in the Obukhovskaia Hospital.

For the Russian correspondence M. Chambeau recommended some civil servant to her who had previously worked in her chancellery and was known to her. She tentatively gave her assent to the notion.

M. Chambeau told me that when he had only been with Aleksandra Fedorovna for two months (back when he had been a teacher), he had been offered the post of *bey der General-Adjutantur* in Berlin, where he would have been able to work *à deux mains*, i.e. responsible for correspondence in both French and German. But he had preferred to stay with Aleksandra Fedorovna out of personal allegiance.

57 Stieglitz, Ludwig (1778-1843) – founder of the St. Petersburg trading house Baron Stieglitz and Co., a baptized Jew and one of the richest men in Russia.

58 Kachalov, Petr Fedorovich (1780-1855) – a captain of the first rank, commander of the Guards Equipage.

59 This refers to the journey of Nikolai Pavlovich and Aleksandra Fedorovna to Prussia.

60 Chambeau, Ivan Pavlovich (1783-1848) – privy councilor, secretary to Empress Aleksandra Fedorovna.

At christenings and so forth, Aleksandra Fedorovna always shared the expenses with her husband.

A supplement of the *St. Petersburg News* issued on December 15 (No. 100), gives a faithful impression of the events of the 14<sup>th</sup>. It is a pity that some inaccuracies in wording have slipped in: it suggested that the reason (that news was not received) was the distance of the barracks (of the Moscow Regiment and others) from the Palace.<sup>61</sup> [From this point on, the text is crossed out].

## December 21

(According to rumors)

A lieutenant of the Sappers Battalion, Battalion Adjutant Konstantin Markovich Ivelich<sup>62</sup> was made aide-de-camp for having been the first to fire his cannon when the artillerists had shown signs of hesitation.

Engelhardt,<sup>63</sup> former director of the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum, had been extremely fond of one of the Pushchins<sup>64</sup> (one of the rebels), back when he was attending the Lyceum. On Saturday, Pushchin had drunk tea with him at his house, where he was treated like a son. On Monday, Engelhardt saw him among the insurrectionists on the square. He called out to him, asking him to come over, but Pushchin only answered: "What do you want?" "What are you doing?" – Engelhardt asked. "Je suis à ma place," – answered Pushchin. And when Engelhardt told him in a commanding voice: "Poustchine, je vous ordonne de vous approcher de moi," he stepped out of ranks and repeated in a stern voice in front of the soldiers: "What do you want?" but added in French that he advised him to leave, as he was in danger there.

And that was how Engelhardt parted company with him.

Storch, the academician, it is said, first heard of his son's crime from the Empress Mariia Fedorovna. His son had joined the ranks of the rebels out of foolishness, and then it had been too late to escape. "Je vous plains," said the Empress, meeting Storch at Countess von Lieven's, "votre fils est coupable. Mais je ferai mon possible pour le sauver." They say Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich told young Storch that: "You always were thick as two short planks." An old woman, his nurse who still lived in the house, had gone to Isaakievskii Bridge, clambered up to a height and tried to wave at him, to make him come home(!). Storch tried to save himself in the Senate courtyard. He had

61 This "Pribavlenie k S.Peterburgskim vedomostyam," No. 100 from Tuesday, December 15, together with other publications casting light on the events of the interregnum and uprising on Senate Square, is found in the collection of documents under examination here.

62 Ivelich, Konstantin Markovich (1799-1837) – lieutenant of the Sappers Battalion Leib Guard.

63 Engelhardt (Engel'gardt), Egor Antonovich (1775-1862) – man of letters, director of the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum (1816-1823), maintained links with alumni, and held annual reunions with students and old colleagues on the day of the Lyceum's founding, October 19. Engelhardt corresponded with I. Pushchin and V. Küchelbecker when both former students were in Siberia.

64 Pushchin, Ivan Ivanovich (1798-1859) – one of the leaders of the Northern Society, a participant in the uprising on the 14<sup>th</sup> December 1825. A friend of Pushkin. Pushchin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1800-1869) – took part in meetings of members of the Northern Society in December 1825, and in preparing for the uprising on December 14. He took no part in the fighting on the Square.

very quickly decided to go home (“to his mother,” said Engelhardt, “to have a cup of coffee”). A certain colonel and general almost ran him through. But one of them said: “Have mercy on him, he’s not fighting back, after all!”

Prince Trubetskoi<sup>65</sup>

Prince Golitsyn of the Horse Artillery (Sergei Mikhailovich?)<sup>66</sup>

Prince Konstantin Petrovich Obolenskii, lieutenant of the Pavlovskii Regiment Leib Guards, adjutant to Adjutant-General Potemkin.<sup>67</sup>

Prince Obolenskii

Prince Dmitri Aleksandrovich Shchepin-Rostovskii

Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich? Gagarin, an ensign in the Horse Artillery Guards (Andrei Ivanovich?)<sup>68</sup>

Prince Odoevskii

Retired state councilor Gravegorskii, former vice-governor of the Caucasus

Kondratii Fedorovich Ryleev, serving in the American Company, retired second lieutenant in the artillery; head of the chancellery of the Russian American Company

Wilhelm Karlovich Küchelbecker, (captured in Warsaw by non-commissioned officer Grigor’ev!)<sup>69</sup>

Mikhail Karlovich Küchelbecker, lieutenant of the Guards Equipage

Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev, staff-captain of the Dragoons Regiment (Leib Guard), adjutant to the cavalry general the Duke of Württemberg

Bestuzhev<sup>70</sup>

Bestuzhev<sup>71</sup>

Aleksandr Osipovich Kornilovich, at the training school of the Guards general staff Svechin<sup>72</sup>

Kakhanovskii or Kakhovskii

Aleksandr Andreevich Storch (sent to the Vyborg Fortress)

Sutthof

Count (?) Lambsdorff

65 Trubetskoi, Sergei Petrovich (1790-1860) – The principal author of a plan for the uprising and its program (“Manifesto to the Russian People”), but he did not participate in the action.

