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Ethno-religious Structure of the Imperial Court during the Reign of Emperor Nicholas II

*Struktura etniczna i wyznaniowa Dworu Imperatorskiego w epoce panowania
Imperatora Mikołaja II*

ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the national and religious structure of the Court of Emperor Nicholas II (1894–1917). Due to the peculiarities of the state system, the Institute of the Court was an integral part of the government apparatus, and its members were the most elite group of the society in the Russian Empire of the late 19th – early 20th centuries. Summarizing of the personal data of 2,341 courtiers, which were identified in the course of the research in the funds of the structural parts of the Ministry of the Imperial court and other state institutions and departments, made it possible to create an ethnic and religious portrait of the ruling elite of the last Kingdom. The analysis of the processes of incorporation and ex-corporation of the members of the court staff demonstrates models of interaction between the Crown and local elites. Most of the archival materials used in the research are being put into scientific circulation for the first time.

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The Russian Empire entered the 20th century as a multi-ethnic country whose population differed in religion, culture, and level of social development. Each nation had its own social elite that had developed over the centuries, and the abovementioned factors influenced the attitude of the state apparatus and the ruling elite of the state towards it. Ethnic and religious diversity was supplemented by numerous foreign immigrants who moved to the Russian Empire and their descendants who entered the ruling circles of the state. The only state institution that united them on a social basis was the Imperial court, and the court service remained the only way for the Imperial throne to interact with the local aristocracy as a social stratum.

The Imperial Court appeared in the reign of Peter the Great almost simultaneously with the proclamation of the Moscow Tsardom by the Russian Empire¹. Throughout the 18th century, it consisted of people who daily surrounded the monarch and his family – aristocrats who were part of the circle of communication of the august persons and who performed ceremonial functions, employees of court institutions, court clergy, court physicians and various servants². The reforms of the state administration, initiated by Alexander I with the participation of Count Speransky, had an impact on the appearance of the Court and throughout the 19th century, entire categories of former members were removed from its structure: for Generals and officers, the Institute of the Imperial Retinue was created; the court clergy, officials and service personnel, who did not have contact with the august family, were transferred to a specially created Ministry of the Imperial Court³. By the beginning of the 20th century, the main part of the personnel of the court – Court staff, 2341 people (1664 men and 677 women), are persons who wear honorary court ranks and titles as a symbol of their origin, special services to the august seat and a special position in the apparatus of power of the Empire⁴. The latter, in particular,

¹ О.Г. Агеева, *Императорский двор России. 1700–1796 годы*, Москва 2008, p. 204.

² *Ibidem*, p. 230.

³ *Полное Собрание Законов Российской Империи с 1649 года*, vol. 30, 1808–1809, Санкт Петербург 1830, no. 23559; Н.Е. Волков, *Двор Российских императоров в его прошлом и настоящем*, Санкт Петербург 1900.

⁴ Calculations based on: *Адрес-календарь. Общая роспись начальствующих и прочих должностных лиц по всем управлениям в Российской Империи на 1894–1916 года. Власти и места центрального управления и ведомства их*, Санкт Петербург 1894–1914 and Петроград 1915–1916; *Придворный календарь на 1894–1917 года*, Санкт Петербург 1894–1914 and Петроград 1915–1917.

was expressed in access to an extremely exclusive circle of communication of the autocratic monarch and his family, usually limited to the highest ranks of the civil and military administration. After the transformation of the absolutist state into a bureaucratic one, the Imperial court becomes the community that most fully reflects the ruling elite of the state⁵. The analysis of national and religious affiliations of its members reveals the presence and features of the models of interaction between the state apparatus and the ruling elite of the Russian Empire with local elites and situational ethnic diasporas⁶.

The majority of the members of the Court staff (1953 people) belonged to the official Orthodox Church. The religious policy of the state barred old believers from entering the ruling elite, and families that had previously been old believers, such as the Soldatenkovs, Yakunchikovs, and Kanshins, were forced to accept official confession in order to be naturalized as part of it. The requirement to belong to the state Church led to the Orthodox including not only ethnic Russians and peoples who traditionally profess Orthodoxy, such as Ukrainians, Moldovans and Georgians, but also descendants of ethnic non-Russians who became Orthodox as a result of mixed marriages. The inclusion of the Baltic States and Finland into the Russian Empire, along with the policy of actively attracting people from Western Europe to the civil service, resulted in the second largest religious group in the Court staff consisting of 214 Protestants. The abundance of Lutheran Germans in the state apparatus and society of the Empire led to the prevalence of Lutheranism over other, less prominent denominations of Protestantism. The French-Huguenot Scalon family, which settled in Russia in the times of Peter the Great, was almost completely Russified by the beginning of the 20th century, and its separate branches, which continued to profess Protestantism, did so in the form of Lutheranism. The Catholics, who numbered 113 in the Court staff, were represented almost exclusively by Poles. The few people who came from traditionally Catholic countries as part of the ruling elite (for example, the French Bellegarde and Italian Paulucci) managed to become

⁵ During the period under review, Russian court ranks became a mark of honor to aristocracy and bureaucratic elite, almost completely losing their original meaning. In this regard, it seems preferable to keep their original German names.

⁶ In order to avoid conflicts between the modern understanding of national identity and the former, let us rely on the point of view of A. Kappeler, who believed that 'in the 'pre - national' time - and for Russia this was up to the 19th century - the moments of linguistic and ethnic identity and loyalty played a subordinate role compared to class, religious, regional and dynastic characteristics'. A. Каппелер, *Россия-многонациональная империя*, Москва 2000, p. 11.

Russified by the time they entered it. Finally, the Court staff consisted of 12 Armenian-Gregorians, one Armenian-Catholic, and one Muslim. The last, in the position of Stallmeister, the Actual State Councillor Asselder-bek Kazanalipov was not only the only Muslim in the Court staff at that time, but probably the first in general. His appearance in the Court in this era, as well as his presence in it in the singular, is very symptomatic⁷. Implicitly, but the key to getting into the elite and taking a strong place in it was the complete Russification, and as the most important factor – the adoption of Orthodoxy⁸.

