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## Vladimir Ivanovič Lamanskij in Venice (1868-1869)\*

The scientific heritage of Academician Vladimir Ivanovič Lamanskij (1833-1914) counts over 400 published works, including four monographs, numerous articles, lecture courses, reviews, newspaper publications, editions of archival material, etc. The main subject of his research is Slavic studies. Lamanskij was one of the greatest Slavists of his time, who taught at St. Petersburg University for over 30 years. Also, he was the founder of an independent scientific school (Lapteva 2005; Lapteva 2014; Volkova 2022). Contemporaries differed in their assessment of both his personality and his scientific works. Lamanskij never detached his academic pursuits from life, often responding to contemporary events in newspapers and magazines, emphasising the connection of political and cultural realities with the history and worldview of peoples in seemingly purely scientific works and lectures. He openly declared himself a follower of Slavophilism and was undoubtedly the greatest representative of this trend at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg. Modern researchers are attracted by Lamanskij's geopolitical concept (he referred to his works as political geography), in which many see an anticipation of the ideas of the Eurasians (Zadorožnjuk 2016; Pavlov 2017; Seliverstov 2022; Bazanov *et al.* 2023). His philosophical-historical doctrine, transformed into geopolitical constructions, is expressed in the treatise *The Three Worlds of the Asian-European Continent* (1892). Lamanskij pointed out both the geographical conditionality of the formation of civilisations (and the peculiarities of their cultural and historical development), and the geopolitical role of languages, the competition and struggle between which, in his opinion, would determine the civilisational development of entire regions.

The biography of the scientist is insufficiently studied. There are no major works devoted to his life so far. The restoration of Lamanskij's biography requires reference to archives, first, to the scientist's fund in the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Based on archival materials, studies by L.P. Lapteva and M.A. Robinson were prepared, to whom we owe the actual rehabilitation of both the personality and scientific heritage of Lamanskij and his scientific school (Lapteva 2005; Robinson 2004). In 2004, the first dissertation on Lamanskij, also written based on archival materials, was

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defended (Saprikina 2004). Unfortunately, this research was not published as a separate edition. In 2010, a volume of Lamanskij's own works was republished, which significantly fuelled interest in his ideas (Lamanskij 2010). However, the lack of painstaking archival work prevented the book's compilers from providing quality commentary and showing the context of Lamanskij's teachings.

Lamanskij's first book, *On the Slavs in Asia Minor, Africa and Spain* (1859), which not only collected unique historical material that did not always correspond to the scientific ideas of the time, but also for the first time substantiated the Slavophile point of view on the history of the Slavic, caused the most controversy (Kuprijanov, Malinov 2022: 52). While the early Slavophiles were based on the romantic idea of nationality and its spirit expressed in language, literature and folklore, Lamanskij, based on historical facts, tried to show the commonality of the cultural and historical destinies of the Slavic, the unity of the basic psychological attitudes of the Slavs, the typicality of various phenomena of the historical and contemporary life of the Slavs, which allowed drawing non-trivial parallels and similarities in the history of the Slavic nations (Saprikina 2004).

In his doctoral dissertation, *On the Historical Study of the Greco-Slavic World* (1871), Lamanskij undertook a historiographical and philosophical-historical analysis of the views of European scholars, especially Germans, on the Slavs. Nevertheless, he considered his main merit to science to be the publication of an extensive collection of archival material, *Secrets d'État de Venise et rapports de la République avec les Grecs, les Slaves et les Turcs au XVI siècle. Documents, extraits, notices et études* (State secrets of Venice and relations of the Republic with the Greeks, Slavs and Turks in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Documents, extracts, notes and studies, 1884).

