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NIKOLAI PETROVICH LIKHACHEV AND HIS COLLECTION IN SHAPING

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This study presents a survey on the forming collection of N.P. Likhachev (1862-1936), a great collector and Member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, throughout his life and research interests. In some ways this collection was unique for Russia of that time. As a researcher and a collector, Likhachev laid foundations of professional studying of watermarks and paper studies, medieval diplomatics and sigillography, scholarly art history (in the sphere of icons studying) in Russia. The Museum of Paleography created by Likhachev included the richest material on the history of writing in Europe, Asia, North America and the European colonies of the New World, encompassing a huge chronological period - from the turn of the 4-3 millennia BC to the beginning of the 20th century. Based on his collection, the schools of the Russian and Soviet Egyptology, Assyriology, Hellenic and Medieval studies, Arabic studies, Byzantine studies, and Slavic studies were shaped. The present paper is a modest contribution in the field of studies of both his activity as a scholar and an antiquarian and the shaping of his collection.

Key words: N.P. Likhachev, collection, antiquarian, institutions, Latin palaeography, Italy, medieval, diplomatic, coins, deeds, documents, seals.

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4 The paper is prepared under the grant of the Higher School of Economics within the framework of the Research and Study Group ‘Bishops, Doges and Merchants: Texts of Medieval Italian Cities of XIII-XV Centuries’ (2018 – 2019).
The notion of private collection is obviously a historical phenomenon. Nowadays, the boundaries of its understanding have shifted. Today everyone can be an antiquarian and this does not even depend on the character of the collectible items. The art and memory have become the objects of mass production provoking people to tie themselves with invisible ropes of belonging to the things they have never known. As David Lowenthal put it: “Heritage growth thus reflects traumas of loss and change and fears of the menacing future.”\textsuperscript{5} So, even from the not remotely passed beginning of the 20th century, the essence of the antiquarian’s activity changed. Looking at the pre-war world and, especially, Russian Empire, we can see various private collections being the field of the nobility and bourgeoisie. The famous names of Gagarins\textsuperscript{6}, Uvarovs\textsuperscript{7}, Shuvalovs\textsuperscript{8}, Tenisheva\textsuperscript{9} related to the prior and the Tretyakovs\textsuperscript{10}, Morozovs\textsuperscript{11}, Mamontovs\textsuperscript{12} related to the latter are quite well-known for those who at least once attended Russian museums. But these were only the names which came back to the historical scene after the 1990s.

No doubts, in today’s Russia there are no private collections that could be dated back for more than 30-35 years, since much of the outstanding nationally valuable private property was nationalized after the Revolution during the last years of 1910s. Before that, these collections served various aims. They were at the same time private and public, exhibited for educational and identical purposes. The Revolution reinvented all of them in the role of peoples’ property demonstrating then not the past and present simultaneously, but only the past. At the moment, in Russia many collections, which were nationalized during the Soviet era remain in various state institutions and are often open to researchers. Thus, the collections of the antiquarians of the times of the Russian Empire are still significant for the contemporary scholarship.

\textsuperscript{6} A princely family descended through the princes Golubesovs from the appanage princes of Starodub. A number of its representatives had quite close relations with the Czar family. The family is matriculated in the Velvet Book (the genealogical book including the noblest boyar and gentry families of Russia, which was composed in 1687 after the abolition of mestnichestvo and the termination of the compilation of the razryadnye knigi). K
\textsuperscript{7} Russian noble family with the title of count. Stems from a noble murza Menchak Kosaevich, a native of the Great Horde. Matriculated in the Velvet book.
\textsuperscript{8} Russian noble family with the title of count, which entered the highest aristocracy after the coup of 1741.
\textsuperscript{9} Russian noble family with the title of prince. Matriculated in the Velvet book. It includes Princess Maria Klavdievna Tenisheva (1858-1928) – a Russian philanthropist, public figure, antiquarian, and artist.
\textsuperscript{10} A family of Russian merchants. It includes Pavel Mikhailovich Tretyakov (1832-1898) – a patron, antiquarian, best known as the founder of the Tretyakov gallery in Moscow.
\textsuperscript{11} A family of Russian merchants and entrepreneurs. It is known for its wealth, as well as active interaction with the cultural sphere. This family includes such major patrons and antiquarians as Ivan Abramovich Morozov (collection of impressionist paintings) and Savva Timofeевич Morozov (participated in the creation of the Moscow Art Theatre of and the Diaghilev's Seasons).
\textsuperscript{12} A merchant family. The most famous representative is Savva Ivanovich Mamontov (1841-1918), entrepreneur and philanthropist. He was a founder of the Moscow Private Russian Opera, sponsor of famous Russian artists (V. Serov, K. Korovin, etc.) and of the opera singer Fyodor Chaliapin. His art collection has spread to major museums (the Tretyakov Gallery, the Russian Museum, etc.).
L. G. Klimanov defines an antiquarian as “a special type of cultural figure” whose "functions are diverse and are not carried out within the framework of professional activity." This puts antiquarians in a rather precarious position: the results of their activities can either bring significant benefits to the academic world or can sink into obscurity. In the case of Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev we face the first option of the story of the antiquarian and his collection, which is quite diverse, comprising the manuscripts, coins, banknotes, samples of handwriting, icons etc. Besides the major sources, N.P. Likhachev focused on a variety of artifacts, including the small and nondescript ones which normally did not attract attention of the amateur antiquarians: according to M.S. Borovkova-Maikova, Likhachev called the artifacts from his collections “the black sheep”, since they were seemingly excluded from the mainstream antiquarians’ fashion. That is why Likhachev's collection can be studied with the use of approaches implying that everyday objects that do not have a special collectible value often become remarkable sources. The results of his work are used by the scholars up to this day.

