remains to be written, and meanwhile he has become one of the most talked of American printers. In 1943 the late Rudolph Ruzicka, writing only shortly after his death, claimed that he 'sympathized not at all with Arts and Crafts' (in the words of Professor Thompson), words that she dismisses as 'nonsense'. It may well be that both are right. Updike certainly had little time for the more quirkish manifestations of Arts and Crafts, and only very limited respect even for the two men who employed Morris's teachings most aptly, Nash in California and Goudy in the east; this much is clear from his correspondence with Stanley Morison. Of Morris's own work he was (despite proddings from Morison) never less than respectful, even as late as 1922 in *Printing types*, when his own style owed little to the man whose books caught the imagination and generated controversy on two sides of the Atlantic. His assessment remains a just one. His own *Altar book* 1896 is rightly looked on as the summit of American Kelmscott typography, though Robert Aming Bell's illustrations sit a shade less happily in their surroundings than do those in the Kelmscott Chaucer; he returned to the style with Marsden Perry's *Chronological list of Kelmscott books* printed for the Grolier Club in 1926, but neither it nor *A day at Languerre* 1892 can be called typical. As she was bound to do, Professor Thompson illustrates the colophon page of *On the dedications of American churches* 1891, compiled anonymously by Updike himself with the aid of Harold Brown, with its stained-glass-window-like block of angels, but the rest of the book is far more instructive, harking back to the ecclesiastical publications of William Pickering.

Influence hunting, in books as much as in painting or in literature, is a pursuit beset with traps for the unwary and over-imaginative, and in writing of her subject as a pioneer Professor Thompson has sensibly cast her net wide and provided a remarkable gallery. She makes no claim that all her subjects are important either in themselves or in their impact, but many of them are interesting in their own right and they are all so as manifestations of a craze for which it is hard to think of a parallel. Printing history has tended, all too frequently, to concentrate quite understandably on high spots. In exhibitions like that of Mr Blumenthal that is both necessary and almost inevitable, simply because of the needs of his audience. It is no detraction of his volume to say that he scarcely moves off the peaks, but it is none the less refreshing to descend to the plains and even into the valleys in pursuit of one manifestation of international arts and crafts. The consequences are, right or wrong, after all still with us.

**David McKitterick**

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**T. P. Voronova**

**P. P. Dubrovskii**

1754–1816

and the Saint-Germain manuscripts

It was in 1805 that a Russian diplomat, P. P. Dubrovskii (1754–1816), sold to the Emperor Alexander I the collection of manuscripts which inaugurated the *Deity Manuscripts*, now the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Slatyskoy-Schedrin State Public Library in Leningrad. In the previous year the Secretary of the Dowager Empress Maria Fedorovna, Baron Ludwig von Woltzogen, had informed her of the possibility of acquiring Dubrovskii's valuable manuscript collection. In February 1804 he described its owner as a 'passionate collector who wishes to propose to the Emperor the creation of a central library of manuscripts the principal ornament of which would be his own collection.' 

This document makes it clear that it was Dubrovskii who implanted in Alexander I's mind the idea of creating within the Imperial Library a manuscript department on the lines of those existing in the great Western European libraries.

Dubrovskii's collection was distinguished by a feature which was shared by few contemporary private libraries. It did not consist of curiosities – individual autograph letters or documents assembled as opportunity offered – but of groups of manuscripts which had once formed part of monastic libraries and state or private archives. It contained, for example, manuscripts once at the Abbesses of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Corbie, in the libraries of Kings of France (for example, Charles V and Louis XII), or from the collections and archives of great political figures such as Philip the Good of Burgundy, René of Anjou, King of Naples, Achille de Harlay, President of the Parliament of Paris, and Pierre Séguier, Chancellor of France.

1 For a fuller treatment (in Russian) on which this article is based, see *Knigi, arkhivy, autografi*, ed. T. P. Voronova et al. Moscow: 'Kniga' 1973, pp. 101–14.

2 Central State Historical Archive (CSHA), Leningrad, fond 759, op. 1, no. 296, f.32v.

In his classic account of the manuscript collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale Léopold Delisle devotes a chapter to the library of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in which he recounts its history down to the transfer of its nine thousand or so manuscripts to the Bibliothèque Nationale between December 1793 and February 1796. This transfer by its last monastic custodian, Dom Poirier, was largely motivated by his desire to ensure official protection for what remained of the collection after the depredations of 1791 and the fire of 1794 which had destroyed all its printed books. As regards the events of 1791 Delisle wrote that:

Thieves stole a substantial number of manuscripts, most of which were outstanding for their antiquity or their miniatures. Almost all of them became the property of a certain Pierre Dubrovskii, secretary of the Russian embassy in Paris.  