The publication of *State Secrets of Venice...* took a decade and a half. It was based on the material collected by the scholar in the Venetian archives in 1868-1869 during his second voyage abroad, shorter than the first one (1862-1864), but more fruitful. Its main purpose was to complete doctoral dissertation, but its results turned out to be much broader. During his stay in Venice, Lamanskij published one of his most famous cycles of articles, *The Unresolved Question*, which his teacher and Dean of the Faculty of History and Philology, I.I. Sreznevskij suggested being submitted to the Faculty Council as a doctoral dissertation. On his return to Russia in 1870, Lamanskij start publishing doctoral dissertation in the journal "Zarja" (a book edition appeared in 1871) and to process the archival material he had brought with him.

Initially, the scientist had hoped to find information in the Venetian archives about the Uskoks, on whom he intended to write a study, but the material he found significantly adjusted and expanded his plans. Lamanskij's interest in the Uskoks was not accidental. In the book *On the Slavs in Asia Minor, Africa and Spain*, he wrote about "the hunting, free, fugitive and wandering people of the Slavs" and traced their importance in the history of the Slavic peoples. Typologically, the Uskok movement was close to Cossacks and Hajduks phenomena. It is difficult to assess to what extent the fascination with the Uskoks was part of the work on the doctoral dissertation, as Lamanskij did not immediately decide about

his doctorate dissertation. First, he wanted to prepare a study on Stefan Dušan's *Zakonnik*. Already being on a trip, he wrote a series of articles entitled *The Unresolved Question*. Collected material on the Uskoks led him to sources on the history of Venice in the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries (political assassinations, material of the Council of Ten, etc.). His doctoral thesis ended up being about something else entirely: a review of the opinions of European scholars, primarily German, about the Slavs.

His plans for the dissertation changed as he became acquainted with new archival material. "Some chapters, at least two chapters – he wrote to his parents – I hope to write abroad. God only sent me the ability and talent to finish this work better. Curious things are abyss" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 76 ob.). Lamanskij was gradually seized by new themes and information he discovered in the archives. As early as December 1868, he confessed in a letter to mother: "I have to tell you that the silence and the great tranquillity that I enjoy here, and with which it is so good to work, are also great inconveniences. It is the lack of the most necessary practical reference books. [...] Do not think that everything I am working on here will be included in the dissertation. I am gathering material for a very large work, a small part of which I will use for a doctoral dissertation. This work will be an essay in two or three parts. I assure you that nothing will distract me from this. I care no more any more about the Slavs. Now, there are many young people willing and able to do it. I want, I have decided, to devote the next few years of my life to writing a historical work, which would be both a scholarly and a literary work. [...] I would like to leave behind me a monument, a work that could have an influence and deliver me a name in literature" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 78 ob.). Even as he started processing the archival material he had collected and to realise the enormity of the plan, Lamanskij foresaw the enormity of the outcome.

The circumstances of his stay in Venice, where he lived under the name 'Signore professore', and his work in the archives, can be partly reconstructed from his letters to the family. They also reflect and even explain Lamanskij's final choice of subject for his doctoral thesis: the Europeans' opinion of the Slavs and Russians. He confessed to parents:

My life is very monotonous – up to 4 hours I am in the archives, then in a café. Now and then I go to the theatre or talk to someone from here on St. Mark's [Square]. Tonight, I had a long chat with the landlady and her son. Everyone was discussing Poland and our barbarism. You cannot imagine what ugly ideas have been formed about Russia in this old Europe. What do the magazines here say about it? It is all so ridiculous, and all the even more ridiculous because we are superior to them in so various ways. The European is incredibly stupid and limited in some respects, and yet he never forgets that the Russians are barbarians and must be spoken to differently, reducing to their ideas. In the end, however, I am always happy when I find a low opinion of Russia in Europe. The struggle between Europe and Russia is undoubtedly inevitable. War with Russia awaits the West one day. Everyone here is convinced that it is necessary for them to weaken, exhaust and, if possible, destroy Russia. So much the better for us if the enemy thinks so highly of himself and respects us so little. In science, even in art, not to speak of the

