

ABHANDLUNGEN

Ernest A. Zitsler, Duke University/USA

The *Vita* of Prince Boris Ivanovich “Korybut”-Kurakin: Personal Life-Writing and Aristocratic Self-Fashioning at the Court of Peter the Great*

“*Vita del Principe Boris Koribut-Kourakin del familii de polionia et litoania*” [sic],¹ the astrologically-informed “ego-document”² that is the subject of this article on “self-fashioning”³ at the court of Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725), was written between 1705 and 1711, some two or three generations before the late-eighteenth-century explosion of autobiography- and memoir-writing in Imperial Russia.⁴ This fact has earned its author, Prince Boris Ivanovich Kurakin (1676–1727),⁵ the distinction of being called “without exaggeration the first Russi-

* This Manuscript was last updated on 4 March 2011. – The author would like to express his deep gratitude to Paul Bushkovitch, Gitta Hammarberg, Gary Marker, Louise McReynolds, Max Okenfuss, Douglas Smith, Elise Wirtschafter, Richard Wortman, and his colleagues at Duke University, all of whom commented on early versions of this article; as well as to Igor Fedyukin, Sergei Iskiul’, and Natalia Andreeva, for their invaluable archival assistance. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from, and references to Kurakin’s ego-document are based on the author’s forthcoming, annotated, English-language translation of the *Vita*.

- 1 The original title of the manuscript published as “Zhizn’ kniazia Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina im samim opisannaia,” in *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, pp. 243–287, here p. 243.
- 2 A term coined by the Dutch historian Jacob Presser to describe the multiple literary forms of autobiographical expression and thereby to question the “apriorism and rigid formalism of traditional approaches to the history of autobiography.” By expanding the limits of self-testimony beyond “classic manifestations that feature retrospective, chronologically ordered narratives focusing on the development of the inner self,” this definition “brings to light a host of new texts and thereby broadens the ranks of autobiographical authors to include greater diversity” of class, race, and gender. See AMELAND *Spanish Autobiography*, p. 60; and, more generally, SCHULZE *Ego-Dokumente*.
- 3 A concept introduced by GREENBLATT *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* to analyze subjectivity in 16th-century English literature and subsequently adapted to a wide variety of texts and cultural traditions. For a recent historiographical survey, see COLEBROOK *Stephen Greenblatt; GLASER Creation of the Self*; and, more generally, JOLLY (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Life Writing*.
- 4 The historiography on Russian memoir-writing is large and growing, although focused primarily on 19th- and 20th-century texts. HELLBECK / HELLER (eds.) *Autobiographical Practices in Russia*, a recent theoretically-sophisticated and bibliographically-rich collection of essays on the topic, for example, devotes only one chapter to pre-19th-century autobiographical texts. On 18th-century ego-documents, see ELIZAVETINA *Russkaia memuarno-avtobiograficheskaia literatura*; ELIZAVETINA *Stanovlenie*; GRADOVA *Ruskopisnye memuary petrovskogo vremeni*; TARTAKOVSKII *Russkaia memuaristika*; CHEKUNOVA *Russkoe memuarnoe nasledie*; SCHMID *Ich-entwürfe*; and the introductions to FITZLYON (ed.) *The Memoirs of Princess Dashkova*; MARKER / MAY (ed.) *Days of a Russian Noblewoman*; and RANSEL *A Russian Merchant’s Tale*.
- 5 On Kurakin, see V. I. Semevskii’s introduction in *Arkhiv*, vol. 1: XX–XXVIII; N. CH[ECHULIN?], Kurakin, Boris Ivanovich, in: *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*, vol. 9, pp. 572–579; KEDROV *Rus’ Petra Velikogo za granitseiu*, a monographic study that takes events up to 1711; IUDINTSEVA *Russkaia diplomatiia*; CRACRAFT *Kurakin, Prince Boris Ivanovich*; and KARPOV *Boris Ivanovich Kurakin*. I have not been able to consult the most recent scholarly biography, TRIFANKOVA *B. I. Kurakin*.

Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 59 (2011) H. 2, S. 163–194 © Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Stuttgart/Germany

an memoirist of the eighteenth century.⁷⁶

Such a characterization situates Kurakin's *Vita* squarely within the conventional, Petrine-centric scheme of Russian history, and explains, at least in part, why this text has repeatedly been mined for evidence by philologists, literary scholars, and historians of early modern Russia. However, the *Vita* has generally not received the attention it deserves on its own merits, that is, not as just another "eyewitness account of the epoch of [Petrine] reforms"⁷⁷ or an example of the early eighteenth-century "passion for peppering one's prose with foreign words,"⁷⁸ but also as a unique example of Russian self-fashioning. As the following article suggests, adopting this approach makes the immediacy of Kurakin's first-person narrative seem less like a product of the objective recording of fact than of a Muscovite courtier's determination to use all the autobiographical practices at his disposal – including practices associated with such arcane and esoteric fields of knowledge as iatromathematics (astrological medicine)⁹ and balneology (the medicinal use of mineral-spas)¹⁰ – to re-write the very life that he was supposedly chronicling with such fidelity.

Historiography

Kurakin's *Vita* has come down to us in two published versions. The earlier, preliminary draft appeared in the first tome of a multi-volume publication edited by M. I. Semevskii (1837–1892), the founder and long-time editor of the journal "Russkaia starina" (Russian Antiquities).¹¹ Semevskii's publication was based on an original manuscript from the Kurakin archive in Nadezhdino (formerly Borisoglebskoe),¹² a family estate in the Serdovskii region of Saratov province that housed a large portion, though by no means all,¹³ of what now constitutes the Kurakin Family Papers Collection in the Manuscript Division of the

- 6 TARTAKOVSKII *Russkaia memuaristika*, p. 39. See also BILINKIS *Russkaia proza XVIII veka*, pp. 13, 16; SOLOMEINA *Kurakin – pervyi russii memuarist and SOLOMEINA Memuary Petrovskoi epokhi*.
- 7 SHMURLO *Novyi svidetel' epokhi preobrazovaniia*, pp. 187–223.
- 8 VINOGRADOV *Ocherki*, p. 58; *The History of the Russian Literary Language*, p. 35.
- 9 CORNEEL *Encyclopedia of Medical Astrology*; SAPLIN *Astrologicheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*. On iatromathematics at the Muscovite court, see SIMONOV *Rossiiskie pridvornye 'matematiki'*; and SIMONOV *Russkaia astrologicheskaiia knizhnost'*, ch. 3–5. See also KHROMOV *Astronomiia i astrologiia v Drevnei Rusi*; LEVIN *The Administration of Western Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Russia*; LEVIN *Identifying Diseases in Pre-Modern Russia*, and LEVIN *The Adoption of Western Medical Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. I am grateful to Prof. Levin for sharing a copy of this paper.
- 10 For a useful general survey on the history of balneology, see the collections of essays edited by PORTER *Medical History*; HÄHNER-ROMBACH *Ohne Wasser ist kein Heil*; and COSSIC / GALIOU *Spas in Britain and in France*. For the Russian case, see HAMMARBERG *Spas in spe*, pp. 341–356. On Russians in Carlsbad (Karlovy Vary), see IVANOVA-BYKHOVSKAIA *Petr Velikii v Karlovykh Varakh*; and KISHKIN *Russkie v Karlovykh Varakh*, pp. 86–101.
- 11 *Zhizn' kniazia Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina im samim opsiannaia*, in *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, pp. 243–287.
- 12 On Nadezhdino and its archive, see Semevskii's introduction in *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, pp. XV, XIX; SEMEVSKII *Selo Nadezhdino*; SMOL'IANINOV *Istoricheskii arkhiv*; SMOL'IANINOV *Vosemnadtsatyi vek*, vol. 1, pp. III–XXXI; SKVORTSOV / SMOL'IANINOV *Kniaze-Kurakinskiiia tserkvi i pomest'ia*; BAKUNINA *Le Domaine des Princes Kourakine*; DRUZHININ *Sud'ba arkhiva kniazia Kurakina*.

Russian Historical Museum in Moscow.¹⁴ This version began with the author’s stated intention to show the exact hour of his birth “using the science of astronomy (*po nauke astronomii*), by placing the representation of the planets in their proper quadrants,”¹⁵ and broke off abruptly in July 1710, at the start of the 34th year of Kurakin’s life, the very nadir of the Prince’s political fortunes.

The second redaction of the *Vita* to appear in print was based on an 18th-century copy annotated and corrected by Kurakin himself.¹⁶ This document was serialized by F. A. Ternovskii [Pylyp Oleksiovych Ternovs’kyi] (1838–1884), a specialist in Byzantine and Ukrainian church history,¹⁷ on the pages of “Kievskaiia starina” (Kievan Antiquities).¹⁸ The manuscript on which Ternovskii’s publication was based had belonged to the “late A. E. Viktorov [1827–1883],” who was not only the former “curator of the manuscript division of the Rumiantsev Museum,”¹⁹ but also an associate of the Moscow Archive of the Ministry of International Affairs, yet another major institutional source of materials for

- 13 Papers relating to the Kurakin family circulated on the 19th century antiquarian market before finding a more or less permanent home in today’s archival repositories. See IKONNIKOV *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, t. 1, kn. 2, pp. 1054, 1130–1135, CCXLIX, CCLCCVII–CCLXXX, and the comments of N. V. Kalachov, founder of the Archaeological Institute in St. Petersburg (KALACHOV *Famil’nyi arkhiv kniazai Kurakinykh*, pp. 1–15), which purchased part of the archive of Prince A. B. Kurakin. S. O. Dolgov, another former member of the Archaeological Institute, once owned an “original notebook” (*podlinnaia zapisnaia knizhka*) that Prince Kurakin kept from 1711 to 1714, while on assignment in England and Holland. See *Rukopisnye sobraniia Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR*, t. 1, vyp. 2, pp. 270–271, with a reproduction of a page from RO RGB, f. 92 (*Sobranie S. O. Dolgova*), № 10. In 1920, part of a library of 5000 volumes and 20,000 quires (*tetradei arkhivnogo kharaktera*), containing (among other things) the correspondence of Kurakin family members (*semeinaia perepiska*) was transferred from the Moskovskii Gos. Knizhnyi Fond to the Rumiantsev museum (now Russian State Library). See KOVAL’ *Ne slavy radi*, p. 92.
- 14 The MS is located in GIM, f. 3 (Fond Kurakinykh), op. S[taraia], № 6, ll. 184–223 ob., ll. 244–257 ob. Note that the archival description of folder no. 6 (“*Sobstvennoruchnye zhurnaly i pis’ma Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina. Opublikovanny v 3 t. Arkhiva*”) is misleading, since the *Vita* was actually published in volume 1. For a descriptive overview of the Kurakin Family Papers Collection, which contains over 3200 *ed. khr.*, see *Putevoditel’ po fondam*, pp. 133–138. Many thanks to Igor Fedyukin for verifying the location of this document and for confirming that this particular redaction of the *Vita* does not contain Kurakin’s horoscope.
- 15 *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, p. 263.
- 16 “*Zapiski kn. B. I. Kurakina*,” with the author’s handwritten corrections and a drawing of his horoscope, are currently located in the Nauchno-istoricheskii arkhiv II RAN, koll. 115. op. 1. № 153, ll. 1–61ob., ll. 107–121. See the description in BESPIATYKH / GINEVA (eds.) *Peterburg v epokhu Petra I*, p. 157 (no. 866). The author is immensely grateful to S. N. Iskiul’ and Natalia Andreeva for their help in locating this MSS and confirming the existence of the astrological drawing.
- 17 On Ternovskii, a graduate of the Moscow Theological Seminary (1862), see the obituary in *Kievskaiia starina* 6 (1884), p. 48; and Ternovsky, Pylyp [Ternovs’kyi], in: KUBIJOVYČ / STRUK (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5, pp. 202–203. Ternovskii’s personal papers constitute part of f. III in the MSS division of the Central Scientific Library in Kiev. See GRIMSTED *Archives and Repositories in the USSR*, p. 314.
- 18 *Semeinaia khronika*.
- 19 *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 115.

the Russian Historical Museum's collection of Kurakin Family Papers.²⁰ This corrected, clean copy extended the narrative of the *Vita* to 1711, the 35th year of Kurakin's life, which marked the auspicious start of his new career in the Russian foreign service; and led off with a "circular drawing (*krugobraznyi risunok*)" unfortunately not reproduced by Ternovskii, depicting what he assumed was "the location of the various planets at the time of the Prince's birth."²¹

Ternovskii also chose not to publish any of the attachments at the end of Viktorov's manuscript,²² despite the fact that Kurakin explicitly referred his readers to them, as he did, for example, in the following entry for the 29th year of his life:

"Another [note] book, which is called "[My] Voyage" (*voiazh*),²³ and the attached separate description (*pri sem osoblivym-zhe opisaniem*) of my "[Course of] Treatment in Carlsbad" (*ob lechene v Karlsbade*), will show in more specific detail what happened during my whole

20 From 1852–1861, before becoming the very "first curator of the manuscript division of the Moscow Public and Rumiantsev Museums" (*pervyi khranitel' otdeleniia rukopisei Moskovskogo publichnogo i Rumiantsevskogo muzeev*), Viktorov not only "processed and described" (*vel uchet i opisanie*) documents from the late 17th to the early 18th century for the Moscow branch of the Foreign Ministry archive (*sotrudnik Moskovskogo arkhiva Ministerstva inostrannykh del*), but also dabbled as a "collector" (*zanimalsia sobiratel'skoi deiatel'nost'iu*). He may very well have either worked on or purchased Kurakin's MSS for the Archive. This may explain why Ternovskii could write that the *Vita* and attached medical notes belonged to the late "supervisor of the Rumiantsev Museum" (*Semeinaia khronika*, p. 115), while other documents to which Kurakin refers (diplomatic notes, voyages) "may be found in the Foreign Ministry Archive" (*Semeinaia khronika*, p. 114 n. 1). I am grateful to V. F. Molchanov and L. N. Novikova, respectively, Assistant Director and Chief Archivist, RO RGB, not only for confirming that the Kurakin MSS is not in Viktorov's personal files at the Russian State Library (RO RGB, f. 51), but also for providing me with so much useful background information about a document not in their collection.

21 *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 115.

22 *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 111, n. 1. Ternovskii noted (p. 114, n. 1) that these documents included: a written evaluation of the prince's illness and dietary prescriptions appropriate for his astrological complexion, dating from 1698, published in *Arkhiv*, vol. 3, pp. 150–152 (no. 148: *1698 g. Doktora padovskago Kalafatiia vo Italii ordin (retsept)*); a translation (from the Latin) of the personal medical history that Kurakin presented in 1705 to the council of doctors that had examined him in Moscow, prior to his departure for Carlsbad, *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, p. 272; a detailed diary of his course of balneological treatment while at Carlsbad, along with more dietary prescriptions, *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 111, n. 1, 489–490, n. 1; *Arkhiv*, vol. 3, p. 161–165 (no. 151: *1705–6 gg. Zametki kn. Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina v Karlsbade*) and *Arkhiv*, vol. 4, p. 110 (no. 28: *1705 g. fevralia 21-go. Retsept doktora Bekhera kn. B. I. Kurakinu*); as well as further descriptions of his courses of treatment in Amsterdam, *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 493; *Arkhiv*, vol. 3, p. 166–168 (no. 152: *1706 g. marta 28 po 3-e apreliia. Vedenie kn. B. I. Kurakina vpred' dlia sluchaev lecheniia ego bolezni v Amsterdame*; no. 153: *1706 g. maia 2. Kak delat' dekokht, retsept Bonoventov, dannyi v Amsterdame*); and in Aachen, *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 632, n. 1.

