

ИСТОРИЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

“ENLIGHTENED POLICY” IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SPAIN: A RUSSIAN EYE-WITNESS — DIPLOMAT STEPAN ZINOVIEV

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This article deals with the process of the establishment of Russian-Spanish relations in the 18th century and the role of one of the most distinguished Russian diplomats at the court of Catherine II Stepan Zinoviev who spent almost 20 years in Madrid (1772—1794). The study is based largely on manuscripts (diplomatic and other correspondence) from the Archives of External Policy of the Russian Empire in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and fills a gap in the research of Russian foreign policy of the 18th century and the Russian-Spanish relations.

Catherine's foreign interests were focused toward the major states of Northern Europe, but she also tried to strengthen the position of the Russian Empire in Europe, to embed the country in the European 'Balance of Power' by establishing diplomatic relations with all European countries. In this sense, the Iberian Peninsula was not wholly without significance for Russia. The political unions of Russia with the outlying countries, as Spain, depended not only on the international situation in Europe in the second half of the 18th century but on the image of the country that was created by Russians who visited Spain at that time. The position of diplomats was particularly important — they were almost the only ones, except for merchants and sailors, who visited that country and it is on the basis of their reports that Russia's foreign policy in relation to Spain was built in the 18th century. Based on the reports of Zinoviev we can reconstruct the images of such important political figures as the King Charles III, Secretary of State Count of Floridablanca and the other ministers of the Spanish government. The biography of the outstanding Russian diplomat — Stepan Zinoviev is presented in this article for the first time.

Key words: diplomacy, Russian-Spanish relations, 18th century, Russian embassy in Madrid, Stepan Zinoviev, diplomacy, Charles III, enlightened reforms.

The establishment of ties between Russia in the East of Europe and Spain in the West forged the missing link of the continent's system of international relations. It was the Age of Discovery. In 1492 Christopher Columbus discovered new lands beyond

the sea, and in 1486 and 1489 Imperial Ambassador Nicholas Popel ‘discovered’ Russia. Taking into account the close dynastic ties of the Imperial Court with Spain, we may safely assume that in the same way that Spain was ‘discovering’ Russia, Russia herself was searching for ways to ‘discover’ this, the most far-off (for her) monarchy in Europe. In 1523 the first Russian embassy to Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Empire, arrived at Valladolid [Lopez de Meneses 1946: 111—128; Klibanov 1987: 5—27].

The foundation of Russo-Spanish relations, laid down in the last quarter of the 15th and the 16th centuries, proved solid and served the mutual interests of the two countries. A landmark event occurred in 1667, when Tsar Alexei Mikhailovitch sent the first permanent Russian embassy, headed by stolnik Piotr Potemkin, to the Spanish Court.

During the 18th century Spanish-Russian relations developed very actively. As a result both countries sent to each other some of their most talented diplomats. Among them: the Duke of Liria, the Marquis de Almodovar; even the most famous Spanish enlightener — Gaspar de Jovellanos — was proposed as Ambassador to St.-Petersburg [Volosiuk 1988: 317—333]. “Though the remote situation of Moscovy from Our dominions separates the mutual interests of both Monarchies, the power of this State and the influence which it wields in all European affairs and events make her friendship more and more desirable with each passing day” — ordered King Charles III to the Marquis de Almodovar as the latter was leaving for Russia in 1761¹.

Russia’s envoys were also from the most ancient noble families: Prince Golitsin, sent by Peter the Great, Prince Repnin, one of the collaborators of Catherine II. Another outstanding figure was the Russian Plenipotentiary minister Stepan Zinoviev, who lived and worked in Spain for almost 20 years (1773—1792). He played a very important role in the developing and strengthening of Spanish-Russian relations in the second half of the 18th century, during the reign of the “enlightened despots”: Charles III in Spain and Catherine II in Russia.

ZINOVIEV

Stepan Stepanovitch Zinoviev belonged to one of Russia’s ancient noble families. Its progenitor, a certain Zinovi of Serbian origin, settled in Lithuania in the 14th century. In 1392 his son, Alexander Zinovievitch, left Lithuania for Moscow, where Prince Vasili Dmitrievitch had offered him lands and estates. Alexander was the first of the Russian Zinovievs, while his brother Zinovi Zinovievitch, who stayed in Lithuania, became the patriarch of the Zenovich clan of Lithuania.

The future diplomat’s grandfather — Stepan Petrovitch Zinoviev — belonged to the twelfth generation of Zinovievs. He served as stolnik and in 1689 was promoted to the rank of poruchik. One of his sons (also Stepan), beginning his career as counselor in the Sudny Prikaz (Department of the Tribunal), rose to the rank of major-general and was appointed president of the magistrate. He had four sons. His eldest — Stepan

¹ Russia and Spain. Documents and Materials, 1667—1917. Vol. 1, 1667—1799. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1991. P. 165 (in Russian).