Church, the modern Italians are far below us, and yet they all look down on us from the heights of their greatness. With most of them I never talk seriously about Russia, I only laugh and tease them, constantly telling them that all this Europe is always help us, thinking to harm us, and finally consoling them by saying that eventually we alone will take Constantinople, because after the Turks only the Russians can have it. Now, of course, war should be avoided in every way, and we should only worry about schools, literature, science, art, industry and trade, build more railways and hurry with the Baltic Germans. The rest will come to us. It would only be good, oh, how good it would be, if France and Prussia should come to blows. It would be the greatest misfortune for Europe and the greatest happiness for us. [...] I am much more interested [...] of some documents from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. I wish I had the talent to use these precious materials for a vivid description and presentation of Dalmatia and the Uskoks in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. I work in the archive with increasing attention, and it would be a sin to do otherwise. My God! What treasures are here! Imagine – will not find such detailed material for the 18<sup>th</sup> century as there is for the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Venice was a great maritime state, thanks of course to its Greek and Slavic subjects. [...] I cannot finish all my materials here in Venice, and I will not write the first two chapters and the introduction here, because I do not have the most necessary books on Slavicism. But I will write some chapters of my work here (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 74-74 ob.).

The letter above explains why Lamanskij did not devote as much attention to his dissertation as might have been expected and concentrated on the subjects that the archives revealed to him. There is no coincidence that he mentions the Russian 18<sup>th</sup> in the letter. In the late 1850s and the first half of the 1860s, Lamanskij published a large volume of 18<sup>th</sup> century archival materials, including those relating to the history of the Academy of Sciences and the activities of M.V. Lomonosov. The strain of working in the archives led to Lamanskij's eye disease, about which V.V. Makušev wrote to him in March 1869.

Lamanskij usually worked in the archive four days a week and studied in the library for the rest of the time. "In the evening I usually stay at home, in the morning for 3 ½ hours in the archive or library" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 72), he wrote to his parents and continued in another letter: "I'm not much interested in the news. My main concern now is to read, note and copy more in the Archives, to receive my salary as soon as possible and on time, and to keep hearing from you" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 76 ob.).

He reported the same to his friends. "I am working as hard as I have not worked for a long time", he wrote to L.N. Majkov on 21 September 1868, "every day I find, mark, extract, write various excellent things (about Dalmatia and Uskok[s] in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century), and I hope that the time I spend here is not wasted [...]. Living in Venice of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and in its eastern provinces, mainly in Istria and Dalmatia, I know absolutely nothing about what is going on among the Slavs and in Russia. I am very glad of this seclusion and, God willing, it will leave a useful trace in my future works" (RO IRLI RAN. F. 166. Op. 3. No. 615: 3 ob.-4). In response, Majkov wrote from St. Petersburg on 7 October 1868: "I am happy for you that you have found good things in the

Venetian archives” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 892: 1 ob.) and expressed his wish to prepare a large study on their basis.

Lamanskij encouraged Majkov: “Honestly, that should be seen from you, according to your strength, just this kind of work and not a mere selection of raw materials. Your work should be broader and deeper” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 892: 2). In the same spirit, he described his stay in Venice to A.I. Artemyev. “I live here modestly, almost seclusively, see few people”, – he admitted in a letter dated 25 October 1868. “Every day, except Sundays, I’m in the archive from 9½ to 3½ hours. I read foreign newspapers daily, but everything modern escapes me in the background. A new curious document in the archives is much more important and interesting to me than all the interesting telegrams and progressive articles and speeches by Beiste, Stanley” (RO IRLI RAN. F. 166. Op. 5. No. 23: 1 ob.). “My Venetians and Turks and their subjects – the Greeks and Slavs, occupy all my free and unfree time”, – he repeated in a letter to his mother dated 23 February 1869 (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 82). The intensity of his work in the archives did not decrease in the next year, so much so that one of his students, A.S. Budilovič, wrote to him on 25 June 1869: “... you are completely absorbed in the Venetian archives and are in love with them, i.e. with these archival documents, and not with Venice, to which you are so ungrateful for its hospitality” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 267: 35 ob.).