In 1959 the French historian Michel François drew attention to the fact that Dubrovskii was on friendly terms with d'Ormesson de Noisieux, the Royal Librarian, who in 1790 had been made responsible for the protection of public monuments. This connection had, incidentally, been previously noted by T. B. Luižova in 1959 in an unpublished monograph. She wrote:

Dubrovskii was apparently closely connected with d'Ormesson, the President of the Parlement de Paris - a distinguished Hellenist and a member of the Académie des Inscriptions, who had served Louis XVI as librarian. It was in his charge that Dubrovskii left that part of his collection which he was unable to take with him when the Russian diplomatic mission left Paris.

It is worth remarking that the theft in 1791 of such valuable manuscripts (an operation which was certainly carried out by thieves who knew their business) and the fact that a substantial part of them had been acquired by Dubrovskii (whom he knew well) could not have remained unknown to d'Ormesson.  

When Dubrovskii was forced to leave Paris in August 1792 he consigned the bulk of his collection to d'Ormesson's care. However, d'Ormesson was arrested as a royalist in the following year and was executed in 1794. That part of Dubrovskii's collection which had been left with him (and which, incidentally, he had pawned) was sold by auction, and its later history is obscure. Persons acting on Dubrovskii's behalf were able to buy a few of the manuscripts at the sale and these were despatched to Dubrovskii in Hamburg through the Danish ambassador in Paris, Baron Dreyer. Dubrovskii refers to these transactions in a letter of 18 February 1815 which he wrote to the French Ambassador in St Petersburg claiming compensation for the loss which he had suffered as a result of the illegal auction after d'Ormesson's death. He wrote:

Some objects were in fact handed over to Baron Dreyer for safekeeping . . . but he sent me no more than the eight boxes which contained the manuscripts now in the library at St Petersburg. They may serve as a permanent reminder of the treasures which were sold for a song and scattered all over Paris.  

When, in the middle of the 19th century, the manuscript holdings of the Public Library in St Petersburgh came to be catalogued, they were arranged by language, and within each language-group by format, material ('v' for vellum, 'p' for paper) and subject. The Dubrovskii codices were not differentiated from those which had other origins, e.g. Zahukh and Suchten, and as a result, the reconstitution of the collection has been a complex task. Indeed, the final isolation of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés fonds cannot be brought about until the recataloguing of the entire collection of Western European manuscripts has been completed. However, some figures may help to indicate the scale of the Saint-Germain group within the Dubrovskii collection. In Staerk's work, in which he describes 140 Latin manuscripts in the Public Library dating from the fifth to the 13th century, 89 of the 93 Dubrovskii manuscripts are of Saint-Germain origin. Lahorde's catalogue of 157 Latin and French illumi-

4 L. V. Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, ii, Paris 1874, 40–58.
5 Delisle, op. cit., p. 52. By no means all the manuscripts removed from Saint-Germain were acquired by Dubrovskii (see M. L. C. Lahanne, H. L. Bordier, Dictionnaire de pièces autographes volées aux bibliothèques publiques de la France, Paris 1853).
nated manuscripts includes 72 French manuscripts in the Dubrovskii collection, of which 52 come from Saint-Germain. 10

It is known that Dubrovskii did not possess a complete inventory of his own collection, and that when his manuscripts were handed over to the Public Library in October 1804 he compiled no more than a brief list which he characterized as an 'Extrait du Catalogue Général des manuscrits qui sont ici, le reste est encore dans l'Étranger' - 'le reste' referring presumably to those left with d'Ormesson. 11 Each leaf of the 'Extrait' bears the signatures of Dubrovskii and of his assistant, F. Laskovskii, and the leaves of the document are secured by a sealed cord. The descriptions are in French and the text ends with a statement in Russian in a clerk's hand which may be translated as follows:

The manuscripts figuring in this 38-page catalogue were received from Collegiate Counsellor Chevalier Dubrovskii and transferred to the Imperial Manuscript Depot against his receipt as its Keeper.