The second most important determining factor for a member of the ruling elite was belonging to a particular local elite, whose members were bound together by an ethnic and religious community, common history, family and corporate ties, and finally, culture and mentality. The main organizing factor here was the noble corporation. The personnel of the noble assemblies in the governorates with Orthodox populations was included in the administrative apparatus. The noble corporations of the Grand Duchy of Finland and the Baltic governorates maintained their original structure but were excluded from participating in the administration of the governorates. In the Kingdom of Poland, there were no noble corporations at all, and in the Western governorates with a strong Polish influence, the staff of the leaders of the nobility was formed almost exclusively from among the Orthodox and Protestants.

The basis of the Court staff was the nobility of the inner governorates of the Empire (let us call it, for the purposes of the paper, Russian). This group included 1,351 people (946 men and 405 women) – descendants of both the old Moscow nobility and representatives of the new nobility, belonging to 543 families. The rule of the Russian nobility, due to its character, namely, primacy of class, was ensured by the official state doctrine and existing mechanisms of power. On the territory of the European part of the Russian Empire, in the governorates with the predominant Orthodox nobility, there was an electoral system that provided the local landed gentry with access to the administrative power. The governorate Marshal of nobility was *de jure* considered the second most important person in the governorate after the Governor, although this position was exclusively ceremonial. The district Marshal of nobility was a representative of the administrative power, directing all the authorities in the district and

⁷ Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Istoricheskiy Arkhiv [hereinafter: RGIA], f. 759, inv. 49, ref. no. 3243.

⁸ Although the religion of 47 individuals remains unknown, it is safe to assume that they belonged to one of the Christian denominations.

reporting more to the Governor than to the governorate Marshal (the affairs of the proper nobility were handled by the noble Deputy). Due to the land qualification in elections, the district Marshal of nobility was elected from among the wealthy nobility of the district and was a protégé of several district families. This order was spread throughout the territory of the European Russia in areas where the Orthodox population prevailed. Cases when persons of non-Orthodox faiths were elected to the positions in the inner governorates of the Empire were extremely rare⁹.

The ethnic structure of the Russian nobility was not constant. Just as Tver, Ryazan, Novgorod, and later Smolensk noblemen joined the Moscow nobility earlier, so later completely Russified representatives of Muslim and pagan elites or natives of former years from the Western Europe, such as the Lermontovs, Leslie, or Fonvizins, totally dissolved into it. The main and indispensable condition of Russification, which remained even by the beginning of the 20th century, was the acceptance of Orthodoxy. For a Russian nobleman, it was permissible to claim descent from foreign families as a genealogy legend, but state morals were highly disapproving of religious dissidence. The conversion of a branch of Princes Golitsyn and Counts Razumovsky to Catholicism and of Count Modest Modestovich Korff to a form of neo-Protestantism, called Pashkovism after one of their leaders, led to their social and physical exile.

A significant part of the members of the Court staff – 330 people – belonged to the so-called situational diasporas, that is, they were descendants of recent immigrants from foreign countries who had not completely lost their national identity. The main part of them were 204 natives of the German States¹⁰. This group also included representatives of the German population of the Baltic governorates, excluding the nobles included in the local matricula. Although 43 members of the group were originally members of the old German nobility – we see among them Princes Sayn-Wittgenstein, Counts Heiden, Keller, Bennigsen and Nesselrode, Barons Prittwitz, Osten Driesen and Graevenitz – the main part of the German Diaspora in the Court staff, 153 people, belonged to the new nobility, owed their status to their merits in the Russian service.

The most notable among them is the dynasty of Counts Kleinmichel, numbering 9 members of the Court staff, which was promoted by the grace of Emperor Nicholas I and by the beginning of the 20th century became

⁹ А.П. Корелин, *Дворянство в пореформенной России*, Москва 1979, p. 61.

¹⁰ С.В. Куликов, *Российские немцы в составе Императорского двора и высшей бюрократии: коллизия между конфессиональной и национальной идентичностями в начале XX века*, in: *Немцы в государственности России*, Санкт Петербург 2004, pp. 57–82.

one of the largest landowners of the Russian Empire. The members of the group quickly became Russified, as evidenced by their religion: 148 Orthodox, 44 Lutherans, and 3 Catholics¹¹. The explosion of anti-German attitudes at the beginning of the World War I led to changing of the names by some of German families – Steward of the Court of Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich, Hoffmeister, Actual State Councillor R. Yu. Minckeldey became Konstantinovsky (however, remaining loyal to Lutheranism), Kammerjunker Sergei and Yuri Vladimirovich Sabler became Desyatovsky. A small number of other foreigners in the Russian elite, such as the descendants of the French – the Bellegardes, Des Carrieres, Scalons; the Scottish – the Stuarts, Crichtons, Scotts; Greek – the Alferakis, Sevastopulos, Vergopulos, and the fact that they lost their national identity even faster than ethnic Germans, makes it unnecessary to deduce them as the subject of a separate narrative.

Despite the urbanization and development of civil liberties in the Russian Empire, the attitude towards Jews in the aristocratic and bureaucratic environment was extremely ambiguous. Although the descendants of the ethnic Jews were present in the state apparatus and the Court, such as the noblemen Evreinovs¹² (11 members of the Court staff) or Fräulein Y. N. Adelson, the daughter of a Full General and the granddaughter of a doctor, who converted from Judaism to Lutheranism¹³, in general, the attitude of aristocratic circles towards Jews was sharply negative.

The candidates of the Prosecutor of the Kharkov Chamber of Justice, Actual State Councillor Sergei Yakovlevich Utin and a member of the State Council for elections, Baron Leopold Leopoldovich Kronenberg, whose parents professed Judaism, were removed by Nicholas II from the candidate list and in the future, neither they nor similar candidates were presented for the award¹⁴. Moreover, the marriage of an officer of the Life-Guards Cavalry Regiment, Prince Yevgeny Feofilovich Gagarin with the daughter of a large sugar grower, Anna Semyonovna Brodskaya, not only led to the expulsion of Prince Gagarin from the regiment, but also became an obstacle to granting him the court distinction, which was the traditional reward for retiring cavalry guards¹⁵. Apparently, the Jewish roots of his

¹¹ The religion of 9 persons remained unknown.

¹² А.И. Аксенов, *Генеалогия московского купечества XVIII в.*, Москва 1988, pp. 52–53.