The result of Lamanskij’s archival efforts was *Secrets d’État de Venise*. Initially, he had little idea of the scale of the research. Also, he was working on *The Unresolved Question*, but he admitted to his mother that only five or six people might be interested in his “article”: “Extracts, summaries and grammatical examples. Here is the writing of the Venetian period” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 73). The archives opened up a completely different world to him. “Italian diplomats of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, even of small courts, are distinguished by their fine observation, high education, dexterity, amazing ability to get and collect the most secret information, and a remarkable talent to describe and explain the most complex and confusing events, to outline characters, customs, manners”, – Lamanskij shared his impressions of the archival treasures of Venice with his parents in a letter dated 10/22 April 1869 (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 85). He was fascinated by the archival and confessed to mother: “The last 6, 7 months belong to the most working days of my life, little acquainted with laziness and idleness” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 77 ob.). Aware of the importance of the sources that the Venetian archives had, he wrote again to mother on 4/16 May 1869: “... but I am now changing my way of life. I am giving up all agitation and committees, correspondence with Slavs, etc. ... writing and reading and thinking about Turks and Latins in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. I can say that this year I have done the best work of my life, but this best work of mine is only the beginning, only an insignificant part of the present work. I have to work it all out, process it, give it an artistic form” (SPBFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 87).

Lamanskij worked in the Italian archives for 13. Finally, he became tired and homesick. At the beginning of June 1869, he confessed to mother: “Sometimes, to tell the truth, I tire of my archival work, and then I see it as a duty and a service. However, I enjoy my work. The

main thing is that I miss Russia and especially my home” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 88). However, he then returned to his favourite work: “Imagine, my dear, I am becoming extremely boring and obnoxious. I am constantly ready to talk to everyone about Venice, Dalmatia, Turks, Austrians, Spaniards of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, about fine observation, masterful vividness of the characters, callousness and heartlessness, about baseness and perfidy, about the poisons of the Venetians. Oh, Europe is clever, skilful, educated, and brilliant, and mean, low and utterly corrupt. There is nothing more disgusting to me than to read or hear a European reproach us, Byzantium, for our depravity and immorality, and there is nothing more amusing than our Russian Europeans complaining that we are so little like Europe and seeing in all our good things only a faint reflection and trace of Europe. The trouble is that our gentlemen, admirers of Europe, do not really know it and have not studied it in the sources. Jesuitism existed in Europe much before Loyola. It is a profoundly national phenomenon. Perhaps I shall publish something on the subject in [“]Zarja[”] before my return to Russia. You will shudder and turn away in horror from this unimaginable perfidy and from this vileness of soul, which appears all the more vividly with the refinement of education and great powers of mind. And it is not the fault of the people themselves, not of Ivan, not of Peter, but of the governing principles by which whole generations live and die. Of course, this does not apply to Protestants” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 79).

The accusations that Lamanskij throws at Western European civilisation here are not reducible to primitive Slavophile prejudices about the “decaying West”. Working in Venice, Lamanskij could enter directly into the forgotten pages of European history. He plunged headlong into archival documents that preserved fascinating stories of secret pacts, conspiracies and intrigues. The perfidy and strife of the history of the Venetian Republic made such an impression on Lamanskij that it dissuaded him from praising the idea of Old Europe and only strengthened his Slavophile convictions.

He also had time for leisure, which occasionally distracted him from archival work. In letters to family he mentions visiting Bakunin, Renenkampf, meeting Vasil’čikov. V.V. Makušev repeatedly conveyed to Lamanskij, who had already returned to Russia, greetings from M.S. Drinov and Princess Golicyna. At the end of December 1868, Lamanskij wrote to his mother: “...I stop in front of various buffoons and puppets, listen to the crowd, look at the pretty Venetian women and foresters (female foreign tourists in Italy) and think about the Eastern Question, about the old Venice, for which it has always existed, about the Slavs and Russia, about new data and information just collected in the arch[ive] or library, how it would be, like, better to set out and redo and where and after what to insert” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 70 ob.). Lamanskij was saddened by the contrast between Venice’s historical grandeur, as revealed in the archives, and its current position as a European periphery. “You don’t hear good music here”, – he lamented in a letter to his mother on 23 February 1869, – “Oh, if you only knew what a miserable, small-town life is here. When I first came to Venice, they blamed the Austrians for all the misfortune. Now you see that life was fuller then: intriguing, exciting... living in hope and expectation” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 81).