Below this is the signature of Count A. N. Stroganov, the Director of the Imperial Library. This document is the hand-over inventory connected with the transfer of Dubrovskii's famous collection to the Imperial Library. Its contents are listed in classified order and consist of two sections. The first covers literary manuscripts followed by historical works in chronological order; the second part lists about eight thousand documents grouped by countries. 12

There is at the end of the inventory the following curious addendum signed and dated by Dubrovskii, St Petersburg, 16 December 1804:

This list was rapidly made. I shall have the honour of making a more detailed account which will cover both my old and new manuscripts. This cannot be prepared until my boxes, which have already been loaded at Hamburg, reach here. 13

It appears that after Dubrovskii had received the latter portion of his collections from Baron Dreyer he began to compile his 'general
catalogue of manuscripts' and also to produce an inventory of the recently arrived volumes. The latter has survived in a copy which is datable to 1810 or later on the basis of its watermark. It is headed: 'Extrait du grand catalogue de M-r Dubrovsky, concernant les Manuscrits envoyés de Paris à Hambourg par le Ministre de Danemark en 1800 et reçus en 1803 au mois de May'. 14 Examination of this document shows that it was not written by Dubrovskii himself (who never spelled his name with 'ou' and 'v') but was probably copied from his original; entries sometimes include comments such as 'J'ai acheté ce ms à la vente de la Bibliothèque de l'archéologue de Sens en 1792' or 'Copies des lettres de Marguerite Reine de Navarre qui se trouvent en original dans mon cabinet destinées à être imprimées'. 15

The serial numbers of the entries in the 'Extrait' have gaps which apparently relate to those manuscripts which Dubrovskii had personally brought back from France. As a result, although the last serial number in the 'Extrait' is 177, it in fact includes no more than 127 descriptions; it is, moreover, incomplete, since entry 177 is described as an 'eighth packet' the contents of which are not specified. It will be remembered that in his letter to the French Ambassador of 18 February 1815 Dubrovskii referred to the receipt of eight boxes of manuscripts from Baron Dreyer. Are these, perhaps, the 'eighth packet'? Or is the reappearance of the number eight a mere coincidence? However that may be, since the manuscripts are summarily listed in the 'Extrait' simply in terms of portfolios, bundles and packets, it is clear that the actual number of documents far exceeded the total number of entries in the inventory. 16

It is a matter for regret that Dubrovskii's personal papers have not survived: they would doubtless have thrown light on many obscure passages in his biography. However, it is known that in St Petersburg he occupied an apartment within the Library building in what is now Reading-room No. 1 of the Manuscript and Rare Book Department. There he remained until he retired in 1812. He survived retirement for less than four years, ill-health and poverty dogging him until his death on 9 January 1816.

It is curious that a man as conscious of the importance of manuscripts as was Dubrovskii should not have taken steps to ensure the preserva-
14 Ibid., no. 42.
15 Ibid., ff. 3 v., 7 v. (nos. 65, 145). The 15th-century manuscript of Jean de Courcy's Chronicle (now SPPL, MS Frants. F. v. IV, no. 13) is referred to on f. 3 v. of the 'Extrait'.
16 It is worth noting that the 'Extrait' occasionally includes information about provenances, e.g. nos 35, 48, 50-1, 78, 125-30, 133.
tion of his own personal papers and, in particular, the important correspondence dating from his years in France. It is possible, however, that its disappearance was not his fault but that of his sister and executrix, a widow of a minor official, who was in reduced circumstances. Even more likely is the hypothesis that in his efforts to collect and transport to Russia the bulk of his manuscripts he neglected his own personal papers. In his official record of service he reports that having been entrusted by the Russian Chargé d'affaires with the task of evacuating confidential papers and ciphers from France in 1792, he left behind all his own possessions and that some of them were looted. 17 Be that as it may, all that survive are a few of Dubrovskii's official documents relating to his appointment as Curator, 'Dépôt des Manuscrits', and to his retirement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.18 Searches undertaken among the surviving papers of persons with whom Dubrovskii may have, or is known to have corresponded have also unfortunately been unrewarding. For example, only a single letter from him is preserved in Count A. G. Bobrinskii's archives, though the Count's diary contains interesting references to him.19 He is first referred to between December 1784 and August 1785 at a time when the diarist was in Paris. Bobrinskii writes:

Dubrovskii and Bulbin called and stayed ... Monsieur Gillet, the director of the Academy of Arts in Russia also stayed; he talked to Dubrovskii, promised to show him the collections of La Reina, the well-known and wealthy fermier-général, and then left.

