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ALEXEI A. KARA-MURZA

Traveler or Fugitive? A New Reading of Nikolai Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveler*

This article discusses one of the most significant events in life of Nikolai Karamzin, his so-called European travels of 1789–1790. It argues that the twenty-two-year-old Karamzin did not travel to Europe at his own will and desire. Instead, he was removed from Moscow by his friends in order to avoid a conflict between Nikolai Novikov's Masonic circle and the authorities, who were preparing an offensive against the Freemasons. This explains the length of Karamzin's "travels" (fourteen months) and the complete absence of correspondence between him and his relatives and close friends who remained in Moscow. The author believes that Karamzin subsequently developed these fugitive records from his emigrant's diary into a literary Letters of a Russian Traveler; a "book of letters" whose title is bitterly ironic.

Keywords: *Russian history, Russian literature, Russia and Europe, the Enlightenment, travels, freemasonry*

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Translated by Brad Damaré.

The young Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin's 1789–1790 European travels, which we know mainly through his book *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, lasted for about fourteen months, from May 1789 to July 1790.¹ More than two hundred years after its composition (the first full edition was compiled in 1797), *Letters of a Russian Traveler* is one of the most famous books not only in Russian literature but also in European literature overall. Nevertheless, to this day the book is still full of mysteries and continues to cause controversy among Karamzin scholars. Above all, the reasons that prompted Nikolai Karamzin in the spring of 1789 to interrupt his collaboration with the famous Russian Mason and Enlightenment figure Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov (the only work that brought him regular earnings) and depart for a long voyage in Europe remain unclear.

One of Karamzin's first biographers, A.V. Starchevskii, wrote that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there circulated an opinion among Moscow and St. Petersburg circles that "it seems a well-known patriot, Novikov, wanting to promote the spread of the Enlightenment in his fatherland, and seeing in the young Karamzin a person of great promise, provided him with the means to travel through the most educated states of Europe, so that Karamzin, returning with a rich supply of new ideas, might contribute to his views."²

According to Starchevskii, it was long accepted as established fact that Karamzin received detailed "instruction" from Semen Gamaleia, a prominent Mason and very close friend of Novikov, intended to guide him "in his choice of subjects of study" while in Europe.³ There was also discussion in both capitals about the testimony of author (and future Decembrist) Fedor Glinka, citing the words of Karamzin himself, who allegedly informed him that "he was sent abroad to acquire funds for the Freemasons" and that the "society" that sent him "granted him travel money, calculating his daily breakfast, lunch, and dinner," and so, for example, to purchase books abroad he was forced to economize on food and so forth.⁴

Later, however, the "Masonic version" of Karamzin's journal was pushed into the background through joint efforts by Karamzin's friends, who sympathized with him and protected him from possible troubles, and by the authorities themselves, who brought Karamzin into the court and made his name part of officialdom. "In recent times we have proved," writes this same Starchevskii with confidence, "that this rumor [about the "Masonic" nature of Karamzin's voyage] has no basis whatsoever, and that the young Karamzin traveled at his own expense, having surrendered part of the estate he inherited on the death of his father to his elder brother, Vasilii Mikhailovich."⁵

However, this version of Karamzin leaving for Europe as a “free traveler” in no way explains the indisputable fact that, during the entire span of his long travels through Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, Karamzin *wrote almost nothing to anyone in Russia*, neither to his brothers Vasilii and Fyodor, nor to his sister Ekaterina (married name Kushnikova), nor to his very close friends. The sole exception was a short note Karamzin sent from Dresden (via confidential channels) to his Moscow friends in July 1789.

The explanation for this mystery, I believe, is a very simple one: before he left for Europe, Karamzin and his friends agreed *he would not write them from abroad*; moreover, Karamzin asked them *not to write him, either*.

The one person who tried to ignore this arrangement was Anastasia Pleshcheeva, who loved Karamzin like a mother and looked after him. In the summer of 1790, that is, more than a year after Karamzin’s departure for Europe, she discovered he had appeared in London and, having previously written to him unsuccessfully and receiving no replies, sent him an angry letter:

I am certain, positively certain, that these damned foreign lands have made you a completely different person: not only is our friendship now a burden to you, but you even toss aside my letters without reading them! I am as certain of this *que j'existe* [as I exist—French], because since you have been in these foreign lands, I have not had the pleasure of receiving *a single answer to any of my letters*. (italics mine)⁶

Furthermore, this was written by the very Anastasia Pleshcheeva to whom (along with her husband Aleksei Pleshcheev) Karamzin later dedicated his *Letters of a Russian Traveler* with the inscription “Written for you—dedicated to you!”