The noble Lamanskij family had no other income than service. In the past, they did not own serfs; they were not among the Tsar's favourites; they did not acquire property. Vladimir Ivanovich's only means of subsistence were his service and his literary earnings. In letters, he often discusses paying his salary and sending royalties. Throughout his long life, there seems to have been no periods when material hardship did not threaten him and his family. In his letters from Venice, he occasionally mentions debts; for example, on 1/13 November 1868: "At the end of the month I always have no money, I spend as usual everything I can get into debt with, I pawn my watch, for which, as silver, they gave me 13, 17 and finally nowadays they gave me 20 francs" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 76). Lamanskij was regularly left without the means of subsistence: "Now I am always forced to cheat those from whom I borrow or from whom I repay, usually poor people", – he confessed to his parents (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 76). And in the same letter he said bitterly: "My work and my studies continue as before, but life is poisoned by this constant worry and expectation of a few roubles. Tell me, is this all right? Russians who live abroad at the expense of the state are always poor and always receive money at the wrong time. For example, why don't I get a 2-3 month's salary now? Then I would at least live in peace for a few weeks" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 44: 76-76 ob.).

Lamanskij's financial situation was aggravated not only by the small amount of money allocated by the ministry but also by its untimely receipt. Besides his personal expenses, he had to pay for the work of copyists as he did not have time to copy all the documents himself. Lamanskij was spending 150 francs monthly on copyists in the archives and had to pawn his possessions to save 15-20 francs for urgent needs. About 30 years later, in a letter to Maykov, he recalled: "All my materials (more than half of which have not yet been published) collected in Venice, transcribed by myself and the officials of the Archives from my assistant professor's salary, for the courier[?] sent to Venice, I already paid out of my pocket. The total payment for the 'Secr[ets] d'État [de Venise]' was 200 copies, no more, it seems" (PL: 207).

In the archives of Milan, Turin, Naples, Palermo, Bologna, Genoa and Venice (after the scientist return to Russia), Makushev was engaged in searching for documents of interest to Lamanskij (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 898: 10, 10 ob., 11, 11ob. etc.). Thus, on his way to Turin, he wrote to Lamanskij on 6/18 September 1869: "Before leaving Milan, I was late in sending the copies made for you to the post office; I am sending them now from Turin. Unfortunately, the copy of the manuscript on the Venetian government is not finished – also because I did not have the means to supply the scribe with more money, and I received from you only on Tuesday evening, and from Wednesday I could only insist on the haste of the work; but there is not much left, and this end will be sent to you by Branca, who must go to Rome and pay the scribe for the last pages; since I have nothing left of your money" (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. I. Ed. chr. 898: 18).

Makušev was busy with his own research in Italian archives, so he had to hire scribes to copy the documents Lamanskij needed. In Milan, together with Branca, Makušev also translated fragments of N.Ja. Danilevskij's *Russia and Europe* into French (SPbFA RAN. F.

