

Proclamations of Nicholas I. Political ideas, rhetorical strategies, functions

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Abstract

The thesis explores one of the ways of representation of power in the Russian empire: proclamations or manifestos. The temporal scope of the research is the reign of Nicholas I, one of most contradictory evaluated periods in the Russian history. It consists of five chapters. The first speaks about approaches to the representation of power; the second sets the historical context and describes the proclamations in general. The last three chapters describe different functions of proclamations: legitimization of the imperial power, as a tool of governance and way of propaganda. This case of imperial representation demonstrates the flexibility of the imperial authorities who implemented various ideas and rhetorical figures for different audiences.

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*By the divine grace we, Nicholas I, the emperor of the whole Russia, announce to all our
loyal subject...*

(titles of proclamations issued under Nicholas I)

Introduction

In December of 1825, after having received the news of the death of Alexander I, the highest circles of the Russian elites were in chaos. According to the law, the next emperor was supposed to be Constantin, younger brother of the emperor but he had contracted a morganatic marriage, and therefore had lost his rights for the throne and had become a viceroy in the Kingdom of Poland. After the death of Alexander I, he wrote Nicholas about the abdication but refused to come to Russia to affirm his decision. In this situation the part of the population took the oath of loyalty to Constantin in absentia. Moreover, it was known that the young officers were planning coup d'état that later become known as the Decembrist uprising. Amid all this chaos Nicholas had to cut the Gordian knot and the way to do it was to issue a proclamation on the accession of the throne. He accomplished it by supervising the creation of the text in person, and his associates put a lot of effort into distribution. The proclamation did not prevent the uprising, but their efforts demonstrate its importance for the authorities and how they believed that a well written and disseminated proclamation could resolve a difficult dynastic situation. ¹

The phenomenon of the absolutist power in the Russian Empire is quite remarkable. The power of the emperor was absolute; there was no category of population or institution until

¹Alexander Benkendorf, *Vospominaniya. 1802-1837 [Memoirs. 1802-1837]*, (Moskva: moskovskiy fond kultury, 2012), <http://feb-web.ru/feb/rosarc/ben/ben-001-.htm>, (accessed 01.06.2015), 335; Nikolay Schil'der, *Nikolay I. Ego zhizn' I tsarstvovaniye [Nicholas I. His life and reign]* (St. Petersburg: the typography of Alexander Suvorin, 1903), 269-348.

the beginning of the twentieth century to challenge it. The Russian Empire was a country with a huge territory - the largest country in the world ruled by one person. There was no such authority in any other Great Power.² One of ways to explore why this political system worked for such prolonged time is to see how this power was constructed symbolically, as the notions of power and representation are closely interconnected. On the one hand, power expresses itself through representation; on the other, representation itself defines the nature of power – each constructs the other.³ I will analyze the Russian imperial rule through one of the ways of the representation of power, proclamations.

Manifestos or proclamations were official appeals by the Russian emperor addressed to all of his subjects. This type of message appeared under Peter I and vanished with the end of the Romanov dynasty. Manifestos were composed in Saint Petersburg, dispatched to the provinces, and read aloud all over the Russian Empire. They were issued on numerous occasions: sometimes they told of recent developments in the life of the imperial family, whilst at others they warned subjects of impending wars and peace treaties. They could be used to publicize important new laws, reforms and levies, to discuss events in the borderlands of Poland and Finland, to condemn insurrections and announce the executions of political criminals that followed. The volume of manifestos only increased with time. Despite the fact that the manifestos were essential and typical accoutrements of imperial power, historians of Tsarist Russia have paid practically no attention to them and there are very few works on the subject.⁴

²Peter Waldren, *Governing tsarist Russia*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 17.

³Loius Marin, *The portrait of the King*, Translation by Martha M.Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 4.

⁴Konstantin Solovyev, “Semantika legitimnosti gosudarstvennoy vlasti v tekstash Vysochayshih Manifestov v XIX – nach. XX veka [The semantics of the legitimacy of state power by end of XIX – beginning of XX century], *Gosudarsvennoye upravlenie. Elektronnyy vestnik*. 42 (2014), 295-307; Michele Viise, “Filaret Drozdov and the language of official proclamations in nineteenth century Russia”, *The Slavic and East European journal* 44, 4 (2000), 553-582.

The time scope of my research is the reign of Nicholas I who ruled the Russian Empire for almost 30 years. He accessed the throne in December of 1825 and died in 1855. All in all, 127 proclamations were issued in these thirty years, which provides sufficient amount and diversity of data to analyze this representation of power. There are several important points that make this period worthy of analysis.

This reign is usually evaluated quite contradictory both by contemporaries and historians. There are two opposing views in historiography regarding Nicholas's reign. One tends to describe his reign as an "apogee of autocracy" or an extremely conservative period. This label, originally invented by historian Alexander Presnyakov, became the persuasive idea in Soviet historiography.⁵ The other view presented in some accounts left by Nicholas's contemporaries defines his reign as "the epoch of reforms".⁶ Richard Wortman has argued that in this reign the base for the Great Reforms was created.⁷ With my thesis I will made my point about all this contradiction on the example of this particular representation of power.

Secondly, in that time, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the repertoire of political ideas was significantly broadened since the beginning of the century. Traditional ideas about the sacred czardom in Russia were confronted with the influx of the Western ideas of legitimacy and the supremacy of law. These new ideas were very popular among the highest officials who were connected with the creation of proclamations. Also it was time when the concept of nationality became an essential part of official propaganda in the

⁵Alexander Presnyakov, *Apogey samodergaviya [The apogee of the autocracy]*, (Leningrad: Brokgauza-Efrona, 1925).

⁶Pyotr Zaionchkovsky, *Pravitelstvenny apparat samoderjavnoy Rossii [The governmental structure of the autocratic Russia]*, (Moskva: Mysl', 1970), 128.

⁷Richard Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 89-197.

Russian Empire.⁸ At the same time the regime paid a lot of attention to the control of public opinion and censoring the ideological landscape. Therefore the authorities had a variety of ideas to implement in their official appeals.

There is another important point of my text - the authorship of proclamations. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century there was no unified procedure of the production of the texts of proclamations. In several cases the emperor made a substantial contribution to their creation, for example, Nicholas himself created the draft of the manifesto on the accession on the throne. Moreover, the emperor wrote the text of the first proclamation himself and created the draft of the second on the events of Hungary. The primary source of knowledge is information about this process is the diary of Baron Modest Korf who kept recorded a detailed description of creating the text of these appeals.⁹ In addition, archival evidence suggests, one of the most eminent statesman, Mikhail Speransky was in charge of creation of several texts, for example about the codification of the laws.¹⁰ The Ministry of the Imperial Court appointed Dmitriy Bludov, one of the highest officials, to write several manifestos.¹¹ Some texts were created by unknown bureaucrats. To this data, the information about the creation of the texts in this time remains ambiguous. Despite the uncertainty surrounding the degree of the tsar's involvement in the creation of the proclamations, many scholars point out that this period was defined to a great extent by the

⁸ Nicholas V. Ryasanovsky, *Nicholas I and official nationality in Russia, 1825-1855*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959.); Richard S. Wortman "National narratives in the representation of nineteenth-century Russian monarchy" in *Extending the borders of Russian history*. (Budapest ; New York : Central European University Press, 2003.)

⁹ Modest Korf. *Iz zapisok barona (vposledstvii grafa) M.A.Korfa [from the notes of Baron (later count) M.A.Korf]*, *Russkaya starina*(3), 1900, 545-567. ; Modest Korf. *Iz zapisok barona (vposledstvii grafa) M.A.Korfa [from the notes of baron (later count) M.A.Korf]*, *Russkaya starina*(4), 1900, 27-50.

¹⁰Proekty manifesta o svode zakonov s sobstvennoruchnyi popravkami Speranskogo I ego chernovye bumagi , otnosyaschiesyaa k etomu proektu(Projects of the proclamations on the code of laws with Speransky's corrections and drafts connected with this case). 1833. (Papers of Speransky). Case. 1 File.154. Case.11. File.1. Russian State Historical Archive.

¹¹ O vozlozhenii na D.N.Bludova sostavleniya vysochayshih manifestov: po povodu brakosochetaniya velikikh knyazhon Olgi Nikolaevny i Ekateriny Mikhailovny, sovershennletiya velikikh knyazey Konstantina i Nikolaya Nikolayevichey I reskripta na imya kn.P.M.Volkonskogo. 1851. (Cases and papers of the Chairmen and Members of the State Council)). Case.11. File.1. Russian State Historical Archive.

personality of the emperor.¹² He was a person who saw his position as a duty and devoted a lot of time to the government. The emperor also believed that all state issues were of his concern and tried to control everything. Therefore, we can suppose that Nicholas I himself controlled the production of proclamations, as it was an official imperial appeal to all subject. In my text I will refer to the authors of the texts as “the emperor” or “the authorities”. But readers should always take into consideration this vagueness of the authorship.

The structure of my thesis will be as follows. In the first chapter I will speak about the theoretical approach of my work. The second chapter provides a systematized description of the proclamations issued in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with some historical context. The last three chapters are based on the empirical analyses of the proclamations arranged according to their functions: legitimization of power, governmental functions, propaganda. In these chapters I will look at the multiple rhetorical strategies that were used in this type of proclamations. To conclude, I will argue that the manifestos are an example of the flexibility of the imperial authorities in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

¹²William Fuller, *Strategy and power in Russia. 1600-1914* (New York : Free Press, 1992), 214.

Chapter 1. Analyzing the Representation of Power

As I mentioned before, one of the way to look into the phenomenon of imperial power is through the example of its representation. My thesis is devoted to the representation of the Romanov monarchy.¹³ The most canonical and comprehensive analysis of the representation of power in the Russian Empire is Richard Wortman's 'Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony of the Russian Monarchy'. This monograph researches the ways Russian emperors of the Romanov dynasty were represented through different media: ceremonies, architecture etc. As this book is crucial for my project, I will evaluate it more thoroughly.

The key notion in Wortman's book is what he calls the "Scenario of power", which means "the particular realization of the governing myth" that was used by all Russian emperors. According to Wortman, a scenario appears in the beginning of each reign as something homogenous and unchangeable. It goes through several stages, but its essence stays the same, at the end of each reign it goes through crisis. Each scenario affects multiple areas of the emperor's life as official ceremonies, court balls, private life, and the most important decisions of the monarch's domestic and international affairs. It is worth mentioning that to deal with representation, this American scholar chose an especially archaic historiographical model. The narration is divided into periods according to the dates of reigns that seem rather an artificial division.

I would like to point out that the notion of "scenarios of power" is quite ambivalent. On the one hand, it allows Wortman to link together isolated events in politics, and court life. On

¹³ I acknowledged of the works on representation of power, such as Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1957), but here I would like to focus on the books which are closer in their approach to my thesis.

the other hand, it puts substantial constraints on research. According to Wortman, the “scenario of power” was a program created by each monarch and every successive emperor followed this program without question when he/she issued a proclamation or organized a ball. Still, a reader may wonder to what extent the definition of the scenario chosen by Wortman is applicable to the whole dynastic chain. The argument that Peter I broke with the previous traditions of monarchical representation is hard to dispute (although several scholars argue for the continuity of his reign from that of his father’s, Alexey Mihailovitch). Also it is quite obvious that Alexander III stressed aspects of nationality in his “scenario of power,” which were not present to the same extent in earlier rulers. Further still, the idea that Alexander III’s scenario was centered on love can be questioned. For example, is it possible to interpret the abolition of serfdom in a different way: a way in which love does not factor so heavily? In addition, the cruel suppression of Pugachyov’s rebellion is not only about the mercy of an “enlightened Minerva.”

Besides the vagueness of the notion of “scenario,” Wortman’s analysis also suffers from an insistence that these “scenarios” can be attributed to such a long time-scale. Wortman analyzes the “scenarios of power” of emperors from Peter I to the last Romanov, Nicholas II. It is worth mentioning that the author describes the scenarios of the czars of the XVIII century in much shorter length, while providing ample detail about the scenarios of power in the nineteenth century. Still, so large a scope, in both chronological and topical matters, makes his narrative a bit perfunctory, especially considering the fact that he includes, almost haphazardly, not only ceremonies but visual representations, internal affairs and international relations as well. Some fields are covered, some are not, and the choice of them leaves much room for questioning.

There is another big issue of ‘Scenarios of power’ is weakly explored question of audience. He mentions that firstly the scenario was addressed to the imperial court, only later was it

broadened to include wider strata of people and subjects. During the reign of Nicholas I it was translated through newspapers and government officials were also included targeted. The scenario of Nicholas II, due to technical progress, was addressed to all of the estates of the Russian Empire (according to Wortman, this expansion of intended audience only helped to overthrow of the monarchy as all the subjects saw discrepancies in the imperial image). But the possibility that the audience could have a direct influence on the “scenario” is not treated at all. This absence weakens Wortman’s account.

I strongly believe that the question of audience is one of the crucial for exploring the question of the representation. As Wortman’s book does not provide the example of this I will look at the approaches applied in the other book.

Another piece of scholarship which is crucial for me is "*Splendid monarchy: power and pageantry in Modern Japan*" by Takeshi Fujitani that explores the representation of power in the Japanese monarchy in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Meiji restoration.¹⁴ For Fujitani the reception of these representations is crucial and thus, he devotes his entire third chapter to this question. Since it is difficult to find primary sources pertaining to reception Fujitani exclaims, “we only need to gauge if only in suggestive ways, how and to what degree these inventions were received by people.”¹⁵ Still, the author finds several ways to show how ordinary people reacted to the ceremonies and memory sites. But he deals not only with primary sources that describe pageantry, but also points out how the authority created the audience of pageantry. The last approach is crucial for my research.