(naming the eldest son after his father became a family tradition) had the most successful career, which he began as a clerk at the Collegium (Ministry) of Foreign Affairs. In 1768 he married Ekaterina Menshikova, granddaughter of Alexander Menshikov, one of 18th century Russia's greatest statesman and a close associate of Peter the Great. At the time of their marriage she was maid of honor at the Court of Catherine II [Lobanov-Rostovski 1895: 166—169; Ettinger 1848: 16; Karabanov 1871: 383].

In September 1772 by Imperial decree Zinoviev, who held the rank of Kamer-Junker, was named Plenipotentiary minister to Spain. The Letters of Credence were signed on 8 November 1772; by 12 November the emissary's instructions were also ready. They ordered him *inter alia*: "to make use of his mission to obtain an adequate and systematic knowledge of all regions in that part of Europe, of their strong and weak points, inclinations and traditions, of their interests in affairs substantive, as well as of the relations which currently exist between each state"¹. Zinoviev did not wait to receive his instructions. He left St.-Petersburg earlier, and it wasn't till December that they caught up with him in Paris. En route he received several other letters — of a personal character — from his friend, the prominent Russian writer and enlightener Denis Fonvizin, who at that time also was a member of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs. At Fonvizin's request his two brothers were sent to Spain to serve under Zinoviev².

On 23 May 1773 Zinoviev arrived in Madrid. A week later he was granted his first audience by Charles III and the Secretary of State Marquis de Grimaldi. Among the first dispatches he received in Madrid was one from Count Nikita Panin, Head of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (dated 21 April 1773), informing him that he had been promoted to the rank of Chamberlain. Zinoviev arrived in Madrid with his wife, but she stayed in Spain for little more than a year. In June 1774 because of ill health she had to leave Spain for Russia. For the next 18 years of his life Zinoviev lived in Spain alone. (Ekaterina Menshikova died in 1781).

Stepan Zinoviev left a rich heritage: his dispatches, treatises, memoirs reveal not only the atmosphere at the Spanish Court, the main political and economic reforms and changes promoted by the Spanish Government, but also the international climate in Europe during that epoch: the relations of Spain with France, England, Prussia, Austria and other countries. Painstakingly and conscientiously Zinoviev gathered every possible bit and piece of information that could be of interest to St.-Petersburg, and in great detail and with shrewd comments and analysis he reported them in his dispatches. "The contacts which I shall hence strive to establish here will allow me in time to understand all the facets of government of this State; in this way I shall do my utmost to benefit from my sojourn, and thus fulfill my mission and make myself worthy of the grace and honor which I currently enjoy", — wrote Zinoviev to Panin in 1775³. He approached

¹ Russia and Spain. Documents and Materials, 1667—1917. Vol. 1, 1667—1799. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1991. P. 223—230 (in Russian)

² Fonvizin D. Letters to S.S. Zinoviev. *Russkaya starina*, 1876, Vol. 15, No. 2. P. 459—461 (in Russian).

³ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire]. Fund: Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 358. Sheet 44 (in Russian).

his work with great responsibility, constantly keeping in mind the main aim of his activities: to promote Spanish-Russian relations. He had good working relationships with all Spanish Secretaries of State, and in 1792 he wrote to his Court about his first meeting with the newly appointed Secretary of State, the Count de Aranda: "I first made to the new minister the exposure of the good correspondence which existed between the two courts during 18 years of my residence here..."¹

His main addressees in Russia, besides Panin, were the Russian Empress and her leading ministers: Osterman and Bezborodko. They found in his dispatches the 'political portraits' of King Charles III and his enlightened ministers: Grimaldi, Floridablanca, Aranda, and, what is more important, a profound analysis of their political, economic and philosophical views.

During the almost 20 years of his mission to Spain Zinoviev became one of Russia's most prominent diplomats. "His dispatches, — wrote the 19th century Russian historian A. Tratchevski, — testify to his keenness of observation, accuracy of judgment and a profound knowledge of the Spanish nation, especially of its Court (...) They may serve as a guiding thread in studying Spanish politics in the final quarter of the last century. What is more, they are written with elegant style, and his French delights us with its clarity and refinement: we have rarely seen such qualities in the multitude of documents by other diplomats of that period that we have read" [Tratchevski, 1872: 14—15].