35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 898: 16). Lamanskij was partly the initiator of this translation, as he gave Makušev issues of “Zarja” containing the published chapters of Danilevskij’s book. There is reason to believe that it was Lamanskij who once encouraged Danilevskij to write this book (Smirnov *et al.* 2022: 116-124). In March 1869, Makushev invited Lamanskij “to come here [to Milan] for the holidays, when Venetian archive will be closed, I would give you copies of the acts transcribed for you” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 898: 14). These were mostly documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Lamanskij accepted invitation and spent several days in Milan in March 1869 working in the archive, mostly. “I went to Milan mainly to take a rest. In quiet, half-dead Venice on holidays (it was Bright [Week]), especially when not in the archive, it is a terrible longing”, – he wrote to his parents in a letter of 23 March/4 April 1869 (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 83). In the same letter, he showed the difference between bourgeois Milan and provincial Venice: “Milan and Lombardy are the most industrial and commercial parts of Italy. Milan now has about 300 thousands inhabitants. The city is growing and building all the time. The Galleria Passage, a grand and graceful building that would honour to any capital, has recently been built and is still under construction. In Venice, all that is modern and new is poor, sleepy, lazy; in Milan you see incessantly rich shops, excellent carriages, not very elegant, but huge and new houses. You see people working, getting rich. In the squares and streets you do not see, as here, the terrible mass of idle ragamuffins” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: 83-83 ob.).

Besides the archives of Venice and Milan, Lamanskij intended to work in the archives of Mantua and Ferrara. In one of his later publications, he shared impressions of his research in private Italian archives: “I had personally to observe in Venice and Friuli the representatives of two old counts’ families who gave me the opportunity to work in their private archives. Both were completely uninterested in literature and science. One of them was engaged in farming, hunting, swearing and cursing the Italy of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. The other was devoted to various economic speculations. Their archives, their collections of manuscripts, did not occupy them in the least. They liked to talk about them and occasionally boasted about them; not knowing their real worth and importance, they exaggerated their internal and external value, although they never thought of selling them to public or state institutions. These collections had been given good rooms in palaces by their grandfathers. The manuscripts were kept clean and in excellent condition, according to a custom. The owners never read them, never understood their use, but were proud of them, magnified and vain, like their coats of arms, genealogical tree, old diplomas and privileges of their ancestors, portraits of their grandfathers and great-grandmothers” (Lamanskij 1879c: 212-122). Lamanskij also took to Russia many books on Venice. In the following years, he constantly added to his library, and it was not without pride that he wrote to I.V. Jagič in 1910: “I believe that no one in St. Petersburg, Moscow or Kiev has such a collection of books on Venice” (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 78: 7 ob.).

On returning to Russia, Lamanskij completed his doctoral thesis and start preparing an edition of the collected documents. Between 1870 and 1874, 472 pages were printed out of a volume of over 1000 pages. Also, Lamanskij continued to order and process new



documents from the archives. Makushev, who stayed in Italy for another two years, sent him extracts from the archives on Venice and Turkey, on the Uskoks, on Slavic settlements in southern Italy, on Sultan Jem. Also, he made a copy of the *History of the Uskoks* kept in the Florentine archive. In turn, Lamanskij provided Makušev with interesting information from the archives of the Venetian Council of Ten. Access to the documents and the possibility of copying them was possible not only by paying for the scribes' work but also by the vanity of the Italian archivists. In his letters, Makušev reminded Lamanskij of the need to petition the Minister of Public Education, D.A. Tolstoj, to confer the Order of Saint Stanislav III on the heads of the Italian archives.

Lamanskij also used the documents from the Venetian archives to "exaggerate and inflate" his merits to the "Council" (presumably at St. Petersburg University and perhaps in connection with the report on his business trip). In a letter to K.N. Bestužev-Rjumin, probably written in 1869 or 1870, he wrote: "Yesterday I spoke about my note, about myself, about my great merits for the world and humanity. Since there is little chance of success in the Council, you understand better than I how 'inflated and stretched my rights' must be" (SPbFA RAN. F. 216. Op. 3. Ed. chr. 209: 1). Bestužev-Rjumin, together with V.I. Mežov, compiled a bibliography of Lamanskij's works. In his letter, Lamanskij asked to supplement it with publications of studies and archival materials on Russian history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, first on M.V. Lomonosov and the Academy of Sciences; he mentioned that the information he had provided had been used in the works of F. Palacký (on Czech heretics), I.A. Čistovič (on Feofan Prokopovič), indicated that he had given new information on the history of the Hussite movement in the foreword to L. Štúr's book *Slavdom and the World of the Future*, and in 1868 he published in the "Readings of the Society of Russian History and Antiquities" a note by Prince A. Czartoryski on the "transformation of the Serbian Principality". "By the way, why don't you look at my Venice materials? Say a few words about them, come and see them, for example, on Wednesday evening (on the square of the Bol'šoj Theatre, No. 12). I feel all the comic side of my situation, but laughing, I am a little afraid", – he finished his letter (SPbFA RAN. F. 216. Op. 3. Ed. chr. 209: 1-1 ob.).