However, such a success of a collection cannot be accidental. To put it in the words of V.S. Liublinskii, Nikolai Likhachev was an “antiquarian of fabulous scope.” Likhachev's collecting style implied a clear focus, ardent activity, careful selection of the material; the broad cultural orientation and openness of his collection for the specialists and for broader audience made possible the creation of the Museum of paleography.

N.P. Likhachev differed from many other antiquarians, because his collecting activity overlapped with the scientific research. According to V.N. Beneshevich, he was a

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22 Vladimir Nikolayevich Beneshevich (1874-1938) was a Russian and Soviet Byzantinist, paleographer, Corresponding Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Most notable studies: “Kanonicheskij sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroj chetverti VII v. do 883 g. K drevnejshiej istorii istochnikov prava greko-vostochnoj cerkvi”, “Drevneslavjanskaja kormchaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanija”, “Sinagoga v 50 titulov i drugie juridicheskie sborniki Ioanna Sholastika. K drevnejshiej istorii istochnikov prava greko-vostochnoj cerkvi” etc.
researcher “from head to toe.” L.G. Klimanov, one of the main researchers of Likhachev, wrote that the approximate number of Likhachev’s published works exceeds 160. At the same time, a significant part of Likhachev’s works remained only as manuscripts or was completely lost: now many works are known only by indirect references. Having such a wide knowledge of history and auxiliary historical disciplines, Nikolai Likhachev went beyond simple collecting of antiquities: he created a collection that corresponded and correlated to the interest in academic research in the society and to his view of history. Likhachev’s perception of Russian history as part of the universal. Likhachev’s perception of Russian history as part of the universal one was reflected in Likhachev’s collection of documentary monuments. It was based on the idea of creating Russian "diplomacy" in a broad context, in conjunction with the European tradition.

These, as well as the scientific flexibility of the collection of N.P. Likhachev, which included paleography, filigree and history of art, etc. explain the variety and impressiveness of his collection. According to L.G. Klimanov, “During the years of teaching at the Faculty of History and Philology of Kazan University, a scientific task was defined – it was “criticism of sources and collecting material for this”, Likhachev engaged in "historical source studies.”

And then, already during the life of N.P. Likhachev, his fellow researchers noted the outstanding role that he played in the development of "historical source studies". Working with sources had provoked interest both in their content and in their form. Likhachev reasonably believed that the material for auxiliary historical disciplines lacked in Russia, and that is why he set up a goal to collect the missing material so as it could be studied by Russian

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30 E.g., A.V. Oreshnikov and V.N. Beneshiveich.
Likhachev sought to make up for this deficiency and, unlike the scholars from many archives and projects which were aimed primarily at national history, paid attention to historical documents of different countries. It is important to note that paleography was understood in a broad sense, so the collection included not only documents written on paper and parchment, but also epigraphic artifacts, coins, and seals.

The collection expanded with an eye to the above-mentioned scientific tasks and, in turn, provided material for teaching and research, so that Likhachev's scientific, pedagogical and antiquarian activities were closely linked. The life of the antiquarian strongly influenced this collection as well: other researchers noted that Likhachev treated his personal papers as historical documents, kept them, although some, apparently, are still lost. As a result, they formed a separate division inside this collection, and nowadays historians have an opportunity to study the activities of Likhachev and his life in detail.

The biography of the antiquarian and scholar largely explains the greatness of his heritage. Nikolai Likhachev was born in 12 (24) April 1862 in the uyezd town of Chistopol on the River Kama, the second in size after Kazan in the Kazan Governorate. Nikolai originated from the Kazan brunch of the old noble family. Among his ancestors there were amateurs and professionals, who collected different things – from books to coins; his grandfathers were renowned bibliophiles and antiquarians already in the late XVIII century, as well as were his uncle Andrei Fyodorovich, who was an archeologist and numismatist. Part of their materials formed afterwards part of the Likhachev’s collection, namely, a big library, which is now located in Saint Petersburg Institute of History of Russian Academy of Science. In 1913, in one of his latest books, Nikolai Likhachev would reflect on his genealogical passion to collect antiquities. The uncle’s archaeological and art collection later became the basis for Kazan city museum. Moreover, Nikolai Petrovich was influenced by his uncle’s passion to coins, and thus started his first own collection – numismatic collection. The young Likhachev learned

39 Likhachev N. P. Genealogicheskaja istorija odnoi pomeshchich'e biblioteki. SPb.: Sirius, 1913.
both the basics of antiquarianism and some scientific knowledge from the amateur antiquarians who communicated with his family.\textsuperscript{41} Likhachev himself wrote that starting from the age of thirteen he tried to make catalogs for his coins – an important component of the practices of any high-level antiquarian; Likhachev particularly valued this part of his collections even in the later years and considered it worthy of close attention.\textsuperscript{42} Further, Nikolai Likhachev began to travel outside of Kazan, in order to expand and to replenish his collection.\textsuperscript{43}

After young Nikolai Likhachev graduated from the Second Kazan gymnasium, he was matriculated into the Faculty of History and Philology at the Kazan University in 1880, where he studied history of the Western and Oriental Middle Ages, including medieval Russia.\textsuperscript{44} Likhachev studied at the University in a very turbulent time of student unrest, the closure and the re-opening of the Kazan University.\textsuperscript{45} This, however, did not prevent Likhachev in his third year of study to write and defend a thesis based on the essay on the chronicle of Henry of Valenciennes, where he tried to work out his own principles and approaches to the historical sources. Since then, all the Likhachev’s works have started to imply strong source criticism.\textsuperscript{46}

The fact that all the evidence should be based on source material influenced Likhachev’s individual approach to historical knowledge and nearly Bollandist approach to the analysis of a historical narrative.

