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PORTRAITS IN THE ARCHIVE OF THE FOREIGN COLLEGE IN THE LATE 18TH – EARLY 19TH CENTURY AS A MEANS OF ITS OFFICIALS’ SELF-REPRESENTATION

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: HUMANITIES
WP BRP 180/HUM/2019

This Working Paper is an output of a research project implemented at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE). Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.
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PORTRAITS IN THE ARCHIVE OF THE FOREIGN COLLEGE IN THE LATE 18TH – EARLY 19TH CENTURY AS A MEANS OF ITS OFFICIALS’ SELF-REPRESENTATION

This paper deals with a collection of portraits that used to be located at the Moscow Archive of the College of Foreign Affairs and has not previously attracted attention of scholars. The Archive’s administrator Nikolai Bantysh-Kamenskii began putting this collection together in the 1780s on. The portraits presented all the heads of Posol’skii prikaz and the College of Foreign Affairs beginning from the 1660s. The portraits were placed in the Archive’s chambers and served to visually represent the involvement of Archive's administrators in the highest politics of the empire. At the same time, creating this gallery involved the mechanics used a decade earlier by Catherine II as she worked on setting up the gallery at the Chesme Palace. Whereas she supplied her gallery with a literary description, the secretary of the Archive Aleksei Malinovskii composed the biographies of the administrators portrayed at the Archive's gallery – from Afanasii Ordyn-Nashchokin to Mikhail Vorontsov. The composition of the manuscript, subsequently presented to the emperor Alexander I, echoed the structure of the gallery as it existed in the 1780s – the decade which was a turning point in the Archive's institutional development, and in Aleksei Malinovskii’s career as well.

JEL Classification: Z

Key words: visuality, spatial turn, Russia, 18th century, portrait gallery, Moscow Archive of the College of the Foreign Affairs, the heads of the Russian foreign policy, officialdom, career strategies

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In 1784, the new manager of the Archive of the College of Foreign Affairs Nikolai Nikolaevich Bantysh-Kamenskii (1737–1814) started to collect portraits of the heads of the College of Foreign Affairs and Posol'skii prikaz, which preceded it, in the Archive. During the period he administrated the Archive (until 1814), the gallery was replenished with the portraits of almost all the heads of Russian foreign politics – chancellors and vice-chancellors – and placed in the Archive’s chambers. By 1830 it kept 22 portraits of the higher officials who ruled the foreign affairs of Russia. The gallery does not exist any longer. Some portraits that survived the troubles of 1812 and 1917 were placed in the central Soviet museums in the 1920s, partly they were lost.

My idea is to reconstruct the background of the portrait gallery of the Archive of Foreign College in Moscow in the late 18th–early 19th century bringing into consideration the “shaping potential” of visual language. Placed in the departmental archive, the portraits of the heads of the College shaped social space where the Archive’s officials implemented their career strategies claiming to join the ranks of the higher imperial bureaucracy.

In search of its background and impact of this previously absolutely hidden collection, I hope to gain the insights offered by three up-to-date fields of study:

1) visual studies:

The means of “presence in absentia” – emperors’ portraits and statues – had been used in Ancient Rome. In the ancient or medieval culture, images ensured the ubiquity of the virtual presence of power under lacking of modern bureaucracy or mass-media. Visuality is a specific feature of Russian culture of the 18th century and a key to understand its value system, as Marcus Levitt emphasizes. The visual and visibility played a crucial role in shaping Russian self-awareness of the beginning of the new time. To his opinion, visuality was not imported from the West, but organically rooted in Orthodox culture and theology. On the other hand, early modern political imagination itself was iconic: the images of sovereigns claimed more or less to convey the individual image of a ruler, but in the first place they purported to convey his/her special quality as a ruler. It went back to the ancient idea of the presence of the person depicted in his image. Especially the Roman model contributed to the formation of political visibility in Russia.

Images do not exist on their owns, and do not live their own separate lives: their production, application and perception is carried out by people endowed with qualities and

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properties. Therefore, the social, economic and psychological context is inherent in any symbolic
dpractice. Imaginative systems do not bear unambiguously interpreted meanings, but they are a
field of struggle and compromise for assigning them particular meanings. As an example,
Mikhail Boitsov draws the fact of replenishing of the Roman Empire with statues and other
images of the ruling emperors. He suggests that in this way, it presupposed centralized rule,
developed economy, and effective communications4.

2) historical anthropology:

I consider the Archive and its officials to be actors and not only as the custodians of the
outdated documents. The social history of archives concerns itself with studying the impact of
organized record-keeping on mental frameworks, basic expectations and the daily social
practices5. As the records preserved and generated in archives attest, the officials had a vested
interest in perpetuating of their entrepreneurship and the economy of corruption. The archive
itself became a source of writing the history of its keepers. Far from neutral and impersonal
texts, administrative records were a forum within which officials engaged in a form of ‘creative
writing’, amending and fabricating the history of the institutions for which they worked6.
Contemporaries had a complex and multifaceted understanding of written records, using and
preserving them not only for their original function, but also to serve very different purposes.
Manuscripts were not designed to prove a point, but proceeded from the pre-established
assumptions shared by the author and his audience7.