However, we have not yet exhausted the strangeness involved in the absence of letters to his family and friends, nor the mysteries of Karamzin’s travels. Another issue remains: how could a retired lieutenant like Karamzin abandon his literary work with Novikov and allow himself a multi-month foreign tour of Europe on what little money he supposedly obtained from his brother Vasilii’s share of their father’s inheritance?⁷ Furthermore—and this has been proven—Karamzin would only receive that money from his brother later, in 1795, and we happen to know how he spent it: to help the impoverished family of his friends, the Pleshcheevs!

That said, the idea that young Karamzin departed for Europe “with a Masonic task” also seems deeply incorrect. We know that Karamzin held

the modest status of “brother” in the hierarchy of Moscow Freemasons, a status he received back in Simbirsk. Initiates with that kind of status are not sent to Europe on tasks! It is obvious that no “society” helped Karamzin with money, but rather his teacher and friend Nikolai Ivanovich Novikov helped him *personally*, and these are two completely different things. In sending Karamzin abroad, Novikov could preoccupy him with a “journalistic task” with the promise of subsequent publications and even at the cost of future royalties—but on that point, we can only guess. Much more important is the other question, the central question: why did Novikov need to send Karamzin abroad in the spring of 1789?

To answer this question, we must carefully reread the correspondence between two of Karamzin’s intimates during the period in question: Nastas’ia Pleshcheeva and his Masonic mentor Aleksei Kutuzov, who in fact was sent by Novikov’s circle to Berlin “on assignment.” Though these letters are often opaque (both participants suspected the letters were secretly opened and read), we can nevertheless draw an unequivocal conclusion: in the spring of 1789, Karamzin *had not intended to go abroad, but left for Europe against his will*.

For example, on July 22, 1790, Pleshcheeva wrote to Kutuzov in Berlin from the Znamenskoe estate:

Not everything, fortunately; for example, you know the reasons that prompted him [Karamzin] to go. Believe me, I was the among the first, in tears, asking him to go; it was necessary, crucial, to know these things. I, who was forever against this voyage, and our separation cost me dearly. Yes, our friend’s circumstances were such that these things had to be done.⁸

From these words we can see that it was Pleshcheeva who exerted influence over Karamzin, who finally persuaded him to go to Europe after learning about certain “circumstances.”

Later in this letter to Kutuzov, Pleshcheeva indicates a very *specific person* (although she does not name him directly) whose behavior and actions were the main reason for Karamzin’s departure:

After this, tell me whether it was or will be possible for me to love *the villain who is the main reason for nearly all of this?* What it was to part with my son and friend when I thought I would never see him again in this world. So much blood was coming from my throat that I thought myself very close to consumption. And I cannot imagine the one responsible for this voyage without horror: I wish so much evil on him! O Tartuffe! (*italics mine*)⁹

Pleshcheeva's confusing letter suggests, first, that Karamzin was going to Europe for some indefinite period of time: "*I thought I would never see him again in this world.*" Identifying the specific person responsible for Karamzin's departure (more accurately, his flight) abroad is more difficult. An important clue is Pleshcheeva's reference to the notorious "villain" Tartuffe. This suggests, naturally, that she is not referring to a deliberate enemy, but on the contrary, to a person long included among his inner circle, perhaps even within the Pleshcheevs' circle. After all, given the nature of J.-B. Molière's Tartuffe (his comedy of that name was written in 1664), it is not unusual to use that name for a yet-unmasked puritanical blowhard who is absolutely immoral on the inside and slyly pretending to be a friend of the family.

The first publisher of Pleshcheeva and Kutuzov's correspondence in the journal *Russkaia starina* (1874) was inclined to seek this "Tartuffe" among the high-ranking Moscow Freemasons close to Novikov, suggesting that Pleshcheeva's Tartuffe was Semen Gamaleia, a pious man with a reputation as a "man of God."¹⁰ However, in her September 20, 1789, letter to A.A. Petrov in Geneva, she likely references S.I. Gamaleia when listing the initials S.I. among their common acquaintances who, in Petrov's words, "thank you for remembering them and wish you every kind of good."¹¹ This establishes that Gamaleia cannot possibly be "Tartuffe," of course.