In 1875-1878, no work was done on the edition. These years were marked by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian uprising and the Russo-Turkish war for the liberation of Bulgaria. Lamanskij became involved in the work of the St. Petersburg Slavic Charity Committee, organising the collection of donations and equipping volunteers. Also, he published a study *Prominent figures of Western Slavic education in the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries* (Lamanskij 1875). Here Lamanskij touched on many important issues, including the history of the "Roman idea", i.e. the idea of the Christian empire, the relationship between church and state, which echoed the Venetian archival materials.

Also, he was involved in a polemic on the question of the authenticity of the Kraldvor and Zelenogorsk manuscripts (The Dvůr Králové and Zelená Hora manuscripts). The result of Lamanskij's work was a series of articles entitled *The Latest Written Monuments of the Old Bohemian Language* (Lamanskij 1879a; 1879b; 1879c; 1879d; 1879e; 1880). This series of articles was also unfinished. The historical prejudices and illusions that

guided the figures of the Czech national revival were introduced here. Later, he referred to them in the preface to *The State Secrets of Venice*.

The years 1875-1878 were fruitful for Lamanskij, in terms of creativity, but also absorbing socially and familiarly. Besides his son Vladimir, four daughters have come into the family. Also, he worked at the university teaching the following courses: *Historical and ethnographic survey of Slavic dialects and nationalities outside Russia*, *History of the Slavs*, *History of Slavic literatures*, *History of Polish literature*, *Critical survey of sources of ancient Slavic history*. In 1880, he had a serious illness which resulted in an operation to remove an abscess from his throat.

It was only in 1879 that Vladimir Ivanovič returned to researching the Venetian documents, and in 1881, he resumed the printing of the book. Finally, it was published in December 1883; in the title, however, the date was 1884. "I have been so busy all this year, and especially since March 1882, and even more so since September, when the lectures began, that I have practically no free minute, and when I go to visits and theatres, it is only to catch my breath. You will see for yourself when you receive my volume of nearly 1000 pages, how much work had to be done. I can't write about anything else but Venice. I have neglected family duties", – he wrote to I.S. Aksakov (SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 1: 174-174 ob.). On 22 November 1883 Lamanskij wrote to Majkov: "I am printing less than 400 copies. In Russia, 200 to 300 will remain, of which the greater half,  $\frac{3}{4}$ , will go to libraries, various dignitaries and professors. They will buy in Russia, if they still do, perhaps about five copies. The price is 10 r[oubles], so neither the content nor the price of the book will appeal to a large audience. The work is heavy and frightening by its very appearance to our public. About  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the book is documents in Lat[inic] and Italian (and even then often with Venetianisms)" (RO IRLI RAN. F. 166. Op. 3. No. 615: 35). The book, which was in print for almost 15 years, has no unified pagination. Its various parts have own pagination.

*State Secrets of Venice* is a unique phenomenon not only for the Russian but also for the world science of the XIX century. Lamanskij published the documents in the original language: Latin and Italian. His preface, commentaries and research were written in French, as he addressed this work primarily to European scholars. The choice of French caused some bewilderment among Lamanskij's students, for throughout his life he defended the right of Russian to be the language of science and fiercely criticised the Academy of Sciences for publishing works in German. The idea of the Russian language as the common literary, scientific and diplomatic language of all Slavs runs through Lamanskij's entire oeuvre, spanning six decades. By the irony of history, one of his own major studies was published in French in St. Petersburg.