Klimanov thinks that the beginnings of the collection of manuscripts, one of the main Likhachev’s collections, can be traced back to the researcher’s youth in Kazan, where he received family documents and acquired a small collection of documents of the XVII – XVIII centuries, mainly associated with the “service class people” of the Volga region.\textsuperscript{47} However, only in the 1890s Likhachev began to collect a more serious collection of documents, which then will form the basis of the Museum of paleography.\textsuperscript{48}

After graduating from the University, Likhachev was invited to the departments of Russian history, General history and the History of the Ancient East. He chose the Department

of Russian history, where he was accepted by the resolution of the Council of the Imperial Kazan University to prepare for the professorship without on a non-stipendiary basis. Klimanov thinks that Likhachev himself conceded a stipendiary position to his needier colleague. In April 1888, he got a position of Privat-docent, but never received a full professorship. It is believed that the possible reason for the fact that Likhachev did not get a professorship even after defending his doctorate because of “an uncontrollable craving for scientific research.” He began to pay more attention not to teaching, but to research: Likhachev works actively in the archives and libraries of St. Petersburg and Moscow. In this period he met such researchers as V.O. Klyuchevsky, D.F. Kobeko, E.I. Zabelin and others. Another reason for Likhachev's wary attitude to the professorship may be the University Charter of 1884, which abolished the possibility of promotion within the Table of ranks via the research trips and the above-mentioned tenure-track path of preparation for the professorship. Thus, the position of Likhachev could be lower than that of the chancery clerks. The impossibility of promotion hurt his own honor and the honor of his family. In his letter to V.V. Maykov Likhachev commented on his current situation: "I have no salary, no ranks, no orders, no respect, because I have all the time passed in the fight against critics.” Nevertheless, this did not prevent him from his scientific activities. In St. Petersburg and


53 Stepanova E. V. "On byl "uchenym s golovy do nog" i nikem drugim byt' ne zhelal, i ne byl..." : po materialam lichnogo arhiva N. P. Lihacheva // "Zvuchat lishi' pis'mena...": k 150-letiyu so dnia rozhdeniya akademika Nikolaja Petrovicha Lihacheva [Text]: katalog vystavki (20 aprelja - 22 iulja 2012 g.; SPb.), 2012. S. 18.

54 Vasily Osipovich Klyuchevsky (1841 - 1911) – Russian historian, doctor of Russian history, Professor Emeritus of Moscow University, supernumerary Academician of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences on Russian history and antiquities. Most notable studies: "Боярская Дума древней Руси", "Происхождение крепостного права в России", "Курс русской истории" etc.

55 Dmitry Fomich Kobeko (1837-1918) was a Russian historian and bibliographer. He wrote a number of studies about the Tsarskoye Selo Lyceum.

56 Ivan Egorovich Zabelin (1829-1908) was a Russian archaeologist and historian, an Honorary Fellow of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Most notable studies: “Istoriya russkoj zhizni s drevnejshih vremen”, ocherki po istorii Smuty, “O sovremennyh zadachah russkoj istorii i drevnostey” etc.

57 Stepanova E. V. "On byl "uchenym s golovy do nog" i nikem drugim byt' ne zhelal, i ne byl..." : po materialam lichnogo arhiva N. P. Lihacheva // "Zvuchat lishi' pis'mena...": k 150-letiyu so dnia rozhdeniya akademika Nikolaja Petrovicha Lihacheva [Text]: katalog vystavki (20 aprelja - 22 iulja 2012 g.; SPb.), 2012. S. 18.

58 Established by Peter the Great in 1722, the Table of Ranks contained the hierarchy of ranks (military, civil, court), distributed in 14 categories.


60 Vladimir Vladimirovich Maykov (1863-1942), Soviet and Russian archaeographer, paleographer, bibliographer, Corresponding Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Moscow, Nikolai Likhachev continued the work on the clerks (разрядные дьяки), which he started already in his student years. It became the first major monograph of the researcher: «Разрядные дьяки XVI в.» published in 1888. It was highly estimated by the colleagues, and soon a proposal of a professorship at the university followed. Moreover, it allowed the researcher to meet with the Emperor Alexander III in person himself and present his work to him, as it was written in “Правительственный вестник” and “Новое время.” A paper given by Nikolai Likhachev in 1887 in the Society of Amateurs of Ancient Writings (Общество любителей древней письменности) with a title “О некоторых событиях и лицах, внесенных в наши генеалогические сборники из вымышленных разрядов” (“Of certain events and persons enrolled into our genealogical collections from fictitious ranks”) caused unrest among the nobility. According to Klimanov, this could serve to a presentation to the Emperor of the work on the clerks. From this point on, the ambivalence towards Likhachev as a researcher became apparent: some scholars treated him as a high-level researcher; others barely recognized him as a scholar whatsoever. J.S.G. Simmons in his article noted that, despite the publication of two substantial studies in the auxiliary historical disciplines, Likhachev remained outside the mainstream of the historical science of the time, and outside of the academic life. However, Klimanov notes that the rejection of Likhachev's new methods was characteristic of the Kazan professors, who accused his work on clerks of a weak research component, etc., while among the historians of St. Petersburg and Moscow, the researcher found understanding and more favorable attitude. Most likely, this became one of the main reasons for Likhachev's move to St. Petersburg. Soon some positive changings