In my thesis I will apply several of Wortman ideas taking into consideration his weak points

¹⁴ Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid monarchy : power and pageantry in modern Japan* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁵ Fujitani, *Splendid monarchy*, 201.

and trying to implement the construction of audience from Fujitani's book. First of all, I argue the fact that the representation of power was of special importance for the Romanov dynasty partly because of its opulence which was important way to establish its power. Also as Wortman believes, I also try to find some general program in the Nicholas I proclamations. What is more, I take as an example of representation of power the manifestos which he used in his research too. Nevertheless, I pay attention to the varieties in the scenario of Nicholas I. In addition, I will research only one way of representation: the imperial proclamations, official addresses of the emperor. We can note that it is an exceptional way of representation. It is not a visual type of representation as some pieces of art or ceremony that were explored in the pieces of scholarship above, but it is a textual one. Therefore I need a more explicit approach to derive the contemporary political ideas from the texts. It is worth noticing that even in new works Wortman does not provide a theoretical approach, for this I will take the ideas of the Cambridge School of political history and intellectual history.

A true manifesto for this school was an article by Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas."¹⁶ Skinner's key hypothesis is avoiding two extremes which were typical for the contemporary research on political thought. He insists that for the coherent analyses we need to put into consideration both the text itself and the context in which it was created. In my research I am also planning to do these with the proclamations. To see what political ideas were applied I am planning to describe the situation around them. Also I think that it could be important to pay attention to the text themselves. Also the authors of the Cambridge school state that for the history of ideas it is necessary to study not the most canonical texts to understand the history of ideas but also other texts from this period. In my research of political ideas I will also look not at big pieces of writing but at

¹⁶ Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", *History and Theory* 8 (1), 3–53

the other texts of the time period.

The third important point considering approach is that all these ideas were expressed with language. We can see that there are two works that show the examples of the analyses the language of proclamations. The first one is Michele Viize who wrote the article, “Filaret Drozdov and the language of official proclamations in nineteenth century Russia.”¹⁷ Her main argument is that nobody understood the proclamation on the abolition of serfdom as its language was completely unintelligible for peasants. To understand this event she looked into the tradition of the manifestos of the nineteenth century. She notes that in the proclamation on the accession to the throne the authorities omitted the notion of sentimentalism as Nicholas I did not want to represent himself with the use of feelings. The second document under analysis is the text devoted to the peasant rebellion; Viize notes the similarities between its structure and various military decrees. The third remarkable point in her text is that in the proclamation on the cholera riot to a huge extent uses the church rhetoric. The main weak point of this research is that her article is based on three manifestos issued for exceptional reasons. I argue that there were a majority of other proclamations that influence much more the linguistic tradition of the imperial representation of power.

The article by Constantin Solovyev, “Semantics of the state power of the Imperial proclamations” analyses the frequency of use of the word-combination in seven manifestos from the nineteenth-twentieth century.¹⁸ Solovyev’s conclusions are quite controversial. He argues that the notion of law started to be important in the end of the nineteenth century. This argument is wrong as the importance of this notion appears at least in the manifestos issued under Catherine the Great. Therefore in my research I will pay more attention not to the exceptional, but also to “regular” proclamations.

¹⁷ Viize, “Filaret Drozdov and the language of official proclamations in nineteenth century Russia.”

¹⁸ Konstantin Solovyev. “Semantika legitimnosti gosudarstvennoy vlasti v tekstakh Vysochayshih Manifestov v XIX – nach. XX veka. “

To summarize the chapter, I will look at the proclamations of Nicholas I's reign as a linguistic construction of ideas of this time which were a crucial way of establishing the imperial power.

Chapter 2. The Content of Proclamations and the Historical Context of the Reign of Nicholas I.

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. Firstly, I will provide a brief general description of proclamations as the next three chapters will be devoted to the textual analysis of these imperial appeals. Secondly, this chapter provides a reader with a historical context as the description of proclamations also narrates about almost all events in the reign of Nicholas I. Thus I will show what kind of information the authorities believed to be worthy to spread with the imperial appeals, with special attention to the most remarkable lacunae in the description of the contemporary political situation in this type of imperial representation of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Proclamation as the part of the ceremony

Out of many proclamations issued under Nicholas I, three were extremely important because they symbolically confirmed his right to rule the Russian Empire. Nicholas's first proclamation described in the Introduction shows the significance of the manifesto which announced the accession of the new emperor on the throne.¹⁹ Also, the authorities issued two proclamations on the subject of the coronation. The first announced that the coronation would happen in two months (it was issued in the April and the coronation occurred in June). The second one spoke out various mercies because of the coronation.²⁰

Proclamations on the events in the Romanov family

The biggest group of consists of forty five proclamations devoted to the events in the royal family. First I will provide the overview of the people who were part of the imperial family.

¹⁹“O voschestvii na prestol gosudarya imperatora Nikolaya Pavlovitcha [On the accession to the throne His Majesty Nicholas I]”, FCL 1 (1825), 1.

²⁰“On the sacred and coronation His Imperial Majesty to be in the month of June FCL 540 (1826), 896; O sovershenii svyashchennogo koronovaniya Ego Imeratorskogo Velichestva i o darovannyh po semu sluchayu milostyah i oblegcheniyah [On the accomplishment sacred coronation of His Royal Highness and on the granted on this case acts of mercies and facilitations FCL]”, FCL 540 (1826), 896.

Nicholas was the third son of the Emperor Paul I and Empress Maria Fyodorovna. The latter was alive when Nicholas accessed the throne.²¹ His older brother Constantine and younger brother Mikhail were also recognized by law as the part of the Romanov family. Being a Grand Duke, in 1817 Nicholas married Princess Charlotte of Prussia who converted to Orthodoxy and took the name of Alexandra Fyodorovna.²² The marriage was successful both in dynastic and personal aspects. Nicholas and his wife were very attached to each other. The empress gave birth to seven children, including four boys: Alexander, Nicholas, Constantine, Mikhail. Therefore the Romanov dynasty could feel safe for keeping the throne in the nearest future.

Overall, there were between twenty and thirty persons in 1825-1855 in the imperial family of the Romanov. Almost every year someone was born, died or changed their matrimonial status. The imperial proclamations announced events in all these families. They were issued on birthdays, engagements, weddings, and the coming of age or death of someone in the royal family. Manifestos issued on the occasion of birth or funeral, engagement or wedding look very similar, their text did not vary much. Since the proclamations on events in the imperial family were issued almost every year and the subjects regularly learnt about new events in the imperial family, it was a salient portion of representation of power in the proclamations.

International affairs

During reign of Nicholas I, the proclamations announced several important conflicts in international relations. The authorities did not consider events of the war on the Caucasus and expansion in Central Asia as a sufficient reason to make public announcements. It

²¹On the personal life of the emperor look: Schilder, *Nicholas I*, 111-199; Bruce W. Lincoln, *Nicholas I, emperor and autocrat of all the Russians*, (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1978)6 65-72.

²²Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Romanovs: autocrats of whole Russia* (New York : Dial Press, 1981), 219.

seems that for the emperor the international politics towards the West was an important part of the representation whereas the Eastern borders were not a crucial part of Russian image.

Several manifestos described the relationships with Persia and the Ottoman Porte. The first proclamation, "On the end of the war with Persia and of making a peace treaty between Russia and Persia", announced the end of the military operations.²³ It is worth mentioning that on the beginning of the war the authorities issued not a proclamation but a declaration. Two manifestos, "On the opening the war with the Ottoman Porte" and "On the treaty of the eternal peace made with the Turkish empire", were issued in the connection to the Russian-Turkish war.²⁴

In 1848, revolutions occurred throughout Western Europe, including France and different parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Russian authorities reacted to the Hungarian revolution in 1848 with a proclamation "On the events in the Western Europe."²⁵ Nicholas I helped the Austro-Hungarian emperor, Franz-Joseph I, to suppress the rebels in Hungary, and the manifesto announced the invasion of the Russian troops.²⁶ After the troops led by General Paskevitch defeated the revolutionaries and reestablished the Austrian rule, another text spoke out the victorious end of the war.²⁷ The proclamations on this subject show the belief in the principles of the royal sovereignty as unshakable and the revolutions as a great danger.²⁸

²³ "Ob okonchanii s Periyu voyny i zaklucheniyu mejdu Rossiey n Persiey mira[On the end of the war with Persia and of making a peace treaty between Russia and Persia]'FCL 1887(1828), 271-272.

²⁴ Ob otkrytii voyny s Ottmanskoyu Portoy[On the opening the war with the Ottoman Porte"], FCL1947, (1828), 383-384; O tractate vechnogo mira, zaklichyonno s Tureckoy imperiey[On the treaty of the eternal peace made with the Turkish empire]', FCL3165,(1829), 658.

²⁵ O sobytiyah v Zapadnoy Evrope "On the events in the Western Europe", FCL 22087 1(848), 187-188.

²⁶ O dvizhenii voisk nashih dlya sodeistviya Imperatoru Avstriyskomu dlya potusheniya myateja v Vengriin I Transilvanii [On the movement of our army to the aid of the Emperor of Austria to suppression of mutiny in Hungary and Transilvania], FCL 23200 (1848), 235-236.

²⁷ O blagopoluchnom okonchanii voyny v Vengrii [On the successful ending of the war in Hungary], FCL23458 (1849), 20-21.

²⁸ Alexander Nifontov, *Rossiya v 1848 godu [Russia in 1848]* ,M., 1949; Ian W. Roberts, *Nicholas I and the Russian intervention to Hungary* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : Macmillan, 1991).

In 1850 the Russian Empire was in the heyday of its glory. The Polish uprising was suppressed, the old order was reestablished in Central Europe, and the Russian army seemed invincible.²⁹ The situation changed completely during the last war in the reign of Nicholas I, the Crimean War.³⁰ It was a military conflict in 1853-1856 when the Russian Empire fought against France, the Ottoman Empire, and the British Empire. The main battlefield was the Crimean Peninsula, but confrontations also took place in Eastern Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Baltic Sea, the White Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

The Crimean War was a true challenge for the autocracy during Nicholas I's reign. It is remarkable that in this time the authorities made several appeals to the subjects. Three of them traditionally announced the beginning of the war and the involvement of new participants: "On the movement of the Russian armies to the Danube principalities", "On the war with the Ottoman Porte" and "On the war with England and France."³¹ It is interesting that in the last stage of the war which was a true disaster for the Russian Empire, two extraordinary proclamations, "On the appeal to Russia on the occasion of the current war" and "On the vocation to state militia" were issued.³² In this time it was quite evident that several uncertainties undermined both internal politics and international relations. The Czar believed that Austria would be an ally to Russia but it turned out the other way around. The army and infrastructure were both underdeveloped to encounter rivals like England or France.

²⁹Barbara Jelavich, *St. Petersburg and Moscow : Tsarist and Soviet foreign policy, 1814-1974*, (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1974), 112.

³⁰ On that subject, Evgeniy Tarle, *Krymskaya voyna [The Crimean war]*, <http://militera.lib.ru/h/tarle3/index.html> (accessed on 01.06.2015).

³¹ "O dvizhenii russkikh armii v Dunayskie kjajestva[On the movement of the Russian armies to the Danube principalities]", FCL27334 (1853), 286-287; "O voyne s Ottomanskoy Portoy [On the war with the Ottoman Porte]", FCL 27628 (1853), 490-491; "O voyne s Angliyei i Franciey [On the war with England and France]", FCL28150 (1854), 416-417.

³²"O vozvanii k Rossii po sluchayu nastoyashey voyny[On the appeal to Russia on the occasion of the current war]", FCL 28824 (1854), 521-522., "O prizvanii k gosudarstvennomu opocheniyu [On the vocation to state militia]", FCL28991 (1855),84-85.

To conclude, on the one hand it is notable how the authorities announced the beginning and the end of the war as customary; on the other hand, the examples show that they also used this appeal in the case of emergency.

The uprisings in the Russian Empire

Nicholas I issued the proclamations on several social insurrections. It is remarkable that the authorities issued the manifestos on this subject only in the beginning in the reign. They did not want to make the fact of any uprising public after the Polish rebellion in 1831.

The first gone, the Decembrist uprising, as I mentioned before, took place during the interregnum. One of the first manifestos issued in the reign of Nicholas I, “On the mutiny that happened in Saint-Petersburg on 14 December”, announced the events.³³ This rebellion was a challenge for the autocracy and the authorities suppressed it as fast as possible. The investigations and a consequent trial took place under the supervision of the emperor, and the second proclamation on this event informed “On the establishment of the Supreme Criminal Court for conviction of the criminals revealed on 14 December of passed 1825 year.”³⁴ Five rebels were sentenced to capital punishment, many were sent into exile to Siberia, and the third proclamation spoke on “The accomplishment of the sentence of the State Criminals.”³⁵

³³“O proizoshedshem bunte v Sankt-Peterburge 14 dekabrya [On the mutiny that happened in Saint-Petersburg on 14 December]”, FCL 6, (1825), 6-7.

³⁴ “Ob uchrejdenii Verhovnogo ugolovnogo suda dlya sujdeniya zloumyshlennikov, otkryshikhsya 14 Dekabrya 1825 goda [On the establishment of the Supreme Criminal Court for conviction of the criminals revealed on 14 December of passed 1825 year]”, FCL 381 (1826), 514-515.

³⁵“O sovershenii prigovora nad gosudarstvennymi prestupnikami [The accomplishment of the sentence of the State Criminals]”, FCL 465 (1825), 772-773.

The historiography on the Decembrist uprising is one of the most abundant in the Russian historiography. There several works on this subjects. Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist movement*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966).; Anatole Gregory Mazour, *The first Russian revolution, 1825 : the Decembrist movement : its origins, development, and significance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961); Vera Bokova, *Epokha taynykh obschestv. Russkiye obschestvennye ob'edineniya pervoy treti XIX veka [The era of secret societies. Russian public in the first third of the nineteenth century]*, (Moskva : Realii-press, 2003).; Militsa Nechkina, *Dekabristy [The Decembrists]* (Moskva: Nauka, 1975).