In his indispensable book on Karamzin (1899), V.V. Sipovskii was also inclined to think that an intrigue against young Karamzin was committed from within Nikolai Novikov's immediate circle:

From Pleshcheeva's first letters, letters full of both tears and fears, it is evident that not everything was satisfactory in Novikov's circle: some kind of tragedy secretly played out there in front of Pleshcheeva's eyes, and she, a frightened woman protecting those dear to her, dared to fight with some "villain," a "Tartuffe."¹²

Yuri Lotman interprets the content of Pleshcheeva's letter to Kutuzov in an entirely different way:

We do not and probably never will know who Pleshcheeva is calling the "villain" and "Tartuffe," but we would be unlikely to err if we presumed the relationship of these events to the persecutions that befell N.I. Novikov's circle of like-minded friends, which included Karamzin, during that time in Moscow.¹³

Lotman thus leans closer to the version that has young Karamzin somehow becoming a target of the imperial court's early repressions against Novikov's Masonic circle at the beginning of 1789.

Though they approach from different angles, I believe all these scholars, paradoxically enough, came close to the explanation for Karamzin's sudden departure for Europe (which he himself was not planning in the spring of 1789, let alone for a long time before): the intrigue against Karamzin came from *both inside and outside his immediate circle*.

We might discuss Prince Gavriil Petrovich Gagarin (1745–1807), the leading Petersburg Mason of the Swedish Rite and an expert on the works of Swedish mystic Emmanuel Swedenborg, unlike Novikov and his Moscow friends, who gravitated toward the German Martinists. Recognizing the anti-Masonic mood of Catherine II in the 1780s, Prince Gagarin gradually curtailed activity at his Petersburg lodges and soon received an appointment for a high civilian position in Moscow: Chief Prosecutor for the Sixth Department of the Senate. Of course, the arrival in Moscow of a connoisseur of esoteric texts and a Masonic grandmaster himself (though of different rites than the Muscovites) could not go unnoticed by the circle around Novikov, who attempted to get closer to Gagarin. It seems, however, that privy counselor Gagarin quickly embarked on a duplicitous game: while delving into the secrets of Novikov's group, he was not averse to participating in their downfall. In 1792, he would become one of the primary witnesses in the trial against Novikov and his friends.

After the death of Prince Gagarin in 1811, Count Fedor Rostopchin, who was very close with Karamzin during that time, presented Emperor Alexander I his *Notes on the Martinists*, which includes the following about the late Gavriil Gagarin:

This man was grandmaster of a secret Masonic lodge in Moscow and decided to attach himself to the Martinists: but once he learned that they were threatened by persecution, he considered it best to cast aside any responsibility and to gain favor by exposing the secrets entrusted to him. He betrayed them solely out of fear ... He was a clever man, experienced in clerical work, but self-serving, prone to drinking, mired in debt, and respected by no one.¹⁴

It is very likely that Rostopchin, who had little familiarity with Masonic matters, penned this description of Prince Gagarin using the words of his close friend Karamzin.

Fragments from the above-mentioned letter from A.A. Petrov that Karamzin received in Geneva in the fall of 1789 also speak to the machinations of the “*evil people*” that caused Karamzin’s flight abroad:

I think you have long been in Switzerland by now. I earnestly hope that, wherever you are, you find such people whose acquaintance and remembrance will elevate the pleasure you take in enjoying the beauty of nature and various tidings, and as for your experience, take solace in the fact that *there are evil people everywhere*. I can only imagine how much this experience upsets you, given your sensitivity, and has led to that melancholy disposition I saw in you when living with you. But is it not also the case that it makes you sense more vividly the value of those worthy of respect? (italics mine)¹⁵

It is interesting that Karamzin, who later quotes Petrov’s letter in a literary obituary after the death of a friend, replaces the words “as for your experience, take solace in the fact that *there are evil people everywhere*” with a variation: “as for your unpleasant experience, take solace in the fact that *there is evil everywhere*” (italics mine).¹⁶ I believe this minor change Karamzin evidently made to the text of Petrov’s letter was intended to obscure the fact that Petrov’s words in the actual letter were not about an *abstract evil*, but about *very concrete persons*.