3) space studies:

they presume that every society produces its own social space. Henri Lefebvre in his book La
Production de l’espace (1974) argues that the space is a social product. It contains, inter alia,
social relations of production which is a hierarchy of social functions and the relationships of
power. The representations of social relationships are implemented in the space through
buildings, monuments, and pieces of art. The space practice coexists both with the
representation of space and the space of representation. Representations of space are connected
to the relations of production, to the order established by them, and to the knowledge, codes and
“direct” relations. The spaces of representation suggest a complicated system of symbols that
has to do both with the concealed side of social life and with the art which Lefebvre defined as a
code of the spaces of representation8. The social space emerges from the relationships and

6 Walsham A. The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe // Ibid., p. 46.
7 Buylaert F., Haemers J. Record-keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries // Ibid., p. 149.
interconnections between artifacts and living beings. Space is a relative arrangement of social objects and people in places, where a place is a location specifically nameable and usually marked geographically. On the contrary, space is constituted only by the arrangement of social goods and people in places. In this scheme, a human being is a fundamental part of the space concept. On the one hand, s/he is physically present in space and thus is an element of the arrangement of things and living beings. On the other hand, the linking of objects placed in space is bound to human action called spacing: the arrangement, or the active placement of social goods and people in specific places, as well as the mental synthesis of spaces in human imagination, perception, and memory.

In these terms, arranging the gallery exactly in the Archive of the Foreign College Bantysh-Kamenskii fashioned its space in the specific way which symbolically linked it to the College and to its activities. The College of Foreign Affairs was the ‘first’ among 12 colleges since Peter I’s reign, and the status of the leader of foreign Affairs was not as ordinary as that of other colleges. In the second half of the 17th century, the heads of its predecessor Posol’skii Prikaz (“ambassadorial department”) were selected from the persons especially close to the tsar. Since 1667, they bore a special title of the keeper of the ‘Great tsar seal’. Having appeared in ca. mid 16th century, it was replaced by Foreign chancellery in 1710 and by Foreign College in 1721 during Peter I’s reforms. The Moscow Archive of the Foreign College succeeded the archive of Posol’skii Prikaz. All current diplomatic documents and correspondence were kept in the College in St. Petersburg, whereas the Moscow Archive stored the papers from the previous 200 years being occasionally replenished with the outdated documents from St. Petersburg.

The Archive was located in the former Golitsyn’s palace near Pokrovka street since 1771, bought for the Archive on the direction of Catherine II. She hardly supposed it to become a portrait gallery. I suggest that Bantysh-Kamenskii arranging the gallery in the Archive

1) shifted the focus from the “Archive” to the “Foreign Affairs” and “restored” the significance of Moscow as an actor in the foreign affairs;

2) wanted the College to share its influence and power with the Archive and with him personally. Thus he urged some archival officials to reconsider their role and inspired them with strong career ambitions.

The Archive’s gallery was started in 1780s, the next decade after the gallery of Chesme Palace was established by Catherine II in commemoration of the most important victory in the

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Russo-Turkish war in 1770. The interiors of the Chesme Palace featured fifty-nine portraits of monarchs from European royal houses (French, Swedish, Danish, Prussian, English, etc.) and bas-reliefs of the Rurikids and the 17th-century Romanovs on the walls. Thus, two political lines were presented in the palace at once: the domestic one (Russian ruling family: ancient rulers as sculptures, and living and recently deceased members of the Romanovs’ family as portraits) and the foreign one (the European rulers). As Ekaterina Skvortsova pointed out, the synthesis of architecture, sculpture and painting justified the ruling family’s succession from the Muscovite rulers.

Further, Ekaterina Boltunova suggests that the use of a portrait as a tool of self-presentation emerged in the 18th century. During the pre-Petrine period, such manifestations were quite unusual, though yet in the 17th century there was at least one portrait gallery in Russia. It was arranged by Prince Vasilii Golitsyn (1643–1714), the head of Posol’skii Prikaz, tsarevna Sof’ia’s favorite and de-facto the first minister, in his Moscow palace in the 1680s.

On the other hand, in the early 18th century during the Peter I’s reign, there emerged the new gallery type – the “departmental”. But professional affiliation took shape not of a corporate portrait in the Dutch manner (cf. The Night Watch by Rembrandt) but of a group of portraits presented as a community of persons tied by socially important affairs, including the series of the portraits of the Most Comical All-Drunken Council (Vseshuteiishii sobor), or the portraits of trustees and donators of the Moscow Foundling home by Dmitrii Levitskii, Fedor Rokotov etc. (1765–1773): placed by hierarchy and taken together, they reproduced the situation of a meeting of those responsible for the creating of a “new breed” of people for the empire.

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Why the gallery was started in 1784 and why Bantysh-Kamenskii was its founder?

The previous year, in October 1783, Gerhard Friedrich Miller [Müller] (1705–1783), academician and historian, who headed up the Moscow Archive de-facto since 1766 (formally since 1776) died. Catherine II’s appointed secretaries Bantysh-Kamenskii, Martyn Sokolovskii,
and assessor Johann Gotthilf Stritter as three equal administrators of the Archive by her decree of November 7, 1783.\(^{13}\)

Bantysh-Kamenskii was born in 1737 in Nezhin in Ukraine as a son of the Moldavian nobleman akin to the local ruler Prince Dmitrii Kantemir (1676–1723) who accepted Russia’s authority and brought his state to the Russian sovereignty in 1711. Bantysh-Kamenskii was instructed first at home, then in the Kiev Academy. His uncle Amvrosii Zertis-Kamenskii, the bishop of Pereiaslav’ and since 1768 – the archbishop of Moscow invited him to the city in 1755 to join the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy.