A type of revolts in this time was connected with social instability, for example, peasants' uprisings and cholera riots. All in all, about five hundred peasant rebellions took place in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Only once the authorities responded with a manifesto.³⁷ Some of the most serious cases of social unrest under Nicholas I, the cholera riots, happened in 1830-1831 in many cities and villages and the authorities reacted with a proclamation on this subject.³⁸ They took place in Nizhniy Novgorod, in military settlements in Staraya Russa, Sevastopol. The reasons for the rebellions were the quarantine measures imposed by the authorities as the subjects believed that the doctors intended to infect them. All the insurrections, "peasants' and "cholera uprisings" were suppressed alike by the military.³⁹

The proclamation on the internal politics

There were two groups of proclamations regarding the internal politics. The first one announced the regular duty of recruit levy, the second spoke about the social, governmental, financial reforms.

The authorities regularly announced the recruit levy. The proclamations on this subject were one of the most numerous of all: there were 31 proclamations of them in all. Usually the authorities issued a proclamation announcing a new recruitment per year with a few exceptions: there was no manifesto in 1826, there were two in 1829, 1833, 1849 and four in 1854. An analysis of these proclamations reveals that if it was addressed to some particular

³⁶Morgan Rachmatullin, *Krestyanskoye dvizhenie v velikorusskih guberniyakh in 1825 -1855*[*The peasant movement in Central Russian provinces 1825 -1855*] (Moskva: Nauka, 1991), 57.

³⁷ "O voznikshem v imperii nepovinoventii krestyan" [On the emerged disobedience of the peasants in the provinces]", FCL 330 (1826), 455.

³⁸"O smyatenii byvshem v nekotorykh guberniyah i Peterburge [On the disarray taken place in Saint Petersburg and certain provinces on the case of spread out ridiculous rumors on the imaginary reasons of cholera] ",FCL 4746 (1831),741-743.

³⁹ On cholera in Russia see further: Charlotte E. Henze, *Disease, Health Care and Government in Late Imperial Russia: Life and Death on the Volga, 1823-1914*, (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2011),12-20.

district or a class of subjects (social or national), a special decree was issued.⁴⁰

During the reign of Nicholas I certain changes in the social order took place, and three proclamations announced these. One told everyone about the order of nobility assemblies, the title of other were “On the establishment of the new estate of honored citizens” and “On the order of obtaining the nobility with service.”⁴¹

One of crucial issues of social politics was serfdom. Nicholas I himself did not approve of it but believed that its abolishment would cause greater problems. Still, several important improvements have been implemented to make better the position of the serf population. First of all, the reform by Count Kiselyov towards the state peasants was accomplished. There were few important components of this reform: a new Ministry of State Property was created, corvée was abolished, and certain questions were now possible to be solved within their communities.⁴² Although the issues connected with serfdom were the primal concern and the existence of several Secret Committees on this issue confirms it, there was no proclamation on this subject. Therefore we can conclude it was considered to lie outside the political discourse entirely.

There were important changes in the government. One of the most important proclamations was issued in the day of coronation, 22 August 1826, and entitled “On the order of

⁴⁰ On the question of levies see further: Frederick Kagan, *The military reforms of Nicholas I. The origins of the modern Russian army*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *From serf to Russian soldier*, (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press), 1990.

⁴¹ “O poryadke dvoryanskikh sobraniy, vyborov i slujby po onoy[On the order of the noble assemblies, their elections and service]”, FCL 4989(1831), 239-241;”Ob ustanovleniya novogo sosloviya pod nazvaniem pochyotnyh grajdan “On the establishment of the new estate of honored citizens”, FCL 5284 (1833), 193-194, “O poryadke priobreteniya dvoryanstva slujboy[On the order of obtaining the nobility with service]”, FCL 19086(1845), 450-452.

⁴²Nikolay Druzhinin, *Gosudarstvennye krest'ane I reforma P.D.Kiselyova [State peasants and reform of P.D. Kiselyov]* , (Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka, 1958).

inheritance of Russian throne and on guardianship and patronage in case of disease of the Sovereign emperor until coming to the full age of the heir.”⁴³

One of the most significant and unquestionable accomplishments of Nicholas I's reign was the codification of the laws as the previous systematic law code was issued two centuries before, in 1649. Two manifestos announced the accomplishment of codification of the laws. Mikhail Speransky, one of the most eminent officials of the first half of the nineteenth century was appointed the Head of the Second Section of the Imperial Chancellery. The process of collecting and systemizing the laws started in 1826 and finished in 1833. Once complete, the full collection of the laws was issued and later the code was published. The laws about several special subjects were excluded from this list and were issued separately, as it happened with military statutes.⁴⁴

Another aspect of the internal politics covered with proclamations was finances. The Ministry of Finance led by Count Egor Kankin implemented a number of reforms: they introduced new protectoral tariffs and improved the accounting system of the state. Nevertheless, the proclamations announced only innovations connected with the introduction of new bank papers and issue of the new silver ruble. Again, this example sheds light on what the imperial authorities decided to announce to the whole country and what was kept out of discussion completely.⁴⁵

⁴³“O poryadke naslediya rossiyskogo prestila I ob opeke pravitelstva na sluchay konchiny gosudarya imperatora bi do zakovershennoletiya zakonnoego naslednika [On the order of inheritance of Russian throne and on guardianship and patronage in case of disease of the Sovereign emperor until coming to the full age of the heir] “, FCL (537) (1826), 890-891.

⁴⁴Marc Raeff, *Mikhail Speransky: statesman of Imperial Russia, 1772-1839* (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1979), 322-346.

⁴⁵Ob uchrezhdenii na vremya biletov gosudarsvennogo kaznacheistva summoyu na 30 millionov rubley assignatnyami [On the establishment temporarily the banknotes of state treasury for 30 million], FCL (4704), 1831, 679; O vypuske biletov gosudarsvennogo kaznacheistva summoyu na 30 millionov rubley assignatnyami [On the issue the banknotes of state treasury for 40 million]”, FCL(6706), 33; “Ob usroystve denezhnoy sistemy[On the arrangement of monetary system]”, FCL12497(1839), 697; O vypuske v narodnoe obraschenie kreditnyh biletov na 30 millionov rubley[On the issue to people's circulation for 30 million],

Politics on the imperial borderlands

Connection with its peripheries is a crucial part of politics for any empire, and it has found symbolic representation in the proclamations issued in Tsarist Russia. Six proclamations were issued on the innovations in Poland and Finland, territories of the special status in the Russian Empire. The diversity of subjects could be seen just with a glance on the titles: “On the exile to the Siberian provinces to mountain factories Finnish criminals, qualified under them for capital punishment but mercifully released from it”, “On the division of the Great Principality of Finland to eight provinces”, “Collecting duties and requisitions to registered in Finland to trade, industrial or working class, foreigners and Russian citizens”, “On the usage in the Kingdom of Poland scales and measures used in Russia”, “On the permission to the Polish bank to give loans to the owners the private territorial estates.”⁴⁶

Other important proclamations on the events in the Kingdom of Poland were issued because of the November uprising that started in 1830-1831. As the rebels dethroned Nicholas I as king of Poland and turned against him, the imperial authorities replied to this mutiny with the proclamation “On the uprising that happened in the Polish Kingdom.”⁴⁷ The rebellion was soon suppressed by the Russian troops and General Paskevitch who was in charge of them was established as governor of this part. Two manifestos followed these events: “On

FCL14700 (1840) 683; On the subject see more: Walter Pintner, *Russian Economic Policy under Nicholas I* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca New York, 1967).

⁴⁶ “O ssylke v Sibirskie gubernii na raboty v gornue zavody Finlandskih prestupnikov, podpavshim po zakonom onago smarnay kaznim, no ot nee vse milostiveyshe osvobodiyonnogo [On the exile to the Siberian provinces to mountain factories Finnish criminals, qualified under them for capital punishment but mercifully released from it]” FCL 279 (1826), 468, 383; “O razdelenii kniazhestva Finlyadskogo na vosem’ provinciy [On the division of the Great Principality of Finland to eight provinces]”, FCL 4448 (1831), 263-265; “O vzmianii poshlin i poborov s pripisyvauschihsiya v Finlyadii k trgovomu, promyshlennomu ili rabochemu klasse, inostantsev i Rossiyskih podaannyh [Collecting duties and requisitions to registered in Finland to trade, industrial or working class, foreigners and Russian citizens]”, FCL 11182 (1838), 361-364; “Ob upotreblenii v Tsarstve Pol’skom vesov i mer, upotrebyaemyh v Rossii [On the usage in the Kingdom of Poland scales and measures used in Russia]” FCL 21907 (1848), 53; “O dozvoledenii Banku Pol’skomu vydavat’ v; adeltam chastnyh zemskih imeniy ssudy [On the permission to the Polish bank to give loans to the owners the private territorial estates], FCL 19152 (1845), 450-451.

⁴⁷ “O vozmuschenii, prozoshedshen v Varshave [On the uprising that happened in Warsaw]”, FCL 4183 (1830), 468.

the entry of the Russian army into the Kingdom of Poland for pacification of rebels” and “On the cession of military operations in the Kingdom of Poland.”⁴⁸

Even with this short list it is possible to see how diverse were the reasons to issue proclamations, from the revolution in Hungary to the recruit levy. How exactly the imperial authorities used this instrument will be described in detail in the next three chapters.

⁴⁸ O vstuplenii deystvueshey armii v predely Tsarstva Polskogo dlya usmireniya myatezhnikov “On the entry of the Russian army into the Kingdom of Poland for pacification of rebels” FCL 4285 (1830), 54-55; “O prekraschenii voennyh deysviy v Tsarstve Pol’skom [On the cession of military operations in the Kingdom of Poland]”, FCL 4850 (1831), 41-42.

Chapter 3. The Functions of Proclamations: Legitimization of the Imperial Power

I argue that there are several functions of the proclamations. One of the most important is the legitimization of the imperial rule. Through the proclamations the Russian autocracy constantly reestablished its undisputable right to rule. It could be seen both through some key images in the texts of some manifestos. There are several modes of justification that could be seen in almost all proclamations.

The first one is the connection of the emperor with the divine power. One of the strongest points of this link in the proclamations was inherited by Nicholas I as traditionally all official appeals started with the heading “by the divine grace the emperor” (Bozhey milost’u imperator). For the reign of the Nicholas I this type of justification was even more important. Viise points out that in the proclamation of accession – the very first announcement of each reign - the most important source of legitimization of the imperial power is the reference to divine power, suggesting that imperial power cannot be challenged by human force.⁴⁹ It was an important part of the Nicholas’s accession. It could be seen very clearly in the first proclamation on the coronation, “On the holy anointing and the coronation His Imperial Majesty that are to accomplish in the month of June.” The text of proclamation is telling and short, therefore I will quote it entirely:⁵⁰

“Since the accession to our ancestral throne, taking the burden imposed on us by God and looking for help and strengthening in his almighty power and mercy we decided on the

⁴⁹ Viise, Filaret Drozdov and the language of official proclamations in nineteenth century Russia”, 562.

⁵⁰ “Объявляем всем верным нашим подданным. С восшествием на престол наш прародительский, восприяв бремя, от Бога на нас наложенное и во всемогущей его силе и милосердии ища помощи и укрепления, положили мы по примеру благочестивых предков наших принять священное миропомазание и возложить на себя корону, приобщив сему Священному действию и супругу Нашу Александру Федоровну. Предвещая о сем происшествии, имеющем с помощью Божьей совершиться в Престольном Нашем граде Москве сего 1826 года в июне месяце мы призываем верных наших подданных соединить мольбы к всевышнему, да благодать его Святая со священным сим елеем излеются на Нас и на Царстве Наше, да будет действие сие знаменiem и залогости благости Его к нам и начатию любви, содеиняющей нас с верными нашими подданными, коих счастье мы признаем единственной целию наших мыслей. Исполнением желаний, наградой трудов, верховной нашей обязанностию для царства царствующих” see “О sovershenii svyaschennogo koronovaniya Ego Imeratorskogo Velichestva i o darovannyh po semu sluchayu milostyah I oblegcheniyah”, 898.

example our pious ancestors to take the holy anointing and to take the crown, joining to this Holy Action our spouse Alexandra Fyodorovna. Announcing about this event, that is about to happen in the capital city Moscow this 1826 year we summon our loyal subjects to join our prayers to the Most High, may his grace with Holy anoint vent on Us! May this action be a sign and pledge of his clemency towards us and the beginning of love which connects us with our loyal subjects. Their happiness we recognize as the only aim of our thoughts. The accomplishments of the wishes, the award for the labors, our superior obligations for the Tsardom of reigning.”

The main idea of this text is connected with divine authorities in all possible means. The figure of the emperor and his spouse are represented in close connection with God. The role of subjects is also within their church obligations. The reason of issue itself is connected with church sacraments, as anointment or wedding. To conclude, we can see that the idea of sacred kingdom was of crucial importance in the imperial representation and could be meant for various groups.

The close link between God and Czar influenced the representation of the nature of the emperor himself. The oldest part of the ideology about the Czar is the idea of sacred czardom. Russia inherited from Byzantium the idea of the sacred person of the emperor, but, as Boris Uspensky argues, in Muscovy and in the Russian Empire the position of Czar was even higher as there was no patriarch, the emperor was the head of the church too. The reason for this shift was that the patriarchate ceased to exist, the Holy Synod was established and the emperor was the highest embodiment of divine power and will. He was, according to Uspensky again, the head of church and Lord's anointed.⁵¹ As historian Michael Chernyavsky pointed out, in Russia there was no distinction between the political

⁵¹Boris Uspensky, *Car' i patriarch : charizma vlasti v Rossii : vizantijskaja model' i ee russkoe pereosmyslenie [Czar i patriarch. Charisma vlasti: the Byzantium model and its Russian reconsideration]* (Moskva : Jazyki russkoj kul'tury, 1998), 56.

body of the emperor and his physical one.⁵² I believe that this part of imperial representation was a crucial one. Secondly, the emperor himself possesses special features. However, when we look at the very texts of the proclamations, it is possible to notice that the texts still pay a lot of attention to present these events as connected with the divine grace where possible.