St.-Petersburg held a high opinion of his work. For one of the reports — dated 26 July 1786 — where he analyzed the political situation in Spain and in Europe, and the policies of Spanish Secretary of State Floridablanca, Catherine II ordered her 'personal favor' to be expressed to him. In 1784 Zinoviev was promoted to the rank of Privy counselor; in 1785 he was bestowed the Order of St. Vladimir (2nd degree) and in 1789 — the Order of St. Anne — the two highest awards of the Russian Empire [Tratchevski, 1872: 15; Ettinger 1848: 16].

But the life of a Russian emissary far from home was not simple and easy. Zinoviev invariably remonstrated with St.-Petersburg about his straitened circumstances and had frequent grievances about the punctuality with which his salary was paid. His state of health had also become a constant problem: for all the years that he spent in Spain he could not adapt to its climate. In June 1792, being finally granted leave after numerous requests, he set off for Russia, leaving the Secretary of the embassy Nikolai Bitsov as Charge d'affaires. After a year spent in Russia, Zinoviev left once more for Madrid to resume his office: Catherine II set store by her envoy and needed him back in Spain. Her high regard for Zinoviev is evident in a rescript received by the diplomat before his departure: "Zinoviev stays for so long and with such brilliance at the Court of Madrid, so he does not need general instructions on our ordinary and normal relations with this Court"². Sadly, Zinoviev was not able to carry out his Empress' instructions. He never reached Madrid. En route he fell ill and died in Riga in February 1794.

¹ Ibid. File 477. Sheet 47.

² Russia and Spain. Documents and Materials, 1667—1917. Vol. 1, 1667—1799. Moscow, Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 1991. P. 427—430 (in Russian).

ENLIGHTENED POLICIES

With the advent of Philippe de Bourbon to the Spanish throne in 1700, Spain experienced more than the turn of a century. The Bourbons: Philippe d'Anjou, who ascended the Spanish throne as Philip V (1700—1746), and his two sons, Ferdinand VI (1746—1759) and Charles III (1759—1788) brought to Spain what it needed most. Under them it made remarkable moral and material progress: its population increased, it again showed signs of prosperity, its colonial empire received much needed reform and before the end of the century it once more had weight in international affairs. The enlightened policies reached their height during the reign of Charles III. The reforms in Spain in the 1760-s, 1770-s and 1780-s encompassed practically all spheres of society. "It is not difficult to ascertain, — wrote Zinoviev, that shrewd observer, — that there does not exist another State where the Government exerts as much efforts in seeking ways to eradicate abuses and ignorance towards education"¹.

Due to the specific character of Spain's historical development, in the second half of the 18th century administrative and financial reforms became a matter of paramount importance. The Spanish Bourbons inherited a land that was ravaged by war, made up of provinces that were — for all practical purposes — independent, with their own legislation and *fueros*. That is why centralism never had a chance to take root in Spain: distinction in government always defeated attempts at centralization of the country. The Government's reforms were aimed at strengthening the royal power. The Nunciatory Tribunal that, according to Zinoviev, "constituted a threat" to the rights of the kingdom, was abolished in favor of the King's prerogative to be the highest court of appeal in spiritual matters².

The reforms curbed somewhat the authority of the Inquisition, which in the second half of the 18th century still wielded considerable power. Zinoviev complained that the Inquisition persisted in "blatantly and unjustly harassing foreigners under the guise of upholding the law, against which no foreign minister can find protection or gratification"³. From time to time vast Inquisition trials continued to rock Spanish society. As before, the Inquisition's main thrust was directed against liberal public figures. One example of this was the trial of Spanish enlightener Pablo de Olavide, which had wide repercussions in different strata of public life. Over a long period of time Olavide, admirer of the French Enlightenment, host of the most liberal salon in Spain and founder of an agricultural colony on the virgin lands of Sierra-Morena, was the object of the Inquisition's suspicious attention [Hernández Franco 1984: 476—494]. His administration of this colony served as a pretext for his arrest. In one of his dispatches Zinoviev wrote: "The Inquisition began to resume the old force under the auspices of the Father confessor and the King's protection. It just arrested Mr. Olavide, Intendant of Seville, enlightened man and good citizen. It is believed that he caused this disgrace for having too openly

¹ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire] Fund Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 358. Sheet 43 (in Russian).

² Ibid. File 288. Sheet 181—182; Ibid. File 299. Sheet 124—125, 169—170.

³ Ibid. File 388. Sheet 132.

spoken of the power of the Catholic Church”. One month later he wrote: “The steps from the Inquisition increase the discontent. The spirit of intolerance and fanaticism of this Tribunal require all new forces. Since the imprisonment of Mr. Olavide, Intendant of Seville, there were searches in several houses to inspect libraries and persons, no one, even the highest nobility, can escape from searches”¹.