Bantysh-Kamenskii, being a connoisseur of different languages, ancient and modern, rejected, nevertheless, the advantageous offer by the chancellor Mikhail Vorontsov to move to Petersburg to embark upon a career in the College of Foreign affairs. He preferred to stay with his uncle archbishop Amvrosii and was admitted to the Moscow Archive of the College in 1762 as an actuary.\(^{14}\) His uncle was murdered in September 1771 by the angry crowd of Muscovites. It was the highest point of the Plague Riot in Moscow. Bantysh-Kamenskii witnessed this incident, and barely escaped death himself.\(^{15}\)

Strong ties connected Bantysh-Kamenskii with the political elite of the empire. Through the Kantemirs, Bantysh-Kamenskii was tied to the kindred circle of the Kurakins and Lobanov-Rostovskis, and thus to the Panins and Repnins as well. During 1780s and 1790s, Bantysh-Kamenskii even played a part of a messenger for Prince Aleksander Borisovich Kurakin, exiled to his estate in the Saratov Province by the empress because of an intrigue in favour of the “Panin’s party”. It was purported to prevent the Russia’s rapprochement with the Habsburgs instead of staying allied with Prussia.\(^{16}\)

The contemporaries considered Bantysh-Kamenskii to be a fanatic of his profession: he knew nothing but the Archive and “lived in the (imagined) world of the tsars, archbishops, boyars, and envoys”.\(^{17}\) This observation is important for my research. Firstly, through his uncle and educator archbishop Amvrosii, Bantysh-Kamenskii was very close to the Russian orthodox culture. It implied that he could acquire also the ocularacentrism inherent to it, which M. Levitt

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\(^{13}\) Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii, f. 2, op. 2/1, d. 2253, l. 249.  
emphasizes in his works. He stresses also that Amvrosii is one of the most remarkable figures of the Enlightened orthodoxy, who fell a victim to the clash of two incompatible cultures

Secondly, Paul I returned Aleksander Kurakin from the exile on the very day on Catherine II’s death (November 6th, 1796) and appointed him vice-chancellor ten days later. Bantysh-Kamenskii should have celebrated on December 14th, 1796 – the date when a copy of this emperor’s decree was received in the Archive, as from that moment, he acquired a safe personal patron on the top of the imperial hierarchy.

The volume of his work during 50 years of activity in the Archive was tremendous. Sorting out hundreds and thousands of the diplomatic documents, he became probably the best archival expert. The works he fulfilled in the Archive were intended more for the higher administration of the College, and less for the internal needs of the Archive. Even unearthing and delivering documents for Novikov’s edition Drevniaia Rossiiskaia vivliofika, he worked according to the direction issued by the Empress. Mostly the work was assigned to him (directly or through his chief Miller prior to 1783) at the highest command or by the chief members of the Foreign College.

As a result, he was awarded three diamond finger rings by the emperors, the order of St. John of Jerusalem – the most prestigious during Paul I’s reign, and other state awards. His was awarded his last rank – of actual state councilor – in 1799. Since his colleague and rival Sokolovskii died in 1799, and Stritter resigned in 1800, he inherited the position of the Archive executive director and managed it till his death in 1814.

In my opinion, the key event that urged Bantysh-Kamenskii to start with the gallery in the Archive, was the Emperor of the Holy Roman Joseph II’s visit to the Archive in 1780. After a meeting with the Empress Catherine II in Mogilev in May, he travelled to Russia for a couple of months as Count Falkenstein. In June, he stayed in Moscow and visited the Archive of the College. There Gerhard Miller demonstrated him Russian ancient charters and international treaties. Besides, Joseph II paid his attention to a portrait of Nikita Ivanovich Panin (1718–1783) who remained the leader of Russian foreign policy till 1781, in particular, opposing the oncoming rapprochement between Russia and Austria. The emperor asked the retinue, whose

19 Otdel pis’mennykh istochnikov Gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo museia (further – OPI GIM), f. 450, d. 804, l. 35; Rossiiiskii gosudarstvennyi archiv drevnikh aktov (further – RGADA), f. 180, op.1, d. 72, l. 373–374 ob.
21 OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 55, l. 7 (1773); RGADA, f. 180, op. 1, d. 49, l. 166; Tikhonravov N. Letopisi russkoi literatury i drevnostei. Vol. IV., 1862. P. 42 (3rd pag., part III, ‘miscellaneous’); Bantysh-Kamenskii D.N. Zhizn’ Nikolaia Nikolaevicha Bantysha-Kamenskogo, p. 28.
22 Bantysh-Kamenskii D.N. Zhizn’ Nikolaia Nikolaevicha Bantysha-Kamenskogo, p. 11.
23 For more details of this visit, see: Lavrinovich M.B. Moskovskii arkhiv Kollegii inostrannykh del v sisteme priniatii politicheskikh reshenii (1780 g.) // Otechestvennye arkhivy, 6 (2018), p. 3–11.
portrait that was and to what extent it was similar to the person. This question was not asked by incidence: Joseph II was going to meet Panin in St. Petersburg in a few weeks. Interestingly, at the same time he would also have a dinner with Catherine II in the Chesme palace near Petersburg, “surrounded” by his relatives from the Austrian ruling house – the portraits carefully collected by the empress.