Not only the emperor himself but the whole his family is strongly linked with God. Important theme of “family proclamations” is God’s blessing to the imperial family on birth, maturation, and death. A new child is always a sign of grace exercised on the emperor’s house: “this addition of the imperial house we accept as a sign of grace of the most High.”⁵³ Blessings of the same sort were bestowed on the imperial heirs when they became of age: “With reverential gratitude to the Providence, keeping Him [the Heir], we see this event as sign of present Celestial benefactions and a pledge of future ones.”⁵⁴ The memory of deceased Maria Fyodorovna is likewise referred to as “holy” (*svyashchennyi*).⁵⁵ Also the imperial family is connected with God through the church. The role of church is highlighted in different ways. Because of manifestos the audience always learns about the church where a wedding ceremony takes place. The proclamations about the engagement of grand dukes always contain information about the baptism of a bride. The text that was issued on the wedding of Konstatin Nicholaevich, highlights the holy patron of the day, Alexander Nevsky, thus the connection between the newly-wed and the saint is highlighted.

⁵²Michael Chernyavsky, *Tsar and people; studies in Russian myths*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1961), 89-95.

⁵³ “Такое нашего императорского дома приращение приемлем мы новым знаком благодати всевышнего”. This sentence was used for example in “O razreschenii ot bremeni eya imperatorskogo vysochestva Velikoy knyagini Aleksandry Iosifovny docher’u [On the delivery of Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna with a daughter], FCL 23896 (1850), 100.

⁵⁴ «С благоговейной признательностию к Провидению, Его хранящему, взирая на сие событие как на знамение небесных благодеяний настоящих и залог будущих” see “O sovershenoletii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Tsesarevitcha, Naslednika I Velikogo Knyazya Aleksandra Nikolaevitcha [On the becoming of age His Majesty Heir Tseravetch and Gtand Duke Alexandr Nicholaevitch], FCL7019, (1834), 318.

⁵⁵ Ob uchrezhdenii dlya litz jenskogo pola znaka otlichiya besporochnoy sluzhby [On the establishment for women the order of blameless service], FCL 2511 (1828), 1136.

These two ideas - of divine power and of special character of the emperor - could be understood by all groups of population.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century we can find more modern ideas which were also used to legitimize the imperial rule. The first of them is the importance of the laws at the core of the empire. Although quite a common view in the historiography on the Russian Empire is on the territory ruled by the will of the emperor and not by the law it could be seen that the legal basis was a crucial part of imperial representation in the Nicholaevan reign. In the proclamation on the accession of the throne we can see that “keeping the laws” (*podderzhanie zakonov*) was one of the agenda of the future reign.⁵⁶ In the text, issued on the response to the Decembrist uprising the rebels are “refractory people dared to withstand the general oath, law”⁵⁷ and other “Russian people, always loyal to its czar and the laws is inaccessible to the evil of anarchy.”⁵⁸ Also the references to the laws could be found in the “program” of the future reign in the proclamation of the coronation: “may the laws and truth be established in the courts.”⁵⁹ Then we can see that in the text on the sentence to the Polish rebels that there is coherence between the laws and mercy.⁶⁰ It was decided to issue two proclamations that announce the codification of laws. Two texts, “On the issue of the full codification of laws of the Russian Empire” and “On the issue of military decrees”

⁵⁶ “О voschestvii na prestol gosudarya imperatora Nikolaya Pavlovitcha”, 1.

⁵⁷ В то время как все государственные сословия, все чины военные и гражданские приносили Нам присягу и в храмах Божьих, горсть непокорных дерзнула противостать общей присяге, Закону, власти, общему порядку и убеждению’ see “О proizoshedshem bunte v Sankt-Peterburge 14 dekabrya”, 6.

⁵⁸ “Мы имеем право ожидать и надеяться от единодушной приверженности к Нам и Престолу Нашему всех состояний”, “Русский народ, всегда верный своему Царю и законам”. Ibid.

⁵⁹ “Да воцарятся закон и правда в судилищах” see “O sovershenii svyashchennogo koronovaniya Ego Imeratorskogo Velichestva i o darovannyh po semu sluchayu milostyah I oblegcheniyah [On the accomplishment sacred coronation of His Royal Highness and on the granted on this case acts of mercies and facilitations FCL]”, FCL (540), 1826, 896.

⁶⁰ “O nakazaniyah prigovorennym glavnyim vinovnikam byvshego v Tsarstve Polskogo myateja [On the punishment sentenced to the main perpetrators of the mutiny took place the Kingdom of Poland]”, FCL(7383), 1834, 6.

announced it.⁶¹ Both texts look very much alike and the importance of laws for governing is highlighted in them. In the beginning of both texts it states that the process started because of acknowledgement “the necessity to put our home laws into order.”⁶² In the end of the first one we see a quote that the codification was necessary because of two primary state needs “administration of justice and of ruling.”⁶³ The conception of the rule of law became crucial since the writings of the philosophers in Early Modern times and especially I should mention *The Spirit of Laws*’ by Montesquieu. This treatise was important for Russian ruling elites since the reign of Catherine II. These references for the laws could be important for the educated audience which started to appear in this period.⁶⁴

Another new salient innovation in the legitimization of the reign was connected with so-called “desacralisation of monarchy” that took place in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ Now the monarch positioned himself as an embodiment of moral values, one of the most crucial was the representation of himself as an exemplary family man. Another aspect of the legitimization of the imperial power was to represent the emperor as a model of moral behavior, as Wortman fairly pointed out.⁶⁶ I argue that the reference to the family is seen quite clearly in proclamations that were issued on the events in the imperial family. First, the issue of the texts themselves reminded the subjects about the family ties of the emperor. Therefore, we can see that earthy nature of the emperor was public all the time. Secondly, these family events show the emotions of the imperial family bringing them closer to human beings. In the proclamation of the engagement of the main male heir: the

⁶¹“ Ob izdanii svoda zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii [On the issue of the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire]”, FCL 5947 (1833), 68-70; “Ob izdanii svoda viennyh postanovleniy [On the issue of the code of the military decrees]”, FCL 12648 (1839), 684.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “В самом начале царствования признав необходимость привести законы в необходимый порядок, сего требовали первые существенные нужды, государство и порядок управления”, “Ob izdanii svoda zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii”, 68.

⁶⁴ Wortman. *Legal consciousness*, 57.

⁶⁵ Richard Wortman, “The representation of the imperial family as symbol” in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, ed. Jane Burbank, David L. Ranse, 66-67.

⁶⁶ Wortman, *Scenarios of power*, 451.

proclamation mentions the joy of the emperor as “a joy of parent’s heart.”⁶⁷ In this text the members of the imperial family united with feelings. In the proclamation of the marriage of Tsesarevitch Alexander the emperor asks God to bless not only the union itself, but also their “reciprocal tenderness”(vzaimnaya nezhnost’).⁶⁸ The representation of the imperial marriage gains a previously overlooked emotional aspect, i.e. the couple’s feelings for each other.

The death during childbirth of Alexandra Nicholaevna, the emperor’s daughter, was truly tragic for the emperor, as the text shows: “It was necessary for God to test our Parental Heart with sorrowful unexpected loss.”⁶⁹ The emperor acknowledged his state as “deep sorrow” (*glubokaya pechal’*).⁷⁰ The tragedy of the death is also much more evident because of the exceptional qualities of the deceased - “gentle and tender soul” (*krotkaya i nezhnaya dusha*).⁷¹ This characteristic is full of emotions and quite stereotypical, but it also suggests profound grief caused by an untimely death. So, the image of the monarch connected with his family is always represented with in this type of proclamations by the very reason of issue, its frequency and the depiction of emotions of the members of the royal family.

As to the audience for this kind of argumentation, I believe that for the highest officials all the events in the imperial family were of special importance. I argue that the assumption of Dolgikh that for this category these events were perceived both as some ceremonies and family events.⁷² The first aspect is of special importance for this group as

⁶⁷“O sershiyshemsya brakosochetanii Ego Imperatorskokogo Vysochestva Gosudarya Naslednika Tsarevitcha, velikogo Knyazya Aleksandra Nikolaevitcha s Velikoy knyazhnoy Mariey Aleksandrovnoy [On the accomplishment of wedding His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevitch Grand Duke Alexander with Great Duchess Maria Alexandrovna]”, FCL 14459, (1841), 308 .

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Богу было угодно испытать родительское сердце Наше горестной неожиданной потерей” see “O konchine eya Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoy Knyagini Aleksandry Nikolaevny [On the decease Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Nikolaevna]”, FCL18111(1828), 467.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Elena Dolgikh. *K probleme mentaliteta rossiyskoy administrativnoy elity pervoy poloviny XIX veka: M.A.Korf, D.N.Bludov [About the mentality of the Russian bureaucracy of the first half of XIX century: M.A.Korf,*

the officials could participate in the ceremonies themselves. Therefore, I agree that it was a special group that was taken into consideration by the authorities as the creators of the texts of proclamations were recruited from this milieu.⁷³ It is remarkable that to the certain extent we can see the emotions of the proclamations in the diaries of the officials of that time.

The connection between the highest officials and courtiers, and the imperial family could be demonstrated with the proclamation on the establishment of the new order of distinction, Mariinsky, named after the recently deceased mother of the emperor, Maria Fyodorovna.⁷⁴ With this order the emperor want to distinguish those who committed these “important for social order Christian deeds of valor for the poor and for the suffering,” who “devote all [their] forces and talents and the time of their life to facilitation of fate of the unfortunates or moral education of the youth.”⁷⁵ Importantly, the deceased empress was a model of this type of service. My assumption is that this text was written mainly for noble women who could be pleased to obtain this sign of honor which was connected with the dynastical representation.

A proclamation on the accession on the throne was always a salient occasion for the new ruler to unveil an agenda for his/her reign. The wording of such documents merits a separate discussion. For Nicholas I, a program for his reign was even more important considering how disputed his rights to the throne were. Nicholas I himself created the draft. He ordered Nikolai Karamzin, a famous writer and historian, to develop it, but was not satisfied with the result, and Mikhail Speransky was obliged to create the final version of the text.

D.N.Bludov], (*M:Indrik, 1999*), 139.

⁷³ О возложении на D.N.Bludova sostavleniya vysochayshih manifestov: po povodu brakosochetaniya velikikh knyazhon Olgi Nikolaevny i Ekateriny Mikhailovny, sovershennletiya velikikh knyazey Konstantina i Nikolaya Nikolayevichy I reskripta na imya kn.P.M.Volkonskogo. 1851 г. (Cases and papers of the Chairmen and Members of the State Council)). Case.11. File.1. Russian State Historical Archive.

⁷⁴ “Ob uchrezhdenii dlya litz jenskogo pola znaka otlichia besporochnoy sluzhby” ,1136.

⁷⁵ На важные в порядке общественном подвиги Христианской любви к бедным и страждущим. Кто посвящает свои силы, способности и время жизни облегчению участи злополучных или нравственному образованию юношества. Ibid.

This text references both divine authority and law. But we can also find other arguments. What is remarkable, the emperor referenced the tumultuous circumstances of his accession as the justification of his rights for the throne. First the audience learnt about the death of Alexander I, then acknowledges that Nicholas took the oath of loyalty to his older brother, Constantine even after he obtained from the State Council papers which made him a legitimate heir of the throne. Nicholas refused this offer as he “did not wish and had no rights for this abdication that was not announced publicly and did not turn into the law.”⁷⁶ After Nicholas repeated that he wanted the legitimate base for his reign. Then Constantine learned about the death of Alexander I and confirmed his abdication. Nevertheless, Nicholas wanted “final expression of the will of His majesty to our oath of loyalty” and only after it Nicholas agreed to take the throne. Therefore, the authors of the proclamation wanted to provide the audience with a detailed description of the events of December 1825 as they believed that the outline of the events proved the Nicholas’ rights to the throne. Wortman points out that Nicholas I justified breaking the order of succession, becoming the emperor instead of his elder brother, because of his loyalty of the order expressed in the will of Constantin.

Another point of justification is that few other documents were attached to the proclamation, which is also used as justification of Nicholas I’s right for the throne. They are the proclamation of Alexander I that mentions the abdication of Grand Duke Constantin and the appointment Nicholas I as an heir, the letter of Grand Duke Constantin to the deceased emperor and the answer, and two letters between the imperial family members. I assume that this type of the argumentation was meant for those who could appreciate the documents as the proof the throne: the nobility and the officials.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the justification of the reign was represented in

⁷⁶ “O voschestvii na prestol gosudarya imperatora Nikolaya Pavlovitcha”, 3.

proclamations with a set of ideas. Whereas the ideas of connectedness of the Czar with God could be understood by everyone, other ideas, such as the importance of the imperial family or the role of laws could be meant for a narrow audience of nobility.

Chapter 4. The Functions of Proclamations: The Proclamations as an Accessory of Governance

One of the most pressing problems of the Russian Empire was carrying out the orders of the central authorities in the provinces. The proclamations were an attempt to overcome this issue. The distribution of proclamations was used to support the governing in the whole empire. There were several groups of population that the authority could rely on to exercise their power at the local level. First of all, the nobility were the pillar of the throne. Secondly, during the reign of Nicholas I was time when officialdom grew substantially, and the Russian Empire turned into the modern state. One of the cliché connected with the Nicholas I's reign was the abundance of the officials. Nevertheless, if we look at the comparing with other countries its amount was substantially lower. The third group was the local elites which were of special importance in the borderland of the empire. We can see that the several groups of proclamations were meant for these categories. When the central power announced the innovations or announced the recruit levy, it needed local authorities. I would like to see what type of argumentation is used to make the nobility, elites and the officialdom to assist in the governing the empire.