66 The author appears to have A. M. Golitsyn in mind. Golitsyn, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1798-1858) – as established by the later investigation, he had not been a member of the Decembrists’ secret societies, but had known of the existence of the Northern Society. He was arrested and brought in for interrogation, but released by order of the emperor.

67 Obolenskii, Konstantin Petrovich (1798-1861) – a member of the Union of Salvation. He was arrested, but on June 15, 1826, was released on the orders of the emperor, and allowed to resume his former rank in the Finland Regiment.

68 Gagarin, Aleksandr Ivanovich (1801-1857) – although not a member, he was involved in the activities of the Northern Society.

69 After the uprising was defeated, Küchelbecker was the sole participant that managed to escape the city. He fled to Poland, hoping to cross the border. On the January 19, 1826, he was recognized in Warsaw, thanks to the description given by Bulgarin.

70 Probably refers to Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev.

71 Probably refers to Petr Aleksandrovich Bestuzhev.

72 Svechin, Egor Vasil’evich (1796-1831) – arrested on the night of December 14-15, 1825, but freed with an attestation of innocence.

Count Konovnitsyn<sup>73</sup>

Bulatov, colonel of the Carabiniers Regiment († in the army hospital)<sup>74</sup>

Orest Mikhailovich Somov (subsequently released)

Arsen'ev<sup>75</sup>

Maksimovich – a former pupil of the Petropavlovskaiia School

Pushchins– three brothers<sup>76</sup>

Pushchin

Pushchin

Brought from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Army

Murav'ev-Apostol – two brothers<sup>77</sup>

another

Major ... MatveySpiridov (Penza Infantry Regiment)<sup>78</sup>

Colonel Avramov, son of a councilor at the Imperial Academy of Sciences<sup>79</sup>

Murav'ev (it is said there were in all nine Murav'evs involved in the affair, one of whom was a brother in law of the Finance Minister Cancrin)<sup>80</sup>

Tiesenhausen colonel?<sup>81</sup>

From Georgia

Griboedov, poet (author of the comedy “Woe from Wit”)<sup>82</sup>

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- 73 Konovnitsyn, Petr Petrovich (1802-1830) – sentenced to loss of rank and nobility and reduced to the ranks.
- 74 Bulatov, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1793-1826) – died while under arrest before the close of the investigation.
- 75 Arsen'ev, Ivan Alekseevich (died 1851) – A. Z. Murav'ev named him as member of a secret society, which was not confirmed during the investigation. Released with an attestation of innocence.
- 76 Referring to the three Pushchin brothers, the author had in mind Ivan, Mikhail and their cousin Andrei Pavlovich Pushchin (1801-1838), who was on Senate Square for a short while with the rebels but was not brought in for interrogation.
- 77 Murav'ev-Apostol, Matvei Ivanovich (1793-1886) – participant in the uprising from the Chernigov Regiment. Murav'ev-Apostol, Sergei Ivanovich (1795-1826) – sentenced to hanging. Executed on the crownwork of the Peter and Paul Fortress on July 13, 1826.
- 78 Spiridov, Mikhail Matveevich (1796-1854) – sentenced to hard labor for life.
- 79 Avramov, Pavel Vasil'evich (1790-1836) – sentenced to twelve years hard labor.
- 80 This should actually be eight Murav'evs, including the Murav'ev-Apostols, who were involved in the Decembrist affair:
1. Murav'ev, Aleksandr Mikhailovich (1802-1853) – son of one of the tutors of Aleksandr I, the prominent statesman M. N. Murav'ev, and brother of N. M. Murav'ev. Sentenced to twelve years hard labor. He should have been released in 1832, but stayed in the mines at his own request, until the sentence of his brother Nikita had expired.
  2. Murav'ev, Aleksandr Nikolaevich (1792-1863) – exiled to Siberia without loss of rank or nobility.
  3. Murav'ev, Artamon Zakharovich (1793-1846) – sentenced to hard labor for life. His sister, Ekaterina (1796-1879), was married to the Finance Minister Count E. F. Cancrin.
  4. Murav'ev, Mikhail Nikolaevich (later Murav'ev-Vilenskii) (1796-1866) – released with an attestation of innocence on June 2, 1826, having been presented to Nicholas I. on the same day together with A. S. Griboedov.
  5. Murav'ev, Nikita Mikhailovich (1795-1843) – sentenced to twenty years hard labor.
  6. Murav'ev-Apostol, Ippolit Ivanovich (1806-1826) – a member of the Northern Society, participant in the mutiny of the Chernigov Regiment. Not wishing to turn himself in, he shot himself.
  7. Murav'ev-Apostol, Matvei Ivanovich.
  8. Murav'ev-Apostol, Sergei Ivanovich.
- 81 Tiesenhausen, Vasilii Karlovich (Wilhelm Sigismund) (1779/1780-1857) – sentenced to two years hard labor.
- 82 Griboedov, Aleksandr Sergeevich (1795-1829) – a diplomat and writer. Was arrested in the fortress of Grozny on January 23, 1826, and sent to St. Petersburg. Released with an attestation of innocence.