The emperor’s attention to the visual content of the Archive could encourage Bantysh-Kamenskii, or contribute to some of his considerations to arrange a portrait gallery in the Archive. The speed with which he brought portraits to the archive – during the next year – attests that he had planned this in advance. In 1784, Bantysh-Kamenskii brought the following portraits to the Archive:

1) The heads of Posol’skii Prikaz, or the keepers of the “Great state seal”

Afanasii Ordyn-Nashchokin (1605–1680, at the head of Posol’skii prikaz in 1667–1671)
Artamon Sergeevich Matveev (1625 – 1682, at the head of Posol’skii prikaz in 1671–1676)
Vasilii Semenovich Volynskii (? – 1682, at the head of Posol’skii prikaz in 1680–1682)
Vasilii Vasil’evich Golitsyn (1633 – 1713), the last head of Posol’skii prikaz as d’iak (1682 – 1689)

2) Chancellors and vice-chancellors before 1784:

Fedor Alkekseevich Golovin (1650–1706, the first chancellor as the head of the Posol’skaia chancellory, 1699–1706)
Gavrila Ivanovich Golovkin (1660 – 1734, chancellor 1706 – 1734)
Andrei Ivanovich (Heinrich Johann) Osterman (1686 – 1747, vice-chancellor 1728 – 1740)
Aleksei Mikhailovich Cherkasskii (1680 – 1742, chancellor 1740 – 1742)
Aleksei Petrovich Bestuzhev-Riumin (1692 – 1767, vice-chancellor since 1741, chancellor 1744– 1758)
Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov (1714–1767, chancellor 1758–1763/7)

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24 Skvortsova E.A. Rol’ portretnykh serii, p. 179.
26 Portrety, p. 23.
27 Portrety, p. 25.
28 Portrety, p. 23.
29 Portrety, p. 25.
Table 1. The Portraits collected by Bantysh-Kamenskii in 1784

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and title, years of life</th>
<th>Head of Posol’skii prikaz / chancellor / vice-chancellor</th>
<th>The year, portrait was delivered to the Moscow Archive</th>
<th>Person who delivered the portrait to the Archive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Afanasii Lavrent’evich Ordyn-Nashchokin (1605–1680)</td>
<td>1667–1670 (the keeper of the “Great state seal”)</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Artamon Sergeevich Matveev (1625 – 1682)</td>
<td>1671–1676 (the keeper of the “Great state seal”)</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Vasilii Semenovich Volynskii (? – 1682)</td>
<td>1680–1682 (the keeper of the “Great state seal”)</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Vasilii Vasil’evich Golitsyn (1633 – 1714)</td>
<td>1682 – 1689 (the keeper of the “Great state seal”)</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Fedor Alekseevich Golovin (1650 – 1706)</td>
<td>1699–1706 – the president of the Posol’skaiia chancellery, or the first chancellor</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Gavrila Ivanovich Golovkin (1660–1734)</td>
<td>chancellor 1706–1734</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXXXXXXXX</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Andrei Ivanovich (Heinrich Johann) Osterman (1686 – 1747)</td>
<td>vice-chancellor 1728 – 1740</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Aleksei Mikhailovich Cherkasskii (1680 – 1742)</td>
<td>chancellor 1740 – 1742</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Aleksei Petrovich Bestuzhev-Riumin (1692 – 1767)</td>
<td>vice-chancellor since 1741, chancellor 1744–1758</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov (1714 – 1767)</td>
<td>chancellor 1758–1765/7</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>Bantysh-Kamenskii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, during only one year in 1784, Bantysh-Kamenskii brought 10 portraits to the Archive. But in fact, in 1784 there were already 12 portraits. First, General Petr Ivanovich Panin brought a portrait of his deceased brother Nikita Panin (he died in 1783, the same year as Miller30. There is no trace of the Panin’s portrait the emperor Joseph II saw in the Archive in 1780 when the statesman was still alive. Second, Alexander Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1723–1807), vice-chancellor during 1762–1775, bestowed his own portrait on the College (or directly to the Archive?) after his resignation31. Thus, the historical part of the gallery was completed.

31 Portrety, p. 25–26 (image №129).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and title, years of life</th>
<th>Head of Posol’skii prikaz / chancellor / vice-chancellor</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Mikhailovich Golitsyn (1723–1807)</td>
<td>vice-chancellor, 1765–1775</td>
<td>1775</td>
<td>Golitsyn, or the College of FA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikita Ivanovich Panin</td>
<td>The first member of the College of FA</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>General Petr Ivanovich Panin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can find the gallery’s first description in the register of late Gerhard Miller’s (Müller’s) books and manuscripts, composed in the mid-1780s (part XI)\(^{32}\). One can only guess, why this collection was added to the register of his belongings. Nevertheless, between Golovkin and Osterman one can see a gap under number 7: a portrait of Petr Pavlovich Shafirov (1669/70—1739) – vice-chancellor during 1709–1723 – was missing. Peter I accused him of embezzlement and sentenced to death. He was exiled in 1723 but Catherine I returned him to the capitals. The Empress appointed him as the president of Commerce College. He still took part in the foreign affairs in 1730s under the supervision of Count Andrei Ivanovich Osterman. The image of Shafirov was painted for the Archive only in the 19\(^{th}\) century\(^ {33}\).

During his service as the Archive’s administrator and director, Bantysh-Kamenskii did his best to provide the Archive with the portraits of the living leaders of foreign affairs in office too. In 1807, he insisted that he managed to collect all the heads’ portraits, starting with boiar Orden-Nashchokin, and to locate them in the archival chambers\(^ {34}\). There is no information, how the portraits of Ivan Andreevich Osterman and Bezborodko appeared in the Archive: if he ordered them after their resignation or death (in 1811 and 1797 accordingly) or if they were bestowed by the statesmen themselves:

- Ivan Andreevich Osterman (1725–1811, vice-chancellor 1775–1797, the formal head of the College of Foreign affairs; chancellor 1796–1797);

- Aleksander Andreevich Bezborodko (1747–1799, member of the College of Foreign Affairs since 1780, the informal leader of Russian foreign policy after Nikita Panin’s resignation in 1781; chancellor during 1797–1799)\(^ {35}\).