One of the key arguments is the reference to the past or tradition that could be intelligible for the categories of a certain level of education, officials and nobility. The creators of the text the nobility assemblies presented reforms as return to traditional state politics towards this estate: “we decided as a necessary measure ...[to] return to the useful regulations of noble election [the elections to the noble assemblies] its primordial strength and action and without changing its roots make it more solid.”⁷⁷ Obviously, the audience for this proclamation was the nobility, interested in exercising their privileges.

⁷⁷ “Мы признали нужным ... вернуть полезному установлению дворянских выборов его силу и действие и не изменяя оснований оного дать им более твердости“ see “О poriadke dvoryanskih sobranij”, 247.

The justification for reforms on obtaining the noble rank, announced in the proclamation, is also connected with the past. The argument for raising the rank necessary for obtaining a noble title lies in the fact that the laws in force were created in different historical circumstances. Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, people of higher ranks both on civilian and military service had to deal with multiple tasks, in the reign of Nicholas I service is much simpler. The authorities decided to choose as an historical justification the practices during the reigns of Peter I and Catherine II. In the official historiography of the Nicholaevan era and the state propaganda these two rulers were represented as the most outstanding emperors.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the idea that in the reign of Nicholas I the Russian Empire improved its position even comparing with these glorious times, as its borders extended and population grew, and governing was improved is crucial for the text.

In the proclamations on the codification of the laws the connection with history is also one of the key argumentations. In both texts we see that the audience heard that the base of the both codification of the laws was established by Peter the Great. What is more, in the first proclamation the codification of the laws is represented as “the fulfillment of the desires of our ancestors” (*ispolneniye zhelaniy nashih predkov*).⁷⁹ To conclude, I argue that discontinuity was disguised as a continuity.

The next important point in the proclamation as a tool of governing is the law. In the chapter above I demonstrated how the idea of the rule of law was used for justification the autocracy in general. The practical application of the laws was important constituent in the proclamations on governing. It could be seen in the texts on the codification of the laws. We learn from the both texts that the laws were “sorted out according to their types and

⁷⁸ Rysaansovsky, *Nicholas I and the theory of official nationality*, 107 - 13.

⁷⁹ “Ob izdanii svoda zakonov Rossiyskoy imperii”, 68.

separated from everything that was abolished with later laws”, “come to uniform structure and united into the whole.”⁸⁰ With systematization they became applicable. Moreover, in the attached decrees we can see even more instructions of the application this new code in bureaucratic procedures. Therefore, the accent is put to the usability of this new codification. The practical application of the laws could be also seen in the proclamations on the recruit levies. The law that creates legal base for a levy is always mentioned in the text. The attention to the rules could be seen in the proclamation on the financial reforms. It was important to mention the practical application of the introduction of new bank papers in the text of proclamations that payment of the percentages and capital is to be accomplished on the basis of the Appendix.⁸¹ The references to practical application of the laws could be also found in the last paragraphs of the “mercy proclamation”, issued on the day of the coronation. These paragraphs speak about mercy - forgiving the shortcomings - for various categories of the subjects. Despite the fact that directly they were of particular interest for these categories as nobility, merchants, peasants, petit bourgeois, I argue that these paragraphs were important for officials too as they would treat with mercy the above-mentioned categories of the subjects. The most part of the text in the proclamation on the honored citizens contains the further regulations on this new social stratum. Thus, I suggest that this proclamation was issued mostly for the officials who would execute these innovations.

Another aspect of governing the state could be connected with the references to the expertise to the state institutions. For example, in two texts on the economical innovations it is possible to find details about making this new law: “according to presentation of the Ministry of Finances and the opinion of the State Council we accepted as good to allow a

⁸⁰ “Сведены в единообразный состав”, “соединены в единое целое “, Ibid.

⁸¹ “О новом выпуске билетов государственного казначейства”, 33.

new issue”.⁸² One issued in January of 1831 also on financial reform says “different advantages and important aids could not help demanding the increase of taxes of the State Treasury.”⁸³

The argumentation of the above-mentioned type of proclamation was addressed for the categories of the Russian population that possessed the minimal knowledge of the work of state structures and could be interested in commercial relationship. Therefore, I suggest that these two categories of audience are officialdom and nobility.

Another important point in the argumentation on the innovations is connected with economic gain. The reasons of the establishment of the new estate of honored citizens are described very briefly. The main pretext for these innovations is “to connect urban citizens with more closely their estate which prosperity in trade and industry depends on.”⁸⁴ The same argument is used in the issue of the new currency.

The connection between the state governing and officials and nobility could be seen on the example of the proclamation announced the census in 1833 that took place all over the Russian Empire.⁸⁵ The text starts with a short introduction where many aforementioned points are together. I will quote it entirely:

”Taking into consideration that since the accomplishment of the last census in the Empire in 1816 the change of the amount of people occurred and that the equalization as various state and public duties and as delivery of the recruits demands a new calculus of the people we recognized a good, agreeing with opinion of the State Council, to accomplish a new census in the whole Empire excluding Georgia, Armenian district and the Transcaucasian

⁸²“Согласно с представлением Министра Финансов и Государственного совета признали мы за благо соучествовать новый выпуск”see Ibid;” Ob uchrejdenii na vremya biletov gosudarsvennogo kazanchistva”, 679.

⁸³“О новом выпуске билетов государственного казначейства”, 33.

⁸⁴ “Более привязать городские сословия к их состоянию” see “Ob ustanovlenii novogo sosloviya”, 193.

⁸⁵ “О производстве в Империи новой надворной переписи [On the accomplishment of the new census on the homestead basis in the empire]”, FCL(6265), 1833, 695.

provinces in general on the basis attached with this document and approved by us rules. In the Bessarabia region to accomplish on the local customs, it in the same time with general census on the basis of the special Rules given to the local authorities.”⁸⁶

Two categories were a special target for the text quite evidently. First of all, all estates that paid taxes and provided recruits should be interested in reassessment of their duties. What is even more important, this group of population should not resist to the officials when it would come to the execution of the census. Nevertheless, there is another category that also should be extremely concerned about the new census - the officials. The importance of the new census for this audience could be proven with few arguments. First of all, officialdom needed to be acknowledged about the amount of people to tax, and soldiers to recruit, etc. The idea of calculation of people for the state has its roots in the Enlightenment. Secondly, we can see the argumentation with reference to the bureaucratic procedures which should be known by officials. Thirdly, one of the category of the officials, Bessarabian authorities, is mentioned separately. The last and perhaps the most important point is the attention to the guidelines of the census as it should be accomplished in the accordance to the rules. Moreover, we can see in the attachment to this document the regulations where the new rules of the authorities are written quite thoroughly. For example, in this regulations two out of three paragraphs of general rules are devoted to their duties in future census.

As the officialdom was one of the most important categories of the population that governed of the empire we can take a completely different approach to highlight their importance. A proclamation was issued on the very day of coronation and announced

⁸⁶ ‘Приемля во внимание, что со времени производства в Империи последней переписи 1816 года, в количестве людей произошло значительное изменение, и что уравнение, как разных казенных так и общественных повинностей, так и поставки рекрут, требует нового народоисчисления, признали мы за благо, согласно с мнением Государственного совета, повелеть произвести во все империи, исключая Грузию и Армянскую область и вообще Закавказские провинции, новую народную перепись, на точном основании прилагаемых при сем, утвержденных нами правил. В Бессарабской области, по местным уважениям, совершить оную в одно время с общей переписью, на особых преподанных для того местного Начальству Правилах’, Ibid.

throughout the country the acts of mercy of the newly-crowned emperor with a short preamble and a conclusion. First, the acts of mercy themselves are remarkable. Their list consists of fifteen points. We can see that almost a quarter of the mercies are devoted to the issues connected with the officialdom. The first paragraph speaks about the releasing “all officials and people of different ranks under examination ... from trial and investigation.”⁸⁷ The fifth paragraph announces that the amount of money that should be collected because of “damages, losses and thefts of state money or state property that the heirs have to pay” would be spared.”⁸⁸ The eighth paragraph states the subjects that all state levies connected with state service and that to be paid by heirs are will be dismissed. The twelfth paragraph informs that all “fines for all malfunctions and omissions on the state service connected with cases emerged before the issue of this proclamation most graciously command to resign.”⁸⁹ It is remarkable that the first paragraphs which include the points of are quite short and quite systematized. Paragraphs in the end are much more verbose and chaotic. To conclude, the officialdom was represented as one of the most important category as an attempt to provide their loyalty.

In the proclamations above we could see their usage in direct rule, but they also were implemented for the indirect rule, by means of the local elites of the Grand Duchy of Finland and the Kingdom of Poland. With various notions the authorities tried to provide their loyalty and obedience. The presence of separate appeals shows the significance of the provinces in the symbolic representation.

The proclamation on the Finnish criminals it is remarkable how the imperial

⁸⁷“Всех состоящих по под судом и следствием чиновников и людей всякого звания ... всемилостивейше повелеваем от суда и следствия учинить свободными”, see “О sovershenii svyaschennogo koronovaniya Ego Imeratorskogo Velichestva i o darovannyh po semu sluchayu milostyah I oblegcheniyah”, 896.

⁸⁸“Все казенные взыскания по службе, падающие на наследников по делам до издания сего манифеста возникшим простить”, Ibid.

⁸⁹ “Штрафы и пени за неисправности и упущения по службе, относящиеся к делам, до издания сего манифеста возникшим, всемилостивейше повелеваем сложить и простить”, Ibid.

authorities try to justify their decision to remove criminals from the Grand Duchy. First of all, the appeal was issued, remarkably, just after the coronation manifesto on April of 1826. The importance of Finland is highlighted not only with the time of issue but with the content. The authorities argue that “accomplishment and fulfillment of the Finnish criminal code from the very beginning of our reign was our primal concern.”⁹⁰ So, their first point of justification is the importance of the Principality of Finland for the Russian Empire. Also the Enlightenment ideas on the correction of people are important. The penitentiary system should be in “necessary and decent state” (*nuzhnaya i prilichnaya postepenost*).⁹¹ The main reason of the punishment of the criminals is to save the society from the evil people.

In two manifestos we can see the methods to demonstrate to the peripheral elites that the imperial authorities took into consideration their financial needs. It could be seen in the appeal issued on the division of the Grand Duchy of Finland.⁹² The key reason for this innovation is inconveniences of the trade and justice: “because of the situation of various districts different and mutual communication between them various inconveniences take place.”⁹³ Speaking about the elimination of the financial needs the authorities showed their care to the peripheral elites.

The next text which also shows the care of the financial needs of the peripheral elites is the proclamation “On the permission to the Polish bank to give loans to the owners the private territorial estates.”⁹⁴ The preamble of the text is very short. It mentions that the reason for the permission is the desire to extend the effect of the Bank and to improve financial conditions: “wishing to extend the effect of the bank in the regard of agricultural

⁹⁰ “Применение и исполнение уголовного уложения Великого княжества Финляндского ... составляло предмет живейшей нашей заботы” see “O ssylke v Sibirskie gubernii na raboty v gornye zavody Finlandskih prestupnikov”, 388.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² “O razdelenii kniazhestva Finlyadskogo na vosem’ provinciy”, 263.

⁹³ “По расположению различных частей оно и взаимному их сообщению происходят различные неудобства” see “O razdelenii kniazhestva Finlyadskogo na vosem’ provinciy”, 263.

⁹⁴ “O dozvolenii Banku Pol’skomu vydavat’ vladeltsam chastnyh zemskih imeniy ssudy”, 451.

industry whereas enhancing necessary for these funds without increasing the fixed assets.”⁹⁵ The main part of this proclamation was devoted to the list of new regulations which explains thoroughly the relationship between the bank and an estate owner.

Another way of showing the importance of local elites is to delegate them the execution of the part of the innovation, to provide them some independence, even in minor issues. This could be seen in the very short one text on the measures and scales in Poland. The first part of the text states that they will be the same for the both part of the empire. More remarkable is the second part which announces that “the development and execution of this decree should be listed in the Law Journal we entrust to the governing Council of the Kingdom of Poland.”⁹⁶ Therefore it was important amend as it shows to the both parts of empire that the authorities are responsible for accomplishing their task. I argue that it is important that it was said explicitly, thus the governmental practice became the part of imperial representation.

To conclude, we can see how the authorities adjusted various ideas to make the proclamations an additional tool of governance. This function shows the flexibility of this type of representation.

⁹⁵ “Желая распространить действие Банка Царства Польского в отношении вспомоществованию земледельческой промышленности и вместе с тем усилить потребные к тому средства без увеличения капитала” see “О dozwolenii Banku Pol’skomu wydavat’ v;adeltam chastnyh zemskih imeniy ssudy”, 451.

⁹⁶ “Развитие и исполнение сего указа, который должен быть внесен в Дневник законов, возлагаем на Совет Управления Царства Польского” see “Ob upotreblenii v Tsarstve Pol’skom vesov I mer, upotrebliaemyh v Rossii”, 53.

Chapter 5. The Functions of Proclamations: Proclamations as Propaganda

One of the most important functions of the proclamations was to promote the imperial agenda in the situation when the autocracy was challenged – in wartime or during uprisings.

The first task of the imperial propaganda was to explain to subjects why they should support the imperial authorities and not its opponents. The arguments are various. The first one is to convince subjects to take the side of the Russian imperial power is the reference to the divine authority as it was applied for the justification of the imperial rule in general. The connection between Russia and God was created by several means. Firstly, the authorities used the notion of “Holy Rus” in the several texts. This is the quote of the proclamation on the revolution with Hungary in 1848: “Not sparing ourselves, we will encounter our enemies in the alliance with Our Holy Rus’ to protect the honor of the Russian name and the inviolability of our Borders.”⁹⁷

The connection between the imperial rule and the Russian sovereign also appears in the proclamation on the same subject in the paraphrase from the Bible: “God is with us, understand, gentiles, and obey as God is with us.”⁹⁸ In order to highlight the connectedness of Russia with divine power its opponents are labeled as gentiles, implying their lack of divine support. In the last proclamation on the Hungarian uprising appears the idea of Holy vocation. It is mentioned that the emperor told his subjects that “Russia will fulfill its Holy vocation.”⁹⁹ So we can see a new nuance of the divine patronage of Russia: now the empire had a vocation it had to fulfil.