62 Лихачев Н. П. Разрядные дьяки XVI в. СПб.: Тип. В. С. Балашева, 1888. 759 с.
64 «Правительственнный вестник» (The Government Gazette) was the official daily newspaper of the General Directorate for Press Affairs (главное управление по делам печати). The newspaper was created in 1869 following the Emperor’s order. It used to be published in St. Petersburg in 1869-1917.
65 Magazine “Новое время” (The New Time) used to be published in St. Petersburg in 1868 - 1917.
66 Society of Amateurs of Ancient Writings (Императорское Общество любителей древней письменности) was founded under the Emperor Alexander II. It was mainly engaged in the publication of ancient Russian manuscripts.
happened in his life. In 1894 he became a member of the Archaeographic Commission. By contrast with the Archaeological Institute, this organization was under the control of Ministry of National Education. This fact allowed Likhachev to start then his career rising step by step in the Table of Ranks. He had finally become the college assessor.

Likhachev was also an active educator, who taught for about thirty years. Once Likhachev became a member of the Archaeographic Commission, he launched a course of lectures on Russian diplomatics at the Archaeological Institute in St. Petersburg, and in order to improve this course Likhachev toured Europe or the Near East every year from 1892 to 1914, and familiarized himself with local museums and archives, also purchasing all exemplar artifacts for his collection. The icons, the notarial deeds and other documents, the bullas, the books and other things were the object of unfading interest of a young scholar. He visited antiquaries, looked through the catalogues and bought everything he could afford. These trips gave Likhachev profound knowledge and experience that were useful to him not only in teaching, but also in his activities as a scholar and an antiquarian. Thus he made contacts with dealers in European antiquarian trade centers. After 15 years of travel, Nikolai Likhachev gained renown among the European antiquarians and collectors, such as Noël Charavay, Fr. Casella and Honoré Champion. Likhachev recalled a very flattering situation about his meeting with Champion: “I came into his study room, where I found my portrait among the rest of the portraits of bibliophiles and people of science.”

Thanks to these trips, his collection was replenished; Italy was especially important here he acquired not only documents, seals and watermarks, but also the icons, which now appeared to the researcher as part of Russian history, though not as obvious as Byzantine

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72 The Imperial Archaeographic Commission (Императорская Археографическая комиссия): its main activity was the scientific description and publication of written sources. It was established on December 24, 1834 (January 5, 1835).
73 The Imperial St. Petersburg Archaeological Institute (Императорский Санкт-Петербургский Археологический институт) was active in 1877-1922. It trained archaeologists and archivists.
74 The Ministry of National Enlightenment (Министерство народного просвещения) existed in 1802-1817 and 1824-1917. It was the main state body engaged in the management of public education and science institutions.
iconography. According to Klimanov, the icons were not connected with the general idea of the collection which was mainly devoted to paleography and diplomacy, they formed a special but no less important part of the collection. Likhachev began to collect them in his trips to the old cities and monasteries of Russia, the trips which he began with the aim of finding valuable documents and books. Collecting icons was a new practice for that time, unlike collecting books and manuscripts, although it also followed Likhachev's ideas about antiquarianism as a part of historical science: his own collection comprised not only unique documents, but also small, nondescript icons that otherwise would have been lost. As well as his collections of documents, this collection expanded not only with the acquisition of the Old Russian icons; gradually there appeared Italian and Byzantine icons too. Likhachev had devoted several writings to the history of ancient Russian icon painting: an article about two icons (1894), an article on the painters of the original (подлинник краткой редакции) (1897), studies on the publication of the "Лицевой иконописного подлинника," a description of the ancient icons from the collection of P.M. Tretyakov, a two-volume study «Материалы для истории русского иконописания» (1906), an edition that described and reproduced the «Лицевого жития князей Бориса и Глеба» (1907) and "Хождение по мукам" (1911) based on the manuscripts of the XV and XVI centuries, a study on the Andrei Rublev’s manner of the icon-painting (1907), a study on the historical significance of the Italian and Greek iconography and its influence on the old Russian one (1911). These studies attracted attention of the domestic and foreign art historians. However, due to financial difficulties in 1913, Likhachev had to sell this huge collection consisting of 1497 icons to the Russian Museum of Alexander III. This acquisition resulted in the fact that the Russian Museum received the unique collection of the Greek and Italian icons in Russia, as well as such masterpieces as the icon of St. Boris and Gleb. Likhachev later wrote about this forced step with regret: "...it was