Still, I have found out information on other portraits of acting heads of the College placed in the archival chambers:

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\(^{32}\) RGADA, f. 180, op. 3, d. 21, l. 410.  
\(^{33}\) Portrety, p. 23 (#121, picture №19 – the portrait is from the 19\(^{th}\) century)  
\(^{34}\) RGADA, f. 180, op. 16, d. 426, l. 1–1 ob. (Bantysh-Kamenskii’s letter to Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev from 1807)  
\(^{35}\) Portrety, p. 27
• Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov (1741–1805), the first Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chancellor (1802–1805);

• Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev (1754–1826), at the head of the Ministry of foreign Affairs since 1807, chancellor (1808–1814)\textsuperscript{36}.

First, on March 1, 1804, the Minister of foreign affairs Chancellor Count Aleksander Romanovich Vorontsov visited the Archive and bestowed it with his portrait. Having observed the Archive of his department, he “was satisfied with the improvement he had found there as well as with its chiefs’ zeal for their service”. He obtained the Highest grace from the emperor Alexander I for Bantysh-Kamenskii and for his deputy Aleksei Malinovskii. It was expressed in a special letter by the foreign minister deputy Prince Adam Czartoryski on April 22, 1804\textsuperscript{37}. In this way, Vorontsov bade farewell to the department’s Archive since he was going to leave the capitals for an indefinite period because of an illness. He continued to fulfill his duties staying in his estate in the Vladimir Province and died there in late 1805. Having bestowed his portrait, he included himself into the history of foreign affairs even before his mission was completed.

In 1807, in his letter to Count Nikolai Rumiantsev – the new head of the Ministry, Bantysh-Kamenskii reminded him that the turn for his portrait to appear in the Archive came\textsuperscript{38}. Rumiantsev bestowed his portrait in or soon after 1808\textsuperscript{39}.

Nevertheless, one can easily see that in this section some ministers are missing. First was Fedor Vasil’evich Rostopchin’s (1763 – 1826) portrait, the first member of the College in 1799–1801 (on the eve of the Napoleon invasion he was appointed governor-general of Moscow). The second missing portrait was Adam Jerzy Czartoryski’s (1770–1861), Vorontsov’s deputy minister and the acting Minister in 1806, after the Chancellor’s death. The third one was their successor, baron Andrei von Budberg who was appointed the head of the Ministry in June 1806 and removed from this position in a year as an opponent of any agreements with Napoleon, after the Tilsit treaty was signed. Like in the case of Shafirov’s portrait, one cannot attest, if Bantysh-Kamenskii ever tried to obtain their portraits\textsuperscript{40}.

\textsuperscript{36} Portrety, p. 28–29 (picture №142 – Vorontsov; Rumiantsev’s portrait is a later one).
\textsuperscript{37} Portrety, p. 28–29; Sbornik Moskovskago Glavnago Arkhiva Ministerstva inostrannykh del. Vyp. 3 and 4: Moskovskii Glavnyi Arkhiv i ego prezhnie posetiteli. Moscow, 1883. P. 67; RGADA, f. 197, op. 2, d. 42 (part 1), l. 12 ob.
\textsuperscript{38} RGADA, f. 180, op. 16, d. 426, l. 1 ob.
\textsuperscript{39} Portrety, p. 29; RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091. l. 63a.; supposedly, it was the miniature painted by Peter Edward Staly about 1798.
\textsuperscript{40} General Sergei Osipovich Dugamel’ (1802–1865) bestowed the Archive with the Budberg’s portrait later, probably because of some common Baltic German family roots.
Table 2. Chancellors and vice-chancellors – portraits obtained during Bantysh-Kamenskii’s administration (1784 – before 1814)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Ivan Andreevich Osterman (1725–1811)</td>
<td>vice-chancellor 1775–1797, chancellor 1796–1797</td>
<td>1780s – early 1814</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Aleksander Andreevich Bezborodko (1747–1799)</td>
<td>The College member since 1780, its informal leader since 1781, chancellor 1797 – 1799</td>
<td>1780s – early 1814</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov (1741–1805)</td>
<td>Chancellor, the first Minister of Foreign Affairs (1802 – 1805)</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Alexander R. Vorontsov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev (1754–1726)</td>
<td>Minister of Foreign Affairs (since 1807), Chancellor (1808–1814)</td>
<td>Between 1807 and 1814</td>
<td>Nikolai P. Rumiantsev</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In the second part of my paper I will demonstrate that in the case of the Archive gallery the same mechanics worked there as in the case of the Chesme palace. The gallery remained invisible for the public as well as the gallery of the Chesme palace, arranged by Catherine II. But the empress supplied the collection with a literary text known as The Chesme Palace. Constructed like a dialogue of the dead monarchs, it connected the images one with another through their interplay. By this means, she was seeking to legitimize her status and her position in the state but it also arises the question of an interconnection between spatial and textual interpretations\(^\text{41}\).

I revealed that the Archive’s gallery was supplied with a similar text in the same fashion. It was the writing by Aleksei Malinovskii, *The Biographical Data on the Administrators of Foreign Affairs in Russia* (further – *Biographies*). Its three copies are stored in various archive collections: Count Rumiantsev’s, the Panins, and in the Chertkov manuscript collection\(^\text{42}\).

According to the date of dedication to the emperor Alexander I, it was completed in 1816, but two out three copies are later ones (ca. 1820s). The *Biographies* contain eleven biographies of the heads of the *Posol’skii prikaz*, chancellors and vice-chancellors of the Russian empire beginning with Afanasii Ordin-Nashchokin (1667) and ending with Mikhail Vorontsov, who

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\(^{41}\) Boltunova E. The Historical Writing of Catherine II, p. 87.