¹³ The founder of the clan, Doctor of Medicine, State Councillor Osip Isaakovich Adelson, born. in 1800, the son of a merchant of the 1st guild, was erected 7.2.1836 in advantage of noble family and 29.1.1848 G. was inscribed into part I of genealogical books of nobility of St. Petersburg governorate. RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 16, ref. no. 580.

¹⁴ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 45, year 1909, ref. no. 10b, sheet 26.

¹⁵ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 45, year 1910, ref. no. 10b, sheet 11v.

wife, the daughter of an attorney at law Rappaport, prevented the court career of the son of the Minister of Railways, railway engineer Konstantin Nikolaevich Schaffhausen-Schoenberg-Eck-Schaufus¹⁶.

Losing ties with their old homeland and traditional national environment, members of situational diasporas quickly Russified and merged with the rest of the aristocratic environment of the Empire. The relations between the ruling elite of the Empire and local elites, who preserved what members of situational diasporas were deprived of, were different. At the time of joining the Moscow Tsardom or the Russian Empire, each region had its own established elite, which occupied a strong place in the social structure of the region. Features of the relationship of local elites with the state apparatus of the Empire and scenarios of their co-optation into the ruling elite of the state were reflected in the structure of the Court staff. In the period under review, 286 Baltic nobles, 149 Poles from the Western provinces of the Empire and the Kingdom of Poland, 99 Ukrainians, 66 representatives of the Caucasian elite, 24 Bessarabians and 36 nobles of the Grand Duchy of Finland held court ranks and titles.

The Ukrainian nobility, which is closest to the Russian, became part of the nobility of the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. When co-opted into the nobility of the Empire, descendants of persons who owned inhabited estates, or descendants of general and regimental Cossack officers, were unconditionally recognized as class rights. A sign of confidence in the local elite on the part of the supreme power was the creation in the Little Russia of governorates of noble assemblies on the model of the internal governorates of Russia with the same rights and powers. The Court staff consisted of 76 men and 23 women from 64 families. The core of the national group was the Rodzianko family – 6 persons, the Kochubey family – 6 persons, the Gudim-Levkovich family – 5 persons, the Stahovich family – 4 persons, the Shidlovskiy family – 4 persons. The proximity of the cultures and government support led to the mixing of the Little Russia nobility with the Russian in the next century. The descendants of the Little Russia Cossack elders the Lavrinovskys became Pskov landowners, the Stahovichs – Orlov landowners, the Shidlovskiys – Voronezh landowners. In turn, the representatives of the old Russian families of Musin-Pushkin, Repnin, Gorchakov, Davydov, and Bobrinsky became major Ukrainian landowners. Only the genealogical traditions described in Modzalevsky's work¹⁷ attested to the existence of a sense of national identity and originality among the local elite.

¹⁶ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 45, year 1911, ref. no. 10b, sheet 3v.

¹⁷ В.Л. Модзалевский, *Малороссийский родословник*, vol. 1–4, Киев 1908–1914.

In the early 19th century, the Russian nobility included the Bessarabian nobility. Loyal to the supreme power, despite the fact that most of their relatives were located in neighbouring Romania, the Bessarabian nobles enjoyed its full confidence. The local nobility was part of a noble corporation, subject to the rules common to the Empire, which contributed to the Russification of the local elite, which includes representatives of Russian, Ukrainian and Polish surnames. The Court staff consisted of 19 men and 5 women.

Among them we see 9 representatives of the family of Krupensky and 8 – of Kantakuzen. The first, very rich Bessarabian landowners, could not boast of an ancient origin (when claiming the rights of the nobility, they could not show a pedigree stretching further than the second half of the 18th century), which, however, was more than redeemed by their social and official activity¹⁸. Close family ties with the local Bessarabian elite and expressed ambitions allowed the Krupenskys to actively promote their influence both at the local and state level. In the period under review, the Krupenskys had an envoy to Norway and Italy, Hoffmeister Anatoly Nikolayevich Krupensky, an envoy to China, then ambassador to Japan, Kammerherr Vasily Nikolayevich Krupensky, Bessarabian governorate Marshals of the nobility Kammerherr Mikhail Nikolayevich Krupensky and Hoffmeister Alexander Nikolayevich Krupensky, Deputy of the State Duma, Kammerherr Pavel Nikolayevich Krupensky. The Kantakuzen family, of Romanian-Greek origin, who assumed the princely title because of its relationship, imaginary or real, with the legendary Byzantine dynasty, lost its influence at the local level by the beginning of the 20th century, but firmly became part of the Russian aristocracy, and one of its branches inherited the title and estate of Count Mikhail Mikhailovich Speransky¹⁹.

The Baltic, Finnish, and Polish national elites held a special place among the Imperial elite. When the local nobility was co-opted into it, in exchange for personal loyalty, the supreme power retained the old class rights and granted some new ones. First of all, this concerned the existence of local noble corporations. The favour of the tsarist government is probably due to the attention with which the ruling elite of the Empire treated European values, the bearers of which were representatives of the local nobility. This policy continued in the Baltic States and Finland until 1917, while in the Kingdom of Poland the liberties and privileges of the nobility were destroyed after the suppression of the uprisings of 1831 and 1863.

¹⁸ RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 23, ref. no. 9414–9417; inv. 35, ref. no. 12970.

¹⁹ RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 46, ref. no. 408–414.