86 Simmons J. S. G. Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev (1862 - 1936) Scholar and Pioneer Russian Codicologist and Student of Watermarks // Likhachev's watermarks : an English-language version / edited by J.S.G. Simmons and Bé van Ginneken-van de Kasteele. Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1994. P. XLII. The Emperor Alexander III Russian Museum (now the State Russian Museum) is a museum in St. Petersburg containing and exhibiting the largest collection of Russian art. It was planned by Alexander III, but the idea was implemented by Nicholas II: in 1895, Nicholas II signed a decree "on the establishment of a special institution called the "Russian Museum of Emperor Alexander III". The Museum was opened to the public in 1898.
unbearably painful for me to part with the icons…”

Likhachev got many benefits from his trips abroad in other areas of his work as well. Already in 1892, in the first trips abroad, Likhachev began to create a large collection in sphragistics. First of all, it included the Old Russian, Byzantine, Western European seals – originals, copies and forgeries. For Russia, it was a unique collection containing "the entire area of distribution and use of hanging metal seals throughout the middle ages and modern history.”

It was a collection that formed the basis of studies in sphragistics both for Likhachev himself and for the other researchers in the fields of Russian, Byzantine, Ancient Eastern and Venetian sphragistics. V.L. Yanin describes Likhachev as a scholar who "managed to lay a solid foundation of scientific sphragistics.”

Trips to Europe were also useful for the paleographic activity of Nikolai Likhachev, to the activity, to which he devoted his most important studies. He worked in the archives of Europe and acquired the documents which were rare on the market of the Russian Empire. These trips gave Likhachev an opportunity to expand the geographical and chronological frame of research, which is noticeable in the extant works. First, it is a doctoral dissertation "Бумага и древнейшие бумажные мельницы в Московском государстве", "Paper and the oldest paper mills in the Moscow state" (1891). In this study, based on the source materials on the history of Russia, Likhachev touches on the history of Western Europe. Further, his «Палеографическое значение бумажных водяных знаков» (1899) were largely based in many respects on the materials of Likhachev's own collection – about 90 percent of the watermarks of “Палеографическое значение…” had not been published before, despite the fact that almost all of them were coming from Western Europe. These *ouvrage*, where 5041

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91 Valentin Lavrentyevich Yanin (born 1929) is Soviet and Russian historian and archaeologist. In 1963 he defended his thesis of the Doctor of Historical Sciences, and in 1990 he became a Full Fellow of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He holds the position of Professor at the Moscow State University. (URL: http://hist.msu.ru/departments/8827/people/teachers/17738/. Date accessed: 29.11.19).


signs are studied, did not lose value after the release of the volume Ch.-M. Briquet with the description of 16112 signs, since Likhachev's study surpassed Briquet in chronological scope – from 1293 to 1832 against 1600, the year on which Briquet stopped. Moreover, Likhachev added Russian material to the Western European one.

Likhachev was interested in the history of the Old Russian administration and the service people class, as well as the history of diplomatic relations between Moscow and foreign sovereigns. Among other studies, he published monographs on the family of Adashev («О происхождении А. Ф. Адашева любимца царя Ивана Грозного» 1890 г., «Государев родословец и род Адашевых», 1903 г.), «Тысячная книга» (together with N.V. Miatlev), which is a list of 1000 "best" дети боярские of the XVI century, some biographies of figures of the XVI century. In the early 1890s, Likhachev was involved in a dispute over the alleged existence of a secret "czar library" in Moscow; in his book «Библиотека и архив Московских государей в 16 столетии» (1894) he spoke out against its existence.

The period of the intensive publication activity of the researcher also starts since the 1890s. In addition to the already mentioned studies related to the Likhachev’s collection of certain Western European sources, he published a lot based on Russian sources. The series of studies were devoted to the diplomacy of the Moscow Kingdom. First, it is «Дело о приезде в Москву папского посла Антония Поссевина» (1903), where the author investigates both the relations between Moscow and the Vatican at the end of the Livonian war, and also touches on the murder of his own son by Ivan the Terrible. Second, Likhachev published a letter from Pope Pius V to Ivan the Terrible, together with a study on papal diplomacies, as well as some diplomatic documents from the time of Boris Godunov. Nikolai Petrovich also devoted a separate study to the question of the meaning and appearance of the Khan's basma. Some separate studies on Russian history were based on Likhachev’s random acquisitions for his collection: a study on the events of the 15th century and Tver's hopes for hegemony inspired by «Инока Фомы слово похвальное о (Тверском) благоверном великом князе Борисе

95 Charles-Moise Briquet (1839 - 1918) - a noted Swiss filigranologist. He was among the first, who use watermarks for dating paper. His famous book: Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16 112 fac-similés de filigranes
Александровиче»; an essay on the importance of private correspondence as a historical source, inspired by the «Письмо Смутного времени»; publication of the Declaration of the Zemsky Sobor with state revenues and expenditures for 1616 in Moscow prikazy with a foreword by Likhachev.100

Nikolai Likhachev actively corresponded with major experts in various historical fields from Western European countries in the course of his research. Despite the fact that J. Simmons, describing Likhachev's research on watermarks, writes that “it should have no impact abroad”101, Lev Klimanov, on the contrary, emphasizes the close contacts of the researcher with foreign colleagues, noting that such people shaped the image of Russian historical science, bringing it international prestige102.