\(^{42}\) Naucho-issledovatel’skii otdel rukopisei Rossiiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki (NIOR RGB), f. 256, d. 266; OPI GIM, f. 445, op. 1, d. 96; RGADA, f. 1274, op.1, d. 3394 (Известие о начальниках Посольского Приказа, что ныне Государственная Коллегия иностранных дел).
formally remained Chancellor until his death in 1767, but was in fact suspended soon after the coup d’état of 1762. The biographical texts, constructed as separate stories, contain biographical details of a person as well as his accomplishments, services, and awards. The author usually commented if the statesman was lucky and managed to obtain “happiness”, that is fortune, and to retain it during his career. Every biography was provided with an ink drawing portrait, copied from or made after a painted oil portrait of the person. The composition of the writing reproduced the Archival gallery as it was collected by Bantysh-Kamenskii in 1784. Even Shafirov, whose portrait was not acquired by him, deserved a biography which took its rightful place among others. It was provided with a drawing made after his lost 18th century portrait that was reproduced in oil in the 19th century and acquired in an unknown way by the Archive. The phototypic picture in the catalogue reproduces the 19th century copy of the portrait 43.

Evidently, Malinovskii realized an idea to connect images with the text like in the Chesme palace. There is no evidence that he had got any information about the palace and hardly he could got to know about the unpublished text by Catherine II The Chesme palace. An important clue in the search for an explanation is provided by a larger manuscript that might be called a meta-history of the College of foreign affairs and its Moscow Archive. Previously completely unappreciated by the researchers, it contains a proto-text of the Biographies. Aleksei Malinovskii (1762–1840) – secretary of the Archive and its deputy director since 1800 authored this voluminous work, stored now in the Manuscript collection of RGADA under the title Excerpt on the regulations of the former Posol’skii prikaz, renamed later to the College of Foreign Affairs, on the officials ... who administered foreign affairs, and on the files currently stored in the Moscow Archive 44. The entire manuscript claimed to embrace different sides of the Archival history and contemporary activities consisting of five parts. The relevant for the Biographies part was titled The Nominal Roll (Poimennaia rospis’) of the Officials Who Administered the Posol’skii prikaz, renamed later to the College of Foreign Affairs. Largely finished by 1804 as a continuous narrative, this text presented the d’iaks of the Posol’skii prikaz and the highest officials of the College of Foreign affairs from the times of Ivan the Terrible, when Posol’skii prikaz came into being, then through the 17th century, and ending with Catherine II’s reign. Malinovskii sent a version of the full manuscript to the College in February 1804, as soon as Count Vorontsov received an indefinite leave from the emperor, and his deputy Prince

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43 Portrety, p. 23 (#121, picture #19).
44 RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091: Выписка о установлениях бывшаго Посольскаго приказа, переименованнаго потом Коллегиею Иностранных дел; о чиновниках, с учреждения того Приказа управлявших иностранными делами; о Делах, хранящихся ныне в Московском Архиве и о ВЫСОЧАЙШИХ ИМЕННЫХ УКАЗАХ, частио до сего архива касающихся с известием о ежегодных упражнениях онаго.
Adam Czartoryski remained in the office in Petersburg\textsuperscript{45}. Later, after 1804 or 1805 (when Alexander Vorontsov died), this part was amplified serially with the passages on the officials of the College from the times of Paul I and Alexander I till 1814 – the date Chancellor Rumiantsev resigned\textsuperscript{46}.

Though the exact order of hanging the portraits in the Archive is unknown, the gallery was mentioned as a part of the archival library in its description placed in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} part of the larger Manuscript (\textit{About the files stored now in the Moscow State College of Foreign Affairs Archive}). The list was provided with a comment that the portraits were located in the archival chambers, where the Ministry’s files were kept, so “the persons curious to see the Russian antiquities recall the important merits of famous persons who were the first ones in the administering the foreign affairs for the glory and good of the Russian empire during the last 150 years”\textsuperscript{47}. The list consisted of 15 portraits – from Ordin-Nashchokin to Alexander Romanovich Vorontsov, who bestowed his portrait in 1804. Near this entry, one finds a comment on the margin: “16. [Portrait of] State Chancellor Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev”\textsuperscript{48}. This comment can be dated back to the years between 1807 – when BK asked Rumiantsev for a portrait – and 1814 – the year when Rumiantsev resigned from the Ministry.

The \textit{Biographies} by Malinovskii, though finished in 1816, reproduced the gallery as it was collected by BK in the 1780s, not the gallery of the 1800s. This fact makes one think that the idea to parallel the images with the texts emerged earlier too. The earlier drafts relating to the \textit{Biographies}, unearthed by me, prove that the work on the biographies began yet in the late 1790s, when the historical part of the gallery had been replenished also with the portraits of the actual or recently resigned highest officials of the College (Ivan Osterman or Bezborodko). They were composed not by Aleksei Malinovskii himself but by his younger brother Vasilii (1765–1814), who also started his career in the Archive but left it having embarked upon a career in the College of Foreign Affairs in Petersburg in late 1783\textsuperscript{49}. He is mostly famous not as a diplomat he in fact was, but as the first director of the Lyceum in Tsarskoe Selo. His first biographical essays were written in the late 1780s without any exact purpose but to “write a history of present time”. They are informal and do not have any structure\textsuperscript{50}. Later, new information was added, and the