23 Kurakin's travel diary was published as "Dnevnik i putevye zametki kniazia Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina, 1705–1710," in *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, pp. 101–240.

trip (*voiazh*).²⁴ [A third document] will describe all [the details about] how that illness of mine first began (*s nachatku nachalas'*) as well as [how it] progressed (*umnozhilas'*). This description (*opisaniem moim diskretu moemu*) had [previously] been given to the honorable doctors (*gospodam dokhturam*) who had assembled in council (*konsille*, from Lat. *consilium*) [in Moscow] and who used my account to diagnose me (*s kotorogo pis'ma videv o mne i razsuzhdali*) and to determine (*i pridali v razsuzhdenie*) that I suffer from melancholia (*melankholiia*) and scurvy (*ta bolezni' moia skorbudika*) or [hy]pochondria (*ili pokhondria*), a disease which is similar to leprosy (*blizhitsia k lepre*), or *prokaza*, as it is called in [Church] Slavonic.²⁵

Although both nineteenth-century publishers recognized the evident importance that Kurakin attached to these documents, neither Semevskii nor Ternovskii ever explored the complicated intersection of early modern politics, religion, and medicine that lie at the heart of the *Vita*. And with only one or two exceptions, the same can be said about most of the commentators who followed them. Indeed, while all of the existing explanations for the origins and peculiarities of Kurakin's *Vita* draw attention to important aspects of this document, none offer a fully convincing elucidation of the text as a whole.

One explanation of the uniqueness of Kurakin's autobiographical writings stresses the fact that the famous Petrine diplomat was, almost by definition, in constant contact with representatives of foreign powers and, for professional reasons, had to spend inordinate amounts of time abroad. As a result, he eagerly embraced the Petrine “fashion for [using] foreign words,”²⁶ which not only lent “a special stylistic nuance of modernity” (*osobyi, stilisticheskii otpechatok novshestva*) to his literary self-presentation, but also allowed this paragon of ‘Westernization’ to express concepts for which there was no equivalent in Russia.²⁷ As the *Vita*'s title suggests, the text of this macaronic Russian memoir is a “morphological and lexical mixture of many European languages with an abundance of Italian words and expressions.”²⁸ There are not just individual words, but entire paragraphs in Italian, which Kurakin picked up in his twenties during the course of his early travels as a student of the Venetian “nautical arts,” and which came to be his language of choice for conveying points of information or expressing emotions that he did not wish to make too publicly known beyond the obviously small circle of intended readers of the *Vita*.²⁹ Over

24 In the earlier version of the autobiography, this sentence read: “A separate [note] book called ‘[My] Voyage’ [*viazhe*, It. *viaggio*] will show what happened during my whole trip (*viazhe*); a separate attached description (*pri sem osoblivym zhe opisaniem*) [will deal with my course of] treatment in Carlsbad (*ob lechen'i v Karzbate*).” See Arkhiv, vol. 1, p. 272. Note that in the second version of the autobiography, Kurakin uses the transliterated form of the French word for trip (*voyage*), instead of the Italian (*viaggio*).

25 According to SREZNEVSKII *Materialy dlia slovaria*, vol. 2, p. 1534, this is a translation from the Greek (λέπρα), as in the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 8:3).

26 VINOGRADOV *Ocherki*, pp. 59–60; *The History of the Russian Literary Language*, p. 36.

27 VINOGRADOV *Ocherki*, p. 59; PAVLOV-SIL'VANSKII *Proekty reform*, pp. 24–25; and the editor's introduction to Kurakin's “Gistoriia o tsare Petre Alekseeviche,” see NIKOLAEVA (ed.) *Petr Velikii*, p. 55.

28 See KUNES *Lexical Impact*, pp. 43–44.

29 The latter rhetorical move will be familiar to readers of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), who “kept his diary in code, which became particularly polyglot when ... sensitive matters were at issue.” KENDRICK *The Secret Museum*, pp. 247, 63–64, 260, n. 1, 189, citing LATHAM / MATTHEWS (eds.) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*..

time, however, Kurakin became so deracinated, that he even lost his “ability for normal, correct use of the Russian language” (*sposobnost’ pravil’nogo, normal’nogo upotrebleniia russkogo iazyka*) and developed, instead, “some kind of mixed jargon” (*kakoi-to smeshannyi zhargon*).³⁰ From this perspective, Kurakin’s job and his extreme xenophilia explain why in his writings, both professional and personal,³¹ the long-time expatriate wound up aping the language and style of foreign models, and why his texts are so full of “barbarisms for which there is no [direct] need” (*varvarizmami, v kotorykh ne bylo priamoi nuzhdy*).³²

While this philological interpretation offers an insightful description of the unique linguistic features of Kurakin’s *Vita*, it provides a somewhat anachronistic, retrospective explanation of its origins. In point of fact, Kurakin began to compose his *Vita* after spending almost three decades (more than half his life) in Russia – and nearly five years before he was officially allowed to enter the diplomatic corps and settle more or less permanently abroad. Indeed, when he started writing in his notebook, Kurakin may actually have had less foreign policy experience than his peers from the state-mandated study abroad program of the late 1690s,³³ some of whom had embarked upon their careers as ambassadors soon after their return.³⁴ Yet very few Petrine diplomats went on to write about their own

30 VINOGRADOV *Ocherki*, p. 60. FOGARATI *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, described it as “die Bestrebung zur Schaffung eines aristokratischen Salon- oder Diplomatenjargons,” a point echoed by IASINSKAIA *K predystorii salonnogo iazyka*, pp. 434–435; and IASINSKAIA *Amor, amur ili liubov’*, p. 88. See also BOGATUROVA *Memuary*.

31 Vinogradov refers to Kurakin’s oft-cited description of his extramarital affair: “And during my sojourn [in the Venetian Republic (*Rech Pospolitoi venetskoi*), in 1707] I was in love (*inamorat*, It. *inamorato*, in love, enamored) with a [female] citizen (*chitadenka*, It. f. *citadi*) renowned for her beauty (*slavnuuu khoroshestvom*), by the name of *Sig-ra Francesca Rotta*, whom I kept as a mistress (*kotoruuu imel za medresu*); for that entire stay I was so *inamorato* that I could not spend a single hour without her, who cost me (*kotoraia koshtovala mne*) 1,000 ducats for those two months. And I parted from her with [such] great weeping and sadness (*s velikoiu plach’iu i pechal’iu*), that [even] now that *amor* cannot leave my heart and, I believe, will not [ever] leave. And [in order] to remember (*na memoriu*, combining the Russian phrase, *na pamiat’* with the Latin, *pro memoria*) [this affair] I took her portrait (*eia personu*), and promised that I would again return to her and [also that] in Pomerania I shall seek by all the means [at my disposal] the opportunity (*iskat’ togo sluchaia*) to come back even for a small amount of time (*na neskol’koe vremia*) to live in Venice.” Entry for Kurakin’s 32nd year (From 20 July 1707 to 20 July 1708).

32 VINOGRADOV *Ocherki*, pp. 59–60. FOGARATI *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, pp. 129–131, dubbed the phenomenon of Kurakin’s “excessive usage” of foreign words “Kurakinism.” See VON KUNES *Lexical Impact*, p. 60, n. 32; KIPARSKY *On the stratification of the Russian vocabulary*, p. 9.

33 See OKENFUSS *Russian Students in Europe*; and GUZEVICH / GUZEVICH *Velikoe posol’stvo*, pp. 34–37, 211, 215–220, and Appendix 2 (*Stol’niki [spal’niki] otpravlennnye po ukazu ot 22.11.1696 v chuzhie kraia dlia nauki*).

34 During the 1698 trip to Venice, “Sergeant” Kurakin was part of a contingent of *stol’niki* headed by Prince P. A. Golitsyn, the future ambassador to the Imperial court in Vienna. GUZEVICH / GUZEVICH *Velikoe posol’stvo*, p. 255, n. 2. In fact, “five of the twelve diplomats accredited to foreign courts before 1710 were members of the group of aristocrats sent to Venice.” ALTBAUER *The Diplomats of Peter the Great*, p. 8.

life;³⁵ and those that did do so – like Peter Tolstoi (1645–1729)³⁶ and Andrei Matveev (1666–1728)³⁷ – typically produced annalistic chronicles written in the third-person singular, using the “dry narrative style and muted narratorial voice” of the perfunctory “diplomatic account” (*stateinyi spisok*).³⁸ In other words, having more foreign policy experience and longer contact with foreigners did not necessarily translate into a desire to write about oneself in the manner of foreigners, especially since early modern Russians had so many native, autobiographical forms on which to base such narratives.³⁹

Kurakin, by contrast, is very explicit about his intention to model his own work on the autobiographical practices of other “European peoples.” In the oft-quoted preface to his *Vita*, dated September 1705, Kurakin felt compelled to offer the following “explanation” (*prichina*) for this literary undertaking:

I expect (*spodevaiusia*, from Pol. *spodziewać sie*) that the person reading this, my own description of myself and my life (*sie opisanie ot samogo sebia i moego zhitiia*), will reprove me for the fact that I have written and will continue to write this way. And I also expect that no other nation or people will hold me in contempt [for doing so] except for our [own], Russian people (*ruskii narod*), for I believe that the other European people (*drugikh evropskikh*) are [already] accustomed to such writings. That is why I can also [honestly say] that I have not undertaken this [project] on my own behalf, but rather because basing myself on the custom of other persons, whether of high, average, or of the lowest nobility (*shliakhetstva*, from Pol. *szlachta*), who have [ever] described their own life (*zhivot*, from Pol. *życie*),⁴⁰ I, too, have followed [them] in this [practice]. As for those who would hold me in contempt, I do not condemn them, for I believe that they do so [merely] because of their ignorance of the way of the world.⁴¹

- 35 A. A. Matveev did so indirectly first via a history of the 1682 musketeer mutiny, reprinted in LIBERMAN / SHOKAREV (comp.) *Rozhdenie imperii*, pp. 361–414; on the dating of this work, see GRADOVA *Ruskopisnye memuary petrovskogo vremeni*, pp. 28–p9; and, second, via an apologia for his father, Artamon Sergeevich (1625–1682), who was killed during this mutiny. See Novikov, N. I. (ed.) *Istoriia o nevinnom zatochenii*; for the dating of this work, SAMARIN K *voprosu o datirovke i avtorstve*. Ivan Nepliev (1693–1773), another diplomat, wrote his autobiographical “Notes” long after Peter’s death. See NEPLIEV *Zapiski*, in the aptly named NEPLIEV *Imperii posle Petra*.
- 36 OKENFUSS *The Travel Diary of Peter Tolstoi*; OKENFUSS *The Cultural Transformation of Petr Tolstoi*; and OL’SHEVSKAIA / TRAVNIKOV (eds.) *Puteshestvie stol’nika P.A. Tolstogo po Evrope*.
- 37 *Ruskii diplomat vo Frantsii*; SHARKOVA *Stateinyi spisok posol’stva*; GLUSHANINA *K probleme zhanrovogo svoebraziia*; GLUSHANINA *K voprosu ob esteticheskoi prirode*; BERELOWITCH *Aux sources d’un modèle à construire*.
- 38 The quote is a characterization of Kurakin’s own travel diary by DICKINSON *The Russian Tour of Europe before Fonvizin*, pp. 5–8; and DICKINSON *Breaking Ground*, pp. 28–35. On this genre of Muscovite travel writing, see LIKHACHEV *Povesti russkikh poslov*; *Zapiski russkikh puteshestvennikov*; TRAVNIKOV *Putevye zapiski*; and OFFORD *Journeys to a Graveyard*, pp. 25–47.
- 39 On the variety of late 17th – early 18th-century Russian ego-documents, see CHEKUNOVA *Ruskoe memuranoie nasledie*, pp. 35–37.
- 40 Earlier in the preface, Arkhiv, vol. 1, p. 243, Kurakin refers to his composition as “this public life of mine” (*sei publichnoi zhitnosti moei*) and “description of my own life” (*opisanie moego zhivota*), which suggests that the Italian *vita*, Russian *zhitie*, *zhivot*, *zhitmost’* (a version of *zhizneopisanie*, biography), and Polish *życie* were synonymous and interchangeable.
- 41 For the full text of the preface, dated 1705, see Arkhiv, vol. 1, pp. 244–245.

Judging by the fact that this self-identified cosmopolitan invoked the example of foreign peers using the Polish words for nobility and autobiography, one of his specific points of reference may have been the “Sarmatian” memoirs of the Polish Baroque.⁴² However, the plaintive tone of Kurakin’s *Vita* is radically different from the folksy, colorful, and exuberant style of life writing known in Polish as *gawęda*.⁴³ Consequently, even if Prince Kurakin did have access to contemporary, and at the time largely unpublished memoirs and travel diaries of his Polish-Lithuanian counterparts,⁴⁴ it is clear that writing about his own life, in his own way, at his own time, entailed making deliberate choices about such things as the proper model, linguistic register, and word-choice – not merely submitting oneself to the supposedly inevitable, deracinating effects of ‘Westernization.’⁴⁵ Kurakin’s *Vita* is, in other words, the idiosyncratic product of a creative act of cultural translation, rather than of a reactive response to ‘foreign influences.’⁴⁶

Although Kurakin explicitly denied that it was ever his “intention to glorify” himself “by means of this [...] [description of] my biography (*sei publichnoi zhitnosti moei*, lit. this public life of mine),”⁴⁷ the second most common interpretation of the *Vita* attributes its uniqueness almost exclusively to the Prince’s genealogical pride and personal vanity.⁴⁸ According to this line of argument, ‘aristocratic pretentiousness’ lay behind Kurakin’s decision to organize his annalistic personal chronicle (*letopisets*) around his own birthday (July 20th),⁴⁹ in a series of eternal returns to the moment of his own incarnation “in the

42 SAJKOWSKI *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*; CIENSKI *Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII wieku*; DZIECHCIŃSKA *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży*. My thanks to Beth Holmgren and Serhii Plokhyi for the references in this and the following footnote.

43 A term that describes a loose, informal narrative, told by one garrulous nobleman to another, in the manner of someone reminiscing: a story that is often involved and full of digressions, with little attention paid to chronology. The *locus classicus* for this type of narrative is the memoirs (*Pamiętniki*) of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, which were not published until the 19th century and not translated into English until the 20th. See PASEK *Memoirs*; LEACH (ed.) *Memoirs of the Polish Baroque*. For an extensive definition and analysis of this narrative mode, which enjoyed a renaissance in the Romantic period through the fictional military tales of Henryk Rzewuski and others, see BARTOSZYŃSKI / JASIŃSKA-WOJTKOWSKA / SAWICKI (ed.) *Nowela, opowiadanie, gawęda*; and the sections on 16th – through early 18th-century literature (encompassing the so-called “Sarmatian Night”) in MIŁOSZ *The History of Polish Literature*. I am grateful to Beth Holmgren for pointing out the contrast with the Polish case.

44 TAZBIR *Les livres manuscrits en Pologne et en Russie*. On Polonophilia among late Muscovite elite servitors, see LUPPOV *Pol’skaia literatura*; BYCHKOVA *Pol’skie traditsii v russkoi genealogii*, pp. 39–50; and BYCHKOVA *Poliaki v Moskve*; and, more generally, SEDOV *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, pp. 183ff.

45 TARTAKOVSKII *Russkaia memuaristika*, p. 41.

46 On European culture as a “metatext” requiring “translation,” see BILINKIS *Russkaia proza XVIII veka*, p. 15. On “Europeanization” as “renaming,” and the special role of diplomats as agents in this process, AGEeva *Imperatorskii dvor Rossii*, pp. 65–69, 74, 137.

47 *Arkhiv*, vol. 1, p. 243.