Elena Panchenko's article is devoted to Likhachev's contacts in the world of science; in this article she studied autographed books in the Likhachev's library as the main source, often indicating not only the names of the addressees, but also their position, occupation and relationship with the sender.103 A significant part of the books that Likhachev received as a gift were not published in Moscow or St. Petersburg, which shows the breadth of Likhachev's scientific contacts and his active involvement in the intellectual life of his time not only in the central, but also in provincial cities.104 Books were given both by the representatives of the scientific community of the time and by the friends and acquaintances of the researcher.105 Klimanov also writes about Likhachev's active scientific life, who mentions correspondence and exchange of works with foreign researchers and antiquarians.106 Klimanov also refers to such personal qualities of Likhachev as "the desire for mutually enriching human and professional communication"; Likhachev tried not only to embody his ideas in the academic studies, but was also actively involved other activities: lectures, reports, communication with

historians and archival research fellows; he was an organizer and member of various societies, such as the Russian historical society, etc.\(^\text{107}\)

Likhachev library deserves special mention. Much of the books he inherited from his relatives, but much was collected by him for research purposes. Likhachev supplied his collection of antiquities, documents, etc. with an impressive amount of scholarly literature; his collection is still considered one of the best in Europe with regards to the collections of books on the topic of diplomacy and paleography and auction catalogues published before 1917,\(^\text{108}\) when the search for and acquisition of books became difficult for the researcher. The library and collections of Likhachev grew, as did the researcher’s knowledge of auxiliary historical disciplines. Collections became more and more thematic; there emerged an idea to collect them under a certain name. So Likhachev came to the idea of creating a Museum. The researcher "had an idea to leave the Museum of the history of the country".\(^\text{109}\) The only thing from Likhachev's collections that did not fit this scope was the collection of icons; however, as mentioned above, it was sold to the Russian Museum. This Museum, which would later be called by researchers “Museum of historical source studies”,\(^\text{110}\) became one of the main achievements of Likhachev. "D. O. Tsypkin notes that, in fact, Likhachev planned a Museum of technology of the expertise of books and historical documents\(^\text{111}\), however this statement is controversial.\(^\text{112}\) In any case, to implement the idea, Likhachev had to transfer his collection to the state of the institution, which could allow him to demonstrate it publicly.\(^\text{113}\)

As a result, Likhachev needed a place to store and display his collections. Here begins the story of a famous house in Saint Petersburg. Likhachevs bought a plot of land in 1901 at the other bank of the Neva, in Peterburgskaya storona, which was undergoing a considerable urbanization and development in the early XXth century. It might seem confusing that the land was actually in possession of Likhachev’s wife\(^\text{114}\) and supposedly was bought on her savings. There it must be said, that in 1894 he married Natalya Gennadievna Karpova who was a

\(^{114}\) Source URL: http://www.citywalls.ru/house6634.html (Last access: 15. 11.2018)
daughter of a famous Moscow historian Gennady Karpov. He was one of the Sergei Solovyov’s favorites and protégés. Likhachev was actually close to the Moscow historical school having close and friendly relations with other its members. Natalya Karpova’s mother was Anna Timofeevna Morozova, a daughter of a famous Moscow millionaire and manufacturer Timofey Morozov. That was quite a lucky union for Likhachev, since he was able afterwards to spend all wife’s dowry for establishing his collection. The gossip of unknown origin told that Natalya’s mother promised to give 50,000 rubles for every child born in the family. Well, by the 1910s Likhachevs had had nine children. We cannot put aside the fact that Nikolai Likhachev was owing to his wife and mother-in-law for his beautiful collection and newly-built house, as much of the professors of the same rank could not even allow such a luxurious life. For example, art historian D. V. Aynalov lived in the Korobkov’s revenue house in the 11th line of Vasilievsky Island and S. F. Platonov only in 1916 moved into a new flat of a housing cooperative in Kamennooostrovsky prospect, 75. In this sense it is better to compare Likhachev’s self-representation intentions to those of a famous antiquarian M.P. Botkin, who also held a huge art collection in his private house at the bank of the Neva River.

Consequently, Nikolai Likhachev had enough space in the two-floor neoclassical mansion in the privileged district with hotly rising prices for land. Judging by the inner space of a house today, it was planned as a semi-public building. At least, it is not modernistic, but quite functional with major corridors having branches of spacious rooms. So, in its structure, Likhachev’s house resembled more an academic building than a private home. It can be also explained through the personality of an architect: it was E. S. Vorotilov, a prominent Saint-Petersburg Master of Social Architecture. Mostly working in the classical style, he planned hospitals, institutes and a new building of the Imperial Public Library.

All in all, the collection widened tremendously, so that even in the two-floor house it was hardly possible to keep everything. Moreover, the family’s budget was undergoing tough period. That was the time when he made quite an outrageous decision and sold his icons for

115 Gennady Fyodorovich Karpov (1839 - 1890) a Russian, who studied history of Ukraine, XV—XVII centuries.
116 Sergei Mikhailovich Solovyov (1820-1879) was a Russian historian, Professor and Rector of the Moscow University, Academician of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The most notable study - “History of Russia since ancient times” in 29 volumes.
117 Timofey Savvich Morozov (1823-1889) was a Russian industrialist, merchant from the Morozov family. He was engaged in charity, mainly related to education (scholarships to students of the Moscow technical school, etc.) and medical care (opened a hospital in Belgrade, a gynecological clinic on the Devichye pole, etc.).
300 000 rubles. This sum was accurate to satisfy the scholar’s need in the next house rebuilding.\(^{121}\)