The Baltic group was formed from members of Swedish-German families who settled in the territory of the future Courland, Lifland and Estland governorates in the late middle Ages and entered in the registers of local estate corporations – matricula of the Courland, Lifland, Estland and Oesel²⁰ knighthood. Since the territory became part of the Empire in the 18th century, Ostzeits have appeared in the state apparatus and the officer corps of the Russian army. In the following years, a considerable number of prominent state and military figures emerged from their midst, which allowed by the beginning of the 20th century people from the Baltic nobility to be fully incorporated into the ruling elite of the state. The position at the Court, and great merit allowed to form family ties with the Russian high aristocracy – Count Alexander Konstantinovich Benckendorff married Countess Shuvalova, Barons Meyendorff intermarried with the families of the aristocracy – Counts Shuvalov, Sheremetev, Princes Vasilchikov and Baryatinsky (note that despite the famous names, neither the first nor second could compete in nobility and wealth with their Russian relatives). Counts Alexander Vladimirovich, Alexey Alexandrovich and Maria Alexandrovna Stenbock-Fermor inherited factories and estates in the Urals from the industrialist Yakovlev, with a total area of about 250,000 desyatins, which put them among the richest families of the Empire. Among other major landowners, we see V. F. Helmersen (75,000 desyatins), Baron N. N. Korff (44,000 desyatins), Princess Alexandra Konstantinovna Lieven (61,800 desyatins), Baron H. K. Osten-Sacken (64,100 desyatins)²¹. Natives of the Baltic diaspora occupied prominent positions in the highest authorities, the diplomatic Department, administrative authorities, and the army, who allowed them to occupy a prominent place in the Court staff during the period under review. Among the administration of the Court Department, we see the Ober-Hoffmarchall, Count P. K. Benckendorff, head of the Imperial Stables, Ober-Stallmeister A. A. Gruenwald, head of the Ceremonial part, Ober-Zeremonienmeister, Baron P. P. Korff, assistant Minister of the Imperial Court, member of the State Council, Ober-Jägermeister, Count M. E. Nieroth. The first officials of the Court were the chief administrator of the Office for accepting petitions, the Ober-Jägermeister, Baron A. A. Budberg, Ober-Schenk A. F. Groth, Ober-Chamberlain, Count K. I. Pahlen, honorary guardian, Ober-Hoffmeister, Baron K. N. Korff.

²⁰ ‘modern Saaremaa’ (translator’s note).

²¹ Л.П. Минарик, *Экономическая характеристика крупнейших земельных собственников России конца XIX– начала XX века: Землевладение, землепользование, система хозяйства*, Москва 1971; Е.Г. Неклюдов, *Уральские заводчики во второй половине XIX века – начале XX века: владельцы и владения*, Екатеринбург 2013.

In the diplomatic Department, ambassador to Denmark, then to Great Britain, Hoffmeister, Count A. K. Benckendorff, resident minister to the Grand Duke of Baden, Kammerherr, Count N. A. Brevern de La Gardie, envoy to Württemberg, Hoffmeister, Baron A. A. Budberg, ambassador to Sweden, then to Spain, Hoffmeister, Baron F. A. Budberg, envoy to Denmark, Stallmeister, Baron K. K. Buxhoevden, resident minister in Saxony, Kammerherr, Baron A. V. Wolff, resident minister in Hessen and the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Stallmeister, Baron L. K. von Knorring, envoy to Portugal, Hoffmeister, Baron E. P. Meyendorff, ambassador to the United States, Hoffmeister, Baron R. R. Rosen had got the court ranks. Administrative service was performed by the Governor of Penza, Pskov and St. Petersburg, Stallmeister, Count A. V. Adlerberg, Warsaw Governor, Stallmeister, Baron S. N. Korff, Tambov Governor, Stallmeister V. F. von der Launitz, Penza Governor, Kammerherr A. P. Lilienfeld-Toal, Pskov, then Petrograd Governor, Kammerherr, Baron N. N. Medem, Novgorod Governor, Hoffmeister, Count O. L. Medem, Tiflis Governor, Stallmeister, Baron P. A. Rausch von Traubenberg, Erivan Governor, Hoffmeister, Count V. F. Tiesenhausen; St. Petersburg Governor, Jägermeister, Count S. A. Toll.

Opportunities for a career in the state apparatus of the Russian Empire led the scions of Baltic families receiving education in St. Petersburg or in Moscow and, entering the state or military service, ultimately quickly becoming Russified²². As a result, the group consisted of 124 Orthodox (43%), while 130 people (45%) professed traditional Protestantism in the region. The only family name in the Russian aristocratic environment that remained faithful to their ancestral profession and national identity were Counts Pahlen, but as we will see from the example of Count Konstantin Konstantinovich Pahlen (the Younger), this eventually turned unfavourably for them.

Recognizing the merits and appreciating the unconditional loyalty of the Baltic nobility, the supreme power during the reign of Nicholas II took a very reserved and even biased position in relation to the Baltic nobility. Distribution of court titles to large landlords and prominent members of local society was not practiced, the number of court grants to employees of local nobility corporations did not differ from the number of grants to similar individuals in other regions of the Empire. The Court staff consisted of Estland Landrat, Baron O. R. Budberg, Oesel Marshal, Baron A. A. Buxhoevden, Rigo-Volmar district Deputy, Baron I. V. Wolff, district Marshal of Courland governorate, Baron V. R. Hahn, Estland

²² А. Давыдов, *Воспоминания 1881–1955*, Париж 1982, pp. 101–104.

governorate Marshal, Baron E. N. Dellingshausen, Courland governorate Marshal, Count G. K. Keyserling, Courland governorate Marshal, His Serene Highness Prince G. A. Lieven, Estland Landrat, Baron E. A. von Maydell, Mitawa district Marshal, Baron N. N. Manteuffel, daughter of the Tukum district Marshal, Hoff-fräulein, Countess E. F. Medem, Lifland Landrat, Baron F. A. Meyendorff, Courland governorate Marshal, Count V. E. Reutern, Baron Nolcken, Lifland governorate Marshal, Baron A. A. Pilar von Pilchau, Estland governorate Deputy, Baron A. O. Schilling, Senior Secretary of the nobility of Estland, Baron E. O. Stackelberg, Oesel Marshal O. R. von Ekesparre, Estland Landrat, Baron G. M. Engelhardt, Illukst district Marshal, Baron M. R. Engelhardt²³.

The aspects of the relationship between the local elite and the ruling elite of the state were outlined. When the territories of the Baltic governorates became part of the Russian Empire, the government preserved the structures, rights and privileges of local nobility corporations, one of which was that the consent of all deputies of the nobility was required for entering these corporations into *matricula* (lists). The nobility corporations themselves considered evidence of noble origin and only notified the Heraldic Department of their decisions. These features guaranteed their religious and national homogeneity. In the following years, a small number of Russian, Polish, and foreign nobles, mostly aristocrats with significant official positions, became part of the Ostsee nobility corporations²⁴. Their small number did not affect the religious and cultural identity of the local nobility, which was greatly facilitated by the education received in their own exclusive educational institutions, founded and maintained by the local nobility and completed at the University of Dorpat. This isolated situation probably led to a number of members of the Court staff becoming victims of anti-German persecution that began after the entry of the Russian Empire into the First World War. According to the fictional accusations, Hoffmeister, Count K. K. Pahlen²⁵, Kammerherr, Baron A. B. von Maydell, Kammerjunker, Baron

²³ Список лиц, служащих по ведомству Министерства Внутренних Дел 1914 года. (исправлен по 1 Января), part 2, (Губернии, области и градоначальства), Санкт Петербург 1914.