48 Ternovskii’s introduction, for example, includes a discussion of the Kurakins’ stubborn and litigious family pride, suggesting that this was a heritable trait. *Semeinaia khronika*, pp. 105–107. On the “aristocratic pretentiousness” underpinning the *Vita*’s chronological organization, see PESHTICH *Russkaia istoriografiia*, vol. 1, p. 114; and TARTAKOVSKII *Russkaia memuaristika*, p. 43.

flesh” (*v rozhdenii*),⁵⁰ instead of tracking time from the year of the birth of Christ, as was customary in Europe, or the years from Creation, as was common practice in Muscovy.⁵¹ Family pride also supposedly explains why he chose to title his autobiography using the hyphenated surname “Korybut-Kurakin.” By calling himself a “Korybut” prince, Kurakin appears to have been relying on Polish genealogical tradition, according to which the patronymic “Korybutowicz” demonstrated that a particular Polish noble family descended from Lithuanian royalty.⁵² The Kurakins did indeed trace their roots to “Gedimin, the Great Prince of Lithuania” (*velikii kniaz’ litovskii*).⁵³ But so, too, did many other equally proud representatives of princely clans.⁵⁴ However, such grandees generally did not

- 49 Kurakin’s birthday falls on the Feast day of the Prophet Elijah, who is revered as a model of the contemplative life. See Elijah, in: *A Dictionary of the Bible*.
- 50 In the preface to his *Vita*, Kurakin wrote: “I am in the 30th year of my life, [and if one counts] from the 20th of July, my date of birth, until the present 25th day of September [1705], that will mean [another] two months and six days; for which reason I must always note the months, counting not from the first day of the calendar but from the 20th of every month, since that number [marks] the beginning of my life in the flesh (*v rozhdenii*, lit. “in birth”). And similarly counting the years [of my life] from the 20th day of the month of July until the next such date, [in this way] bringing myself [all the way around and] back [to the same day] via all twelve months [of the calendar year].” *Arkhir*, vol. 1, p. 243–244. The first draft of the *Vita* includes an even longer explanation of the way Kurakin intends “to reckon the years” of his life, which calculates the time both “from the Nativity” of Christ and “from the Creation” of the world. *Arkhir*, vol. 1, pp. 244–245. The second draft of the autobiography omits the years of Creation, but not the central organizing principle – the focus on Kurakin’s birthday.
- 51 See the annalistic entries of Ivan Afanas’ev Zheliabuzhskii (b. 1638 – after 1709), another Muscovite diplomat who chronicled the early years of Peter’s reign. See *ZHELIABUZHSKII Dnevnye zapiski*. See also SOLODKIN *Istoriia pozdnego letopisaniia*, pp. 14–21 (on *boiarskie letopistsy*) and pp. 130–138 (*letopisanie dvorian i prikaznykh liudei*); and CHISTIAKOVA / BOGDANOV *Da budet potomkam iavleno*, esp. ch. 5.
- 52 See BAUMGARTEN *Origine de Michel Wiśniowiecki roi de Pologne*, esp. pp. 393–395. Dmitrii-Korybut, Prince of Novgorod-Seversk (d. 1404) was the brother of King Władysław II Jagiełło (d. 1434), Grand Prince of Lithuania, who founded the Jagiellonian royal dynasty in Poland. See DUMIN / GREBEL’SII *Gediminovichi*, pp. 30–31; and KUZ’MIN *Gediminovichi*, pp. 130, 135–136. Kurakin may also have hoped to evoke the memory of a more recent bearer of this name, Michał Wiśniowiecki (1640–1673), the nobleman who ascended to the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1669 as King Michał Korybut Wisniowiecki. After his death, Russian and Polish diplomats briefly considered marrying off Wisniowiecki’s widow to Tsar-evich Fedor Aleseevich (Kurakin’s future godfather), thereby transferring the Polish crown to Muscovy. See BUSHKOVITCH *Peter the Great*, pp. 70–71, 439, n. 37; and SEDOV *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva*, p. 182.
- 53 See *Rodoslovnaia rospis’ kniazei Golitsynnykh i Kurakinykh*, vol. 1, pp. 28–36, signed by Kurakin’s father on 11 March 1682; and Prince S. D. Golitsyn’s letter to Prince B. I. Kurakin (11 May 1722), “about our [common princely] family” (*vedenie o familii nashei*), based on “Russian chronicles as well as those translated from the Polish” (*letopistsy nashi russkie i perevedennye s pol’skogo*), in *Arkhir*, vol. 2, pp. 441–442. See also “Vedenie o vyezde kniazei Litovskikh, i kto ot nikh poshli familii na Rusi, XIV–XVIII vv.,” in: *Arkhir*, vol. 2, pp. 438–441; “Rodoslovie kniazei Kurakinykh v X–XVIII vv.,” in: *Arkhir*, vol. 3, pp. 385ff.; “Rodoslovie kniazei Kurakinykh v X–XIX vv. i opsianie gerba,” in: *Arkhir*, vol. 1, p. 349ff.; and “Rodoslovie kniazei Kurakinykh v XV–XVIII vekakh na nemetskom iazyke,” in: *Arkhir*, vol. 2,

choose to hyphenate their name. The hereditary servitors who did resort to this unusual step typically did so because they felt that they had something to prove.

This was certainly the case with Archimandrite Ignatii (Korsakov), a former courtier who between 1680 and 1683 composed a learned genealogical treatise full of classical references, biblical allusions, and even drawings of “celestial portents,” in which he made a sophisticated argument for distinguishing the “ancient Roman” (*Rimskii*) branch of the Korsakov clan from the many lower-class families who bore the same surname.⁵⁵ Similar motivations underlay the actions of several members of another up-and-coming, late-seventeenth-century noble family, the Bestuzhevs, who succeed not only in forging their own genealogical records to include a reference to a mythical English ancestor, but also in entering the diplomatic corps during the reign of Peter the Great.⁵⁶ The fact that the Bestuzhevs and Korsakovs petitioned to hyphenate their family name at the height of, and directly in response to a government-initiated effort to update the official Muscovite noble registry,⁵⁷ suggests that they sought not merely to praise the family’s deeds in the past, but also to guarantee, and hopefully increase the official standing of their progeny in the future. In other words, the Bestuzhev-“Riumins” and “Rimskii”-Korsakovs were motivated as much by status anxiety as family pride or personal vanity. And the same can be said for Prince Boris Ivanovich, the “hereditary prince of Lithuania, from the house of *Korybut-Kurakin*” (*domu Caributoff Karakinigh, kniazei nasledstvennykh litovskikh*), a scion of Polish-Lithuanian royalty and would-be diplomat who complained in 1708 that he “was received with more affection and respect abroad (*osoblivuiu priemnost’ i liubov’ v chuzikh ot vsekh imel*) than [he ever experienced] in his own parts (*v svoikh kraiaikh*).”⁵⁸

The most recent interpretation of Kurakin’s *Vita* links its uniqueness and modernity to the Prince’s seemingly obsessive need to record in gory and frequently disgusting detail the various treatments that he received for each medical ailment with which he was afflicted – everything from hemorrhoids (*chechuinaia bolezni*) and scurvy (*bolezni skorbutika*) to “melancholia” (*melankholia*) and “hypochondria” (*gipokhandria*). The following excerpt, which describes Kurakin’s mental and physical state immediately before he received the “royal decree (*ukaz*) [giving him permission] to travel abroad [*za more*, lit. bey-

pp. 435ff.

- 54 DOLGORUKOV Rossiiskii rodoslovnyi sbornik, vol. 2, pp. 67–130, on the Kurakins, see DOLGORUKOV Rossiiskii rodoslovnyi sbornik, vol. 2, pp. 122–130; DUMIN / GREBEL’SII Gediminovichi, vol. 2, pp. 26–31, on the Kurakins, DUMIN / GREBEL’SII Gediminovichi, pp. 59–64; KUZ’MIN Gediminovichi.
- 55 BOGDANOV Geneologiiia, p. 80; BYCHKOVA ‘Genealogiia’ Korsakov-Rimskikh. For the actual text, see RIMSKII-KORSAKOV Genealogiia.
- 56 BYCHKOVA Pol’skie traditsii v russkoi genealogii, pp. 47–49. Three Bestuzhev-Riumins (father and two sons) served in the diplomatic corps under Peter the Great. ALTBAUER The Diplomats of Peter the Great, pp. 5, 11.
- 57 This process would end with the formal burning of the old books of precedence and the compilation of a new official noble registry, the so-called “Velvet Book” (*Barkhatnaia kniga*). See BYCHKOVA Barkhatnaia kniga and BYCHKOVA Palata rodoslovnykh del, respectively; and for the broader context, SEDOV Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva.
- 58 Kurakin’s emphasis in entry for 32nd Year (from 20 July 1707 to 20 July 1708).

ond the sea] in order to treat [his] scurvy (*bolezni' tsyngotnaia*),⁵⁹ provides a vivid example of the frankness with which he recorded such issues in his *Vita*:

And that winter we [Kurakin and his wife] lived [relatively] happily (*blagopoluchno*). However, my inner secret (*vnutrennii sekret*) and sorrow (*pechal'*) continued to multiply (*umnozhalasia*).⁶⁰ [And as this secret sorrow soon] became public (*stala byt' publichnoi*), I became very melancholic (*vo mnogo melankholii zostaval*) and fell ill (*v bolezni*). And the illness caused by my sorrow (*ot pechali*) showed itself clearly before Shrovetide, in the month of February, when the same scorbutic sores (*skorbutiki bolezni piatna*) that I [already] had on my legs appeared on my forehead, as well as the rest of my body. Around that time, His Majesty approved my request (*po prosheniiu*) to remain in Moscow and I lived [there] during Lent and after Easter-week all the way until the fast of St. Peter. And from Lent up to the very time of my departure I was treated by Dr. Lavrentii (*Lavrentii dokhtur*).⁶¹ I took laxatives (*pronosnoe lekarstvo*) more than thirty times and drank little else than [special medical] decoctions (*dekokt*), which I took for all eight weeks, except [for the few times that I drank] a little tea, which had to be unsweetened and hot. [On the suggestion of the Russian] physician (*lekar'*) Rybnikov, I [also] sat in a steam bath (*sidel v ban'ke*) [some] eighteen times. [...] And on Holy Saturday, [immediately] before the [Easter] feast, I was so copiously bled from my right hand that I fainted twice; and I was thinner and weaker than I ever was. [...] During the course of my medical treatment, I continually [suffered from] constipation (*zapor na niz*); at one point, I did not have a [bowel] movement (*operatsiia*) of any kind for five days [straight]. And on the fifth day, with the doctor's permission (*s pozvoeniem medika*), I was given an enema (*klister*), the first one in my entire life (*s rozhdeniia svoego*). This clyster had a more powerful effect than any laxative I had ever taken and all of the matter was expelled (*vsiu tak materiuiu vymetalo*) without any effort or [resulting] weakness, which was very different [from the effect typically produced] with laxatives (*pronosnoe lekarstvo*)."

M. B. Pliukhanova suggested that the *Vita*'s 'naturalistic' emphasis on the Prince's personal health represents his poignant, and ultimately futile protest against the oppressive atmosphere of Peter's reign, a time in the nation's history when the needs of the individual were ignored in favor of state imperatives and the "general good," as defined, of course, by its megalomaniacal and ideologically-driven leader, not the people for whose benefit he claimed to rule.⁶² This reading captures the fundamental importance of the themes of anguish and disease that permeate Kurakin's *Vita* and that inform the very process of his

59 Entry for Kurakin's 29th Year (from 20 July 1704 to 20 July 1705).

60 That is, Kurakin and his wife got along well enough to maintain a semblance of peace. His doubts about the viability of his second marriage may be the "internal secret" that caused him such "sorrow" and pain.

61 Judging by a letter dated 5 February 1705, and appended separately (*a parte*) to this version of the autobiography, this appears to be a reference to Dr. L. A. Blumentrost (1619–1705), one of the court-sponsored doctors who had counseled Kurakin about his illness during his stay in Moscow; the other doctors were Robert Erskine (1619–1718), the Oxford-educated Scot who was recently hired as physician to Menshikov, and Nicholas Bidloo (1670–1735), the Dutch surgeon who would go on to found the first military hospital in Moscow. For a reference to the Russian translation of this Latin missive, see *Semeinaia khronika*, p. 488 n.

62 M. B. PLIUKHANOVA Kurakin, Boris Ivanovich, in: *Slovar' russkikh pisatelei XVIII veka*. Sankt-Peterburg 1999, vyp. 2 (K-P). Available at: <http://lib.pushkinskij.dom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=1208> (last accessed 1 April 2011). This post-Soviet interpretation of Petrine history owes a lot to Evgenii Anisimov's characterization of the reign. See ANISIMOV *Progress Through Violence*, pp. 409–418; and ANISIMOV *Vremia petrovikh reform*.



Figure 1: Horoscope of P[rince]. B[oris]. I[vanovich]. K[orybut]. K[urakin]. Undated, ink drawing. *Nauchno-istoricheskii arkhiv II RAN Koll. 115. Op. 1. № 153, l. 7, St. Petersburg, Russia.*

life writing. However, Pliukhanova quickly undercuts this fruitful line of inquiry by relegating Kurakin's actual physical and psychical ailments to the realm of semiotics, that is, by treating references to disease in the *Vita* primarily as if they constituted a way – perhaps the only way – that the dissident Prince could protest against the corruption of the body politic and the injustices of his time.⁶³ But what would happen if we took Kurakin's complaints as seriously as he did? How, exactly, are all the misfortunes, accidents, and illnesses detailed in the Prince's *Vita* related to his larger autobiographical project? And what connection do they have to the recently-discovered "circular drawing," with which Kurakin actually began the second, revised draft of his *Vita*?

Although we do not know exactly when Kurakin commissioned this drawing, or whom he hired to execute it,⁶⁴ there is no doubt that during the process of writing his *Vita* the Muscovite prince consulted someone capable of casting what in the parlance of the time was called a "geniture" or "nativity," that is, a natal horoscope that could be used to determine an individual's astrological complexion ("temperament") and, consequently, to discover the influence of the planets upon his health and well-being, both at the time of consultation and beyond.⁶⁵ Regardless of

63 Pliukhanova's line of inquiry echoes the recent surge of interest in the theme of "Russian literature and medicine." See BOGDANOV / MURASHOV / NIKOLOZI (eds.) *Russkaia literatura i meditsina*, based on a 2003 conference at Konstanz University (Germany); and BOGDANOV *Vrachi, patsienty, chitateli*, esp. pp. 34–64, the section entitled "Petr Pervyi o meditsine: igra prirody, poriadok pravleniia," reprinted in ANISIMOV *Petr Velikii*, pp. 175–209.

64 Kurakin's geniture was most likely cast in 1707, at the same time as the so-called "Latitudiny planet," an unsigned and undated document, which was published by Semevskii with the subtitle "Goroskop B. I. Kurakina." See *Arkhiv*, vol. 3, pp. 141–149 (no. 147); translated by Robert Collis in this issue of the "Jahrbücher." This fascinating text contains an analysis (in the first person singular) of the astrological signs found in the twelve houses of the zodiac, as well as a series of annual prognostications (*ezhegodnye izrecheniia v zhivote rozhdennago*) for an unidentified individual (referred to in the third person) for whom a geniture has been cast. If the dating and attribution is correct, then this document may very well be a translation into Russian of a natal horoscope cast for Kurakin, perhaps by the same "doctor (*dokhtur*) Gretselt [sic]" from whom Kurakin "received medical treatment while in Rome." See the *Vita* entry for his 31st Year (from 20 July 1706 to 20 July 1707).