⁹⁷ “И не щадя себя будем, в неразрывном союзе со святою нашей русью, защищать честь имени русского и неприкосновенность пределов наших” see “O sobytiyah v Zapadnoy Evrope”, 187.

⁹⁸ “С нами Бог, разумеите языцы и покоряйтесь, яко с нами Бог” see Ibid.

⁹⁹ “Россия исполнит сове святое призвание” see “O blagopoluchnom okonchanii voyny v Vengrii”, 20.

One of the links to connect country and divine power is confession - the Orthodox faith. We can find their connection in many texts. For example, in one of the texts on the Crimean war the church and the autocracy are represented connected, but the secular power dominates, as it has to protect the church. Moreover, this connection has its roots in tradition. The text states “the protection of the Orthodoxy was always a vow of our ancestors,” “the protection of these holy duties was always an object of our attention and care.”¹⁰⁰ The link between the authorities and church also demonstrated with ritualistic way, with the appeal to pray in family proclamations and texts on wars.

It is remarkable that in one of the texts on the Crimean War, Orthodox Russia was opposed to Western Europe, which is itself described as the domain of Christendom. It is especially interesting considering the fact that in the previous text European countries and Russia were represented together opposing the threat of the Ottoman Empire.

In the texts we see also another application of religion in order to inspire loyalty: the proclamation on cholera riots of 1830-1831 was meant for “every church son, every loyal subject.”¹⁰¹ The authors of proclamations referred to the idea of obedience to the authorities which is one of the crucial for the Christianity. With this parallel the obedience to the secular and divine authorities became almost the same.

There was another way to embed religious ideas into the text, aside from the explicit mentioning of church or faith. One of the ways was to use church language as it happened with the proclamation on the cholera riots. The authorities appointed metropolitan Filaret, one of the most eminent church leaders of that time to write the text. The result of this authorship was the very strong impact of church lexicon on the language of the appeal.

¹⁰⁰ “Защита православия была искони обетом блаженны предков наших”, “Охранение этих святых обязанностей было постоянно предметом заботливости и попечений наших” see “O dvizhenii russkih voisk v Pridunayskie kniazhestva”, 290.

¹⁰¹ “O smyatenii byvshem v nekotorykh guberniyah i Peterburge...”, 742.

Viise notices remarkable features of this influence. First of all, the impossibility of church language to describe cholera precisely leads to vagueness. This ambiguity leads to softening the distance between the author, the emperor and the audience, creating the image of a caring emperor sanctified with divine grace.¹⁰² Again, the arguments of Viise do not contradict my assumption that this text was meant for people.

To conclude, we can see that various references to religion were quite widespread. With this, the authorities made the texts intelligible for a broad audience. Thus, the proclamation on the Decembrist uprising, cholera riots, the revolution in 1848 and the Crimean War should have reached all subjects.

Another notion that was used to unite people with autocracy is the notion of patriotism and idea of Motherland (*Otechestvo*). For example, the importance of the Decembrist uprising was highlighted with the phrase in one of the proclamations: “we always recognized this case [investigation of the Decembrist case] as one of all true sons of the Motherland, of all Russia.”¹⁰³ One of the most remarkable usages of the patriotism could be seen the appeals on the Polish uprising of 1830-1831. A whole paragraph is a direct appeal to “all Russian citizens” (*rossiyane*) who in this hard time should show their loyalty to the Czar and Motherland.¹⁰⁴ Thus, we can see the notion of patriotism towards the Russian Empire, was applied. It is worth mentioning that whereas the proclamation was obviously addressed to all Russian subjects, a special appeal was issued to the citizens of the Kingdom of Poland. In the second case the summary of the events is much shorter, but a new theme, local Polish patriotism, comparing to the proclamation for all subjects appears. The appeal announces throughout all Poland that insurgents “dishonor the name of the Kingdom of Poland” and rumors are spread on the account of “benefits of your

¹⁰²Viise, “Filaret Drozdov and the Language of Official Proclamations in Nineteenth-Century Russia”, 566.

¹⁰³“Мы всегда признавали дело сие делом всех истинных сынов Отечества, делом всей России” see “Ob uchrejdении Verhovnogo ugolovnogo suda”, 515.

¹⁰⁴“O vozmuschenii, prozoshedshen v Varshave”, 486.

Motherland.”¹⁰⁵ It is remarkable that the authorities try to use the patriotism against the rebellion that is also inspired by the same motive. It is also possible to notice that the patriotism is connected with noble values. Comparing these two appeals it is possible to see how the authorities used different types of patriotism depending on who their audience was. The strategy to create separate appeals for different audiences obviously was never repeated. To conclude, we can see that the authorities played with this notion because of the supposed audience.

Another crucial point of propagandist representation is the notion of nationality, and as it appears as descriptive characteristic – “Russian” (*russkiy*). This point appears only in the proclamations where the autocracy was challenged whereas the references, for example, to the divine authority are widespread in the texts of the proclamations. The first application of this idea was implemented in the text issued for the Decembrist uprising. The idea of uprising is not in “the customs of the Russians” and “the heart of Russia will always be inaccessible for it”, “the Russian name will not be ashamed with a treason to the throne and Fatherland”.¹⁰⁶ In all cases the positive notion of nationality (*russkiy*) is constructed with negation of rebellious characteristics. Another remarkable point connected with nationality appears in the texts on the Hungarian revolution. In these texts it was applied differently although it is again connected with loyalty as a key characteristic. In the text on the Hungarian uprising it was mentioned that “We ascertain that each Russian and each our loyal subject will reply joyfully to the appeal of his sovereign.”¹⁰⁷ Therefore, in the text we can see a sign of the equality between each Russian and each loyal subject. For me this sentence is very problematic as the emperor addresses all his subjects and obviously not all

¹⁰⁵“Сборище людей, недостойных, бесславящих имя Польское, « и в ослепленной народной толпе распространили пагубные заблуждения за счет драгоценнейших польз Вашего отечества”, Ibid, 487.

¹⁰⁶“Не в обычаях русских”, “Не посрамится имя русское изменой престолу и отечеству” see «О sovershenii prigovora nad gosudarstvennymi prestupnikami», 486.

¹⁰⁷ “Мы удостоверены, что каждый Русский и каждый верноподанный ответит на призыв своего государя” see ‘О событиях в Западной Европе’, 187.

of them were Russians. My assumption is that the usage of this notion is connected with the appeal to the Russian nobility, trying to impose a new idea of unity of political nation to them.

But national characteristic was applied not only to the subjects. In one of the text on the Crimean War we can see: *“May the whole Christendom know how the Russian Czar thinks, the whole Russian family thinks and breaths the same way – loyal to God and his only begotten son, Our redeemer, Jesus Christ, the Orthodox Russian People.”*¹⁰⁸

First, the epithet “Russian” is applied not only to people, but also to the ruler. The sovereign is named “Czar” and not “an emperor”, for example. So, the character of the emperor is shown in a very traditional way, with national references. I believe that it could be regarded as the first sign of nationalization of the dynasty, although this way of representation of the ruler was not used again later. What is more, the sovereign and the subjects are shown united with strong emotional ties which were also a salient part of the ideology of that time. One of the ways of their connection is that both of them are Russian, so they are connected through their nationality. It is remarkable that national characteristic appears in the text connected with Western countries and not the Ottoman Empire, for example. The application of the notion of nationality allows me to make assumptions about the audience of the proclamations where it was embedded. We can see that the authorities wanted to talk about the Decembrist uprising, the revolutions in Hungary in 1848 and about the Crimean War with the educated audience.

Also when the proclamations were used as propaganda against someone, there was always an image of the opponent. For example, one of key points is the construction the image of the rebels in the proclamations on the uprisings. In all cases of insurrections the

¹⁰⁸ “Да познает же все христианство, что как мыслит Царь Русский, так мыслит, так дышит с ним вся Русская семья верный Богу и единокровному сыну его, Искупителю Иисусу Христу, Православный русский народ” see “О войне с Англичей I Францией”, 416.

reason of social instability is the actions of small number of people. Their first important characteristic is their low number, for example the revolutionaries from the Decembrist uprising are described as “handful of people” (*kuchka liudey*).¹⁰⁹ The paucity of the Polish revolutionaries is also highlighted. Here we can see an attempt to underplay the magnitude of the problem, to isolate it to a specific stratum of the unloyal population.

Another characteristic of the insurgents is apostasy. The events on the Senate Square are opposed to the events which happened in the rest of the country: “whilst all estates, all the church and state officials, people and army were taking an oath of loyalty in church of God and called the divine grace for our reign a handful of refractory people dared to withstand the general oath, law, the power, military order and common beliefs.”¹¹⁰ The insurrections also had no divine help as the plot of the Decembrist plot was revealed because it was pointed out by God.

The characteristic of the insurgents is constructed with negative moral and intellectual features. In the Decembrists’ case, we can see even demonical features of the plotters: they create their ideas in the darkness.¹¹¹ The revolted Poles are shown as “malevolent people” (*zlonamerennye liudi*) who inspired “mob” (*chern*)¹¹² A listener learns from the text about their malicious intentions, thoughtlessness and desire to use any means to succeed. Their chiefs do not spare “the property and blood of the people that they involved in the crime.”¹¹³ The same adjective, malevolent, is used for the description of the ringleaders of the cholera riots.¹¹⁴ The insurgents of the peasant rebellions are also greedy

¹⁰⁹ “О произошедшем бунте в Санкт-Петербурге 14 декабря”, 6.

¹¹⁰ “В то время как все государственные сословия, все чины военные и гражданские приносили Нам присягу и в храмах Божьих, горсть непокорных дерзнула противостоять общей присяге, Закону, власти, общему порядку и убеждению” see “О произошедшем бунте в Санкт-Петербурге 14 декабря...”, 6.

¹¹¹ “Злобные замыслы во мраке тайны”, Ibid.

¹¹² “О возмущении, произошедшем в Варшаве”, 486.

¹¹³ “Достоинства и крови народа, им вовлеченного в преступление”, Ibid.

¹¹⁴ “О смятении бывшем в некоторых губерниях и Петербурге”, 744.

and wanted to make a profit out of the wishes of the peasants.¹¹⁵

Moreover, we can see two categories of the rebels in the text. The first one rebelled consciously; the second rebelled for various other reasons. These two categories could be seen in the questions in the text on the Decembrist uprising: “what did those lost ones want? What did the villains want?”¹¹⁶ The idea of people involved in the crimes by being deceived also appears in the proclamation on the peasant uprising: the peasants are misled because of the false rumors.¹¹⁷ By the same token, the Polish kingdom also rebelled because the population was deceived.¹¹⁸ With this division the authorities left the room for people who participated in the rebellion to change their mind, to repent.

New connotations of the revolutions appeared in the proclamation “On the events in Western Europe.”¹¹⁹ The revolutions are represented as “uprising and anarchy” (*myatezh i beznachalie*), threatening “impudence” (*naglost’*), their depiction is more general.¹²⁰ The rebellion is also characterized by insanity and arrogance; it is like a “destructive torrent” (*razrushitel’ny potok*) which “overflowed” (*razlivayas’*) as irrational natural phenomenon.

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In many proclamations there is a connection between the rebels and chaos. The link could be created by their opposition from the order as in the proclamation on the Decembrist uprising or with comparison with a torrent as in the appeal on the revolution in Hungary. Here we can find reference to the different idea of monarchy opposing the chaos. This concept was popular in both periods of both Enlightenment and Classicism eras.

To conclude, the image of insurgents is quite dynamic and bright. The image of the opponents in the wars is constructed differently. But before my analyses of the nuances of

¹¹⁵ “O voznikshem v guberniyakh. nepovinoventii krestyan”, 455.

¹¹⁶ «Чего желали заблудшие? ... Чего желали злоумышленники?» see “O proizoshedshem bunte v Sankt-Peterburge 14 dekabrya...”, 6.

¹¹⁷ “O voznikshem v guberniyakh. nepovinoventii krestyan”, 456.

¹¹⁸ “O vozmuschenii, prozoshedshen v Varshave”, 486.

¹¹⁹ “O sobytiyah v Zapadnot Evrope”, 182.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

the rival representation I would like to point out what countries were depicted as enemies. Despite the fact that the Russian Empire was involved in military actions with several countries, we can see that the Ottoman Empire was shown with the most negatively characteristics. In the proclamation on war with Persia the country is never labeled with any negative features, the cause of the war was in some abstract “violence” that touched the Russian borders. It is possible to suppose that the Russian authorities for some reason decided not to make its hostile representation. It is remarkable as France and the British Empire armies also opposed the Russian troops during the Crimean war but there is no negative imagery representing them. Therefore, we can suppose that the Russian authorities did not want to escalate the conflict with these Western Great Powers. The idea of unity with other European countries is quite clear in the text of proclamations. It is important that the Russian Empire is represented as an ally to European countries during the first war with the Porte: “neither peaceful efforts of European countries, nor our patience” could change the politics of the Turkish government.¹²² On the contrary, we can see explicitly negative image of the Ottoman Empire in several texts. For example, it could be constructed by describing its actions:

“The Porte challenges Russia for a fight, threatens with war of annihilation, constructs a full militia, announces [Russia] its irreconcilable enemy, defies the Ankerman convention and with thus subverts all the made treaties, proclaims that the very signing of the treaty was from its side only a pretext for beginning of the open military operations.”¹²³

¹²² “Ни миролюбивые усилия Европы, ни наше долготепение” see “О войне с Ottomanskooy Portoy”, 490.

¹²³ “Порта вызывает Россию на брань, грозит войной истребительной; воздвигает поголовное на нее ополчение; объявляет непримиримым свои врагом; попирает конвенцию в Аккермане заключенную и тем самым ниспровергает все договоры, ей заключенные, провозглашает, что само заключение акта было с ее стороны только предлогом к открытию военных приготовлений.