²⁴ C.A. Klingspor, *Baltisches Wappenbuch Wappen sämtlicher, den Ritterschaften von Livland, Estland, Kurland und Oesel zugehörigen Adelsgeschlechter*, Stockholm 1882; M. Gritzner, *J. Siebmacher's grosses und allgemeines wappenbuch in einer neuen, vollständig geordneten und reich vermehrten Auflage mit heraldischen und historisch-genealogischen Erläuterungen. Dritten bandes elfte abtheilung. Der Adel der Russ. Ostseeprovinzen. Zweiter Theil: Der Nichtimmatrikulirte Adel*, Nürnberg 1901.

²⁵ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 41, ref. no. 137.

G. V. Taube²⁶ and a number of other Baltic nobles²⁷ were deprived of court ranks and titles.

By 1912, The nobility of the Grand Duchy of Finland consisted of about 4,000 people belonging to 357 families. Of these, 191 families belonged to the Swedish nobility, 145 families received nobility after the region was annexed to the Russian Empire, and 20 surnames were naturalized during the Imperial period (that is, they were granted the right to the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Finland)²⁸. The noble corporation of the Grand Duchy was created on the Swedish type. In exchange for loyalty, it was granted independence and immunity from the Russian political and legislative authorities, among other civil institutions of the Grand Duchy, which had the consequence of preserving the national and religious identity of the nobility, dominated by the Swedish-German-Finnish ethnic groups and the Lutheran confession. Even families that were ennobled during the era of Russian rule, in most cases came from Finland and only 7% of the 154 new families were of Imperial origin (Russians, Baltic Germans, etc.)²⁹.

The peculiarity of the Finnish civil system was the equal participation of all layers of society in the governance of the region and an authentic system of ranks and positions³⁰. For the award of court distinctions to representatives of the local aristocracy and political elite, there was a special privilege that allowed to bestow a court rank or title upon a person who did not have sufficient official rights. For example, the Vice-President of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, Stallmeister Sten Carl Ivanovich Tudeer was granted a court rank before he received the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Finland and was entered in the local register of noble families³¹.

The Court staff consisted of 36 nobles of the Grand Duchy of Finland – 27 men and 9 women. They belonged to 23 families of which 13 belonged to the Swedish nobility and 10 became nobles after the region was annexed to the Russian Empire³². The bulk of the Finnish courtiers were in the local service – Häradshöfding (district chief), Baron G. G. Boije; Chief Director of Customs Department, Baron B. B. Indrenius, Chairman of the Main

²⁶ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 52, ref. no. 77.

²⁷ Э. Лор, *Русский национализм и Российская империя: кампания против «вражеских подданных» в годы Первой мировой войны*, Москва 2012.

²⁸ A. Snellman, *The Nobility of Finland 1809–1919: From Imperial Loyalism to Nationalist Conflict*, 'Петербургский исторический журнал' 2015, 4, p. 118.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

³⁰ М. Витухновская, *Служение империи и национальная лояльность: имперская и финляндская биография Энкелей (1850–1917)*, 'Ab Imperio' 2009, 4, pp. 177–209.

³¹ A. Bergholm, *Sukukirja suomen aatelittomia sukuja*, Helsingissä 1892.

³² *Storfurstendömet Finlands Ridderskaps och Adels Kalender för 1906*, Heisingfors 1905.

Department for Press Affairs, Count A. K. Cronhjelm, Vice – Director of the Economic Department of the Finnish Senate, member of the State Council, Ober-Jägermeister K. K. Linder, his son, Vicehäradshöfding Ya. K. Linder, Director of the Finnish state office O. K. Mechelin, a large official of the Finnish Senate, Professor, Hoffmeister R. E. Montgomery, Vyborg Governor, retired Guard Colonel, Baron B. G. Troil, or belonged to the local socio-economic elite – Count August Maksimovich Armfelt, Count Karl Gustavovich Armfelt, Count Alexey Nikolaevich Stewen-Steinheil and Count Karl Karlovich Mannerheim. In the service of the metropolis were the son and grandson of a member of the State Council, Adjutant General, General of the Infantry E. A. Ramsay – Adjutant of the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich and the Governor of the city of Pavlovsk, A. E. Ramsay and an official of the Ministry of the Court, Baron K. A. Ramsay, sons of General Sebastian Pavlovich von Etter – serving under Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, Alexander von Etter, envoy to Persia in 1915–1917, Nikolai von Etter, Deputy Minister of State Secretary of the Grand Duchy of Finland, Pavel von Etter, an official of the Department of Institutions of Empress Maria, Count Alexander Vladimirovich Armfelt, an official of the War Ministry V. E. Gripenberg. The female part of the Court staff was presented to Statedame Aurora Karlovna Karamzin, nee Baroness Stjernvall, and Hoff-fräuleins, Baroness E. O. Gripenberg, the daughter of the General-Adjutant, General of infantry Baron O. K. Gripenberg, C. O. von Kremer, the daughter of a member of the State Council, General-Adjutant, Admiral O. K. von Kremer, Baroness M. A. Langhoff, the daughter of General of Infantry Baron A. F. Langhoff, A. K. Linder, the daughter of a member of the State Council K. K. Linder, the daughters of Generals Sevastian Pavlovich and Nikolai Pavlovich von Etter – Sophia Nikolaevna and Yulia Nikolaevna and Emilia Sevastyanovna.