The measures taken by the Government with regard to the Society of Jesus were of a more conclusive character. Their aim was twofold: to undermine the power of this omnipotent Order and to enrich the Treasury with its confiscated property. The Jesuits’ proscription from Spain was carried out practically simultaneously with their banishment from France and Portugal. In April 1767 all Jesuit priests were exiled by Royal decree from Spain, their property was consigned to the Treasury. But the reform did not end with the Jesuits’ banishment. The European Courts which took part in these actions demanded that the Pope dissolve the Society of Jesus. Russia’s envoy was well aware of how important information on Spain’s stand on this issue and on the Pope’s decision would be for his Government. Zinoviev’s first dispatches on his arrival in Madrid dwelt largely on the subject. In October 1772 he reported that Plenipotentiary Minister Pedro Moñino (who would soon be bestowed the title of Count de Floridablanca) had been sent to Rome with the mission of forcing the adoption of a Papal Bull dissolving the Order. In 1773 Zinoviev wrote: “The Spanish Court has conveyed to the Pope that it would not give its agreement to the Papal Nuncio until the Jesuits’ fate had been decided once and for all”. And finally in August 1773 St.-Petersburg received this communication from Madrid, “There is information that the Papal Decree on the destruction of the Jesuits has been made known to the Courts of Versailles, Venice and Madrid”. The main credit for obtaining this result, according to Zinoviev, went to Pedro Moñino² [Hernández Franco 1984: 125—157].

Surmounting Spain’s economic backwardness was one of the Government’s most daunting tasks. To these ends it adopted a series of measures aimed at developing agriculture, industry and commerce, assuring population growth, restricting the scope of feudal institutions, primarily the mayorazgos (entailed estates) and the Mesta. A quarter of a century earlier, in 1749, Ferdinand VI had allowed the leasing of entailed estates which were falling into decay. In 1789 measures were adopted prohibiting the creation of new mayorazgos and facilitating the sale of existing ones. “Beginning last April, — reported Zinoviev, — three Royal decrees concerning entailed estates have been put before the Council of Castile for consideration and the establishment of a new order in this very important affair. The entailment of estates to the eldest children has in our time become so injurious that it is imperative that the monarchy adopt for the sake of its well-being, measures which, if they do not do away with these rights, at least set limits for their application”³ [Hernández Franco 1984: 387—396]. There also followed

¹ Ibid. File 362. Sheet 161, 172.

² Ibid. File 345. Sheet 36, 40, 48.

³ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire]. Fund: Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia’s Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 455. Sheet 111.

a series of reforms concerning the Mesta (an association of sheep owners), the essence of which consisted in recognizing the primacy of peasants' interests over those of the proprietors.

The development of national industry and of manufactories in particular, was considered by Spanish reformers to be a matter of the utmost importance, as evidenced by the creation of special 'royal factories'. Describing the textile mills of Guadalajara, Zinoviev noted that being the oldest and largest in Spain they regularly received important credits. He took up this subject in his reports on various occasions. In 1778 he wrote: "The Court here continues to support the textile mills". The Spaniards sought to modify established commercial ties with England whereby the latter sold to Spain "different kinds of its manufactured cloth composed in part of lain of Spain, which is entirely opposed to the system of this country (...) France does not require as much or it would result naturally a great harm to the domestic industry, particularly the woolen mills which the minister encourages by all means". The Government undertook important steps to revitalize the conduct of public works. The development of land and water routes, so important to the expansion of trade and the creation of a national market, was considered to be a vital task in this domain. Here again, according to Zinoviev, the principal author of the plan was Count de Floridablanca, who in 1778 was entrusted with the job of managing and constructing public roads. "He exerts every effort, — wrote Zinoviev, — to accelerate the work being conducted" and noted that for some routes the necessary monies had already been allocated for building postal stations and coaching inns. Under the Count's direction plans were made for the construction of major highways linking the capital with different provinces and port cities¹.

One dispatch relayed the news that "the construction of ports on rivers and streams which there a large amount in Spain have started". In 1774 work was begun on an irrigation canal in Murcia; in 1785 — on the Aragon canal, "on which there has already been working for many years and that under the previous Minister had not been supported for lack of money (...) is now a quick success by the tireless care of Count Floridablanca. Already navigation on the channel has opened in the environs of Zaragoza and the considerable land that surrounds it enjoys the advantage of its waters for watering. But according to the plan the channel must be extended until Navarre". With another new canal in Andalucía well into the planning stage, the minister ordered engineers to be sent on location to complete the necessary calculations² [Hernández Franco 1984: 417—428].