Вслед за тем оскорбляются права и достоинство Российского флага, удерживаются корабли, грузы их падают в добычу насильственного самовластия, даже поданные наши осуждаются [...]. пролив Босфорский запирается, Черноморская торговля стесняется, города и области южного края угрожают бесчисленными потерями. Но сего не довольно ... вскоре с достоверностью было обнаружено, что Порта колебала решимость Персии [заключить мир]”, Ibid.

In this eloquent list of the Turkish misdeeds, we can see many aspects of the Ottoman menace. The Porte threatened in all possible means to the Russian Empire as a whole during “the war of annihilation”. Turkish actions are a negative factor for a trade on the Black Sea and a true menace for a big part of the countries. It also is represented with negative characteristics, for example, the government is called “stubborn” (*upryamy*).¹²⁴ Another point is that the image of the Ottoman Empire is connected with illness as the end of war of 1826-1829 helps to prevent the spreading of the infection which had its origins in this country.

Therefore the imperial authorities spoke quite carefully about the Western countries. We can assume that the proclamations on the international relationship were read all across Europe and Nicholas I did not want any difficulties.

Next typical rhetorical strategy for the proclamations on the wars and insurrections was to create positive models of behavior. For example, the proclamation of the Decembrist uprising gives the audience a particular example of behavior of loyal subjects, count Miloradovitch, who was a governor-general of Saint Petersburg, was fatally shot during the uprising on the Senate Square.¹²⁵ Another positive example of behavior could be seen in the proclamation on cholera riots: “Additionally with gratitude we remember the excellent exploit committed by all muscovite estates. Flaming always with eagerness for the benefits and glory of the Fatherland, they and with this disaster showed a decent example of Christian humility, unanimous eagerness and undoubted obedience to all measures accomplished by the government.”¹²⁶ Later they even mention that those who behaved

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ ‘О произошедшем бунте в Санкт-Петербурге 14 декабря’, 7.

¹²⁶ “При сем с признательностию мы вспоминаем отличный подвиг, оказанный всеми сословиями Первопрестольной Столицы Москвы. Пламенея всегда рвением к пользе и славе отечества, они и при постигшем их бедствии они явили всякой хвалы и подражания достойный пример Христианского

properly did not suffer much from the illness. The author of proclamations even state directly that this example should be followed: “May it be like this everywhere! May not anyone with reason on the occasion of disease rebel against the authorities, established by the law.”¹²⁷ With these examples, the models for various categories were set. In the Decembrist case we can see a model for nobility, in the cholera riot it is for petit bourgeois and peasants.

The army in this type of proclamations is always represented as an exemplary category of subjects. In texts devoted to the military operations and rebellions it appears as the embodiment of all many positive qualities. First of all, they show “true heroism” (istinnoye geroystvo) and complete “splendid victories” (blistatel’nye pobedy).¹²⁸ It is remarkable that soldiers are not only praised for bravery, but for respect for propriety and for their mercy for the defeated:

*“But conquering the territories the army also acquired another fame. In the middle of war, in the enemy land, the safety of private persons and belongings were more saint in the eyes of the warrior than during peace, in the ally state. With meek, generous and full of mercy and moderation treating with defeated more than with victories they showed in their behavior the dignity of the Russian name.”*¹²⁹

The soldiers, glorious because of previous exploits, overcame themselves and also showed an exemplary behavior in sparing lives and property of the defeated. Also the army in the

смирения, единодушного усердия и безусловного повиновения всем мерам, правительством предписываемым” see “O smyatenii byvshem v nekotorykh guberniyah i Peterburge...”, 744.

¹²⁷ “Да будет так везде! Да не дерзает никто под видом болезни возставать против властей, законов становленных!” see Ibid.

¹²⁸ “O tractate vechnogo mira, zakluchennogo s Turetskoy imperiey”, 3165.

¹²⁹ “Но покоряя области, Русское воинство стяжало еще другую славу. Среди войны, в земле неприятельской, безопасность частных лиц и имущества, все права собственности были священные, как среди мира так и в стране союзной. Кротким, великодушным, исполненным пощады и умеренности обращением с побежденными, превыше всех побед возвеличено достоинство русского имени” see ‘Ob okonchanii s Periy voyny’, 272.

same paragraph protects the “honor of the Russian name” (*russkoye imya*), which possesses national characteristics. Another important aspect connected with army is that they became peacemakers. For example, in the invasion to Hungary the Russian army becomes a peace-making mediator as “legion of rebels have resorted to our mediation asked their legitimate ruler for magnanimous forgiveness.”¹³⁰

Dolgikh argues that for the officials the army was the embodiment of all people.¹³¹ So, with this praise the authorities created the role model for all people. Another point is that the eloquent praise of the army was created to a huge extent as it was a key addressee and thus received their symbolic reward of the success of military operations. The third point is that the praise of the Russian army was always important message for other rival countries. To conclude, this propaganda image of Russian army was meant for many categories.

The imperial authorities issued one proclamation on the peasant rebellion on 12 May 1826, and I would like to analyze it separately.¹³² The rhetorical strategies in this proclamation differ from the others. First of all, though *de jure* all the manifestos were addressed to the subjects, in this case the first sentence of the text is “announce to all people” (*ob'yavit' vsenarodno*) and the last paragraph contains the phrase that the Senate should through many means “announce the order to all people's tidings” (*opublikovat' vo vsenarodnoe izvestie*) and says what measures should be taken.¹³³ It should be mentioned that this is the only case when the time of announcement was regulated in the text of the proclamation. Therefore, the authorities believe that all common people as peasants should have been well-informed about this appeal.

¹³⁰“Враждебные полчища мятежников ... прибегая к посредничеству Нашему для испрошения великодушного помилования у своего законного правителя” see “О благополучном оокончании войны в Vengrii”, 1849.

¹³¹ Dolgikh, *K probleme mentaliteta elity XIX veka*, 58-59.

¹³²“О возникшем в губерниях. неповиновении крестян”, 455.

¹³³ Ibid.

What are the key images of the text that is meant for such a broad audience? The emperor is represented in a paternalistic way, as he intends to return the peasants to obedience “wanting to put them on the right way with the measures of gentleness which is inherent to father’s mercy.”¹³⁴ I believe that the unknown author of the proclamation put the mention of paternal characteristic as a reference to the image of “Czar-Father” (*tsar-batyushka*) on purpose. That could be a way to remind the people of the paradigm when the Czar is father and subjects are like children. This metaphor brings into the relationship not only deep an emotional connection, but also the idea of filial obedience. I suppose that it references the paternal characteristic of the emperor and not to the divine authority as further in the text the author mentions feelings and thoughts of the emperor as a person. On the contrary, there is no reference to God in the text. Another point worth mentioning is that in the text the local authorities are named in very general way “chiefs of provinces” (*nachal’niki guberniy*).¹³⁵ I believe that the abstract way of referring to the governors is to connect them to the idea of imperial power and with the image of *Czar-batyushka*. The next interesting point of this proclamation is that the content is very simplistic. The authorities announce that the rumors are false, that the rebels and those, who believe in these rumors, will be punished. To conclude, we can see that the authorities implemented the idea of peasant’ belief into the text, but what is more, even in the text that was addressed to the peasants the authorities decided to remind the officials to accomplish their duties properly.

Viize explores the evolution of the language of the official documents including this proclamation too. She argues that the bulk and the tone of this proclamation are of a martial character without providing any substantial proof. Nevertheless, my assumption that this proclamation was issued to people obtains confirmation with her another point. She mentions that after this proclamation the emperor addressed the nobility separately with two

¹³⁴ “Желая обратить на путь истинный мерами кротости, свойственный отеческому милосердию“, Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

decrees, so Nicholas I addresses the other categories with the main text.¹³⁶ Also if we admit that this text contains some references to the military documents, it does not follow the conclusion that the emperor with this text addresses the whole public constructing the militaristic image of the ruler. Another possibility is that he was addressing, with this mode, to the category which was used to commands – the army. Speaking to this audience could be of particular importance as they were for sure involved in the suppression of the rebellion.

To conclude, we can see how the authorities implemented different rhetorical strategies according to the audience: They chose different ideas, images, structure, styles. For example, it is interesting to see how the supposed audience of the proclamations on the Decembrist uprising changes. Firstly, the authorities obviously want to speak to all the population of the Russian Empire to provide it with their version of the events on the Senate square as the first text could be understood by very broad audience as the text is very easy to understand. Later, the trial and execution were mostly important for the nobility in Saint Petersburg and Moscow and the texts changed with addition of more complicated ideas.

¹³⁶Viize, “Filaret Drozdov and the Language of Official Proclamations in Nineteenth-Century Russia”, 564.

Conclusion

Imperial proclamations or manifestos provide a very interesting case to examine representation of power of Tsarist Russia. First and foremost they demonstrate the adjustability of the imperial power: authorities either issued certain proclamations or not, depending on the fact whether they wanted to make certain events public or not.

As representatives of imperial power, the authorities integrated various functions into proclamations. Besides the pragmatic function of informing the subjects about certain events, manifestos were also used by the emperor to constantly re-assert his power. In addition, the authorities also used the proclamations to govern the empire, and as one of the most important propaganda tools. The range of different functions has been shown by the typology of the proclamations in this thesis.

Adjustability was of primary importance in the creation of various types of proclamations, and authorities employed several different ways to formulate their texts according to their desired effect. First, the fact that these different functions were accomplished by various groups shows a certain degree of adjustability. For example, as shown in the examples in Chapter Four, when the imperial authorities needed to accomplish a reform, they enlisted the assistance of the officialdom or the peripheral elites. In addition, textual analysis has shown that imperial authorities consciously adjusted the language and rhetoric of the proclamations to suit various functions. On the level of rhetoric and structure, they used ideas borrowed from the ancient times to the modern and operated with a wide range of rhetorical figures. On the lexical and semantic level, the language they used was defined by their word choice and register employed, for example, to make the proclamations sound more bureaucratic or evoke the language of the church, and so on.

As the analysis of the various types of proclamations has shown in chapters Four and Five, the variety of the ideas reveals a remarkable contradiction. Nicholas I *de jure* represented himself as an extremely conservative monarch, which is clearly shown by the many references to traditions in the texts. However, the imperial authorities introduced new ideas, such as the national idea, to make proclamations a more effective means to fulfil the functions discussed above.

By emphasizing the adjustability of these imperial texts and the various ways employed by the issuing authorities to create texts that communicate complex ideas. This study rose important and hitherto unexplored points about the proclamations issued in Tsarist Russia, and emphasized the importance of these texts in the field of imperial communication and representation of power. The typology and textual analysis, however, raises further questions about this specific form of imperial communication. How the assumed audiences reacted to the proclamations, for example, remains a promising field for further research in this unique set of primary evidence.

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¹³⁷ I arranged proclamations according their date of issue. In the titles names are given in transliteration.

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“O proizvodstve po vsej imperii novoj nadvornoj perepisi [On the accomplishment of the new census on the homestead basis in the empire]”, *FCL* 5947 (1833), 344.

“O sbore s 500 dush po tri rekruta [On the levy in the whole state of 3 persons out of 500 persons]”, *FCL* 5947 (1833), 449.

“O novom vypuske biletov Gosudarstvennogo kaznachejstva summoju na sorok millionov rublej assignacijami [On the issue the banknotes of State treasury for 40 million]”, *FCL*

6706 (1834), 33.

“O sovershenoletii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Tsesarevicha, Naslednika i Velikogo Knjazja Aleksandra Nikolaevicha [On the becoming of age His Majesty Heir Tsesarevetch and Gtand Duke Alexander Nicholaevitch]”, *FCL* 7019 (1834), 318-19.

“O nakazaniyah prigovorennym glavnym vinovnikam byvshego v Tsarstve Polskogo myateja [On the punishment sentenced to the main perpetrators of the mutiny took place the Kingdom of Poland]”, *FCL* 7383 (1834), 6.

‘O razreshenii ot bremeni Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjagini Eleny Pavlovny rozhdeniem velikoj knjazhny Anny Mihajlovny [On the deliverance Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Elena Pavlovna with a birth of Great Duchess Anna Mikhailovna]’, *FCL* 7470 (1834), 80.

“O proizvodstve obshhego po gosudarstvu rekrutskogo nabora, krome Gruzii i Bessarabii, s tysjachi dush po pjati rekrut [On the accomplishment of the general levy in the whole State except Georgia and Bessarabia 5 persons of 1000 persons]”, *FCL* 8308 (1835), 141.

“O konchine Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjazhny Anny Mihajlovny [On the decease of Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Anna Mikhailovna]’, *FCL* 8308 (1836), 184.

“O proizvodstve rekrutskogo nabora v Juzhnoj polose gosudarstva s 100 dush po 5 rekrutov [On the accomplishment of the levy in the Southern stripe of the state 5 persons of 1000 persons]”, *FCL* 1044 (1836), 646.

“O proizvodstve rekrutskogo nabora v Juzhnoj polose gosudarstva s 100 dush po 5 rekrutov [On the accomplishment of the levy in the Southern stripe of the state 5 persons of 1000 persons]’, *FCL* 1044 (1837), 646.

“O vzimanii poshlin i poborov s pripisyvauscshihsy v Finlyadii k trgovomu, promyshlennomu ili rabochemu klasse, inostantsev i Rossiyskih podaannyh [Collecting duties and requisitions to the registered in Finland to trade, industrial or working class, foreigners and Russian citizens]”, *FCL*11182,(1838), 361-364.

“O proizvodstve rekrutskogo nabora v Severnoy polose gosudarstva s 100 dush po rekrutov[On the accomplishment of the levy in the Northern stripe of the state 6 persons of 1000 persons]“, *FCL* 11378 (1838), 1.

“Ob obruchenii Velikoj Knjazhny Marii Nikolaevny s Ego Svetlost'ju gercogom Lejhtenbergskim On the engagement of Great Duchess Maria Nikolaevna with His Grace Duke of Leichtenberg, *FCL* 11814 (1838), 375.