The weak connection with the metropolis affected their religion – the vast majority of them – 30 people – were Lutherans. The isolation of the local social elite, the distance from the social and political processes in the Empire's metropolis, and the desire to defend their religious and cultural identity led to a very tense relationship with the ruling elite and the state apparatus of the Empire in the era of state nationalism, which began during the reign of Emperor Alexander III and continued during the reign of his son. Although they did not reach such an extreme degree in relation to Finns as they did in relation to Poles and Germans, M. Vitukhnovskaya describes cases of expressed hostility towards Finnish natives who were in the Russian service³³.

³³ М. Витухновская, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

The representatives of the Polish aristocracy – the Potockis, Branickis, Sangushkis, etc. – appear in the court environment immediately after the first partition of Poland, at the end of the 18th century. In relation to the throne and the Polish magnates, there were bright times, when the Polish nobles had held high government positions and they complained about the high ranks and decorations, the Potockis and Branickis were related to the Stroganovs and Vorontsovs, the title and ancestral lands of the Counts of Khreptovich passed to the Butenevs, and the descendants of the Lithuanian feudal lords Counts Sollogub became Russian aristocrats, but it was marred by two violent uprisings and their brutal suppression. A. Kappeler mentioned that ‘After the November uprising of 1830 and especially after the January uprising of 1863, the centre finally abandoned the policy of cooperation with the Polish nobility. Basically, in this regard, the very principle of interaction with the old hereditary elites of the Imperial suburbs was called into question’³⁴. The activity of nobility corporations in the Kingdom of Poland itself was discontinued, and in the Western governorates of the Empire, the positions of Marshals of the nobility were replaced by the appointment of the Minister of Internal Affairs, usually by persons of the Orthodox and Protestant confessions. Together with certain legal restrictions on service and general intolerance in the ruling circles, this blocked for the Poles the traditional for the elite path to the government authorities. At the beginning of the 20th century, Catholic Poles in responsible positions in the highest authorities and in the administrative institutions of the Russian Empire are met extremely rare, which affected the portrait of the entire national group in the Court staff.

There were 149 members (127 men and 22 women) from 86 families in the group. Most representatives were from the families of Counts Potocki – 8 people, Princes Radziwill – 8 people, Counts Tyszkiewicz – 7 people, Counts Wielopolski – 6 people, Counts Branicki – 5 people, Princes Svyatopolk-Chetvertinsky – 4 people. The main part is made up of aristocrats, magnates of the Kingdom of Poland and the Western region, who in the period under review, as a rule, avoid public service, seeking court distinctions through merits for charitable institutions or using the so-called Polish privilege (similar to Finnish one), which meant a special procedure used to facilitate access to the Court staff of representatives of

³⁴ ‘После ноябрьского восстания 1830 года и особенно после январского восстания 1863 года центр окончательно отказался от политики кооперации с польским дворянством. По большому счету, в этой связи был поставлен под вопрос сам принцип взаимодействия со старыми потомственными элитами имперских окраин’. А. Каппелер, *Центр и элиты периферий в Габсбургской, Российской и Османской империях (1700–1918 гг.)*, ‘Ab Imperio’ 2007, 2.

the Polish aristocracy, who, as a rule, did not have certain official rights and did not seek to obtain them, in which the court distinction could be granted to a person who is not in the public service or does not have a sufficient official qualification. This privilege was applied exclusively to the natives of the Kingdom of Poland at the request of the Warsaw Governor-General. In some cases, in order to follow the external order, the applicant was enlisted in the service of the Warsaw Governor-General, which did not give any official rights or salary. This privilege did not apply to Russian owners of the entails in the Kingdom of Poland, nor to the natives of the Western governorates of the Empire, although P. A. Stolypin proposed to expand its action, in order to give more weight to Russian landowners in Poland and Pro-Russian-minded Polish feudal lords in the Western Region (this was expressed in a petition for the award of the title of Chamberlain to the Kiev landowner, Count Krasicki)³⁵. The latter, as well as their tribesmen beyond the Bug, did not seek happiness in public service and acquired state distinctions (primarily courtiers) through service in honorary positions in social and charitable institutions. The Court staff includes major landowners of the Kiev governorate and the Kingdom of Poland, Counts Vladislav Alexandrovich, Ksavery Konstantinovich, Countess Sophia Vladislavovna Branicki; Vilna governorate Marshal of the nobility, Ober-Hoffmeister, Count Adam Stepanovich de Broel-Plater with his sons, in the position of Stallmeister, retired Colonel, Count Yuri and Kammerjunker, Count Marian; Governor the Duchy of Lowicz, *Ober-Jägermeister*, Count Sigismund Aleksandrovich Wielopolski with his sons in the position of Zeremonienmeister, Count Alexander and Kammerjunker, Count Albert, a daughter, Hoff-fräulein Mary and his nephews *Jägermeister*, Count Vladislav Iosifovich and in the position of Stallmeister, Count Sigismund Iosifovich; largest landowners of Siedlce and Lublin governorates, Counts Adam Stanislavovich and Maurycy Fomich Zamoyski; Lithuanian landowner, Count Stanislav Stanislavovich Kossakowski; the owner of the entail Opinogora, Count Adam Vladislavovich Krasinski; major Volyn landowner, Stallmeister, Count Josef Alfredovich Potocki, Hoff-fräulein, Countess Maria Konstantinovna Potocka, the daughter of a major landowner, Count Konstantin Potocki; the owner of the estates in Belarus, the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, Kammerherr, Count August Mavrikievich Potocki; the heir of Nesvizh ordination in Belarus and Belaya Tserkov in the Ukraine, Kammerjunker, Prince Albrecht Georgievich Radziwill, his uncle, the owner of Davyd-Haradok ordination in Belarus, Kammerjunker, Prince Stanislav Antonovich Radziwill, the owner of

³⁵ RGIA, f. 1284, inv. 53, year 1907, ref. no. 12, sheets 342–348.

Slavuta in Volyn, Stallmeister, Prince Roman Vladislavovich Sangushko. The son of the Governor of Vilna, the author of memoirs Lev Lyubimov wrote:

'The Polish aristocracy impressed the Russian authorities with its wealth, pomp, and kinship with the most noble families in Europe. The Russian authorities courted this aristocracy, realizing that this might be the only class of Polish society that could be counted on. For its part, the Polish aristocracy flirted with the Russian government (only with the highest, with minor officials it disdained to communicate), because this power protected 'order', supported its social superiority, and in addition, lavished many benefits on its minions. Polish magnates in particular were very fond of court titles. When, before my father's appointment to Vilna, the monument to the grim memory of Count Muravyov, Muravyov the Hanger (and the Hanger of Poles), was unveiled there, many representatives of the Polish aristocracy came to this celebration; some because they had already had a court rank and, therefore, joined the Russian official hierarchy; others – in the hope of earning an embroidered uniform and a plumed hat'³⁶.