Reforms in commerce dealt initially with internal trade. In 1765 internal customs duties were abolished. Freedom of trade and pricing was decreed. External trade, for its part, was mostly in the hands of English, French and Dutch merchants. To reduce their predominance and encourage national trade, foreign merchants in Cadiz were forbidden by a decree passed in 1772 to trade directly with a New World. This measure had important consequences since, according to Zinoviev, "more than half of Spanish trade

¹ Ibid. File 380. Sheet 87, 261; Ibid. File 414. Sheet 103; Ibid. File 426. Sheet 80, 111—112; Ibid. File 433. Sheet 165; Ibid. File 441. Sheet 8.

² Ibid. File 351. Sheet 147; Ibid. File 414. Sheet 103; Ibid. File 426. Sheet 60—61.

is in the hands of France and England, and though they do their best to spite one another wherever possible, when it comes to commerce both deploy every effort to hold Spain in a state of subservience”. In 1788 another decree further restricted the right of foreigners to trade with America, a measure which noticeably curtailed the commercial privileges of foreign powers and served to develop Spanish trade and industry¹ [Hernández Franco 1984: 404—417].

The policy of establishing free trade with the Americas for Spanish subjects was of no less importance. In 1765 a Royal Decree determined 9 port cities where trade with the colonies was permitted: Cadiz, Seville, Barcelona, Alicante, Santander, La Coruna, Gijon. Customs duties of 6% were imposed on locally-made merchandise; on products of foreign origin they amounted to 7%². The decree of 1765 was instrumental in developing national trade and industry. Nonetheless in accordance with tradition flotas trading with the Americas still set sail from Cadiz. There was an urgent need for absolute freedom of commerce with the New World.

In 1776 the newly appointed minister for American affairs Jose Galvez proposed a plan “abolishing the trading through fleets but allowing all Spanish subjects to do commerce from all ports of the Crown to all parts of America at all times at the discretion of the merchants. Up to this day trade can only be conducted through Cadiz and San Sebastian, in the latter place only by the Caracas Company by virtue of letters patent that it holds”. Examining the matter further, Zinoviev concludes: “If this project of Sr. Galvez is successfully introduced there is hope that commerce in all ports of Spain will soon flourish”³.

Work on the draft document began in the Department of the Indies in August 1777, and in February 1778 the decree on freedom of trade with America was promulgated. “This permission of freedom of commerce — wrote Zinoviev to St.-Petersburg, — is considered to be a most important and useful affair and it seems justified to anticipate substantial growth of trade in the time to come. The reasoning behind this act is based not only on theoretical calculations but on the profit that practice brings. An increase in trade is evident in well-established branches, as are the creation of markets for new commodities — wax, cotton etc. In a few years we must expect great changes in Spanish commerce and this new decree should rightly be considered as ushering in a new era of prosperity for Spanish trade”⁴.

Culture and science provided the framework for the most consistent application of enlightened policies: through the creation of academies, various types of ‘Economic Societies of Friends of the Country’, in reforming university educational programs, in patronizing the spread of philosophical and literary salons, in founding educative almanacs [Enciso Recio 2010]. This aspect of the enlightened reforms did not escape

¹ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire]. Fund: Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 358. Sheet 51—52; Ibid. File 449. Sheet 42, 2, 247 (in Russian).

² Ibid. File 271. Sheet 71.

³ Ibid. File 362. Sheet 14.

⁴ Ibid. File 368. Sheet 123; Ibid. File 380. Sheet 19, 22—24.

Zinoviev's attention either. In 1775 he informed the Russian Court of the creation of the Economic Society of Madrid and stressed: "The establishment of Economic Societies in several cities in Spain has revived patriotism and zeal for the public good in all provinces. That of Madrid today is distinguished from all others and has even inspired such laudable sentiments in the fair sex. Several ladies have wanted to be in the society". He did not forget to mention that the President of this 'Junta de damas' was the Duchess de Osuna and that the Princess of Asturias (the future Queen Maria-Luisa) and other Spanish Infantas were among its honorary members¹ [Volosyuk 1987: 237].

ENLIGHTENED POLITICIANS

Charles' III leading ministers: Floridablanca, Campomanes, Aranda, Jovellanos and others — were the foremost Spanish enlighteners and, at the same time, the initiators of the policy of reforms in Spain. Their rise to power marked the beginning of a new era in Spanish intellectual life. History presented Spanish enlighteners with the opportunity of realizing their ideals. Zinoviev bears witness to the extent to which they succeeded in translating their theories into practice. He paid as much attention to the main 'driving forces' behind the reforms as to the transformations themselves and their consequences, offering his correspondents in St.-Petersburg detailed portraits of the statesmen who were the 'heart and soul' of the Spanish Enlightenment.