65 Unless one relied on the prognostications of published almanacs, astrological prediction required the casting of a horoscope, which, in turn, required someone in possession of both the "scientific" equipment (armillary sphere, tables of ephemerides) and the expert knowledge to in-

whether or not he believed in its efficacy, Kurakin’s commission demonstrates his evident interest in astrology – an interest shared by many of his contemporaries, including the tsar himself.⁶⁶ However, in contradistinction to most members of his social circle,⁶⁷ Kurakin’s fascination with the practical application of the “mathematical sciences,”⁶⁸ particularly in predicting natural and moral events, proceeded to inform not only the way he wrote about his life, but even the structure of the narrative itself. From this perspective, Kurakin’s decision to chronicle his life from one birth-day to the next was a case neither of vanity nor precocious modernity. It was, instead, an ingenious attempt to inscribe his life story into the narrative scheme provided by the discourse of the contemporary medical profession, which remained committed to the idea of celestial influences long after iatromathematicians began to “dispense with horoscopes and zodiacal imagery” and adopt the “idiom of natural philosophy.”⁶⁹ This discursive move helps to explain, for example, why various permutations of the words *shchast’e* (Rus. fortune, luck, happiness) and its opposite (*neshchast’e*, mishap, an unfortunate occurrence of any kind) recur so often in Kurakin’s *Vita*, as well as why they appear as impersonal, external forces, even when they result from the actions of specific individuals, be it his wife, his political rivals, or the tsar himself.⁷⁰ It is also one of the main reasons for the seemingly obsessive attention to the details

interpret the data. SIMONOV *Russkaia astrologicheskaiia knizhnost’*, p. 121. On these and other tools of the iatromathematicians’ trade, see GRAFTON / SIRAIISI *Between the Election and My Hopes*, p. 73; and, more generally, GRAFTON *Cardano’s Cosmos*, esp. ch. 2: “The Astrologer’s Practice.”

- 66 SIMONOV *Astrologicheskie znaniia*; RYAN *The Bathhouse at Midnight*, pp. 373–407, esp. pp. 21–24, 399–403; FILIMON *Iakov Brius*, pp. 218–230, 245–276, 324–340; and COLLIS *The Petrine Instauration*.
- 67 The closest contemporary analogy may be the personal chronicle (*letopisets*) of A. Ia. Dashkov (d. 1702), which was composed between 1680 and 1689. “Unlike many other chroniclers of his social circle,” Dashkov not only “frequently mentioned celestial portents” (*nebesnye ‘znameniiia’*), but even drew them, especially in those cases when the author wished to keep quiet about his personal role in the recent, turbulent events of the regency of Tsarevna Sof’ia Alekseevna, with whom he sided right up until the moment her government was overthrown by the supporters of her half-brother, the currently reigning Tsar Peter Alekseevich. SOLODKIN *Istoriia pozdengo letopisaniia*, pp. 133–134, citation p. 132.
- 68 At the end of his period of apprenticeship, Kurakin received a “diploma [...] bearing the seal of the Venetian Grand Prince,” testifying to the fact that he “studied the mathematical sciences (*nauk matematicheskikh*),” and of “having mastered arithmetic (*arifmetika*), geometry – practical (*giometry praktiki*) and theoretical, Euclidean (*giometra teoriki 5 knig Evklidesa*), plane trigonometry (*trigonometry pliany*), nautical astronomy (*ostronomii chast’ do navtiki*), nautical [science], mechanics, as well as offensive and defensive fortification (*fortifikatsiia offensiva i defensiva*.” See the entry for his 21st Year (from 20 July 1696 to 20 July 1697).
- 69 HARRISON *From Medical Astrology to Medical Astronomy*, argues that even in the land of Isaac Newton “many of the ideas constitutive of astrological medicine persisted well into the nineteenth century, not just among ‘fringe’ practitioners, but among men who considered themselves (and were considered by others) to be in the van of medical progress.” HARRISON *From Medical Astrology to Medical Astronomy*, pp. 26–27.
- 70 See, for example, the entry for the 26th year, in which he specifically links his unfortunate domestic problems to his emotional and physical illnesses: “That winter I also suffered some misfortune *delia mio korte*, [It. “in my household,” an Italian phrase written in Cyrillic characters], which was the reason why I found myself in [such a] melancholic state (*i s toi prichiny zostav-*

of his health, which scholars in search of historical facts find distracting from the ‘real’ story. Whereas in fact, the real story of Kurakin’s astrologically-infllected personal chronicle is precisely the ups and downs of outrageous fortune, as experienced in the flesh and described on paper by the long-suffering Muscovite prince.⁷¹

Kurakin’s Complaint

The *Vita* of Prince Kurakin can perhaps best be described as the product of the autobiographical practices of a cranky, disaffected, elite servitor, documenting for himself as well as his progeny the fact that he is ‘temperamentally’ unsuited for the spartan, military existence that, until then, he had been forced to lead. By using the word “cranky” (cf. Du. and Ger. *krank*, sick) to characterize the Prince, I’m referring to the fact that Kurakin actually began writing his *Vita* in Carlsbad (Karlov Vary),⁷² in the copious free time between drinking, purging, and evacuating the famous mineral-rich waters of the spa that he visited soon after receiving the long-sought-for official permission to travel abroad, a concession that he obtained “in July [1705], on the eve of [his] saint’s day (*navecherii angela svoego*).”⁷³ Just a few months earlier, a council of doctors in Moscow had formally diagnosed him with scurvy (*tsyngotnaia bolezni’* or *skorbutika*), a deficiency disease that we now know results from a lack of vitamin C or ascorbic acid in the diet,⁷⁴ but which in the

aiuchi v melankholii), and why I was afflicted with the [abovementioned] illness (*i bolezni’ poluchil*),” namely, “a large boil under my bosom (*pod pazukhoi*), which [had to be] lanced, and as a result of which, I had to remain there [in Moscow], for the duration of my illness (*v bolezni svoei*), until Christmas.”

- 71 Kurakin’s *Vita* must be distinguished, however, from true “astrological diaries,” such as those of JEAKE *An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth-Century*; or his more famous, professional predecessors, like Girolamo Cardano. GRAFTON *Cardano’s Cosmos*, ch. 10; GRAFTON / SIR-AISI *Between the Election and My Hopes*, pp. 69–132.
- 72 BEM *Kniaz’ B. I. Kurakin v Karlovarakh*. The ‘crankiness’ of Kurakin’s autobiography must be seen not only in the context of other “spa texts,” which generally pay an inordinate amount of attention to ailments of the most personal kind; but also of a pattern of behavior among those upper class Europeans who had the leisure to travel and the desire to present themselves as *honnêtes hommes*. From this perspective, flaunting one’s ailments in a literary text could be interpreted as an expression of notions (elegance, delicacy, and leisure) that constituted the proper “courtier” pose. See STANTON *The Aristocrat as Art*. I owe this observation and reference to Gitta Hammarberg.
- 73 That is, immediately before July 20th, 1705. Later on in the narrative, however, Kurakin specifies that he received Peter’s decree on the 23rd of July, three days after the beginning of his 30th year. Kurakin’s juggling of dates may not be a product of faulty memory; judging by the explicit reference to his “[guardian] angel,” Kurakin appears to treat this royal decree as a heaven-sent solution to his problems.
- 74 The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease. s.v. “Scurvy,” (<http://www.credoreference.com/entry/cup/disease/scurvy>; accessed January 19, 2010). In the eighteenth century, “scurvy was a major European disease” that “afflicted sea-goers in particular, and was consequently of grave concern to the maritime powers, actual and aspirant.” Roger Bartlett notes that “[i]ts symptoms, when they become extreme, are repulsive, and its effects, if untreated, deadly.” BARTLETT *Britain, Russia, and Scurvy*, p. 23. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition. Oxford 1989, online version March 2011) definition, scurvy (*scorbutus*) is a

early modern period was thought to “proceed” from the “putrefaction of Melancholy.”⁷⁵ It is important to point out that melancholy here refers not to a psychological problem *per se*, as we post-Freudians would have it, but rather to a particular distribution of “humors” and its effect on the body and mind.⁷⁶ Contemporary reference works defined “melancholia,” or black choler, as “one of the four humors of the body, the grossest of all the other, which if it abound too much, causes heaviness and sadness of mind.”⁷⁷ A “windy melancholy,” for example, bred “Hypochondriack distempers,” so called because “their seat [is] in the Hypochondria, i. e. the upper part of the belly, about the short ribs,”⁷⁸ from whence “a black phlegm arises that infects and troubles the mind.”⁷⁹ By this definition, Kurakin was a hypochondriac not because he obsessively wrote about his various ailments, but because he was troubled with an imbalance in the bodily humors that naturally predisposed him to heaviness of spirit and sadness of mind – a diagnosis that caused him to seek a water-cure in the first place.

Kurakin was not only sick, but also disaffected: certainly in the obsolete sense of affected with disease; but also in the by-now rare sense of someone who is disliked, regarded with aversion. The prince was very conscious of the fact that he was out of favor at the court of Tsar Peter Alekseevich, whose brother-in-law (*svoiak*) he once happened to be. As is well known, Kurakin and the tsar had both been married to the Lopukhin sisters; until, that is, the end of the seventeenth-century, when Kurakin buried Ksen’ia (1678–1699) in the Chudov Monastery in Moscow⁸⁰ and Peter confined Evdokiia (1669–1731) in

“disease characterized by general debility of the body, extreme tenderness of the gums, foul breath, subcutaneous eruptions and pains in the limbs, induced by exposure and by a too liberal diet of salted foods.”

- 75 RENO A Medicinal Dispensatory, Containing The whole Body of Physick ... London 1657 (online resource): “Scurvy, is a disease which proceeds of the putrefaction of Melancholy.” LANCASHIRE (ed.) Lexicons of Early Modern English.
- 76 For a recent broad overview of the history of humoral concepts see ARIKHA Passions and Tempers. For the Russian case, see BOGDANOV Gumoral’nye strasti; TITOV Lozhnye i otrechnnye knigi, pp. 51–54.
- 77 BLOUNT Glossographia or a Dictionary, defined it as follows: “Melancholy (melancholia), black choler caused by adjution of the blood; also sadness, pensiveness, solitariness. Melancholy is by Phisitians reckoned for one of the four humors of mans body, and resembles the Earth, as Choler doth the fire; Blood the air; Phleme the water. It is said to be the grossest of all four, which, if it abound too much, causeth heaviness and sadness of mind.”
- 78 According to JOHN KERSEY the younger (English Dictionary: Or, a Compleat: Collection Of the Most Proper and Significant Words ... London 1702; online resource, March 2011), “Hypochondriack distempers proceeding from a windy melancholy; so call’d from their seat in the Hypochondria, i. e. the upper part of the belly, about the short ribs.”
- 79 WILLIS Dr. Willis’s Practice of Physic defines “Hypochondriac” as “A windy Melancholy, bred in the Hypochondria, from whence a black phlegm arises that infects and troubles the mind,” or else as “one troubled with such melancholy.” Compare this definition to that recorded for *stol’nik* A. I. Iakhontov, who in 1678 was diagnosed by court doctors with “a disease that by their medical science is called hypochondria (*po ikh dokhturskoi nauke nazyvaetsia khipondriiaka* [sic.]), or scurvy (*bolezni’ tsyngotnaia*) in Russian.” See SEDOV Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva, p. 183, n. 34, p. 267.
- 80 Entry for 22nd year (From 20 July 1697 to 20 July 1698 [sic]): “We returned [from Venice] in February of the year [7]206, the 22nd year from my birth. And on the third day of my arrival in Moscow, my wife, Princess Ksen’ia Fedorovna died. She was taking medicine (*salevatsion*) for

a convent in distant Suzdal', effectively divorcing her and withdrawing his favor from those members of the Muscovite elite, like Kurakin, who had belonged to the court clique that had arranged his first marriage and had put him on the throne.⁸¹ After Peter's divorce, Kurakin was put in the uncomfortable position of a courtier who had once been related by marriage to the reigning monarch, but who had now, for reasons beyond his control, found himself on the outs with the tsar and his new favorites and advisers, many of whom were either foreigners or commoners, and sometimes both.⁸²

This is why Kurakin can also be said to be disaffected in the third, and much more familiar, modern sense of the word, namely: estranged in affection or allegiance, unfriendly, hostile; almost always in the sense of being unfriendly to the government or to constituted authority. Although he was the uncle of the executed Tsarevich Aleksei Petrovich, and consorted with political émigrés,⁸³ as far as we know, Kurakin was never involved in any sort of overt political opposition, and never disloyal to Peter. But he was estranged from his former brother-in-law and therefore, by definition, unfriendly to the current constellation of individuals and political clans that comprised the tsar's inner circle – a coterie that he would eventually describe in a scathing exposé intended as a chapter for his unfinished history of Russia,⁸⁴ but that he dared not criticize openly in the *Vita*.⁸⁵ The only time that Kurakin could not refrain from openly expressing his disgust with his “unfortunate condition” was in the final entry of the “33rd year from [his] birth in the year 1709,” which was written soon after the tsar publicly berated him for “seeking the chance to become a foreign ambassador” instead of “serving in the military”; threatened him with the gallows, should he “not perform my duty on the occasion of the [much anticipated] battle with the enemy [at Poltava]”; and then deliberately passed him over for promotion. Kurakin “be-

her scorbutic illness (*bolezn' skorbudina*), but her nature could not bear it (*ne podnela natura*) and she choked on the phlegm (*mokrota*) that came into her throat. And she was buried in the Chudov Monastery.”

81 BUSHKOVITCH Peter the Great, ch. 4–5; LAVROV Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny; and ZITSER The Transfigured Kingdom, ch. 1.

82 Such as Peter's new mistresses from the Foreign Quarters, and the men who had introduced them to him. BUSHKOVITCH Peter the Great, p. 238.

83 PLATONOV B. I. Kurakin i A. P. Prozorovskii.

84 “Gistoriia o tsare Petre Alekseeviche i blizhnikh k nemu liudiakh, 1682–1694 gg., sochinenie kn. B. I. Kurakina, napisannoe v Gage i Parizhe v 1723–1727 gg.,” in: Arkhiv, vol. 1, p. 39–78.