We are unlikely ever to learn how exactly the twenty-two-year-old Karamzin was implicated in Prince Gagarin’s intrigues in early 1789. However, we do know the denouement of those events: Karamzin was removed from danger and sent abroad, in all likelihood personally by Novikov, who wanted neither to betray his young associate nor quarrel with the influential Gagarin. Novikov still hoped that the Empress’s wrath would pass him by and that he would continue to enjoy the patronage of Moscow’s governor, P.D. Eropkin, whose chief of staff I.A. Barnashev was an active Freemason and a close friend of Novikov’s.

If we accept this version of events, and Karamzin’s so-called travels of 1789–1790 were, in fact, *a flight abroad* (essentially an emigration), then Karamzin’s *Letters of a Russian Traveler* represent *an emigrant’s travel diary reworked into literature* and should thus be read in a *fundamentally different way*.

This applies to the very first of Karamzin’s *Letters*, marked “*Tver, May 18, 1789*,” which historian and author Mikhail Pogodin called nothing less than “an epoch in the history of the Russian word.” “Our real literature begins with this.”¹⁷ Given the circumstances, an adequate reading of such an important literary monument is clearly a matter of critical importance.

Indeed, with this new reading, the feelings the fugitive Karamzin describes on parting with relatives and homeland no longer appear as ostentatious self-exaltation, which commenters have previously dismissed as the author's predilection for sentimentalism. The fugitive is leaving his homeland for an indefinite span of time and with no guarantee of return, so this "journey to Europe" that he once in fact dreamed of making is now painted in entirely different tones:

O my heart, my heart! Who knows what you want. For how long was this journey my imagination's most pleasant dream? ... But when the much-desired day arrived, I began to feel sad, imagining for the first time that I must part with those dearest to me in the world and with everything that was, so to speak, part of my moral being ... Forgive me! God grant you all consolation! Remember your friend, but *without any sorrowful feelings*. (italics mine)¹⁸

What sort of "sorrowful feelings" is Karamzin describing? Karamzin himself clearly yearns for the friends who remained in Russia, but why should these friends who saw him off to Berlin, Geneva, Paris, and London remember him "*with sorrowful feelings*"? After all, travelers to Europe are usually recalled in Russia with envy, not at all with sorrow.

Another indirect confirmation of the version that has Karamzin forced to leave Moscow is the fact that his friend, author Ivan Dmitriev, takes part in this "flight," a fact still completely ignored in the literature. That I.I. Dmitriev participates in the "flight" is clear from a fragment of Karamzin's later, August 4, 1810, letter to Dmitriev, to which scholars have devoted too little attention. In this letter, Karamzin discusses his imminent departure from Moscow to Arzamas on business related to his Nizhny Novgorod estate and unexpectedly "blurts out" something on our topic of interest: "This road reminds me of the years of my early youth and *my journey with you to the limits of our common homeland*" (italics mine).¹⁹ Since Karamzin never again went abroad, we must assume that he is referring to *May 1789*, the very beginning of his fourteen-month journey in Europe.

As for I.I. Dmitriev himself, who is not mentioned a single time in *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, he kept the secret of Karamzin's flight to Europe a secret for the rest of his life. In his later memoirs he wrote about his contacts with Karamzin in the late 1780s: "We met several times in Moscow, and finally parted for many years: he set out for foreign lands, and he supported himself rather than, as many believe, traveling at the society's expense."²⁰

Our new reading of *Letters of a Russian Traveler* (the title itself bears some bitter Karamzinian irony since, strictly speaking, there were neither “travels” nor “letters”), a text that has seemingly been read and re-read countless times by generations of Russians, shows that the author is constantly sending us, the readers, a kind of *signal* about the true reasons for his so-called travels. This is entirely understandable and justified; after all, some of his contemporaries, like the Pleshcheevs to whom *Letters* is dedicated, knew about the true reason for Karamzin’s voyage. Alas, later scholars ignored these Karamzinian signals and the degree of their historical and literary significance.