\textsuperscript{45} OPI GIM, f. 60, op. 3, d. 2567.
\textsuperscript{46} RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091, ll. 47–54b ob.; published partly первая часть (до назначения А.Р. Воронцова министром и канцлером империи) опубликована: Поименная роспись чиновникам, которые управляли Посольским приказом, а потом Коллегию иностранных дел (составлена при канцлере графа А.Р. Воронцове) // Архив князя Воронцова. Т. 29. М., 1883. С. 471–484.
\textsuperscript{47} RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091, ll. 63 ob. – 63a
\textsuperscript{48} RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091, l. 63a.
\textsuperscript{49} OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 26, Aleksei Malinovskii signed the file with his own handwrite “Memoires by my brother Vasilii Fedorovich Malinovskii”.
\textsuperscript{50} OPI GIM, f. 450. Д. 804. Л. 17–26 об.
notes were gradually formalized, rewritten, and turned into the biographies of the officials who
were in service in the College in the 1790s–1800s. The Malinovskiis brothers wrote biographies
of their contemporaries whom they observed – Ivan Andreevich Osterman, Stepan Andreevich
Kolychev, Nikita Petrovich Panin, or of their recent predecessors (Aleksei Bestuzhev-Riumin,
Mikhail Illarionovich Vorontsov, or Nikita Ivanovich Panin). Aleksei supplemented these
descriptions with the biographies of the persons from the 17th – early 18th century. He unearthed
relevant information in the files of the Archive: yet during Gerhard Miller’s lifetime he and the
archival secretaries Bantysh-Kamenskii and Sokolovskii made excerpts from the archival files
concerning the heads of Posol’skii prikaz and the College’s officials from the Peter I’s reign.
Sokolovskii wrote the first version of the College’s history in 178151. Malinovskii composed the
drafts of the officials’ biographies by early 1800s as follows from the paper watermarks and
biographical data mentioned in the texts52. Taken together, they made up the text of The Nominal
Roll (Poimennaiia rospis’) – the 2nd part of the larger Manuscript. Its historical part replicated the
Archival gallery of the 1780s and was sorted out into the Biographies which were supplied with
the engraved portraits.

How was Aleksei Malinovskii involved personally? Another Malinovskii’s writing which
became the 4th part of the larger Manuscript later, titled Annual News on the Highest Orders and
Decrees regarding the Moscow Archive issued by the Governing Senate and the State College of
Foreign Affairs, sheds light on his intentions and on how the gallery was connected with the text
of Biographies. A separate draft copy of this writing is stored in Aleksei Malinovskii’s personal
archival fund. This Archival chronicle, starting in 1614 and traced to the year of 1796, was sent
to the College in late 1800 – the year when BK became the only director of the Archive; then it
was continued till 1806 and again till 181753. Thus, he worked on the Biographies and the
archival chronicle contemporaneously and, having poured it together with the Biographies’
proto-text and other chapters, composed the archival “meta-history”.

The chronicle is remarkable because Malinovskii had the intention to describe the
archival activities only since 1779 – the year he was admitted to the Archive as a petty official.

51 RGADA, f. 180, op. 3, d. 90 (Черные выписки о Посольском приказе, о дьяках, хранителе Государственной печати и
Канцлерах, тем Приказом управлявших); op. 16, d. 440 (Известие о Посольском приказе что ныне Государственная
Коллеги иностранных дел. Сочиненная Надворным Советником Мартыном Соколовским 1781 г.)
52 OPI GIM, f. 450, d. 804, l. 4–4ob. (Vasilii Golitsyn); l. 29–30ob., 33–34 (Ivan A. Osterman); l. 31–32, 38–38ob., 47–52ob.
(Nikita Ivanovich Panin), l. 45 (Gavriil Ivanovich Golovkin), 40–40ob. (Aleksei Petrovich Bestuzhev-Riumin), l. 30 (Stepan
Andreevich Kolychev); drafts of the biographies of the College’s members – the brothers Malinovskii’s contemporaries:
Жизнеописания канцлеров верхние, 1762– 1815 (OPI GIM, f. 33, op. 1, d. 26, l. 21–44).
53 OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 55, ll. 1a – 21ob.; RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091, II. 63b–137 (Известия по годам расположенные о
всех наиболее мнений повелениях о указах из Правительствующего Сената и из Государственной Коллегии
Иностранных дел касательно Московского Ея Архива состоявшихся так же и о упражнениях Архивных с 1779го года
сверх безпредрно случающихся Коллегиах запросов и справок из разных присутственных мест); RGADA, f. 180, op. 1,
d. 76, l. 627.
But later the author’s message changed: this date was removed out of the title, and the archival history began since 1614, in the later version – since 1635\textsuperscript{54}. Thus, his personal history was included in the chronicle of the state institution. Malinovskii mentioned himself for the first time in the 1786 entry with his first work sent to the College The Register of the files Concerning the Crimea Tatars\textsuperscript{55}. Further, he did not refrain from mentioning his services, ranks, or awards received from the College or from the empress for the new registers, excerpts, and collections of files\textsuperscript{56}.

Once, Malinovskii spoke frankly about his ambitions. In 1804, he argued with the old diplomat Iakov Ivanovich Bulgakov (1743–1809), the Russian ambassador in the Ottoman empire in 1781–1789 who headed the Moscow noble club (assembly). Bulgakov wanted Count Nikolai Sheremetev to bestow the club with the Empress Catherine II’s bust, that belonged to him. As Sheremetev was Malinovskii’s patron, Bulgakov hoped that Malinovskii, who also belonged to the club, would mediate to obtain this piece of art for the club’s hall. Malinovskii did not agree. Describing his dialogue with Bulgakov in a letter to Sheremetev, Malinovskii presented himself not only as a defender of his patron’s interests, but stressed that he also was a part of the diplomatic corps: “Bulgakov though being a minster [i.e. ambassador], but I am in the service in the diplomatic department myself.”\textsuperscript{57}

The gallery of the highest officials of foreign affairs, that BK composed in the Archive five years after Malinovskii was hired there as a petty official, assured him that he, due to his service, belonged to this most important branch of state affairs. Inspired by the gallery, Malinovskii tied the Archive of the College with the foreign affairs agency itself, presenting it as the College’s part and parcel, not just the depositary of old papers. All the more, according to the new staff roll of 1779, the archival officials were ranked alongside the officials of the central office of the College in Petersburg\textsuperscript{58}.