Personnel officials were a small part of it, and in the main they were representatives of the Russified gentry of the Lithuanian, Belarusian and Western Ukrainian governorates. The Director of the Department of Personnel and Economic Affairs, then Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hoffmeister V. A. Artsimovich, Assistant Minister of Internal Affairs, Kammerherr V. I. Gurko, the Director of the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Hoffmeister, I. G. Knoll; Secretary of State of the Council of State, Hoffmeister V. A. Lyshchinski, a member from State Control in the Council of the Peasant Land Bank, Hoffmeister, A. I. Romeyko-Gurko, Senator, Hoffmeister N. I. Tugan-Baranovsky belonged to the bureaucratic

³⁶ 'Русской власти польская аристократия импонировала своим богатством, пышностью, родством со знатнейшими семьями Европы. Русская власть ухаживала за ней, понимая к тому же, что это может быть единственный класс польского общества, на который можно рассчитывать. Со своей стороны, польская аристократия кокетничала с русской властью (только с высшей, с мелкими чиновниками она гнушалась общаться), потому что эта власть охраняла 'порядок', поддерживала ее социальное превосходство, а кроме того, расточала своим приспешникам многие блага. Польские магнаты были, в частности, очень падки на придворные звания. Когда, еще до назначения моего отца в Вильну, там состоялось открытие памятника мрачной памяти графу Муравьеву, Муравьеву-вешателю (при этом вешателю поляков), многие представители польской аристократии явились на это торжество; одни потому, что уже имели придворное звание и, значит, включились в русскую чиновную иерархию; другие – в надежде заслужить расшитый мундир и шляпу с плюмажем'. Л.Д. Любимов, *На чужбине*, Ташкент 1965, pp. 32–33.

environment. For administrative service, we can mention the Governor of Suwalki, Petrakovo and finally of Tula, Stallmeister M. V. Artsimovich, Bessarabian Governor, Kammerherr M. E. Hilchen; the Governor of Tambov, Kammerherr, Baron V. P. Rokasovsky and the Governor of Piotrkow, Kammerherr, Baron M. E. Yachevsky. In the diplomatic service – ambassador to Japan, Hoffmeister N. A. Malevsky-Malevich, envoy to Brazil and Argentina, Kammerherr M. E. Prozor and envoy to Persia, Kammerherr S. A. Poklevsky-Kozell.

The peculiarities of the portrait of the group were emphasized by the religion of its members, among whom there were 101 Catholics, 44 Orthodox and 1 Protestant (who held the post of Stallmeister, Major General of the Retinue Konstantin Rydzevsky). The distribution by religion was almost identical to that by social status: the aristocracy consisted almost entirely of Catholics; among the bureaucrats, Catholics were a rare exception. Hoffmeister I. G. Knoll and Hoffmeister E. A. Zhukovsky made a career in auxiliary positions, the first in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the second dealing with pension issues in the Department of Institutions of Empress Maria³⁷. A rare case of a Catholic in the service of elections was Kammerherr B. I. Krinsky, who served as the district Marshal of nobility in Chernigov governorate³⁸. The diplomats M. E. Prozor, the son of a landowner of the Kovno governorate and Kammerjunker, and S. A. Poklevsky-Kozell, the son of a major Siberian industrialist were Catholics³⁹.

Although for the Poles there were no noble corporations included in the government apparatus, or independent from it, the national, religious and class consciousness of the local elite was developed quite high. Problems in interethnic relations led to the fact that the Polish aristocracy and well-off nobility did not need an official career, which was negatively affected by their national origin and religious affiliation. The Polish aristocracy did not have a cultural centre like the Imperial Alexander University in Helsingfors and the University of Dorpat in the Ostsee region. The University of Vilnius was closed after the suppression of the November Uprising, 1831, and the University of Warsaw was created in the 19th century as a tool of Russification and was not popular with the Polish elite, who tended to receive foreign education. There were no kinship ties between the Russian and Polish aristocracy, and even the Pro-Russian Counts Wielopolski married in their own environment. The growth of inter-religious and inter-ethnic contradictions led to the

³⁷ RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 36, ref. no. 11330, sheets 2–34; f. 759, inv. 45, ref. no. 1.

³⁸ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 60, ref. no. 2282, sheets 97–104.

³⁹ RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 27, ref. no. 4307–4314; f. 1343, inv. 27, ref. no. 6730.

deprivation of the court title of Kammerjunker of Count Maurycy Fomich Zamoyski in 1906⁴⁰.

There were 66 people from the Caucasus. According to national and religious characteristics the group consisted of 51 Orthodox Georgians, 12 Armenian – Gregorians, and one Muslim. The ethnic and religious diversity of the region has led to various scenarios of interaction between the Russian Empire's government apparatus and local elites. When the region was annexed, the Russian authorities granted privileges to the Georgian Orthodox elite, which had an independent social structure. Georgians belonged to 27 families, among which there were 17 members of different branches of the Bagrationi royal dynasty (10 Serene Princes of Georgia, 4 Princes Bagration-Mukhrani, Princess Bagration, Prince Bagration-Davidov and Serene Princess of Imereti); 3 descendants of the rulers of Mingrelia of the Dadiani family (Hoff-fräuleins, Serene Princess Dadiani and Fräulein, Serene Princess Mingrelskaya, Serene Prince Mingrelsky). Noble assemblies were established in the Kutaisi and Tiflis governorates, but the local nobility was excluded from participating in administrative governance. The territory of the Caucasus (especially the Muslim regions) was under the joint administration of the Ministry of internal Affairs and the Ministry of War.

Due to historical circumstances – the centuries – old absence of their own statehood – Armenians did not have their own territorial elite. Armenian families were automatically included in the Russian nobility only if they belonged to the elite of the Georgian States, such as Princes Bebutov⁴¹. In other cases, they either were in the favour of the Russian monarchs, like the Argutyuniants who became Princes of Argutinsky-Dolgorukov, or acquired it by service merits⁴².