The first to attract the attention of newly arrived Zinoviev was the Count de Aranda, President of the Council of Castile, whom the Spanish historian Alcazar Molina considered to be the "perfect example of the enlightened reformer" [Alcázar Molina 1933: 731]. The arrival of Zinoviev coincided with the resignation of Aranda. One of the Russian diplomat's first dispatches begins exactly with that event, pointing out that "almost all of society, except the clergy, regrets this change". Zinoviev explains Aranda's popularity by his interest and attention to the affairs of national life, his great desire to see the economic and social revival of Spain, his invariable stand against ignorance and superstition, by his promotion of science, culture and knowledge. "The Count de Aranda belongs to those noble Spaniards who have always hated the autocracy, and during his presidency of the Council of Castile he willingly defended the national rights". Zinoviev notes that this was a most thankless and trying task due to the opposition which he had to face. "In reality he has a lot of reasons for abandoning the President's Chair, — he wrote in a dispatch dated 1 July 1773, — as a rule the Council of Castile was opposed to his suggestions which dealt primarily with ways of improving the internal administration". In the same document Zinoviev reported that Aranda would be named Ambassador to Paris. He considered the implications of this nomination for the development of Spanish-French relations to be of great interest to the Court of Catherine II. The contradiction behind that appointment consisted in the political ideals of the Count — "one of those Spaniards who most vehemently argued against the Family Pact. But now he shall certainly have to abide by the rules admitted at Court and be blindly meek and docile towards French policy (...) However that may be, he will not be very welcome at Versailles and should not expect much goodwill from that quarter". Nevertheless Aranda accepted his appointment, explained Zinoviev, because he no longer felt the

¹ Ibid. File 441. Sheet 97, 170.

same love and respect of the nation and was looking for any pretext to leave Spain, a country to which he had no intention of ever returning¹.

But Aranda's stay in France lasted only 6 years. In 1779 he returned to Spain and 12 years later, in February 1792, when King Charles IV ascended the throne he was appointed the First Secretary of State of Spain. But that was quite another epoch: the enlightened reforms were buried along with Charles III, the Revolution in neighboring France was at its height — so Charles IV and Aranda completely changed the country's political course. If the arrival of Zinoviev to Spain coincided with Aranda's resignation, his departure in 1792 also followed closely on the new appointment of the Count.

Naturally the last reports of Zinoviev to Russia concerned the same person. But times had changed. So had the political climate in Spain. Therefore these last dispatches were quite different in tone from the first ones. "Everybody is absolutely convinced of his inadequacy at the age of 75 and of his most visible weakness, mostly in his head than in his body, in such a difficult and critical time like the present for such a man as he; but the necessity has dictated this choice and we must accordingly consider it as a demarche so as to be able to rely in some way in this time on the old reputation of the Count of Aranda and his credit in the spirit of the people (...) He is not aware of current affairs and has lost the habit of solving them"². The ambitious and powerful minister of Charles III had become a weak-willed old man. Where there once had been a statesman and 'policy-maker', there remained only a figurehead with no real authority.

Analyzing the reasons behind the resignation of Aranda in 1773, Zinoviev singles out the hostile attitude towards the Count of the Secretary of State (Minister of Foreign Affairs) — Marquis de Grimaldi. In contradistinction to Aranda the Italian Grimaldi began his career as Ambassador of Spain in Paris. There in 1763 he signed the Family Pact, and the same year was appointed Secretary of State. But despite Grimaldi's virtually unlimited power, his position in Spain was not very stable.

Charles III, who gave up the Neapolitan throne for the Spanish one, brought with him many Italians, who obtained key posts in the state administration. This policy caused discontent among the Spanish nobility and the whole nation. All shortcomings and abuses were attributed to the Italians. Zinoviev noted that fact more than once: "Although the Marquis of Grimaldi has a special predilection for power, he lacks the firmness of character necessary to stay in a country where the whole nation hates him". But, as Zinoviev pointed out, his knowledge of the King's character and his ability to convince and sway Charles III enabled him to thwart his enemies and to remain, for a time, in the King's favor³. Nevertheless, in 1776 Grimaldi submitted a petition of resignation, which was accepted. He was succeeded by Count of Floridablanca, who at that time was Plenipotentiary minister of Spain in Rome.

¹ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire]. Fund: Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 345. Sheet 23—24; Ibid. File 351. Sheet 105—106 (in Russian).

² Ibid. File 477. Sheet 43, 15.

³ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire]. Fund: Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 351. Sheet 156, 184 (in Russian).

The government of Floridablanca coincided almost entirely with the tenure of Zinoviev's mission. The Russian envoy paid great attention to this enlightened minister in his weekly reports to Russia. In fact so diligently did he record the activities of the Spanish Secretary of State that it is possible to compile a complete biography of Floridablanca's life in 1776—1792 based strictly on Zinoviev's dispatches.