We mentioned earlier Karamzin’s short letter from Dresden that surprised his Moscow friends: it is the sole letter we know about that Karamzin sent from abroad for all of 1789. If our suspicions are correct, that they agreed on a full ban on correspondence before his “journey,” then Karamzin must have landed in some sort of *force majeure* circumstance in the capital of Saxony that *obligated* him (and at the same time *allowed* him) to break his silence. Something happened in Dresden that prompted Karamzin to violate his agreement and scribble a message to Moscow after all!

I believe Karamzin’s spontaneous dispatch of a message from Dresden is explained by his growing financial difficulties²¹ superimposed on an acute spiritual crisis. Let us read some Dresden-era fragments from Karamzin’s *Letters of a Russian Traveler* in this light.

According to *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, Karamzin was in Dresden en route from Berlin from July 10 to 13, 1789. The header, marked by the author as “*Two miles from Dresden, July 10, 1789,*” is, given his mood, one of the saddest in the whole book. An unprecedented yearning gripped Karamzin the day before, in Berlin: “That evening I felt so sad that I did not know where to turn. I wandered around the city with my hat yanked over my eyes, counting the cobblestones with my walking stick ... What should I do?”²² And later, a very important passage: “*Whoever is not yet locked in a cage, who may, like the birds in the heavens, be both here and there, both there and here—he can still take joy in his being, and can be happy, and should be happy*” (italics mine).²³

“*Whoever is not yet locked in a cage ...*” This bitter thought aligns poorly with the “free voyager,” as Karamzin is traditionally represented. It is, however, very logical for the mind of an emigrant wanderer who, in avoiding the worst, must flee from home. All the wanderer can do is rejoice that, though deprived of a homeland, he is, “like the birds in the heavens,” absolutely free.

The theme of separation from his homeland does not end with Karamzin's arrival in Dresden. Changing horses at one of the post stations, the "Russian traveler" makes the acquaintance of a beautiful stranger "in a green Amazonian dress with a white kerchief in her hands": "You are of course a foreigner, if I dare ask?' 'Just so, my lady.' 'An Englishman, of course? Because the English speak German very well.' 'Pardon, my lady: I am a Muscovite.' 'A Muscovite? Oh, goodness! Never in my life have I seen a Muscovite. How did you come to arrive here?' 'Out of curiosity, my lady.' 'You must have been very curious. After all, you have, of course, left much that you loved behind in your homeland?' 'Much, my lady, much: I left my homeland and my friends,'" and so forth.²⁴ The section about the voyager's exceptional "curiosity" that made him leave his homeland and his friends is yet another brilliant example of bitter self-irony from the author of *Letters of a Russian Traveler*.

The question remains: who could confidentially smuggle Karamzin's Dresden letter to Moscow if he categorically (and rightly) did not trust the official mail? According to *Letters of a Russian Traveler*, Karamzin visited the Russian embassy at the Saxon court on July 12, 1789. Since the envoy himself was away,²⁵ Karamzin says he "made the acquaintance of our Minister's secretary."²⁶ It is very likely that this person was the one who smuggled (through diplomatic channels, if not personally) Karamzin's letter to Moscow. This is my theory about the origin of Karamzin's message from Dresden to A.A. Petrov in Moscow, which was a complete surprise to his friends.

It is evident that, having sent a message important to him to Moscow, our hero was already in a completely different, elevated state of mind as he left Dresden for Leipzig on July 13: "So clear was the sky, so clear was my soul."²⁷

When Karamzin returned to Russia in the summer of 1790, the authorities were no longer looking for him: Catherine II's new deputy in Moscow, Prince I.I. Prozorovskii, had launched an open campaign against the Masonic elite that ended in 1792 with the complete defeat of "Novikov's circle." The short but brilliant Russian "Enlightenment" had given way to another "darkening" era.