What was the idea of the mentioned rebuilding? Likhachev planned to have one more upper floor in order to open in the first two floors of the house a public museum of paleography. We can see Likhachev going even further in his plannings than M. P. Botkin, whose mansion was open every Sunday for visitors interested in the collection of art. Three floors should be enough space for the private life of the family and public museum. Another interesting aspect concerning the city space around the house was laying of the tram line exactly along Petrozavodskaya Street in 1914.\(^{122}\)

The last aspect had an importance that one can hardly overestimate. The tram line in pre-revolutionary Saint Petersburg could guarantee the public access to the museum. The question of transport was very important while planning the locations of different buildings of public domain. For instance, this document published in the journal «Russkiy Bibliophil» shows how the municipal authorities planned the location of the city archive: «The city duma of Saint Petersburg proceeded to the preparatory work on the construction process of the City Archive building, which significance seems to be great today, as the actual rooms of the archive is poorly equipped and quite unreliable in the terms of fire safety.

Exactly in the Imperial Public Library Nikolai Likhachev started working in 1902 as a vice-director. Despite the fact that this work is often not related to scientific activities (drafting statutes, repairs, work with the staff), it helped Likhachev to delve into the field of bibliography, follow the scientific innovations, get acquainted with a large volume of diverse literature and the history of writing in general.\(^{123}\) Additionally, a high position in the Public library also helped N.P. Likhachev in the purely utilitarian sense – it gave him a strong position in society and a decent salary, which contributed to the replenishment of his great collection.\(^{124}\)

However, Likhachev’s collection often required considerable efforts from him. In 1918, the financial situation of Likhachev deteriorated markedly; the only income that remained was the teacher’s salary, which was not enough either for his family or for the replenishment of the collection.\(^{125}\) In this regard, he had to look for additional sources of income, sometimes


distracting him from the main interests, and sometimes contradicting them. Thus, in the post-revolutionary period Likhachev had to sell another part of his collections. Nonetheless, the consequences of 1917 were not unambiguously negative for Nikolai Likhachev. After the termination of his duty in the Public library, Likhachev had time to engage with his Museum: "a cherished dream was fulfilled to devote his old age to the studies on collected and classified material. There were plans for <...> extensive writings...».

On August 1, 1925, there happens a significant event: "...it was exactly at this time that he received the title of Full Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR at the Department of Russian history." In 1925, Likhachev transferred the Paleographic Cabinet to the Academy of Sciences, this institution was renamed into the Paleographic Museum, and Nikolai Petrovich himself became its Director. In this position, he carries out the systematization and classification of Museum materials, inventory, cataloging with the ongoing replenishment of the collection. However, despite the fact that the Museum is awarded the title of an institution within the Academy of Sciences, some researchers (Moskalenko) note the duality of reports about this: many among the Museum staff wrote about the formality of including of the Likhachev’s collection under the authority of the Academy of Sciences, arguing that the Museum continued to operate under the rules of a private collection. The scientific results of this period are also ambiguous. On the one hand Likhachev writes a lot at this time, his works on Byzantine sphragistics are published. On the other hand, many of his works remained unpublished, and a significant part of the manuscripts was lost. The existence of a number of works is now known only from indirect references.

Then a tragedy happened. During the global purge of the scientific institutions, including the Academy of Sciences, in 1930 Likhachev, together with a number of famous researchers...
of the time (such as S. F. Platonov\textsuperscript{133}),\textsuperscript{134} was accused based on suspicion of anti-Soviet activities, lost the status of the Full Member of the Academy of Sciences and spent in prison more than one and a half years; then was exiled to Astrakhan, and the collection moved to the Library building of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; the Likhachev’s mansion was used in the 1930s to house the postgraduate students of the Academy of Sciences.\textsuperscript{135} During the transportation of the Likhachev's archive to the building of the Library of the Academy of Sciences its organization was violated, and the scholar's long-term work on the systematization of collections was reduced to zero.\textsuperscript{136} Likhachev himself considered this move a personal tragedy. He wrote that his Museum was “transported and therefore confused and broken... ...The results of the work of several decades destroyed!”\textsuperscript{137}

The Museum of Paleography (Музей Палеографии) itself underwent several changes and renames in a short time: first it became The Museum of the Books, Documents and Letters at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Музей книги, документа и письма при Академии Наук СССР); however, already in 1931 it was renamed again and became the Institute of Books, Documents and Letters (Институт книги, документа и письма), and in 1935 another transformation followed – this time it became the Sector of Auxiliary Disciplines of the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Сектор вспомогательных дисциплин Института истории АН СССР).\textsuperscript{138} All this had a negative impact on the integrity of the collection: some of its parts are currently stored in the Hermitage (the writings of Ancient Egypt, China, Sumer, Greece, Rome and Byzantium), the Institute of Oriental manuscripts (Институт Восточных рукописей; paper and parchment manuscripts in Oriental languages), in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (Библиотека Академии наук; the studies by Likhachev, reference literature), the Museum of the history of religion (Музей истории религии), in the Historical Museum (Государственный исторический музей) in Moscow, the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Петербургский филиал Архива РАН); however, most of the collection of manuscripts and documents on the

\textsuperscript{133} Sergej Fedorovich Platonov (1860 - 1933) was a Russian and Soviet historian, Fellow of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Most notable studies: “Ocherki po istorii smuty v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI—XVII vv.”, “Drevnerusskie skazanija i povesti o Smutnom vremeni XVII veka, kak istoricheskij istochnik” etc.


history of Russia and Western Europe returned to its former place in the house of the scholar as part of the Scientific Historical archive of the St. Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Научно-исторический архив Санкт-Петербургского института истории РАН). Currently these sources make respectively Russian and Western European sections of archive of this institution.