85 In this respect, Kurakin may be contrasted with his more famous French contemporary, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755), a disaffected and highly rank-conscious courtier, who left a lengthy memoir chronicling the stultifying pettiness and corruption at the court of his own royal relative. Saint-Simon, who actually met and befriended Kurakin in 1717, offered the following description of the Prince: “Kurakin était d'une branche de cette ancienne maison des Jagellons, qui avait longtemps porté les couronnes de Pologne, de Danemark, de Norvège et de Suède. C'était un grand homme bien fait, qui sentait fort la grandeur de son origine, avec beaucoup d'esprit, de tour et d'instruction. Il parlait assez bien français et plusieurs langues; il avait fort voyagé, servi à la guerre, puis été employé en différentes cours. Il ne laissait pas de sentir encore le russe, et l'extrême avarice gâtait fort ses talents. [...] Tout ce qui l'a connu le lui a ouï conter; j'ai mangé chez lui et lui chez moi, et je l'ai fort entretenu et ouï discourir avec plaisir sur beaucoup de choses.” See *Mémoires complets et authentiques*, Tome 14, Chapitre XVIII, available online at: http://rouvroy.medusis.com/docs/1418.html?qid=sd_xq5. On Saint-Simon and his memoirs, see LADURIE Saint-Simon.

moan[ed] that time as a three-fold misfortune for me (*togo to vremia sebe prichitaiu troiakoe neschast'e*):

Firstly, because I bore [the brunt] of [His] Highness' (*poluchil ot Vychnego* [sic]) wrath for no other reason than the intrigues of my enemies [at court] (*po vozmushcheniiu nepriatel'skomu*).⁸⁶ Secondly, because on the occasion (*pod takoi sluchai*) when everyone [else] was rewarded according to his merits (*za zaslugi svoi vozdaianie*), I was denied (*togo otlučen*) [that opportunity].⁸⁷ Thirdly, because that winter and during my entire stay there [in Poland], I was always whole-heartedly diligent (*imel vseгда ot serdtsa prilezhanie*) and worked hard (*trudilsia*), seeking to show myself [in the best light] (*sebia khotia pokazat'*, lit. “wanting to show myself off”); but this [hard work] was treated as if I had nothing whatsoever to do with it (*onoe ni vo chto vmeneno*) and written off as if it was all for naught (*zagasheno*). And what's more, although it may seem haughty to say so in writing (*khotia i gordo v sem napishu*), however my [very] nature forces me to state that compared to me, many of the well-known individuals who had been in the same grade as I and who went on to receive the rank of major-general are stupid (*soboiu glupykh*), miserable (*khudykh*), totally lacking in any gifts or merits (*bez pokazaniia vsiakogo dara i zaslugi*), and ignorant (*i ne znaemykh*) not only of other matters, but also of the ones which they are called upon to perform and in the fulfillment of which they are currently occupied; [they are all] filled only with malice, drunkenness, envy, and derision (*glumleniia*) towards everyone, whether near or far (*kak blizhnikh, tak i dal'nikh*).⁸⁸

Kurakin's estrangement from the tsar's inner circle also helps to explain why he attributed most of the changes introduced during the reign of this reforming monarch to the avarice

86 Writing in cipher, Kurakin noted: “La mia fortuna tutta caduta del mio inimico P. Dolgoruky Vasilei Volodimeroff, lo quale cercava sine adesso la mia testa per invidia, perche vedendo favori del P. Menscikov, come mi amato, e' di piu havuto paura di non haver la grazia di S. M.” (It. “All my [good]-fortune was subverted by my enemy, P.[rince] Vasilii Vasil'evich Dolgorukii; who even now sought to have my head [purely] out of envy, [not only] because he saw that Prince Menshikov showed me favor and loved me, but also because he [himself] was not in H[is] M[ajesty's] good graces.”)

87 “After that battle, everyone received triumphal gifts (*i po toi batalii vse vzysskany triumfom podarkov*) of ranks, medals, crosses, and chivalrous orders; but because of my misfortune I remained the only one who was left (*tol'ko za neschastie ia odin ostalsia*) [unacknowledged].”

88 After breaking the flow of his annalistic personal chronicle with an uncharacteristically emotional interjection – “Oh, [how many] tears [did I shed]! Oh, [how many] sighs!” – Kurakin quickly recovered his composure. In the next entry, he made a note of the fact that the tell-tale signs of his “illness” were “multiplying” – “from day to day there are more sores, especially on my back and face, although those that were on my head are beginning to diminish” – and then added: “With this I vow (*k semu-zh ob'iavliai*) [that] I have locked away in my heart (*zmnul v serdse moem*) [my previous tactic] of approaching [the powers-that-be] in a politic way (*politiicheski prikhodit'*) as a way of seeking any kind of better options for myself (*iskat' sebe kakikh dobrykh sposobov*), like I have seen everyone else doing (*vidia-zh kak i drugie*). And [instead of that], I place my trust (*polozhikhsia*) on the will of my Creator and his intercession: may these correct [my ways] (*te mia da upraviat*) and lead me out (*proizvedut*) [of my present sorry state].” On his birthday he was “so sad (*tak pechalen*), that while standing during the early [morning] liturgy in the [Orthodox] brotherhood church (*stoia v tserkvi bratskoi u rannei obedni*) [in Kiev], I could not stop myself from crying (*ne mog uderzhat'sia, chtob ne plakat'*), remembering the cruel days of my life (*vospominaia liutosti dnei moikh zhitiiia*).” Entry for 34th Year (from 20 July 1709 to 20 July 1710).

of low-born “projectors,” who rose to positions of power formerly occupied by the likes of the Prince himself – an influential and largely erroneous interpretation of the social composition of Peter’s court that was part and parcel of Kurakin’s “aristocratic myth of Russian history.”⁸⁹

Kurakin’s disaffection extended both to his family and professional life. The young widower’s marriage to Princess Mar’ia Fedorovna Urusova does not appear to have been a happy one, although in the autobiography he purposely refrains from revealing the reasons for his estrangement from his second wife, beyond noting, in Italian, that her behavior caused people to talk and him to feel ashamed:

“My arrival [back home] was ill-fated (*neschastlivoi svoi priezd videl*). Immediately upon my arrival [in the fall of 1706], I heard about *comeche molti spropositi sono stati della me* [It.: “how many falsehoods were being said about me”], which were derogatory and embarrassing to me; and to the whole realm *diceuono: qualche cosa extraordinaria!* [It.: “saying: What an extraordinary thing!”] And because of this, great quarrels took place between me and my mother-in-law, and I did not take [my wife] back to live with me in my house and sent her back to her mother. And [her] godfather Naum became the conduit for many and various kinds of intrigues (*intrig*) in all of this, and I was all set *pregar il suo M. dimetter in monasterio* [It.: “to ask His Majesty (for permission) to send (her) off to a monastery”].⁹⁰

He was also a disaffected military servitor. At the time that he first started keeping a separate notebook in which to record his life story, Kurakin was desperately looking to find a way out of the army. The year that he received permission to take the waters at Carlsbad marked the tenth year that Kurakin was serving a tour of duty in the ranks, during a military conflict that seemed to be dragging on without end, and which, in fact, would not be resolved for another decade-and-a-half. While the Prince was risking his life and endangering his health, many of his peers from the state-mandated study abroad program of the 1690s had already embarked upon their careers in the diplomatic corps and were ensconced in comfortable positions at the courts of European princes. Among this group were scions of other princely families, foreigners, and even men of much lower birth.⁹¹ The injustice and indignity of this apparent lack of recognition is one of the main themes, and mainsprings, of the *Vita*. Kurakin felt resentful of the tsar, by whose orders he was subordinated to, and dependent on the whims of lower-class royal favorites, exposed both to constant physical danger and tremendous emotional stress: not just fear of dying, to which he is not afraid to admit;⁹² but also of losing face or bringing dishonor to his family

89 This “aristocratic myth” not only presaged the conceptions of Prince M. M. Shcherbatov and “other conservatives of later ages,” but also the views of many historians of the reign. BUSHKOVITCH Peter the Great, p. 439; CRUMMEY Peter and the Boyar Aristocracy, esp. pp. 274–275 (on Kurakin’s historiographical influence); and MEEHAN-WATERS The Russian Aristocracy.

90 Entry for Kurakin’s 31st year (From 20 July 1706 to 20 July 1707).

91 On Peter’s diplomatic corps, see ALTBAUER The Diplomats of Peter the Great, pp. 1–16; BOHLEN Changes in Russian Diplomacy; KESSEL’BRENNER Izvestnye diplomaty Rossii; PESKOVA / TURILOVA Kollegiia inostrannykh del; and JOUKOVSKAIA-LECERF À propos de la création du Collège des affaires étrangères sous Pierre le Grand.

92 For example, during the siege of Nöteborg, Kurakin “sailed with Major Meier and [was] greatly frightened by the [heavy swells caused by the] weather over the lake. When we arrived in Perevolok, Major Meier was relieved of his command and I was given it instead of him. And I led (*komandiril*) [troops] for two weeks. That night, having dragged the boat [on which we

in front of other members of the Muscovite hereditary service elite,⁹³ something that appears to have been even more intolerable than death itself.⁹⁴

The other reason why Kurakin was so desperate to find a way to leave the army had less to do with his wounded pride than his sense of family duty. In the spring of 1704 he had experienced a life-event by which he became the eldest representative of the family and “sole heir of all the villages [owned by members] of my [princely] house (*v nasledstviakh dereven' i vsego domu ostalsia ia vo vsem*).”⁹⁵ As such, he now had to tend to his health and the inheritance for his progeny – that is, to think much more carefully not only about his family’s past and his own present, but also the future. In fact, it appears that the *Vita* was written with an eye to future readers, and, most likely, one specific future reader:

were traveling] over to shore, we crossed to the other side of the river with His Highness and encamped right by that part of the city, where there was a whole company of Swedish infantry. And in that [raiding] party (*partia*) I served as a major (*khodil za maiora*). Later that evening, when our assault took place, I [brought] the ladders (*lestnitsy pristupnye*) to Major-General Chambers, and stood by the ladders with him until the very time of the storming [of the fortress]. And that day, while crossing from shore to shore by boat, I experienced some not insignificant fears (*videl nekotoryi ne mali strakh*).” Entry for 27th Year (From 20 July 1702 to 20 July 1703). Similarly, when Kurakin was ordered to round up some Ukrainian clerics for the swearing in of a new Hetman in Glukhov, he noted “that this ride of mine caused me not a little anxiety (*mogu pripisat' sebe sie v nemaloi strakh ezdy moei*), seeing how difficult (*chto s trudom*) it was for me to pass through to Kiev and how afraid I was of losing my life (*strakhom poterianiia zhivota*), because in all the cities and villages of Little Russia there were uprisings and [many] city councilmen and other authorities were killed (*burgomistrov i drugikh starshikh pobivali*).” Entry for Kurakin’s 33rd Year (From 20 July 1708 to 20 July 1709).

- 93 Such as the unspecified “affront” that he experienced during the preparations for the siege of Narva: “[F]rom the very moment of my arrival, I experienced a great misfortune (*velikoe neschast'e*): after we had forded a river in order to get some firewood from a forest reserve, my acquaintance (*znakomets*) [Prince?] Meshcherskii was knouted along with two cooks, while I personally suffered a terrible affront (*sebe videl velikii afront*) and sat under arrest for twenty-four hours.” Entry for 25th Year (From 20 July 1700 to 20 July 1701). Although the exact meaning of this incident remains obscure, it appears that Kurakin and Meshcherskii were punished for a breach of discipline, viz., trying to steal firewood from a forest reserve. The mention of two cooks also suggests that the two princes may have sought to have their hot meals prepared in private, thus avoiding the food in the common mess – a breach of officer community, if not military protocol.
- 94 “And when we had forded the Vorskla River, now [actively] seeking a general battle with the enemy [at Poltava], on the night of 23rd and to the 24th of June, I experienced such a seizure (*skhvatilo tak*) that I thought the end was nigh (*azh ne k samomu kontsu*) and I was forced to make my confession (*prinuzhden ispovedat'sia*) and receive my last rights (*prichastit'sia*). Of course I had this attack because of my sorrow (*sie mne pripalo konechno ot pechali*), for I could not get over that unfortunate incident [i.e. Kurakin’s dressing-down by the tsar in front of the entire royal retinue] and could see no way out [of the situation]; and I was so desperate (*tak desperat byl*), that as I will now [admit] in writing (*no uzhe teper' napishu*), I would truly have been glad to die (*istinno radoshchen byl smerti*). And although I had been temperate in everything (*byl vozderzhen vo vsem*) due to my continual illnesses (*videl sebia vseгда boleznenna*), in those hours I deliberately let myself go, neither preserving nor sparing my own health.”
- 95 The life-event in question was the death of his half-brother, Prince Ivan Ivanovich, his half-brother’s wife, Princess Alena Tikhonovna (*née* Streshneva), and their son, Kurakin’s nephew,

his only son and heir, Aleksander (1697–1749),⁹⁶ who appears to have been the primary audience that Kurakin had in mind when he began writing in the special notebook set aside for recording his life story. But the *Vita* was not merely an act of self-justification designed to counter the impression that the *pater familias* of the Kurakin clan was a shirker of duty. Although that was surely an important reason, the *Vita* was much more than that. In fact, this piece of early modern life writing can also be described as being simultaneously a paternal testament, a writing cure, and a working laboratory in which Kurakin could try on a new persona.

To the extent that the autobiographical notebook that Kurakin began to keep in Carlsbad may have been intended as his paternal testament, the *Vita* served as the literary equivalent of the icon of the Savior-Not-Made-By-Human-Hands (*Spas nerukotvornyi*), with which the prince's own father blessed him shortly before he died⁹⁷: that is, it was not only a sign of paternal affection and patrilineal succession, but also a *memento mori* – a tangible reminder of the power of faith in overcoming the pain and injustices of this world. Much like the Russian Orthodox passion-bearers SS. Boris and Gleb, whose protection Kurakin invoked in the preface to his own *Vita*,⁹⁸ the Prince appeared to see himself as an innocent man who had voluntarily accepted suffering, a proto-martyr who experienced ill fortune not because of what he did, or what he believed in, but simply because of who he was.⁹⁹ In his case, who he was had more to do with his “temperament” than the political nation into which he was born or the nature of the faith that he professed. However, far from encouraging a passive acceptance of his fate, this astrological determinism allowed Kurakin to compose a text that actually laid the foundation for larger political and moral claims. That is because Kurakin's narrative of suffering, and how he dealt with it, created an emotionally-charged community with his son and future progeny – the community most likely to read this document, and, more importantly, to read it sympathetically. This

Prince Aleksandr Ivanovich. See the entry for the 28th year (From 20 July 1703 to 20 July 1704).

96 For the biography of Prince A. B. Kurakin, see *Russkii biograficheskii slovar*, vol. 9, pp. 558–559.

97 See the entry for the 7th year of Kurakin's life: “My father loved me above his other children. And to commemorate his favor towards me, at the end of his life he gave me an icon of the Savior-Not-Made-By-Hands (*Spas nerukotvornyi*), the very same one that he had received from his own father, my grandfather.”

98 “Now going forward I ask the Lord God and Creator and His helpmate the Most Holy Mother-of-God, as well as my patron [saints], the holy prophet Elijah and the true-believing Princes Boris and Gleb, and all the holy saints by [their] prayers [to grant me] a perpetual state of self-discipline and [good] fortune, [so that] I will [be able] write my *wita* [sic] for each year [of my existence].”

99 In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, the “passion-bearers” (*strastoterptsy*) Boris and Gleb are commemorated on 24 July and revered for their humility and voluntary acceptance of suffering for the sake of averting the suffering of others. “Their act of nonresistance to a violent death amidst the fratricidal warfare” of Kievan Rus’ “made them the very model of kenoticism. [...] Prayers attributed to the two martyrs include a request for forgiveness for their brother, voluntary acceptance of an unjust death in imitation of Christ's passion, and acknowledgment of Christ's prophecy that his followers would be betrayed by kinsmen and friends.” See “Boris,” in: FARMER *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*; CHERNIAVSKY *Saintly Princes and Princely Saints*; LENHOFF *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb*; and USPENSKII *Boris i Gleb*.

emotional bond to the actual and imagined readers of the *Vita* drew their attention to the ‘real,’ underlying causes of Kurakin’s suffering at the hands of his former brother-in-law, and lead them to make the appropriate parallel to the lives of the Prince’s heavenly name-sakes, who were murdered on the orders of their own royal relatives.