The first ones dated June 1773 concerned his sojourn in Rome where he was ordered to ensure the adoption of a Papal Bull on the abolition of the Society of Jesus. After the resignation of Grimaldi in 1776 Floridablanca was named as one of the possible candidates to the post. His candidature was approved by Charles III. Zinoviev wrote on 11 November 1776 that a special courier had been sent to Rome to meet with Floridablanca, who was obliged to arrange for urgent transportation to Spain (he set sail in a military frigate which had anchored in Naples). The next cipher message relayed information about the future minister's biography: "The choice of the Count of Floridablanca is inspired by the Prince of Asturias, and though no one at the Court knows him well, it is fascinating to have a national Minister, as Spain desired for a long time. Only 10 years ago, the new minister was a simple lawyer who earned a reputation when he was appointed to the Fiscal Council of Castile. Then he was sent to Rome to resolve the issue of the expulsion of the Jesuits. Knowledge of the laws and eloquence has been known only among the councilors of Castile, and the public could never imagine that there is a possibility of making him Prime Minister of Spain. It is certain that he will need firmness to resolve the present affairs"¹.

Notwithstanding his diplomatic and administrative talents, the governing elite in Madrid doubted his ability to hold this important office. "What will be the debut of the new minister? — continued the Russian minister. — They believe here that it will be embarrassing for him to accomplish his Ministry: one doubts that he has a general system, and jurisprudence, where he worked for many years, may be insufficient to his present position in Spain. They don't believe that cases of the Jesuits at the Court of Rome were able to train him enough to govern a great country. They have therefore to contemplate that Mr. de Moñino would be obliged to be governed by the first clerk, who has practical experience in these affairs". All these forecasts, however, failed to come true, and in less than a year's time, in 1785, Zinoviev affirmed that "The position of the Count of Floridablanca is that of a Minister who enjoys the full confidence of his sovereign. The influence that he has acquired over the King does not leave him much to be desired and his power is increasing day by day. Spain did not have such a powerful minister for a long time, who without being head in his own department, governs all others and nothing happens or is decided without his consent and his approval"² [Hernández Franco, 161—170]. His zeal, persistence and constant efforts gave a much needed impetus to many economic innovations, administrative and social projects, progress in culture and science. "Projects for improving public roads, digging canals — in short, different works for the good of the State — have become his

¹ Ibid. File 362. Sheet 152, 156—157.

² Ibid. File 368. Sheet 15; Ibid. File 426. Sheet 14.

favorite pursuit. His assiduity for these tasks has won him the respect and love of the whole nation”¹.

And what about Charles III? Russian diplomats in Spain studied closely the monarch’s role in the policies of reforms. He had arrived in Spain from Naples where during his reign some enlightened reforms had been put into practice. In 1760 one of the employees of the Russian Embassy in Spain had reported that the new sovereign was a very clever man but that he failed to live up to the image created in Europe after his accession to the Spanish throne. His pride and arrogance were such that he could not allow anyone else to be perceived as the initiator of the process of transformations. Zinoviev frequently mentioned that the King found himself in the center of the fight between two rival groups: the *reformadores* and the *conservadores* (the latter camp was represented by the king’s confessor). In a dispatch dated 30 September 1784 Zinoviev stressed that Charles III had complete confidence in his confessor and refused to take any decision or sign any document without his blessing, a habit which caused exasperation among the Cabinet and increased their wrath against that “primitive and ignorant monk” (as *Floridablanca* once called him). Despite the confessor’s influence, the *reformadores* finally managed to prevail and soon the Russian diplomat informed his Court: “Father confessor who never did concede, was forced to cede control of the benefices, leaving himself only the ordinary functions of the King’s confessor”².

What then was the role of Charles III in writing this vivid chapter of Spanish history? There is no doubt that the King wished to project an image of an enlightened monarch after the examples of *Frederic II*, *Catherine II* and *Joseph II* and even if he himself was not the mastermind behind the reforms, he created favorable conditions for his Cabinet of enlighteners — a role that assured him a place in history as the leader of a national revival that carried the country to heights of prestige and prosperity unknown for centuries. His death in 1788 signaled the demise of the enlightened administration in Spain. Significantly, Zinoviev’s first dispatch after the Spanish ruler’s passing touched upon possible changes in *Floridablanca*’s career: “His current position is different from that in which it was under the previous reign. Any undertaking which he carried out, the deceased master accepted. He would not have received from him the slightest criticism, even if the result would be to the detriment of Spain. But in the present circumstances, he has got a new master, the full confidence of whom he hardly possesses, and with whom he must behave with the circumspection and precaution (...) His knowledge and experience has made him in this moment really very necessary to the new King who absolutely can do nothing without him. But the

¹ *Russia and Spain. Documents and Materials, 1667—1917. Vol. 1, 1667—1799.* Moscow, *Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya*, 1991. P. 341 (in Russian); AVPRI — *Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire] Fund Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 380. Sheet 87* (in Russian).