One must assume that this (and other calls) by Dubrovskii were not chance visits. After completing his training in the Infantry Corps (at that time commanded by I. I. Betskoï), Bobrinskii had been sent on the Grand Tour — at first in Russia and, later, abroad. In the spring of 1785 he arrived in Paris after having visited a number of other Western European cities. The author of the introduction to Bobrinskii's memoirs delicately suggests that the Paris gamblers and chevaliers d'industrie did not fail to take advantage of the twenty-three-year-old Count's ingenuousness and open-handed habits.20 The Empress, who constantly concerned herself with Bobrinskii's affairs (he was, after all,

17 SPLL Archive, 1805, case [dela] no.40, document no. 20; Academy of Sciences' Institute of History (Leningrad Division), k. 238, op. 2, no. 355/1-2.
18 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive, Administry cases, IV-1, 1805, no. 62; IV-10, 1805, no. 3; II-6, 1807, no. 2; I-11, 1830, no. 68.
19 Published in Russkii arkhiv, 1877, bk. 3, no. 10, pp. 116-65.
20 Ibid., 1876, bk. 3, p. 7.

her child by Count Grigorii Orlov) was much disturbed by the report which reached her from Betskoï and Colonel A. G. Bushuev, the latter of whom was acting as the young man's 'gouverneur'. Dubrovskii was in Paris not only as the Empress's book purchasing agent but also acted for her in confidential matters. For example, in 1782 at the time of the visit to Paris of the Tsarevich Paul and his wife (they travelled as the 'Comte et Comtesse du Nord'), Dubrovskii records that he was given special responsibility for the academic side of their visit.21 It is probable that in Bobrinskii's case he was similarly entrusted with the confidential task of encouraging the young man to engage in pursuits which were more becoming to a son of the Empress.

Bobrinskii notes on 21 August 1785 that Dubrovskii dined with him and that he and Bushuev, displeased by the heavy gambling losses which Bobrinskii had incurred, reproached him; on 19 October 1785 he writes that Dubrovskii called on him and that they dined together at a restaurant and then proceeded to a bookshop where they remained until the evening and where Bobrinskii spent over 46 francs in coppecks on books.

In the unpublished portions of Bobrinskii's diary there are further similar entries, e.g., 'lunched with Dubrovskii', 'called on Dubrovskii', 'went book-hunting with Dubrovskii', 'Dubrovskii the whole day with us; gave him the ring which the Tartars dug up'.22 The two men listened to the music at Notre-Dame and read the papers at the Café Condé together. On 16 August 1785 they took a coach to the Left Bank and, proceeding on foot, spent 36 coppecks on books. It was on that occasion that Dubrovskii told him that the Prince de Rohan had been arrested.

The single surviving letter from Dubrovskii to Bobrinskii dates from three years after the latter had left for Russia. In it, Dubrovskii writes from Paris on 3 May 1789:

I today had the honour of receiving your letter of the 9th ult. and shall fulfill the commission with which you charge me as soon as I receive the money from the bank. I much regret that my letters and the package should have failed to reach you and shall not in future send anything via the courier ... I have your books in my apartment in sealed baskets and it would be no bad thing if you were to send me the catalogue ... for they must be dried out without delay. They were stored in a damp cellar, and I fear that the books themselves are in

21 SPLL Archive, 1805, case no. 40, document no. 20.
22 Central Archive of Ancient Documents [CAAD], fond 1412, op. 1, no. 9. ff. 01v-94, 94v-9, 96-7.
the same condition as the baskets in which they are placed— and the latter are covered with mildew and dampstains.23

It is worth noting that the letter (like the diary entries) relates to books only and not manuscripts. It would appear that Bobrinskii took no interest in the latter.

Another distinguished correspondent of Dubrovskii was Count A. R. Vorontsov (1741–1803), the Russian Chancellor, who had earlier served as ambassador in London. It is known that when Dubrovskii arrived in Paris after completing his studies at the Ecclesiastical Academy, his only means were some funds which Vorontsov had sent him from St Petersburg to cover book purchases.24 Two unpublished letters from Dubrovskii to his distinguished correspondent have survived— one, dated 6/17 August 1790, is now in Leningrad, and the other, of 23 May/3 June 1791, is in Moscow.25

Some earlier contacts between Vorontsov and Dubrovskii are referred to in the correspondence of A. N. Radischev, the author of the banned *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow of 1790*. Radischev served from 1778 in the Ministry of Commerce over which Vorontsov presided, and became Deputy Director (and ultimately Director) of the St Petersburg Custom House. Two of Radischev’s letters to Vorontsov dating from this later period include references to Dubrovskii. In a letter of 20 January 1787 he wrote:

I have received ten or so books from Dubrovskii but am unable to say which they are as they are still in a frozen condition: from their exterior it is obvious that they have been damaged.26

On 20 February he added:

The books from Dubrovskii are as follows: *Mémoires de Voltaire, Un défenseur du peuple à Joseph*, *La vie de Voltaire, Le triomphe du nouveau monde* 2 vol., *Les fêtes de Louis XIV* 2 vol. These last are in a very bad way as many of their pages are stuck together; the others appear to be in poor condition but their pages are undamaged.27

From these letters it would seem that the books had been ordered by Vorontsov, and the letter from Dubrovskii in Paris to him dated 6/17 August 1790, and referred to above, confirms the practice: it encloses an account listing 20 works which Dubrovskii had acquired from a Paris bookseller.