According to historian Vasily Klyuchevsky, "the kind of overwhelming impression that the catastrophe that befell Novikov produced on educated Russian society seems unlike anything produced by the fall of any one of the many 'incidental' stars that appeared in the sky of high society over the last century."²⁸

However, the “baton” of Russian Enlightenment had already been handed off from Novikov to Karamzin. Literary critic Konstantin Polevoi is correct: “The seeds sown by Novikov and his comrades yielded such beneficent fruits that when Karamzin began publishing his *Moskovskii zhurnal*, the public was already ready for it: not a courtly public, as it had been under Sumarokov, but a Russian one.”²⁹

Notes

1. In this article, we use the classic publication of *Letters of a Russian Traveler* from the *Literaturnye pamiatniki* series. See N.M. Karamzin, *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika*, ed. Yu.M. Lotman, N.A. Marchenko (I.A. Paperno), and B.A. Uspenskii (Leningrad: Nauka, 1984).
2. A.V. Starchevskii, *Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin* (St. Petersburg: tipografiia K. Kraiia, 1849), p. 28.
3. Starchevskii, *Karamzin*, p. 29.
4. See G.P. Shtorm, “Novoe o Pushkine i Karamzine,” *Izvestiia AN SSSR. Seriiia literatury i iazyka*, 1960, vol. 19, no. 2, p. 150.
5. Starchevskii, *Karamzin*, p. 28.
6. Ya.L. Barskov, *Perepiska moskovskikh masonov XVIII veka. 1780–1792 gg.* (Petrograd: izdatel'stvo Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi AN, 1915), pp. 2–3.
7. M.E. Karamzin's will divided the Znamenskoe estate, which did not generate any particular income, among his three sons from his first marriage: Vasilii, Nikolai, and Fedor.
8. Barskov, *Perepiska*, pp. 5–6.
9. *ibid.*, p. 6.
10. *Russkaia starina*, January 1847, p. 5.
11. “Pis'ma A. A. Petrova k Karamzinu.” 1785-1795, ed. Yu. M. Lotman and B.A. Uspenskii. In Karamzin, *Pis'ma*, p. 509.
12. V.V. Sipovskii, *N.M. Karamzin, avtor “Pisem russkogo puteshestvennika*, pp. 143–44.
13. Yu.M. Lotman, *Sotvorenie Karamzina*, p. 53.
14. “Zapiski o martinistakh, predstavleniia v 1811 godu grafom Rostopchinym velikoi kniagine Ekaterine Pavlovne,” in F. Rostopchin, *Mysli vslukh na Krasnom kryl'tse* (Moscow: Institut russkoi tsivilizatsii, 2014), pp. 140–41.
15. *Pis'ma A.A. Petrova k Karamzinu*, p. 509.
16. N.M. Karamzin, “Tsvetok na grob moego Agatona,” *Zapiski starogo moskvi-cha. Izbrannaia proza* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 234–35.
17. M.P. Pogodin, *N.M. Karamzin po ego sochineniiam, pis'mam i otzyvam sovremennikov*, part 1, p. 72.
18. Karamzin, *Pis'ma*, pp. 5, 6.
19. *Pis'ma N.M. Karamzina k I.I. Dmitrievu*, p. 119.
20. I.I. Dmitriev, *Vzgliad na moiuzhizn'. Zapiski deistvitelnogo tainogo sovetnika Ivana Ivanovicha Dmitrieva*, book 2 (Moscow: tipografiia V. Got'e, 1866), p. 100.

21. At the very least, the following fragment from A.A. Petrov's response, which Karamzin received in Geneva, hints at this: "You complain that everything worthy of note that you saw costs you money. Please tell me: what are the circumstances of your purse, and should you not be expending more money than you previously thought?" (*Pis'ma A.A. Petrova k Karamzinu*, p. 509). Judging from this, Karamzin's "signal" from Dresden was correctly interpreted by his Moscow friends, and his financial situation was already stabilized by his time in Switzerland.

22. Karamzin, *Pis'ma*, p. 49.

23. *ibid.*

24. *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

25. The Russian envoy to Dresden at that time was Prince Aleksandr Mikhailovich Belosel'skii-Belozerskii (1752–1809), incidentally, father of the famous Princess Zinaida Volkonskaia, who was born in Dresden in December of that year, 1789.

26. Karamzin, *Pis'ma*, p. 56.

27. *ibid.*, p. 57.

28. V.O. Klyuchevsky, "Vospominaniia o N.I. Novikove i ego vremeni," *Russkaia mysl'*, 1895, no. 1, p. 49.

29. K.A. Polevoi, "Vzgliad na dva obozreniia russkoi slovesnosti 1829 goda, pomeshchennye v 'Dennitse' i v 'Severnykh tsvetakh,'" *Moskovskii telegraf*, 1830, ch. 31, no. 2, p. 213.