“Ob izdanii svoda viennyh postanovleniy [On the issue of the code of the military decrees]”, *FCL* 12648 (1839), 684.

“Ob usroystve denejnoj sistemy[On the arrangement of monetary system]”, *FCL*12497(1839), 697.

“O razdelenii gubernij dlja otpravlennija rekrutskogo nabora na zapadnuju i vostochnuju polosy, i provedenii v tekushhem godu tret'jago chastnogo nabora s gubernij zapadnoj polosy [On the division to accomplish levy this year into Eastern and Western year and the accomplishment this year the third partial levy from the provinces of the Western stripe]”, *FCL* 12513 (1839), 608-9.

“O proizvedenii v sem godu obshhego po vsemu gosudarstvu rekrutskogo nabora [on the accomplishment this a general levy from the whole state]”, *FCL* 13653 (1840), 485-6.

“Ob obruchenii ego imperatorskogo vysochestva Gosudarja naslednika cesarevicha, velikogo knjazja Aleksandra Nikolaevicha, s svetlejsheju pricessoj Mariej, docher'ju

velikogo gercoga Gessen-Darmshtadskogo [On the engagement of His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevitch Grand Duke Alexander Nocholaevitch with Princess Maria Alexandrovna, a daughter of Great Duke of Hessen-Darmstadt]”, *FCL* 14024 (1840) 784.

“O svershivshemsya brakisochetanii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudarja naslednika cesarevicha, velikogo knjazja Aleksandra Nikolaevicha s Velikoy Knyaginey Mariey Aleksandrovnoy[On the accomplishment of the wedding His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevitch Grand Duke Alexander with Great Duchess Maria Alexandrovna]”,*FCL* 14459 (1841) ,308.

“O vsemlostivejshe darovannyh milostjah i oblegchenijah po sluchaju brakosochetaniya imperatorskogo vysochestva Gosudarja naslednika cesarevicha, velikogo knjazja Aleksandra Nikolaevicha On the granted mercies granted on the case of the wedding His Imperial Highness Heir Tsesarevitch Grand Duke Alexander “, *FCL* 14459 (1841), 308-10.

“O vypuske v narodnoe obraschenie kreditnyh biletov na 30 millionov rubley [On the issue to people’s circulation for 30 million]”, *FCL*14700,(1841) 683.

“O proizvedenii v sem godu chetvertago chastno rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij zapadnoj polosy imperii s 1000 dush po pjati rekrut [On the accomplishment in this year the recruit levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the Empire for 5 person out of 1000]”, *FCL*14700, (1842), 759.

“O rozhdenii Velikoj Knjazhny Aleksandra Aleksandrovny [On the birth of Great Duchess Alexandra Alexandrovna]’, *FCL*15977, (1842), 877.

“O zemene assignaciy i drugikh predstavitele kreditnymi biletami [On the change of banknotes for credit cards]’, *FCL*16903, (1843), 641.

“O proizvedenii v sem godu chetvertago chastnogo ocherednogo rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in this year the fifth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]”, *FCL*17026, (1843), 458-59.

“O razreshenii Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaryni Tsesarevny i Velikoj Knjagini Marii Aleksandrovny ot bremeni [On the delivery of Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Tsesarevna Maria Alexandrovna]”, *FCL*17152, (1843), 148.

“Ob obruchenii Velikoj Knjazhny Aleksandry Nikolaevny s Ego Svetlost'ju princem Fridrihom Gessen-Kassel'skim [On the engagement of Great Duchess Alexandra Nikolaevna with His Highness Prince Fridrich Hessen-Cassel]”, *FCL*17456 (1844), 793.

“Ob obruchenii Velikoj Knjazhny Elizavety Mihajlovny s Ego Svetlost'ju vladetel'nym gercogom Adol'fom Nassauskim [On the engagement of Great Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna with His Grace Sovereign Alfred Duke of Nassau]’, *FCL* 17472 (1844), 148.

“O brakosochetanii Velikoj Knjazhny Aleksandry Nikolaevny s Ego Svetlost'ju princem Fridrihom Gessen-Kassel'skim [On the wedding of Great Duchess Alexandra Nikolaevna with His Highness Prince Fridrich Hessen-Cassel]’, *FCL* 17527 (1844), 97.

“O brakosochetanii velikoj knjazhny Elizavety Mihajlovny s ego svetlost'ju vladetel'nym gercogom Adol'fom Nassauskim [On the wedding of Great Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna with His Grace Sovereign Alfred Duke of Nassau]”, *FCL* 17540(1844), 142.

“O proizvedenii v sem godu pjatogo chastnogo rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij s zapadnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in this year fifth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 18070 (1844), 444.

“O konchine eja imperatorskogo vysochestva velikoj knjazhny Aleksandry Nikolaevny [On the decease Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Nikolaevna]”, *FCL* 18111 (1844), 467.

“O konchine eja imperatorskogo vysochestva Elisavety Mihajlovny [On the decease Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna]”, *FCL* 18660 (1845), 144-145.

“O proizvedenii v sem godu pjatogo chastnogo rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij s vostochnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment fifth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 18695 (1845), 165.

“O razreshenii Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaryni Tsesarevny i Velikoj Knjagini Marii Aleksandrovny ot bremeni [On the delivery Her Imperial Highness Tsesarevna and Great Duchess Maria Alexandrovna]”, *FCL* 18695 (1845), 165.

“O dozvolenii Banku Pol'skomu vydavat' v;adeltsam chastnyh zemskih imeniy ssudy [On the permission to the Polish bank to give loans to the owners the private territorial estates]”, *FCL* 19152 (1845), 450-451.

“O poryadke dvoryanskikh sobranij, vyborov i slujby po onoy [On the order of the noble assemblies, their elections and service]”, *FCL* 4989 (1831), 239-241.

“O proizvedstve shestago chastnogo rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij s zapadnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment sixth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 2067(1846), 19.

“Ob obruchenii Eja Imperatorskogo Velichestva Velikoj Knjazhny Ol'gi Nikolaevny s naslednym princem Vjurtembergskim [On the engagement of His Imperial Majesty Great Duchess Olga Nikolaevna with the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg]”, *FCL* 20187(1846), 1.

“O brakosochetanii Eja Imperatorskogo Velichestva Velikoj Knjazhny Ol'gi Nikolaevny s naslednym princem Vjurtembergskim [On the wedding of His Imperial Majesty Great Duchess Olga Nikolaevna with the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg]”, *FCL* 20468 (1846), 317.

“O proizvedstve shestago chastnogo rekrutskogo nabora s gubernij s vostochnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment sixth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 20603 (1846), 403.

“Manifest o konchine Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjazhny Marii Miahjlovny manifest o konchine eja impeatorskogo vysochestva velikoj knjazhny Marii Miahjlovny [A manifesto on the decease Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Maria Mikhailovna]”, *FCL* 20603 (1846), 403.

“O razreshenii Eja Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaryni Tsesarevny i Velikoj Knjagini Marii Aleksandrovny ot bremeni synom, narechennym Vladimirom [On the delivery Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Maria Alexandrovna with a son named Vladimir]”, *FCL* 21089 (1847), 295.

“O proizvedstve sed'mogo chastnogo rekrutskogo nabora gubernij s vostochnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment seventh partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire], *FCL* 21507 (1847), 696.

“O sovershenoletii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikogo Knjazja Konstantina Nikolaevicha [On the coming to full age His imperial Highness Great Duke Constantin Nicholaevitch] ‘, *FCL* 21739 (1847), 869.

”Ob upotreblenii v Tsarstve Pol'skom vesov I mer, upotreblyaemyh v Rossii [On the usage in the Kingdom of Poland scales and measures used in Russia]", *FCL* 21907 (1848), 53.

‘Ob obruchenii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva velikogo knjazja Konstantina Nikolaevicha, s docher’ju vladetel’nogo gercoga Saksen-Al’tenburgskogo princessoj Aleksandroj [On the engagement of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Constantin Nicholaevitch with a daughter of Sovereign Duke of Saxon-Alteburg, Alexandra] ‘,FCL 21971 (1848), 94.

“O sobytiyah v Zapadnoy Evrope [On the events in the Western Europe]”, FCL 22087 (1848), 187-188.

“O proizvedstve sed'mogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij s vostochnoj polosy gosudarstva s 1000 dush po 7 rekrut [On the accomplishment seventh partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the state of 7 persons out of 1000]”, FCL 22447 (1848), 479.

“O brakosochetanii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikogo Knjazja Konstatina Nikolaevicha s Velikoj Knjazhnoj Aleksandroj Iosifnoj [On the wedding of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Constantin Nicholaevitch with Great Duchess Alexandra Iosifivna]”, *FCL* 22536(1849), 74.

“O proizvedstve vos'mogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij s zapadnoj polosy gosudarstva [On the accomplishment eighth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire] “, *FCL* 23200 (1849), 235-36.

“O dvizhenii voisk nashih dlya sodeistviya Imperatoru Avstriyskomu dlya potusheniya myateja v Vengriin I Transilvanii [On the movement of our army to the aid of the Emperor of Austria to suppression of mutiny in Hungary and Transilvania]”, *FCL* 23200 (1849), 235-236.

“O konchine eja imperatorskogo vysochestva velikoj knjazhny Aleksandry Aleksandrovny

[On the decease Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Alexandrovna]”, *FCL* 23335 (1849), 352.

“O blagopoluchnom okonchanii voyny v Vengrii [On the successful ending of the war in Hungary]”, *FCL* 23458, (1849), 20-21.

“O proizvedstve vos'mogo, chastnogo, ocherednogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoj polosy gosudarstva [On the accomplishment eighth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe]’, *FCL* 23458, (1849), 22.

“O razreshenii ot bremeni Ee Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjagini Aleksandry Iosifovny ot bremeni synom [On the delivery Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna with a son]”, *FCL* 23896 (1850), 100.

“O proizvedenii devjatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij zapadnoj polosy rossii, s 1000 dush 7 rekrutov [On the accomplishment ninth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire of 7 persons out of 1000 persons]’, *FCL* 24310 (1850), 64.

“Ob obruchenii Velikoj Vnjazhny Ekateriny Mihajlovny s gercogom Geogiem Meklenburg-Strelickim [On the engagement of Great Duchess Ekaterina Mikhailovna with Duke George Meklenburg-Strelickiy]’, *FCL* 24854 (1851), 76.

“O brakosochetanii Velikoj Knjazhny Ekateriny Mihajlovny s gercogom Geogiem Meklenburg-Strelickim [On the wedding of Great Duchess Ekaterina Mikhailovna with Duke George Meklenburg-Strelickiy]’, *FCL* 24895 (1851), 105.

“O dvizhenii russkikh armii v Dunayskie kjajestva[On the movement of the Russian armies to the Danube principalities]”, *FCL* 27334 (1851), 286-287.

“O proizvedenii devjatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1852 ninth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the Empire]’, *FCL* 25302 (1851), 409.

“O razreshenii ot bremeni Ee Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjagini Aleksandry Iosifovny ot bremeni docher’ju [On the delivery Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna with a daughter] “, *FCL* 25522 (1851), 667.

“O sovershennoletii Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikogo Knjazja Nikolaja Nikolaevicha [On the coming to full age His imperial Highness Great Duke Nicholas Nichoalevitch]”, *FCL* 25771 (1851), 137.

“O proizvedstve v 1852 desjatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij zapadnoj polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1852 tenth partial regular levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire]’, *FCL* 26458 (1852), 480.

“O konchine Ego Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gercoga Maksimiliana Lejhtebergskogo [On the decease His Imperial Highness Duke Maximilian of Leichtenbeg]”, *FCL* 26655 (1852), 597.

O sovershennoletii ego imperatorskogo vysochestva velikogo knjazja Mihaila Nikolaevicha [On the coming to full age His Imperial Highness Great Duke Mikhail Nicholas]”, *FCL* 26813 (1852), 741.

“O dvizhenii russkikh armii v Dunayskie kjajestva [On the movement of the Russian armies to the Danube principalities]”, *FCL* 27334 (1853), 286-287.

“O razreshenii eja imperatorskogo vysochestva gosudaryni cesarevny i velikoj knjagini Marii Aleksandrovny ot bremeni docher’ju, narechennoj Mariej i o naimenovanii novorozhdennoj knjazhny eja imperatorskim vysochestvom [On the delivery of Her

Imperial Highness Great Duchess Tsesarevna Maria Alexandrovna with a daughter Maria and on the naming the newly-born Great Duchess Her Highness]”, *FCL*25577 (1853), 729.

“O voyne s Ottomanskoy Portoy [On the war with the Ottoman Porte]”, *FCL* (27628),(1853), 490-491.

“O proizvedstve v 1854 odinnadcatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoy polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1854 eleventh partial levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 27889 (1854), 67.

“O razreshenii ot bremeni Ee Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Velikoj Knjagini Aleksandry Iosifovny ot bremeni docher'ju Veroy, i ob imenovanii novorozhdennoj eja imperatorskim vysochestvom [On the delivery Her Imperial Highness Great Duchess Alexandra Iosifovna with a daughter Vera and on the naming her Her Highness]’, *FCL* 27904 (1854), 74.

“O voyne s Angliyei i Franciey [On the war with England and France]”, *FCL* 28150 (1854), 416-417.

“O proizvedstve v 1854 odinnadcatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoy polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1854 eleventh partial levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]’, *FCL* 28179 (1854), 443.

“O proizvedstve v 1854 dvennadcatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij zapadnoy polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1854 twelfth partial levy of the provinces of the Eastern stripe of the empire]”, *FCL* 28502 (1854), 746.

“O proizvedstve v 1854 dvennadcatogo chastnogo ocherednogo nabora s gubernij vostochnoy polosy imperii [On the accomplishment in 1854 twelfth partial levy of the provinces of the Western stripe of the empire]’, *FCL* 28794 (1854), 73.

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