The second letter to Vorontsov (of 23 May/3 June 1791) gives us the names of some of the intermediaries through whom Dubrovskii sent letters and book parcels to him. These included Russians (*Pavlov*, Count P. A. Stroganov, and a Counsellor at the Embassy named Mashkov) and also some Frenchmen (the Comte de Langron, the Comte de Bruly, Dorival, and Bouchet). In the same letter Dubrovskii acknowledges receipt of a draft for 200 livres ‘pour mes deboires’ and complains about the loss of letters and parcels destroyed by fire in the Lübeck Custom House.

In one of the published volumes of the Vorontsov archives there is printed a curious ‘Letter of Count A. R. Vorontsov written in France at the time of the Revolution’ in which the Count instructs Mashkov, then Counsellor at the Paris Embassy, to take advantage of the prevailing conditions to acquire some secret diplomatic papers relating to Franco-Russian relations, and in particular, those of the Comte d’Alion, the French Minister Plenipotentiary in Russia from 1745 to 1748. Vorontsov wrote:

In the present conjunction of affairs in France one may assume that many papers and documents which were hitherto inaccessible may now become available, and that it may be possible to acquire either the originals or copies of them.28

In the same letter Vorontsov refers to the transfer of 2400 livres, and it is clear that Dubrovskii was involved in the operation referred to in the letter, for the d’Alion despatches mentioned in it form part of his collection.29

In such letters of Dubrovskii as we have been able to trace there are no specific references as to how he acquired individual manuscripts for his collection. They refer only to his fulfilment of the general brief that he held to acquire books and manuscripts at auctions and from Paris dealers on behalf of his distinguished Russian patrons.

We have already referred to the entry in the ‘Extrait du grand catalogue de M. Pou Dubrovsky’ relating to his purchases of manuscripts

25 Academy of Sciences’ Institute of History (Leningrad Division), fond 36, op. 1, no. 2 (no. 1179), ff. 306–8, and CAAD, fond 1261, op. 3, no. 534 respectively.
26 *A. N. Radischev, Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [‘Complete works’], iii, Moscow: Leningrad 1952, 325.
at the sale of the library of the Archbishop of Sens in 1792. It is this year, 1792, that Dubrovskii added after his normal ownership inscripción (Ex Musaeo Petri Dubrowsky, Parisiis . . .) in several of his oldest ex-Saint-Germain manuscripts. It is, moreover, curious that of his ten manuscripts in this category which carry dates of acquisition, two were acquired in 1777, two in 1789, one in 1788, and the remaining five in 1792. None of the manuscripts bears the date 1791, the year of the great theft from the Saint-Germain library. One wonders whether this is fortuitous or a conscious suppression. Yet it would seem that Dubrovskii had no reason to falsify dates: he not only did not conceal the fact that a part of his collection came from Saint-Germain, but took pride in it. And, indeed, it is undeniable that Saint-Germain manuscripts were finding their way into the auction rooms long before the Revolution. As regards the 1791 theft, that may well have been perpetrated by persons – or a person, and more than likely, a monk – in touch either with d'Ormesson or with one of the Paris book dealers. N. M. Karaznin, who visited Paris in 1790, mentions Dubrovskii among the Russians whom he met there, and describes him as a man ‘known to all the local bibliothécaires through whom he acquires rarities for a song – especially during the present uncertain times.

Depredations from French institutional libraries at the time of the Revolution (as also during the middle years of the 19th century) were on systematic lines, and it was not only the monastic library of Saint-Germain that lost part of its collections: manuscripts and books from, for example, the libraries of the Louvre, the Sorbonne, the Observatoire, the Institut and the Bastille also found their way on to the market. It is not surprising that a foreigner in Revolutionary Paris and, moreover, one who was as passionate a collector as was Dubrovskii, should have interested himself less in the violent events which were taking place around him, than in the possibilities which they afforded for adding to his collections.

30 The Archbishop in question was Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–1801). For the family's collection of manuscripts see Delisle, op. cit. (see4), i. 215, 217; ii. 271.
31 A. Laborde, op. cit. (see16), i. 47.
32 N. M. Karaznin, Pis'ma russkogo путешественника ['Letters of a Russian traveller'], v. Moscow 1801, 242.