As a writing cure, the *Vita* retroactively traced the life path that led Kurakin to his own mid-life ‘crisis’ – a crisis not only in the original, medical sense of the word, but also in the personal and professional one. By tracing how he got to this point in his life, Kurakin could also begin to chart a way that he could get out. The episodes that Kurakin chose to include in his *Vita* can be seen as the Prince’s attempt to demonstrate, first of all to himself, not only that he was constitutionally unfit for war, but also, and more positively, that his astrologically-determined temperament predisposed him for more politic pursuits, namely, a career in the Russian diplomatic corps.¹⁰⁰ The thrust of Kurakin’s autobiographical narrative strongly suggests that a change of climate – both geographical and political (from cold, despotic North [Muscovy] to warm, aristocratic South [Italy]) would alleviate much of his suffering, and help him restore his physical and emotional health.¹⁰¹ This change of scenery would help because it would finally reconcile Kurakin’s astrological complexion with his professional aspirations and aristocratic pretensions. Kurakin’s invocation of the language of medical astrology in his autobiographical *Vita* was thus not merely a way to understand and describe his own character. It was an attempt to make that character become destiny.¹⁰²

100 For example, when summarizing the results of his mission to the Vatican, Kurakin noted “in a [self-]glorifying manner (*pokhval’no napishu*),” that “I was received with the honor (*gonoru*) and decorum (*poriadkom*) that no other person of the Muscovite nation (*Moskovskoi natsii*) ever received. While in Rome,” he continued, “I managed to insure that in all the ceremonies [in which I took part], the honor due to His Tsarist Highness, as well as that to my own person (*k svoei persone*), was upheld with the same bearing as that for any of the other European ministers and princes (*kak i drugikh prochikh ministrov evropeiskikh i kniazei osanki prinimaiut*).” Entry for the 31st Year (From 20 July 1706 to 20 July 1707). Similarly, in the entry for his 32nd Year (From 20 July 1707 to 20 July 1708), he boasted “truly (*istinno pokhvalius*), prior to my trip, no one of the Muscovite nation (*natsii moskovskoi*) ever brought [such] honor and glory.”

101 To a certain extent, Kurakin’s idealization of the South in general (and Italy in particular), was based as much on an escapist fantasy about the future as on memories of his past experiences in Venice. As Paul Bushkovitch has argued, this fantasy also reflected the evolution of the Muscovite prince’s political views and his reading of history, particularly about the role of low-born moneyed interests in the decline of the Venetian Republic (an interpretation that contemporary Polish historians had projected onto the noble Rzech Pospolita). See KORANYI Saggio sulla costituzione; CACCANO “Repubblica nobiliare” nella prospettiva di Venezia, esp. 122–123. These views would find an echo in the *Vita*’s numerous vituperative comments about those low-born favorites who had assumed key positions at the court of Tsar Peter and who were pushing out representatives of elite noble (esp. princely) families such as his own. See Kurakin’s “Zametki o respublike Venetskoi,” in: *Arkhiv*, vol., 3, pp. 194, 200; and the discussion in BUSHKOVITCH Peter the Great, pp. 437–439, 441–442.

102 For another contemporary example of the complex interplay of astrological determinism and aristocratic self-fashioning, see ELLIS Genealogy, History, and Aristocratic Reaction; VENTURINO Metodologia della ricerca. I am grateful to Russel E. Martin for suggesting this apt comparative case.

This complex interplay between astrological determinism and early-modern self-fashioning may also explain why Kurakin traveled to Carlsbad not as a Muscovite subject but rather as an Italian citizen “by the name of Francisco Damiani.”¹⁰³ Using this *nom de guerre* was partly a matter of prudence: the Swedish ships that patrolled the waters of the Baltic Sea would certainly not allow a Muscovite subject, even one who was not an enemy-combatant, to cross unmolested. But there is more to this name-change than a desire to travel incognito through enemy territory. Adopting an Italian pseudonym gave Prince Kurakin the opportunity to assume a new persona – much like the one that he adopted in the 1690s, when he traveled to Venice as a Muscovite “nobleman” by the name of “Boris Ivanov.”¹⁰⁴ This time, however, he was not an apprentice being forcibly sent abroad, but a *pater familias*, traveling “by his own will” (*samovol’no*)¹⁰⁵ and on his own personal business. Although this business included a medical component, there was clearly more to it than a desire to seek a cure for his “scorbutic” illness. Judging by the first entry in the travel diary that he began to keep at the start of his trip to Carlsbad – 1705 – 1 – *Iggulia: Giornal che io il primo volte scomencavo scriver del tutti cosi in mio vito, quanto cosa sara è ancora tutto mio viagge per mundo*¹⁰⁶ – Kurakin himself thought that this trip would be the start of something else, perhaps even a life-time of travel abroad.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, it is not too far-fetched to suggest that by adopting an Italian pseudonym, and repeatedly peppering his *Vita* with words and phrases in the language that he had acquired during his first trip to Venice, Kurakin was imagining himself in the role of a professional diplomat traveling incognito on important government business – a role that he would actually get a

103 See the entry for the 29th year. Kurakin may have ‘borrowed’ the name from his Venetian teacher, “Francesco Damiani, conte de Vergada,” who taught Kurakin “arimetica pratica, nei primi libri d’Euclide, trigonometria, rettilinia, geometria pratica: cioe altimetria, planimetria, stereometria e la fortificazione, con la fabrica ed uso del compasson di proporzione,” while also trying to instill the notion that “La magnanimità e la grandezza d’heroi illustri non solo con splendor della nascita l’illumina lor inclita casa, ma anche con la virtù delle lettere immortalizandosi, lascia l’eterna memoria ai posteri.” See “1698 g. avgusta 21-go (sent. 7-go). Venetsiia. Attestat, dannyi Frantsiskom Damiani, grafom di-Vergada, kniazii B. I. Kurakinu (1698),” in: Arkhiv, vol. 4, pp. 78–79.

104 Peter the Great did the same thing in 1698–99, during the “Grand Embassy” to Europe, when he traveled under the pseudonym of “Peter Mikhailov,” an “apprentice” in the arts of military and naval architecture. For a discussion of the symbolism of apprenticeship on Peter’s personal seal, see ZITSER A Mason-Tsar?. On the influence of Peter’s trip on later rulers, see MAY Reisen ‘al incognito’.

105 Entry for the 29th year.

106 Arkhiv, vol. 1, p. 101. Sara Dickinson suggested that this “obscure phrase,” written “in broken Italian” on July 1, 1705, “means roughly: ‘Journal that I for the first time began to write of all the things in my life, how many things will happen and also all my voyages around the world.’” DICKINSON The Russian Tour of Europe before Fonvizin, p. 6.

107 This may explain why he was so eager to leave town, a move that he later came to regret. In the entry for the 29th year Kurakin wrote that he “regretted having departed so willfully (*samovol’no*), for when I was [still] in Moscow, His Tsarist Highness had allowed me to stay [home and recuperate] for at least a year (*khotia-by god zhit’*). Consequently, making the trip abroad so soon was a self-willed (*svoeu voleiu*) act [on my part].”

chance to act out in real life just two years later, in 1707, when he was sent to Rome as Muscovy’s secret envoy to the Papal Court.¹⁰⁸

The *Vita* can thus be seen not only as a paternal testament or a writing cure, but as a testing ground for Kurakin’s ideas about himself. This private space provided the Muscovite prince with an opportunity to try out a new persona in the relative safety of his own study, before he had to act publicly to convince the tsar and his advisers that he would best be of service to his sovereign abroad – preferably as an ambassador to the Venetian Republic, where Kurakin had once already been treated like a prince and a relative of the tsar, and where he hoped, not without some justification, to be well-received again. The autobiographical entries written after his visit to the spa in Carlsbad demonstrate how assiduously Kurakin worked all possible angles to get a post as the official Russian ambassador to Venice, as earlier he had successfully obtained a posting in Rome. While his earlier mission was only a partial success and, to his great chagrin, did not immediately result in further diplomatic assignments, Kurakin still hoped that this experience would allow him to parlay his Italian connections and his knowledge of the language into a more permanent position in the diplomatic corps. And, in fact, although Kurakin was never appointed Russian ambassador to Venice, he did succeed in switching careers. This stroke of fortune had major repercussions, not least of which was the opportunity to live abroad together with his son,¹⁰⁹ away from his estranged wife and his enemies at court; and, most importantly, out of reach of Peter’s educational cudgel.¹¹⁰ Kurakin’s very success, however, may also be the reason why he discontinued adding entries to his personal “book of nativity” (*kniga rozhdeniia* or *libro della mia nascita*) after 1711.¹¹¹ For by that time he

108 On Kurakin’s diplomatic mission to Rome, see PIERLING *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, vol. 4, pp. 205–222; BORGHESE *Un ambasciatore di Pietro il Grande*; STASZEWSKI *Die Mission des Fürsten Boris Kurakin*; and KAMAEV *Russkii diplomat v Rime*. Thanks to Mr. Kamaev for sharing a copy of this unpublished presentation.

109 In an entry under the 34th Year of his life (from 20 July 1709 to 20 July 1710), Kurakin noted that “[by] the will (*s voli*) of His Tsarist Majesty, my son, Prince Alexander, has been allowed to go abroad in order to accompany me (*pozvoleno ekhat ko mne za more*).” This appointment was not just a sign of personal favor on the part of the tsar, but was also in keeping with a tradition of on-the-job training for the children of the Muscovite service elite, who would sometimes accompany an older family member (usually a father) to serve as his second-in-command (*to-varishch*). Kurakin’s nineteen-year-old son accompanied him, eventually in an official diplomatic capacity, for the next decade-and-a-half and returned to Russia only in 1729 – four years after the death of Peter the Great. See *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*, vol. 9, p. 558.

110 For the remainder of the war, he devoted himself to diplomatic activities: arranging in 1709 the marriage of Peter’s son to Sophia Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and serving as ambassador to London (c. 1710) and to The Hague (1716). He also negotiated (1710) a defensive treaty of friendship for Peter with George I, elector of Hanover and future king of Great Britain; concluded the Treaty of Greifswald (1715) between Peter and George (as elector of Hanover), in which they exchanged territorial guarantees; and participated with Peter in the Paris negotiations resulting in a French agreement not to provide Sweden with assistance. After the Great Northern War was concluded (1721), Peter launched a campaign against Iran (1722–23), and Kurakin became coordinator of the work of all Russian diplomatic envoys. The following year he was appointed ambassador to Paris, where he remained until his death. IUDINTSEVA *Russkaia diplomatiia*; KEDROV *Rus’ Petra Velikogo*; CRACRAFT *Kurakin, Prince Boris Ivanovich*.

111 *Arkhiv*, vol. 5, pp. 122, 123.

had finally achieved in fashioning the life that his autobiographical practice was intent on exploring. From then on, his voluminous diplomatic correspondence, memoranda, and travel notebooks took over the task of documenting his life for posterity.¹¹²

Conclusion



Figure 2: PIETER STEVENS VAN GUNST Portrait of Prince Boris Kurakin. Holland. After 1717. Line-engraving, 37.3 x 28 cm. The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

This article has suggested that Prince Kurakin's autobiographical *Vita* is not merely a treasure trove of facts about the reign of Peter the Great. Just as importantly, it is a unique written record of how one extraordinary member of the Muscovite service elite understood the period of change associated with the reign of Russia's first emperor and actually experienced the effects of "Westernization" and "secularization" that were the supposed hallmarks of his reign. Kurakin's *Vita* not only enriches our understanding of these cultural processes, but also offers an unprecedented opportunity to examine them from the inside-out, so to speak, that is, from the point of view of a member of a group frequently depicted as a blank slate upon which a reforming tsar left his indelible mark. As the *Vita* demonstrates, the marks on Kurakin's body included not only the armor, cravat, and high, powdered wig of his official engraved portrait (Fig. 2),¹¹³ but also oozing, scorbatic sores – "stigmata" that at least to some extent can be seen as the psychosomatic manifestations of the

Prince's desperate and, ultimately, not unsuccessful attempt to take control of his own fate.¹¹⁴ Invoking the concepts of astrological medicine and the practices of early modern autobiography, Kurakin actively sought to re-calibrate the balance of humors that he believed determined his health and his career at the court of Peter the Great. In the process, he produced an ego-document that provides a unique perspective on the intimate link between personal life-writing and aristocratic self-fashioning at the early Imperial Russian court.

112 For a listing of the documents published by Semevskii and Smol'ianinov, which comprises only a small portion of the total number of GIM's collection of B. I. Kurakin's MSS volumes, see *Arkhiv*, vol. 10, pp. 453ff, available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015070433506>.

113 Gunst's engraving was based on an original portrait of Kurakin by Godfrey Kneller. An anonymous, 19th-century copy of Kneller's original painting is in GIM, inv. № 70156/II-2584, reproduced as № 163 in Petr Velikii i Moskva, pp. 97 (image), 98 (catalog description). On the acknowledged "Europeanness" of this style of official portraiture, see the comments on the "Kneller type" in RUDNEVA O portrete Petra, esp. pp. 175–177; and HUGHES Images of Greatness, pp. 253–254.

114 Cf. to Greenblatt's discussion of the anamorphic death's head in Hans Holbein's painting of "The Ambassadors." GREENBLATT Renaissance Self-Fashioning, pp. 17–25.

Abbreviations

ed. khr.	edinita khranenia (archival unit)
f.	fond (collection)
GIM	Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei (State Historical Museum)
koll.	kolleksia (collection)
l./ll.	list(y) (sheet/s)
ob.	oborot (reverse side)
op.	opis' (archival file or folder)
RO RGB	Rukopisnyi otdel Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki (Manuscript division of the Russian National Library)
Nauchno-istoricheskii arkhiv II RAN	Nauchno-istoricheskii arkhiv Instituta istorii Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk (Historical-research archive of the Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

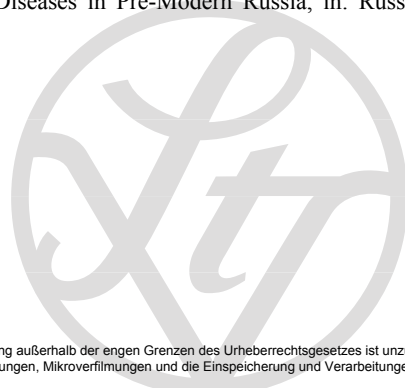
Cited Literature

- AGEEVA, O. G. *Imperatorskii dvor Rossii, 1700–1796 gody*. Moskva 2008.
- ALTBAUER, DAN *The Diplomats of Peter the Great*, in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 28 (1980), no. 1, pp. 1–16.
- ANISIMOV, E. V. *Progress Through Violence: From Peter the Great to Lenin and Stalin*. Translated by Steven Richmond, in: *Russian History / Histoire Russe* 17 (1990), pp. 409–418
- ANISIMOV, E. V. *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress Through Coercion in Russia*. Translated by John T. Alexander. Armonk, N.Y. 1993.
- ANISIMOV, E. V. *Vremia petrovskikh reform*. Leningrad 1989.
- ARIKHA, NOGA *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours*. New York 2007.
- Arkhiv kn. F. A. Kurakina. Ed. M. I. Semevskii. 10 vols. S.-Peterburg 1890–1902.
- Autobiographical Practices in Russia = Autobiographische Praktiken in Russland*. Eds. Jochen Hellbeck and Klaus Heller. Göttingen 2004.
- BAKUNINA, TAT'YANA A. *Le Domaine des Princes Kourakine dans le Gouvernement de Saratov*. Paris 1929.
- BARTLETT, ROGER *Britain, Russia, and Scurvy in the Eighteenth Century*, in: *Oxford Slavonic Papers* 29 (1996), pp. 23–43.
- BEM, A. L. *Kniaz' B.I. Kurakin v Karlovarakh: k istorii meditsiny*. Prague 1938. [Offprint from the journal *Russkii vrach v ChSR*, No. 6–7, 1938].
- BERELOWITCH, WLADIMIR *Aux sources d'un modèle à construire: La France de 1705 vue par un russe*, in: *De Russie et d'ailleurs: feux croisés sur l'histoire pour Marc Ferro*. Paris 1995), pp. 389–403. = *Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves*.
- BILINKIS, M. IA. *Russkaia proza XVIII veka. Dokumental'nye zhanry. Povest'. Roman*. Sankt-Peterburg 1995.
- BOGATUROVA, L. A. “Memuary” B. I. Kurakina, in: *Russkaia rech'* (1985) no. 1, pp. 107–111.
- BOGDANOV, K. A. *Vrachi, patsienty, chitateli: patograficheskie teksty russkoi kul'tury XVIII–XIX vekov*. Moskva 2005. = *Natsiia i kul'tura / Novye issledovaniia. Istoriia kul'tury*.
- BOHLEN, AVIS *Changes in Russian Diplomacy Under Peter the Great*, in: *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 7 (1966) no. 3, pp. 341–358.