A rich Siberian industrialist, Stallmeister, Prince Semyon Semyonovich Abamelek-Lazarev; former Tiflis mayor, Kammerherr, Prince Nikolay Vasilyevich Argutinsky-Dolgorukov with the sons, Kammerjunker Boris and Vladimir and daughters, Hoff-fräuleins Anna and Varvara; the diplomat, Kammerherr Josif Grigoryevich Loris-Melikov, Hoff-fräulein, Countess Elizaveta Mikhailovna and Hoff-fräulein, Countess Maria Mikhailovna Loris-Melikov; the sons of Astrakhan merchant of 1 Guild, who received nobility, Astrakhan governorate Marshal of the nobility, Kammerherr Daniel Sergeev and Kammerherr Christopher Sergeev were in the Court staff⁴³.

⁴⁰ RGIA, f. 472, inv. 41, ref. no. 10, sheets 18–25.

⁴¹ RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 46, ref. no. 103–106.

⁴² RGIA, f. 1343, inv. 46, ref. no. 1–6.

⁴³ RGIA, f. 733, inv. 122, ref. no. 60, sheets 2–17.

The difference between the Muslim elites and the structures of Russian society, together with the intolerance to Islam, led simply to the lack of the mechanism for their co-optation into the elite of the Empire. Descendants of the ruling dynasties used their titles (for example, Khans of Nakhichevan or Princes Qajar), but the rights to use them were not officially recognized. The only Muslim in the Court during the reign of Nicholas II, probably for all history, was a descendant of Shamkhals Tarkovsky, a large landowner of the Dagestan region, Actual State Councillor, Asselder-bek Kazanalipov, which was first mentioned on page 3, official for special assignments under the Governor of the Caucasus, granted the position of Stallmeister thanks to the patronage of the Governor, Adjutant General Count Vorontsov-Dashkov. Kazanalipov was educated at the Konstantinovsky military school and served all his life, first in the Dagestan irregular military units, then in the local administration of the Dagestan region, but did not belong to the nobility, which reveals a conflict between caste and class affiliation⁴⁴.

In 1903, an unusual costume ball was held in Saint Petersburg. Its participants, members of the august family and representatives of the aristocracy dressed in traditional costumes of Russian society of the 17th century.

Olga Mikhaylovna Zographo, the daughter of Mikhail Konstantinovich Zografo and his wife Elizaveta Egorovna, nee Baroness Meyendorff – put on an old upper dress (*so-called letnik*) of boyaryshnya of the 17th century, her uncle, Adjutant General, General of the Cavalry, Baron Theophil Egorovich Meyendorff – put on the clothes of Voivode of the Large regiment of troops of Prince Pozharsky, Adjutant General, Lieutenant General, Baron Alexander Egorovich Meyendorff appeared as a Siberian Cossack of the epoch of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich. Stallmeister Vladimir Fyodorovich Trepov, Hoffmeister, Baron Alexey Gustavovich von Knorring, Prince Feliks Feliksovich Yusupov, Count Sumarokov-Elston participated in the action as boyars. Cornet of the L. G. Hussars Nay-Pum was dressed in the costume of a spearman, and Cavalry Guard, Count Yuri Adamovich de Broel-Plater in the clothes of a strelets of Stremyanny Department (or *prikaz*). The mass scale of the event, the thoroughness of its preparation, and the fact that the album with photos of participants was sent to the retail sales, indicated that the ball had an ideological background⁴⁵. Ethnic Germans, Swedes, and other foreigners were dressed in the costumes of Russian grandees as it looked like three hundred years

⁴⁴ RGIA, f. 759, inv. 49, ref. no. 3243.

⁴⁵ Альбом костюмированного бала в Зимнем Дворце в феврале 1903 г., Санкт Петербург 1904.

ago. The Moscow Tsardom of the 17th century was presented as a romantic ideal for the ruling elite of one of the largest and most multi-ethnic states in the world. Despite the fact that three centuries have passed since the reign of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich, the models of interaction between the state and local foreign elites have remained the same. For the loyal elites of the outskirts of the Empire, a soft scenario of co-optation in the social system of the state was presupposed, which allowed for the preservation of the original corporate structures of local elites and the granting of complimentary positions to their prominent representatives. However, we can see that the preservation of identity was only temporary. The policy of state nationalism of the late 19th – early 20th centuries, which led to the bitterness of the ruling elite of the Russian Empire in relation to the Baltic Germans, Finns and Poles, was due to a persistent unwillingness to Russify. Disloyal elites were subject to declassification with the prohibition of corporate organizations. Full membership in the ruling elite of the Empire was achieved with complete Russification, expressed primarily through the adoption of Orthodoxy. The religious-nationalistic imperative of the ruling elite of the Empire was in contrary to the desire of local elites to preserve their cultural, ethnic and religious identity. Persecution against both individual dissidents and entire elite groups indicates the absence of consensual practices in the accepted social model of the state.

(translated by Margarita Sviridova)

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STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł jest poświęcony strukturze narodowo-wyznaniowej Dworu Imperatora Mikołaja II (1894–1917). Ze względu na specyfikę ustroju państwowego instytucja Dworu była integralną częścią aparatu władzy, a jego członkowie stanowili najbardziej elitarną grupę społeczną Imperium Rosyjskiego końca XIX – początku XX w. Uogólnienie danych osobowych 2341 dworzan, zidentyfikowanych podczas badania w zbiorach jednostek strukturalnych Ministerstwa Dworu Cesarskiego oraz innych instytucji i wydziałów państwowych, pozwoliło na stworzenie etniczno-wyznaniowego portretu elity rządzącej epoki panowania ostatniego Cara. Analiza procesów inkorporacji i wykluczania członków stanu dworskiego pokazuje modele interakcji tronu mikołajowskiego z lokalnymi eli-

tami. Większość materiałów archiwalnych wykorzystanych w badaniu trafia do obiegu naukowego po raz pierwszy.

Słowa kluczowe: Rosyjski Dwór Imperatorski, rangi dworskie, elita biurokratyczna, Imperium Rosyjskie, narodowość, szlachta

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