The preface to *State Secrets of Venice* is one of the most important ideological texts by Lamanskij, in which many of the geopolitical ideas developed in *The Three Worlds of the Asian-European Continent* had already been anticipated. It reflects the ideological development of Slavophilism and makes possible to trace its links with later Eurasianism. Realising the importance of this preface, Lamanskij published most of it in the Russian in Aksakov newspaper "Rus" before the whole book was published (Lamanskij 1883). Also,

Lamanskij's studies, or etudes, interpreting and supplementing the published documents, were included in the book. Noteworthy among them are: *On the Attempt on the Life of the Popes in the Middle Ages in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and on the Struggle of the Latin-Germanic West against the Greek-Slavic East* (pp. 379-396); *On Political Ignobility in the Western European States of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* (pp. 417-459); *On the Role of Foreigners in Old Venice and New Austria-Hungary* (pp. 547-551); *On the Social Status of Venice in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century* (pp. 671-850). They were all of unquestionable scientific value. This is especially true of the unique studies on the social structure of Venice in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In these texts, Lamanskij tries to denounce the political system of the Western European states. Republic of Venice was for him a special case of it. He uses this example to show the immorality of politics and the perniciousness of those civilisational principles of Old Europe, which formed the basis of its prosperity. In this way, he transformed a collection of archival documents into a political and moral treatise reflecting the late Slavophile view of European history.

### *Abbreviations*

- PL: A.V. Malinov (red.), *Pis'ma VI. Lamanskogo* "Veče. Žurnal ruskoj filosofii i kul'tury", 2009, 19, pp. 172-209.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 1: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 1.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 44.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 78: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 78.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 216. Op. 3. Ed. chr. 209: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 216. Op. 3. Ed. chr. 209.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 267: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 267.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 892: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 892.
- SPbFA RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 898: Sankt-Peterburgskij filial Archiva RAN. F. 35. Op. 1. Ed. chr. 898.
- RO IRLI RAN. F. 166. Op. 5. № 23: Rukopisnyj otdel Instituta ruskoj literatury (Puškinskij dom) RAN. F. 166. Op. 5. No. 23.
- RO IRLI RAN. F. 166. Op. 3. № 615: Rukopisnyj otdel Instituta ruskoj literatury (Puškinskij dom) RAN. F. 166. Op. 3. No. 615.

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*Abstract*

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*Vladimir Ivanovič Lamanskij in Venice (1868-1869)*

The aim of the article is to update the scientific heritage of the well-known Slavist and prominent representative of late Slavophilism Vladimir Ivanovič Lamanskij (1833-1914). Lamanskij's biography is insufficiently studied in modern research literature. On the basis of archival documents, the article reconstructs Lamanskij's work in the archives of Venice in 1868 and 1869, which resulted in the publication of an extensive collection of documents and studies on the Venetian Republic's relations with the Greeks and Slavs during its heyday (16<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> century), called *State Secrets of Venice* (1884). Lamanskij himself considered *State Secrets of Venice* his primary academic contribution, and the preface is one of Lamanskij's main ideological texts. It reflects the Pan Slavist ideas that were supported in the Russian academic environment in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Archival materials allow us to trace the genesis of Lamanskij's historiosophic views to better understand how his concept of civilisation, in which the ideas of Slavophiles were developed, was formed. One of the key concepts of Lamanskij's work is the idea of confrontation between the Greco-Slavic and Romano-Germanic cultures in Europe. As a consequence, the study provides a better understanding of the ideology of late Slavophilism in the form of a theory which, in Lamanskij's works, claims the status of a scientific programme in the humanities and social sciences.

*Keywords*

Lamanskij; Pan-Slavism; Slavophilism; Venetian Republic; History of St. Petersburg University; Sociology in Russia; Philosophy of History.