- BORGHESE, DARIA Un ambasciatore di Pietro il Grande “in incognito” presso la Santa Sede, in: *Studi Romani*, 9 (1961) no. 3, pp. 294–300.
- BRIGITTE GLASER The Creation of the Self in Autobiographical Forms of Writing in Seventeenth-Century England: Subjectivity and Self-Fashioning in Memoirs, Diaries, and Letters. Heidelberg 2001. = *Anglistische Forschungen* 296.
- BUSHKOVITCH, PAUL Peter the Great: The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725. Cambridge, New York 2001. = *New Studies in European History*.
- BYCHKOVA, M. E. Pol'skie traditsii v russkoi genealogii XVII v., in: *Sovetskoe slavianovedenie* (1981) no. 5, pp. 39–50.
- BYCHKOVA, M. E. Poliaki v Moskve vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.: vliianie pol'skoi kul'tury na traditsii russkoi zhizni, in: *Kul'turnye svyazi Rossii i Pol'shi XI–XX vv.* Eds. Ia. N. Shchapov, S.M. Fal'kovich, N.I. Shchhaveleva. Moskva 1998, pp. 77–83. = *Związki kulturalne między Polską a Rosją XI–XX w.*
- CACCANO, DOMENICO La “repubblica nobiliare” nella prospettiva di Venezia. Interessi politici e confronto culturale, in: *Cultura e nazione in Italia e Polonia dal Rinascimento all'Illuminismo*. A cura di Vittore Branca and Sante Gracioti. Firenze, 1986, pp. 121–148.
- CHEKUNOVA, A. E. Russkoe memuranoie nasledie vtoroi poloviny XVII – XVIII vv.: opyt istochnikovedcheskogo analiza. Moskva 1995.
- CHERNIAVSKY, MICHAEL Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths. New Haven, London 1961.
- CHISTIAKOVA E. V. / BOGDANOV, A. P. “Da budet potomkam iavleno –”: ocherki o russkikh istorikakh vtoroi poloviny XVII veka i ikh trudakh. Moskva 1988.
- CIENSKI, ANDRZEJ Pamiętnikarstwo polskie XVIII wieku. Wrocław 1981. = *Studia z okresu Oświecenia* 18.
- CLAIRE COLEBROOK Stephen Greenblatt and New Historicism, in: *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism*. Manchester, UK, New York 1997, pp. 198–219.
- COLLIS, ROBERT The Petrine Instauration: Religion, Esotericism and Science at the Court of Peter the Great, 1689–1725. Turku 2007. = *Turun yliopiston julkaisuja; Sarja B; Humaniora* 306.
- CORNEEL, HOWARD LESLIE *Encyclopedia of Medical Astrology*. 3rd ed. New York 1979.
- CRACRAFT, JAMES Kurakin, Prince Boris Ivanovich, in: *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*. Edited by Joseph L. Wieczynski. Vol. 18. Gulf Breeze, FL 1980, pp. 168–170.
- CRUMMEY, ROBERT O. Peter and the Boyar Aristocracy, 1689–1700, in: *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8 (1974) bi, 2, pp. 274–287.
- Days of a Russian Noblewoman: The Memories of Anna Labzina, 1758–1821. Transl. and ed. by Gary Marker and Rachel May. DeKalb, Ill. 2001.
- DE BAUMGARTEN, N. Origine de Michel Wiśniowiecki roi de Pologne, in: *Orientalia Christiana periodica* 1 (1935) no. 3–4, pp. 393–429.
- DE ROUVROY, DUC DE SAINT-SIMON, LOUIS Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la régence, collationnés sur le manuscrit original par M. Chéruel, et précédés d'une notice par M. Sainte-Breuve de L'Académie Française. 20 vols. Paris 1856–1858, available online at: http://rouvroy.medusis.com/docs/1418.html?qid=sdx_q5.
- DICKINSON, SARA Breaking Ground: Travel and National Culture in Russia from Peter I to the Era of Pushkin. Amsterdam 2006. = *Studies in Slavic literature and poetics* 45.
- DICKINSON, SARA The Russian Tour of Europe before Fonvizin: Travel Writing as Literary Endeavor in Eighteenth-Century Russia, in: *The Slavic and East European Journal* 45, (2001) no. 1, pp. 1–29.
- DOLGORUKOV, P. Rossiiskii rodoslovnyi sbornik. 2 vols. Sankt-Peterburg 1841.
- DRUZHININ, P.A. Sud'ba arkhiva kniazia A.B. Kurakina, in: *Neizvestnye pis'ma russkikh pisatelei kniaziu Aleksandru Borisovichu Kurakinu (1752–1818)*. Moskva 2002, pp. 77–91.
- DUMIN, S. V. / GREBEL'SKII, P. KH. Gediminovichi, in: *Dvorianskie rody Rossiiskoi imperii*. Ed. S. V. Dumin et. al. 2 vols. Sankt-Peterburg 1995, vol. 2, pp. 26–31.
- DZIEHCINSKA, HANNA O staropolskich dziennikach podróży. Warszawa 1991.

- Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte. Herausgegeben von Winfried Schulze. Berlin 1996. = Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit 2.
- ELIZAVETINA, G. G. Russkaia memuarno-avtobiograficheskaia literatura XVIII v. i A. I. Gertsen, in: *Izvestiia AN SSSR. Seriiia literatury i iazyka* 26 (1967) no. 1, pp. 40–51.
- ELIZAVETINA, G. G. Stanovlenie zhanrov avtobiografii i memuarov, in: *Russkii i zapadnoevropeiskii klassitsizm: proza*. Ed. A. S. Kurilov. Moskva 1982), pp. 235–263.
- ELLIS, HAROLD A. Genealogy, History, and Aristocratic Reaction in Early Eighteenth-Century France: The Case of Henri de Boulainvilliers, in: *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986) no. 2, pp. 414–451.
- Encyclopedia of Life Writing: Autobiographical and Biographical Forms. Ed. Margaretta Jolly. 2 vols. London, Chicago 2001.
- FEDYUKIN, IGOR An Infinite Variety of Inclinations and Appetites: Génie and Governance in Post-Petrine Russia, in: *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 11 (2010) no. 4, pp. 741–762.
- FILIMON, A. N. *Iakov Brius*. Moskva 2003.
- FOGARATI, MIKLÓS Beiträge zur Geschichte der internationalen Bildungssuffixe des Russischen: von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Budapest 1965.
- GLUSHANINA, N. I. K probleme zhanrovogo svoebraziiia “Arkhiva, ili Stateinogo spiska ...” A. A. Matveeva, in: *Issledovaniia po istorii literatury i obshchestvennogo soznaniia feodal’noi Rossii*. Novosibirsk 1992, pp. 41–49.
- GLUSHANINA, N. I. K voprosu ob esteticheskoi prirode “Arkhiva, ili Stateinogo spiska...” A. A. Matveeva (problema tselostnosti i svoebrazie kompozitsionnoi struktury proizvedeniia, in: *Russkoe obshchestvo i literatura pozdnego feodalizma. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*. Ed. N. N. Pokrovskii. Novosibirsk 1996, pp. 142–156.
- GRADOVA, B. A. Ruskopisnye memuary petrovskogo vremeni, in: *Issledovaniia pamiatnikov pis’mennoi kul’tury v sobraniakh i arkhivakh Otdela rukopisei i redkikh knig. Vospominaniia i dnevniki. Sbornik nauchnykh statei*. Leningrad 1987, pp. 22–33.
- GRAFTON ANTHONY / SIRAI, NANCY Between the Election and My Hopes: Girolamo Cardano and Medical Astrology, in: *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. William R. Newman and Anthony Grafton. Cambridge, MA, London 2001, pp. 69–132. = *Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology*.
- GRAFTON, ANTHONY Cardano’s Cosmos: The Worlds and Works of a Renaissance Astrologer. Cambridge 1999.
- GRIMSTED, PATRICIA KENNEDY Archives and Repositories in the USSR: Ukraine and Moldova. Book 1: General Bibliography and Institutional Directory. Princeton 1988.
- GUZEVICH, D. Iu. and I. D. Velikoe posol’stvo. Sankt-Peterburg 2003. = *Korni Peterburga*.
- HAMMARBERG, GITTA Spas in spe: Castalian Springs, Muses, and Muzhiks in Lipetsk, in: *Eighteenth-Century Russia: Society, Culture, Economy: Papers from the VII International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia*. Eds. Roger Bartlett and Gabriela Lehmann-Carli. Berlin, London 2007), pp. 341–356. = *Geschichte, Forschung und Wissenschaft* 23.
- HARRISON, MARK From Medical Astrology to Medical Astronomy: Sol-Lunar and Planetary Theories of Disease in British Medicine, c. 1700–1850, in: *British Journal for the History of Science* 33 (2000), pp. 25–48.
- HUGHES, LINDSEY Images of Greatness: Portraits of Peter the Great, in: *Peter the Great and the West: New Perspectives*. Ed. Lindsey Hughes. Houndsmills 2001, pp. 250–270.
- IASINSKAIA, M. B. Amor, amur ili liubov’: O nekotorykh zaimstvovaniakh v sochinenii kniazia Kurakina, in: *Russkaia rech’* (2004) no. 1, pp. 87–90.
- IASINSKAIA, M. B. K predystorii salonnogo iazyka v XVIII veke. Na materiale sochinenii kniazia B. I. Kurakina, in: *Ot slova k delu: sbornik dokladov*. Moskva 2003, pp. 433–441.
- IKONNIKOV, V. S. *Opyt russkoi istoriografii*. 2 vols. Kiev 1892.

- Istoriia o nevinnom zatochenii blizhniago boiarina Artemona Sergievicha Matvieceva ... Ed. N. I. Novikov. 2nd ed. Moskva 1785.
- IUDINTSEVA, A. A. Russkaia diplomatia v period Severnoi voiny (deiatel'nost' B. Kurakina). Avtoref. kand. diss. Moskva 1949.
- IVANOVA-BYKHOVSKAIA, E. Petr Velikii v Karlovykh Varakh. Prague 1946.
- JEAKE, SAMUEL An Astrological Diary of the Seventeenth-Century: Samuel Jeake of Rye, 1652–1699. Ed. with an introduction by Michael Hunter and Annabel Gregory. Oxford 1988.
- JOUKOVSKAIA-LECERF, ANNA À propos de la creation du Collège des affaires étrangères sous Pierre le Grand, in: Cahiers du Monde russe 43 (2002) no. 1, pp. 57–66.
- KALACHOV, N. V. Famil'nyi arkhiv kniazei Kurakinykh, in: Sbornik Arkheologicheskogo instituta, kn. 5, polovina 2-ia. Sanktpeterburg 1886, pp. 1–15.
- KAMAEV, P. V. Russkii diplomat v Rime. Paper presented at the 13th roundtable on “Rossiia i vneshnii mir: iz istorii vzaimovospriiatia”. Tsentri po izucheniiu otechestvennoi kul'tury Instituta rossiiskoi istorii RAN. Moscow, 7 February 2006 (unpublished).
- KARPOV, G. M. Boris Ivanovich Kurakin, in: Voprosy istorii (2007) no. 9, pp. 18–32.
- KEDROV, S. I. Rus' Petra Velikogo za granitseiu: kniaz' Boris Ivanovich Kurakin. (Na osnovanii izdannykh knig ‘Arkhiva kn. F. A. Kurakina’), in: Russkii arkhiv 41 (1903) no. 2, 5–6, pp. 23–50; 43 (1903) no. 3, 11–12, pp. 353–391; 42 (1904) no. 2, 5–6, pp. 174–199; 43 (1905) no. 1, 3, pp. 377–424; 44 (1906) no. 4, pp. 497–592; 45 (1907) no. 7, pp. 289–313; 50 (1912) no. 2, 5, pp. 5–29.
- KENDRICK, WALTER M. The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture. Berkeley 1996.
- KESSEL'BRENNER, G. L. Izvestnye diplomaty Rossii: ot Posol'skoi izby do Kollegii inostrannykh del. Otv. red. A. V. Torkunov. Moskva 1999.
- KHROMOV, O. R. Astronomiia i astrologiia v Drevnei Rusi: materialy k bibliografii, in: Estestvennonauchnye predstavleniia Drevnei Rusi: Schislenie let, simbolika chisel, ‘Otrechennye’ knigi, Astrologiia, Mineralogiia. Ed. R. A. Simonov. Moskva 1988.
- KIPARSKY, VALENTIN Russian Vocabulary Stratification, in: Oxford Slavonic Papers, N.S. 4 (1971), pp. 1–12.
- KISHKIN, L. S. Russkie v Karlovykh Varakh (Karlsbade), in: Slavianovedenie (1993) no. 3, pp. 86–101.
- KORANYI, K. Saggio sulla costituzione di Venezia nel pensiero politico della Polonia (età del Rinascimento), in: Studi di storia e di diritto in onore di E. Besta. Vol. 3. Milano 1938, pp. 403–414.
- KOVAL', L. M. Ne slavy radi ...: O chastnykh dareniiakh i obshchestvennom pochine v pol'zu Moskovskogo publichnogo i Rumiantsevskogo muzeev, Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina, Rossiiskoi gosudarstvennoi biblioteki. Moskva, Sankt-Peterburg 2000.
- KURAKIN, B. I. Gistoriia o tsare Petre Alekseeviche, see: Petr Velikii. Vospominaniia. Dnevnikovye zapisi. Anekdoty. Ed. L. Nikolaeva et. al. Parizh, Moskva, N'iu-Iork 1993.
- KUZ'MIN, A. V. Gediminovichi, in: Russkaia genealogiia. Ed. M. E. Bychkova et. al. Moskva 1999, pp. 127–141. = Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny. Entsiklopediia.
- LAVROV, A. S. Regentstvo tsarevny Sof'i Alekseevny: sluzhiloe obshchestvo i bor'ba za vlast' v verkhakh Russkogo gosudarstva v 1682–1689 gg. Moskva 1999.
- LE ROY LADURIE, EMMANUEL Saint-Simon and the Court of Louis XIV. Transl. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago 2001.
- LENHOFF, GAIL The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb: A Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and the Texts. Columbus 1989.
- LEVIN, EVE “The Administration of Western Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Russia, in: Modernizing Muscovy: Reform and Social Change in Seventeenth-Century Russia. Ed. Jarmo Kotilaine and Marshall Poe. London 2004, pp. 363–390.
- LEVIN, EVE Identifying Diseases in Pre-Modern Russia, in: Russian History / Histoire Russe 35 (2008), pp. 321–333.