After the return from exile in Astrakhan Likhachev’s health was inevitably weakened, but he tried to continue his work. However, he did not succeed – despite all attempts to find a job, reinstate or just get a job as a researcher, Likhachev’s petition for the return of his scientific works and permission to continue his activities was not satisfied. Nevertheless, Likhachev continued his activities as much as he could under those circumstances: till his death, he was preparing for publication the second volume of his «Материалы для истории Византийской и русской сфрагистики» However, the 1930 edition was suspended and the entire printed edition destroyed. In addition to trying to publish his study created over decades, Likhachev kept in touch with scientific colleagues, helping them with advice on the Institute of Books, Documents and Letters, which was a transformation of the former Museum of Paleography.

At that period he also communicated with V.N. Beneshevich who was destined to be executed in 1938. Probably, Likhachev was saved from the same fate by his own death in 1936. History became ideologically instrumentalized and therefore, there was no any longer much space for the old specialists; they were simply unwanted. In the later Soviet times on the wall of Likhachev’s house was placed a memorial plate: «In this house, from 1902 to 1936 lived and worked an outstanding historian and academician Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev». In fact, this is a confusing lie. From 1931 to 1933 he was deported to Astrakhan and after that the academic life was ruined. These are just a few words concerning the biased commemoration and silence about the things happening from the late 1920s to the late 1930s.

Contemporaries appreciated the work of N.P. Likhachev, for example the great academician A. A. Shakhmatov and Byzantinist V.N. Beneshevich, specialist in filigree Ch.

143 URL: http://www.citywalls.ru/house6634.html (Date access: 14.11.2018)
144 Alexey Aleksandrovich Shakhmatov (1864-1920) was a Russian philologist, linguist and historian, Academician of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and the founding father of the historical study of the Russian language. Most notable studies: “Issledovanie o jazyke novgorodskih gramot XIII i XIV veka”, “K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkih narechij i russkih narodnostej”, “Vvedenie v kurs istorii russkogo jazyka” etc.
M. Briquet; it was mostly the conservative part of professors at the University of Kazan who did not accept the work of Likhachev, since his studies were too innovative and incomprehensible for them. Over time, the achievements of Nikolai Likhachev were not forgotten; moreover, a number of studies appeared, and these studies are devoted to the life and work of the great scholar and antiquarian.

The collection of the Library of LOII (nowadays Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences) consisted in 1966 of the collection of Likhachev at least as of one-third. The Archive of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences is now located in the former Likhachev’s mansion, where the Museum of Paleography was previously located. As in the case of the library, Likhachev's collection forms a significant part of the archive's documents, many of them still awaiting their researcher. The archive of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences is divided into two sections: the Russian section and the Western European section. Both of them contain the considerable collections of documents collected Likhachev.

Thus, the Russian section contains a collection of 12,340 items, which comprises more than 700 ancient manuscript books; 122 books are the oldest types of manuscript book art on parchment and paper of the XIII-XVI centuries. The collection also contains “the Russian Chronicles, Stepennye and Razryadnye books, Sudebniki, Lives of saints, manuscripts of historical and geographical character produced by Russian medieval scholars, a collection of homilies and teachings of the fathers of the Church, the so-called Pandects of Nikon of the Black Mountain (XIV century.), signed by the Bulgarian Patriarch Theodosius.” Additionally, the documents from the Likhachev collection amount as of more than 11,000 items. They are distributed among smaller collections, such as a collection of ancient letters, a collection of patents and diplomas of nobility, a collection of autographs containing 1,252 autographs of political figures of Russia and other countries, etc.

The Western European section of the Archive mostly consists of the Likhachev’s collection. Documents of this collection amount as of more than 24,000 units from Italy,
France, Germany, etc. Many of these documents, acquired by Likhachev in his trips to Europe, are still poorly studied.

The memory of the great antiquarian and scholar is preserved and expressed not only in the work of subsequent researchers from the fields of paleography, art history, sphragistics and many others, but also in more open activities aimed at a broader audience. The museum exhibitions are held based on the Likhachev’s collections, often combining parts of his acquisitions stored in various museums and institutes; such exhibitions are visited not only by researchers, but also by people outside of academia, and some of them learn from these exhibitions about this great man.

Recognition came to Likhachev not only from the part of the scientific world, but also from the state: on July 20, 1967, the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) verdict of August 8, 1931 was annulled followed by Likhachev's posthumous restoration as a Fellow of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Thus, recognized during his lifetime as a antiquarian and a scholar, Likhachev remained in the memory of posterity, and his collection continues to play a significant role in historical research of our time.

153 URL: http://www.spbiiran.nw.ru/%D0%B0%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B8%D0%B2-2/ (Date accessed: 30. 11. 19).
154 Such as the exhibition held in 1993 “Из коллекций академика Н.П, Лихачева” or “Великая дипломатическая выставка” in the State Hermitage.
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