² *Russia and Spain. Documents and Materials, 1667—1917. Vol. 1, 1667—1799.* Moscow, *Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya*, 1991. P. 341 (in Russian).

intrigue which he hardly knew during Charles III seems to revive in this time"¹. As before the Russian envoy's political forecast proved correct: in March 1792 Floridablanca was dismissed in favor of Aranda, who was more suitable to the new Royal couple for political and personal reasons. Half a year later Aranda also had to retire and cede his post to Queen Maria-Luisa's favorite Manuel Godoy, Count of Alcudia. Thus ceased to exist the Government of enlightened ministers in Spain.

THE IMAGE OF SPAIN

Zinoviev was not only a talented politician and brilliant diplomat — he was a highly educated and inquisitive person. His dispatches reveal not only the activities of the Spanish Court, but the life of Spanish society as well: the appearance of the 'Economic Societies of the Friends of the Country' and their role, the policies of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition, different religious and popular holidays, etc.

In his attempts to understand and explain the Spanish national character he never limited himself to observing just the lifestyle of Madrid's nobility. In 1779, for example, he asked for permission to undertake a trip across Spain, giving the following reasons to substantiate his request: "From this voyage I hope to obtain for myself a better knowledge of all corners of this land than can be gleaned by living in Castile, the poorest province in all of Spain. I take the liberty of affirming that a foreigner who refuses to travel beyond Madrid is not in a condition to understand Spain and to pass judgment on it, for therein lie the reasons for all these strange and mendacious descriptions of the country"².

His high opinion and respect for the policies of reform of Charles III and his ministers was evident. It colored his weekly reports informing St.-Petersburg of every step, large and small, along the road of liberalism and progress. But there was another Spain, the existence of which he was well aware of: a country of backward and superstitious common people, of the Inquisition, of legions of beggars and cripples who flocked to the cities. A Spain that resisted all attempts at innovations. As an objective eye-witness the Russian minister shared with his readers this insight of Spain and looked for the causes of this despairing state in her history, tradition and national character. "Deep-rooted idleness in this kingdom, — he wrote, — has to be the consequence of a successive number of vicious Governments. I much fear that in this sense the present reign of Charles III also cannot contribute much to the revival of Spain"³.

¹ AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire] Fund Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 455. Sheet 3 (in Russian).

² AVPRI — Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire] Fund Snosheniya Rossii s Ispaniyey [Russia's Relations with Spain]. Inventory 58. File 381. Sheet 23 (in Russian).

³ Ibid. File 358. Sheet 43.

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Stepan Zinoviev spent the best years of his life in Spain and had the diplomat's good fortune of witnessing a major turning point in the history of that country. The advent of enlightened despotism had accompanied the end of Spain's 17th century isolation from major European intellectual and economic currents, and the downfall of enlightened despotism was also part of a general trend in Europe. The Spanish progressive thinkers yearned for an era of prosperity and hope. But with the beginning of the French Revolution this era, introduced by the early Bourbons and brought to fruition by Charles III, was over. The impact of the French Revolution on Spain was evident: the country that Spaniards had looked to for enlightenment had now proclaimed a new political philosophy, and, really, a new practical political course. These new conflicts which appeared as a consequence of the French Revolution were to broaden and deepen into the dominant feature of subsequent Spanish history. Zinoviev worked in Spain throughout this whole period. Thus he left us the evidence of an objective, educated, shrewd and well-wishing man who witnessed a whole era: the rise and fall of the philosophy and policies of Enlightenment in 18th century Spain.

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«ПРОСВЕЩЕННАЯ ПОЛИТИКА» В ИСПАНИИ XVIII В. В ДЕПЕШАХ РУССКОГО ДИПЛОМАТА СТЕПАНА ЗИНОВЬЕВА

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В статье рассматривается период установления дипломатических отношений между Россией и Испанией в XVIII в. и роль в этом одного из замечательных российских дипломатов Степана Степановича Зиновьева. Позиция Екатерины II, которая стремилась укрепить роль России в системе европейских союзов, вписать ее в политику «баланса сил», строилась, исходя не только из международной ситуации в Европе во второй половине XVIII в., но и того образа Испании, который создавали русские, оказавшиеся в это время в пиренейской стране, и который внимательно изучали в Петербурге.

Ключевые слова: дипломатия, отношения России и Испании, XVIII в., российское посольство в Мадриде, Степан Зиновьев, Карл III, политика «просвещенных реформ».