- LEVIN, EVE The Adoption of Western Medical Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Russia, in: Paper presented at the 39th National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, November 16, 2007.
- Lexicons of Early Modern English. Ed. Ian Lancashire. Toronto, ON 2006. (<http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>).
- LIKHACHEV, D. S. Povesti russkikh poslov kak pamiatniki literatury, in: Puteshestviia russkikh poslov XVI–XVII vv. Stateinye spiski. Moskva, Leningrad 1954;
- LUPPOV, S. P. Pol'skaia literatura v russkikh bibliotekakh i chastnykh knizhnykh sobraniakh XVII–pervoi poloviny XVIII veka. (Iz istorii rusско-pol'skikh kul'turnykh svyazei, in: Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy 34 (1977), pp. 47–60.
- MAY, WOLFGANG Reisen “al incognito”: Zur Reisetätigkeit Kaiser Josephs II, in: Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 93 (1985) no. 1, pp. 59–91.
- MEEHAN-WATERS, BRENDA The Russian Aristocracy and the Reforms of Peter the Great, in: Canadian-American Slavic Studies 8 (1974), pp. 288–302.
- Memoirs of the Polish Baroque: The Writings of Jan Chryzostom Pasek, a Squire of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Edited, translated, with an introduction and notes by Catherine S. Leach; foreword by Wiktor Weintraub. Berkeley, CA 1976.
- MILOSZ, CZESLAW The History of Polish Literature. [New York] [1969].
- MOROZOV, B. N. Sluzhebnye i rodoslovnye dokumenty v chastnykh arkhivakh XVII v. (K postanovke vorposa), in: Issledovaniia po istochnikovedeniiu istorii SSSR dooktiabr'skogo perioda: sbornik statei. Ed. R. V. Ovchinnikov. Moskva 1991, pp. 71–76.
- N. CH[ECHULIN?] Kurakin, Boris Ivanovich, in: Russkii biograficheskii slovar'. Vol. 9. Sankt-Peterburg 1903, pp. 572–579.
- NEPLIUEV, I. I. Zapiski, in: Imperiia posle Petra 1725–1765. Moskva 1998, pp. 385–445. = Istoriia Rossii i Doma Romanovykh v memuarakh sovremennikov XVII–XX vv.
- Nowela, opowiadanie, gawęda: interpretacje małych form narracyjnych. Pod redakcją Kazimierza Bartoszyńskiego, Marii Jasińskiej-Wojtkowskiej, Stefana Sawickiego. Wyd. 2., poszerzone. Warszawa 1979.
- OFFORD, DEREK Journeys to a Graveyard: Perceptions of Europe in Classical Russian Travel Writing. Dordrecht 2005.
- “Ohne Wasser ist kein Heil”: Medizinische und kulturelle Aspekte der Nutzung von Wasser. Edited by Sylvelyn Hähner-Rombach. Stuttgart 2005. = Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte. Beiheft 25.
- OKENFUSS, MAX J. Russian Students in Europe in the Age of Peter the Great, in: The Eighteenth Century in Russia. Ed. John G. Garrard. Oxford 1973, pp. 130–145.
- OKENFUSS, MAX J. The Cultural Transformation of Petr Tolstoi, in: Russia and the West in the Eighteenth Century. Ed. by A.G. Cross. Newtonville, Mass 1983, pp. 228–237.
- PASEK, JAN CHRYZOSTOM The Memoirs of Jan Chryzostom z Goslawic Pasek. Translated, with an introduction and commentaries by Maria A. J. Swiecicka. New York 1971. = The Library of Polish studies 8.
- PAVLOV-SIL'VANSKII, N. P. Proekty reform v zapiskakh sovremennikov Petra Velikogo: opyt izucheniia russkikh proektov i neizdannye ikh teksty. Moskva 2000 [Sankt-Peterburg 1897].
- PESHTICH, S. L. Russkaia istoriografiia XVIII veka. 3 vols. Leningrad, 1961–1971.
- PESKOVA G. N. / TURILOVA, S. L. Kollegiia inostrannykh del v XVIII veke, in: Diplomaticeskii vestnik 2 (2001), pp. 101–110.
- Peterburg v epokhu Petra I: Dokumenty v fondakh i kolleksiakh Nauchno-istoricheskogo arkhiva Sankt-Peterburgskogo instituta istorii: katalog. Eds. Iu. N. Bespiatykh / V. N. Gineva. Sankt-Peterburg 2003.
- Petr Velikii i Moskva: Katalog vystavk., Nauchnyi redaktor i sostavitel' kataloga I. M. Kurilina. Moskva 1998.
- PIERLING, PAUL La Russie et le Saint-Siège: études diplomatiques. 5 vols. Paris 1896–1912.

- PLATONOV, S. F. B. I. Kurakin i A. P. Prozorovskii (1697–1720), in: *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serii B* 12 (1929), pp. 236–243.
- Puteshestvie stol'nika P. A. Tolstogo po Evrope 1697–1699. Eds. L.A. Ol'shevskaia / S.N. Travnikov. Moskva 1992.
- Putevoditel' po fondam lichnogo proiskhozhdeniia otdela pis'mennykh istochnikov Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo muzeia. Moskva 1967.
- RANDOLPH, JOHN "That Historical Family": The Bakunin Archive and the Intimate Theater of History in Imperial Russia, 1780–1925, in: *The Russian Review*, 63 (2004), pp. 574–593.
- RANSEL, DAVID L. A Russian Merchant's Tale: The Life and Adventures of Ivan Alekseevich Tolchënov, Based on His Diary. Bloomington 2009. = *Indiana-Michigan series in Russian and East European studies*.
- RIMSKII-KORSAKOV, I. Genealogija javlennoj ot sotvorenija mira familii ... Korsakov-Rimskich Moskva 1994.
- Rodoslovnaia rospis' kniazei Golitsynykh i Kurakinykh, in: *Rod kniazei Golitsynykh*. Comp. N. N. Golitsyn. 2 vols. Sankt-Peterburg 1892, vol. 1, pp. 28–36.
- RUDNEVA, L. O portrete Petra i raboty Gotfrida Skhalkena, in: *Russia and the Low Countries in the eighteenth century = Rossiia i Niderlandy v XVIII veka*. Ed. by Emmanuel Waegemans. Groningen 1998, pp. 173–180. = *Baltic studies* 5.
- Rukopisnye sobraniia Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSSR imeni V. I. Lenina: ukazatel'. Moskva 1986.
- Russkaia genealogiia. Ed. M. E. Bychkova. Moskva 1999. = *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*. Entsiklopediia.
- Russkaia literatura i meditsina: telo, predpisaniia, sotsial'naia praktika. Eds. Konstantin Bogdanov, Iurii Murashov, Rikkardo Nikolozii. Moskva 2005. *Novye materialy i issledovaniia po istorii russkoi kul'tury* 1.
- Russkii diplomat vo Frantsii. (*Zapiski Andreia Matveeva*). Leningrad 1972.
- RYAN, W. F. *The Bathhouse at Midnight: Magic in Russia*. University Park, PA 1999. = *Magic in History*.
- SAJKOWSKI, ALOJZY *Nad staropolskimi pamiętnikami*. Poznań 1964. = *Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Prace Wydziału Filologicznego. Seria Filologia polska* 6.
- SAMARIN, IU. A. K voprosu o datirovke i avtorstve "Istorii o nevinnom zatochenii blizhnego boiarina Artemona Sergeevicha Matveeva", in: *Germenevtika drevnerusskoi literatury* 9 (1998), 356–76.
- SAPLIN, A. IU. *Astrologicheskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*. Moskva 1994.
- SCHMID, ULRICH *Ichentwürfe: die russische Autobiographie zwischen Avvakum und Gercen*. Zürich 2000. = *Basler Studien zur Kulturgeschichte Osteuropas* 1.
- SEDOV, P. V. *Zakat moskovskogo tsarstva: tsarskii dvor kontsa XVII veka*. Sankt-Peterburg 2006.
- Semeinaia khronika i vospominaniia kniazia Borisa Ivanovicha Kurakina. Ed. F. A. Ternovskii, in: *Kievskaiia starina* 10 (September 1884), pp. 105–128; (November 1884), pp. 478–498; and (December 1884), pp. 621–638.
- SEMEVSKII, M. I. *Selo Nadezhdino i arkhiv kn. F. A. Kurakina v 1888 i 1890 gg.*, in: *Russkaia starina* 68 (1890), pp. 229–238.
- SHARKOVA, I. S. *Stateinyi spisok posol'stva A. A. Matveeva vo Frantsii (1705–1706 gg.)*, in: *Voprosy istorii i istochnikovedeniia istorii SSSR*. Moskva, Leningrad 1963, pp. 627–639.
- SHMURLO, E. *Novyi svidetel' epokhi preobrazovaniia*, in: *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo proshchcheniia* 273 (1891) no. 1, pp. 187–223.
- SIMONOV, R. A. *Astrologicheskie znaniia v Rossii v kontse XVII – nachale XVIII vekov*, in: *Filevskie chteniia* 6 (1994), pp. 93–98.
- SIMONOV, R. A. *Rossiiskie pridvornye 'matematiki' XVI–XVII vekov*, in: *Voprosy istorii* (1986) no. 1, pp. 76–84.

- SIMONOV, R. A. *Russkaia astrologicheskaia knizhnost'*: XI – perviaia chetvert' XVIII veka. Moskva 1998.
- SKVORTSOV N. A. / SMOL'IANINOV, V. N. *Kniaz'e-Kurakinskiia tserkvi i pomest'ia: istoriko-arkheologicheskii ocherk*, in: *Vosemnadsatyi vek 2* (1905). Published separately as a book Moskva 1905.
- SMOL'IANINOV, V. N. “Istoricheskii arkhiv kniazia F. A. Kurakina, v sele Nadezhdine, Saratovskoi gub.,” in: *Russkaia starina* 59 (1888), pp. 683–687.
- SOLODKIN, IA. G. *Istoriia pozdnego letopisaniia*. Moskva 1997.
- SOLOMEINA, V. N. *Kniaz' B. I. Kurakin – pervyi russkii memuarist: k voprosu stanovleniia me-muarnogo zhanra v Rossii*, in: *Dergachevskie chteniia – 2002: Russkaia literatura: natsional'noe razvitie i regional'nye osobennosti: materialy vsereossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii, 2–3 oktiabria 2002 goda*. Ekaterinburg 2004, pp. 182–187.
- SOLOMEINA, V. N. *Memuary Petrovskoi epokhi: samoopredelenie lichnosti*, in: *Izvestiia Ural'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seria 2: Gumanitarnye nauki*, vyp. 14, no. 53 (2007), pp. 12–21.
- Spas in Britain and in France in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Edited by Annick Cossic and Patrick Galliou. Newcastle 2006.
- SREZNEVSKII, I. I. *Materialy dlia slovaria drevnerusskago iazyka po pis'mennym pamiatnikam*. 3 vols. Graz 1955–1956 [Sankt-Peterburg 1902].
- STANTON, DOMNA C. *The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the Honnête Homme and the Dandy in Sev-enteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Literature*. New York 1980.
- STASZEWSKI, JACEK *Die Mission des Fürsten Boris Kurakin in Rom im Jahre 1707*, in: *Ost und West in der Geschichte des Denkens und der kulturellen Beziehungen. Festschrift für Eduard Winter zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von W. Steinitz [u.a.]. Berlin 1966, pp. 200–214.
- STEPHEN GREENBLATT *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago 1980.
- TARTAKOVSKII, A. G. *Russkaia memuaristika XVIII – pervoi poloviny XIX v.: ot rukopisi do knige*. Moskva 1991.
- TAZBIR, JANUSZ *Les livres manuscrits en Pologne et en Russie*, in: *Revue des études slaves* 60 (1988), no. 4. pp. 797–811.
- The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease*. Cambridge 2003.
- The Diary of Samuel Pepys. A new and complete transcription*. Edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. Berkeley 1970–1983.
- The Medical History of Waters and Spas*. Ed. by Roy Porter. London 1990. = *Medical history. Sup-plement 10*.
- The Memoirs of Princess Dashkova*. Transl. and ed. by Kyril Fitzlyon; introd. by Jehanne M Gheith; afterword by A. Woronzoff-Dashkoff. Durham 1995.
- The Travel Diary of Peter Tolstoi: A Muscovite in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by Max J. Okenfuss. DeKalb 1987.
- TITOV, V. V. *Lozhnye i otrechennye knigi slavianskoi i russkoi stariny: teksty-pervoistochniki XV–XVIII vv. s primechaniiami, kommentariiami i chastichnym perevodom*. Moskva 1999.
- TRAVNIKOV, S. N. *Putevye zapiski petrovskogo vremeni: problema istorizma*. Moskva 1987.
- TRIFANKOVA, IU. V. B. I. *Kurakin: lichnost' i diplomaticheskaiia deiatel'nost'*. Diss. ... kand. ist. nauk. Riazan' 2007.
- USPENSKII, B. A. *Boris i Gleb: vospriatie istorii v Drevnei Rusi*. Moskva 2000.
- VENTURINO, DIEGO *Metodologia della ricerca e determinismo astrologico nella concezione storica di Henry de Boulainvilliers*, in: *Rivista storica italiana* 95 (1983), pp. 389–418.
- VINOGRADOV, V. V. *Ocherki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo iazyka XVII–XIX vv*. Moskva 1938. [Leyden 1949].
- VINOGRADOV, V. V. *The History of the Russian Literary Language From the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth*. Transl. by Lawrence L. Thomas. Madison 1969.
- VON KUNES, KAREN ZDENKA *The Lexical Impact of Italian upon the Standard Russian Language from Peter the Great until the Present*. Ph.D. diss. Montreal 1980.

Zapiski russkikh puteshestvennikov XVI–XVII vv. Moskva 1988.

ZHELIABUZHNIK, I. A. Dnevnye zapiski, in: *Rozhdenie imperii*. Comp. A. Liberman, S. Shokarev. Moskva 1997, pp. 261–358. = *Istoriia Rossii i Doma Romanovykh v memuarakh sovremennikov XVII–XX*.

ZITSER, ERNEST A. A Mason-Tsar? Freemasonry and Fraternalism at the Court of Peter the Great, in: *Freemasonry and Fraternalism in Eighteenth-Century Russia*. Eds. Andreas Önnersfors / Robert Collins. Sheffield 2009, pp. 7–32. = *Sheffield Lectures on the History of Freemasonry and Fraternalism 2*.

ZITSER, ERNEST A. *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great*. Ithaca 2004. Studies of the Harriman Institute.

Summary

The *Vita* of Prince Boris Ivanovich “Korybut”-Kurakin: Personal Life-Writing and Aristocratic Self-Fashioning at the Court of Peter the Great

This article argues that the autobiographical “*Vita del Principe Boris Korybut-Kurakin de la Familia de Polonia et Litoania*,” an astrologically-inflected, macaronic, personal chronicle of the life of one of the leading diplomats of Peter the Great, is not merely the first eighteenth-century Russian memoir, nor simply an eyewitness account of the reformist reign of Russia’s first emperor. It also constitutes a unique, early modern “ego-document,” which expresses how one extraordinary member of Muscovy’s hereditary service elite understood and experienced the processes of “modernization” and “secularization” that were the hallmarks of Peter’s “cultural revolution.” Kurakin’s *Vita* not only enriches our understanding of these long-term cultural processes, but also offers an unprecedented opportunity to examine them from the inside-out, so to speak, that is, from the point of view of a member of a social group (*dvorianstvo* or *shliakhetstvo*) frequently depicted as a blank slate upon which a reforming tsar and faceless historical forces left their indelible marks. In Kurakin’s case, these marks included not only the prominently-displayed insignia of the chivalrous Order of St. Andrew, or the cravat and periwig that he sported in his personally-commissioned, engraved portrait (1717), but also the oozing, “scorbutic” sores and “melancholic” thoughts concealed in plain sight among all these fashionable trappings of worldly success, like the anamorphic death’s head in Hans Holbein’s “The Ambassadors” (1533). Indeed, from a certain angle of vision, Kurakin’s complaints can be seen as psychosomatic manifestations of a disaffected courtier’s desperate and, ultimately, not unsuccessful attempt to use all the tools at his disposal – including practices associated with such arcane and esoteric fields of knowledge as iatromathematics and balneology – to reconcile his astrological ‘complexion’ with his professional aspirations, and thereby to take control of his own fate. From this perspective, Kurakin’s personal “book of nativity” (*kniga rozhdeniia* or *libro della mia nascita*) constitutes not only an act of self-justification (designed to counter the impression that its author was a shirker of duty), but also of aristocratic ‘self-fashioning.’