The visit of Joseph II in 1780 looks like a key impact both for Bantysh-Kamenskii to create the gallery and to shape Malinovskii’s aspirations. He wanted to belong to the “diplomatic service” and thus to assume a part of the College’s influence and power. Before the Archive’s “meta-history” was conceived, Malinovskii intended to emphasize his career trajectory in the chapter Annual News ... of the Archive. Soon after the first ten portraits were located in the archival chambers, he started to create the “written gallery” – the Biographies of those whose portraits were located in the Archive (1790s). Later, both writings became connected through the

\textsuperscript{54} OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 55, l. 1a; RGADA, f. 181, op. 11, d. 1091, l. 63 ob.
\textsuperscript{55} OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 55, l. 13.
\textsuperscript{56} OPI GIM, f. 33, d. 55, ll. 13, 14ob., 15 etc.
\textsuperscript{57} Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (RGIA), f. 1088, op. 3, d. 628, l. 40–40ob.
\textsuperscript{58} Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiiskoi imperii (PSZ):44 (Kniga shtatov):2, #14834 (January 28, 1779).
larger manuscript – *Excerpt on the regulations of the former Posol’skii prikaz*..., the meta-history of the Archive, compiled in the next decade. It tied together the Archive and its officials with the College as an institution, and with the statesmen – the heads of the *Prikaz*, chancellors and vice-chancellors, or heads of the College, the bureaucrats most close to the tsars.

The historians who analyze record-keeping and status of the archive-keepers in Early modern European countries emphasize that the historicism’s (positivistic) distinction between “administrative” and “narrative” sources is anything but dead for this period. As contemporaries understood the social potential of extant records, they did not hesitate to use texts with administrative or legal formats when they composed narratives about self and status. The use of records for social purposes was common in the early modern era, and inclusion of records and self-authored personal writings often proceeded from very different assumptions\(^59\). The way in which those records were put to new uses proceeded from social reasons. In the case of Malinovskii, the diplomatic and administrative archival records gave rise to a narrative about the institution – the College itself, and the archival officials who ensured its activities. The way Malinovskii used the records was aimed at promoting himself, having arisen from the ideology of the service hierarchy and bureaucratic community he was striving to belong to. He viewed this collective image every day in the archival chambers since mid-1780s; probably, it were the portraits he appealed to when writing the archival chronicle and composing *Biographies*.

His chief Bantysh-Kamenskii adhered to the tradition of providing the presence of power where physical presence was impossible. In fact, in the Early modern European culture, despite the development of bureaucracy, the presence of the ruler was still important. But bureaucracy started to play its own part demanding its own symbolic representation. Like in Ancient Rome, the new Russian culture of the 18th century was concentrated in the cities and focused on the new capital of St. Petersburg. The center of Europeanization, it was also the center of imperial imagination and discourse\(^60\). In this regard, composing a portrait gallery of the imperial top officials, Bantysh-Kamenskii symbolically spread political dominance also to Moscow. Additionally, by pouring together the heads of *Posol’skii prikaz* with the heads of the College, he emphasized the continuity of two offices. If Bantysh-Kamenskii was more concerned with the symbolical issues, Malinovskii referred to the “historical” component.

There was another remarkable feature of the collection that sheds light on the intentions of Bantysh-Kamenskii. Along with the portraits of the heads of foreign affairs, he supplied the Archive with the portraits of the Princes Kantemirs, to whom he was akin: a portrait of his

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\(^{59}\) Buylaert F., Haemers J. Record-keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries. P. 133.

\(^{60}\) Levitt M. Visual’naia dominant v Rossii XVIII veka, p. 57.
granduncle Dmitri Konstantinovitch Kantemir (1673–1723), of his spouse Kassandra (1681–1713), and of their daughter Smaragda (1701–1720)\textsuperscript{61}. It was Kantemir who recommended his cousin – Bantysh-Kamenskii’s grandmother to settle in Russia with her two sons in 1717. One of them, Nikolai, became later Bantysh-Kamenskii’s father. Thus, it was a family gallery composed as a parallel to that of the College’s officials. The historian of art A. Karev pointed out that the state genealogy was intertwined with the history of a kin in the tsar family’s residences: the images of the crowned persons were amplified by the images of their relatives, siblings, children etc. Thus, an official gallery was brought together with the private one. On the other hand, every private gallery was a connecting link between public (state) sphere and private life\textsuperscript{62}. In this regard, Bantysh-Kamenskii intended to make himself and his sons, Vladimir and Dmitrii, who were admitted to the Archive as petty officials in 1788 and 1800 accordingly\textsuperscript{63}, involved to the state affairs and official hierarchy. In order to achieve the same goal, Malinovskii operated with the written texts, but Bantysh-Kamenskii preferred to handle the visible content.

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\textsuperscript{61} Portrety, p. 18. Of an unknown reason, he did not place there any portrait of the most famous Kantemir – Antiokh Dmitrievich (1708–1744), a poet, translator and Russian ambassador to London and Paris.


\textsuperscript{63} RGADA, f. 180, op. 3, d. 21, l. 263 ob.; op. 1, d. 76, l. 475 ob.