

NAPOMENE

Skraćenice

ABM: Arhiva Borisa Mihailova

AVG/M: A. V. Golicin, „Memoari“

AVT/V: A. V. Trubeckoj, „Vospominanija“

BA: Bahmetevljeva arhiva

BP: E. A. Bakirov, ur., *Poligon Butovski*

DS: Dvorjanskoe sobranije

GARF: Državna arhiva Ruske Federacije

HIA: Arhive Huverovog Instituta

IDG: I. D. Golicina, Vospominanija o Rosiji

KhiG: Hozajeva i gosti

KNÄ: Naučna arhiva Kuskovo

KNG: K. N. Golicin, Vospominanija

MVG/M: M. V. Golicin, Mozaika iz moei zhizni

MVG/MV: M. V. Golicin, Moi vospominaniiia

NIOR RGB: Ruska državn biblioteka, Odeljenje za naučno istraživanje rukopisa

OGSh: O. G. Šeremetjeva, Dnevnik i vospominaniiia

OPR: L. Dolžanskaja i I. Osipova, Obrecheny po rozhdeniiu

OR RNB: Ruska nacionalna biblioteka, odeljenje za rukopise
PG: Alexandar Galicin, ur., *Kneginja Galicina*
RGADA: Ruski državni arhiv starih propisa
RGALI: Ruski državni arhiv književnosti i umetnosti
RGIA: Ruski državni istorijski arhiv
SH: M. I. Smirnov i A. M. Golicin, ur., *Šeremetjevi*
SVS: A. Aleksejeva i M. D. Kovaleva, ur., *Šeremetjevy v sud'be Rossii*
TAS: T. Aksakova-Sivers, Semeinaia khronika
TsGAMO: Centralni državni arhiv Moskovske oblasti
VMG/D: V. M. Golicin, *Dnevnik 1917–1918.*
WSHC: Istorijski centar Viltšir i Svindon
YP/D: E. Pisareva, „Dnevnik (1919–1920)“
YPS/V: E. P. Šeremetjeva, „Vospominaniiia detstva“
ZU: S. M. Golicin, *Zapiski utselevshego*
ZVG: V. M. Golicin, „Zapiski khudozhnika“

Prolog

1. OGSh, 78–80; ABM; DS 6 (1997): 208–13; Kovaleva, Staraja Moskva, 136–40; OR RNB, 585.4614, 4626, 4627, 4628; TAS, 321–22; RGADA, 1287.1.5062; OPR, 20–23; YPS/V, 51–52; odlomak iz memoara J. P. Šeremetjeve, objavljenih onlajn na adresi moskva.kotoroy.net/histories/31.html. Pristup 10. novembra 2008.
2. KNA, 27, 1–2; OR RNB, 585.4627, 28–28ob; Karnishina, „Vozvrashchais.“
3. Leggett, Cheka, 266–68; Shteinberg, Ekab Peters, 28, 255, 266–68; Patterson, „Moskva Chekists“; Peters, „Vospominiannia.“
4. Leggett, Cheka, 114.
5. OPR, 17.
6. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 134, 136, 146; Afanas'ev, ed., *Istoriia*, 2:523; Tatyana Shvetsova, „Beginning of Terror“, vefsajt

Glasa Rusije, www.ruvr.ru/main.php?lng=eng&q=2445&cid=125&p=08.12.2005, pristup 15. avgusta 2008. Videti takođe „Krasnyi terror (Beseda s Petersom),“ *Utro Moskvy*, November 4, 1918, 1.

7. Smith, *The Pearl*.
8. Naknadna pretraga je dala jedan rezultat: Pavel Džemeškevič, *Dvorjanstvo i revoliutsiiia* (Simferopol, 2004), kratka knjiga koja više toga govori kroz opis pokušaja potomaka plemstva da shvate prošlost, nego što baca svetlost ma istorijat plemstva za vreme revolucije.
9. Leggett, *Cheka*, xxxii.
10. *Survival*, 358–60.
11. Marchenko, *Byt*, 268–69.
12. Bashkiroff, *Sickle*, 78–97.
13. Coles and Urusova, *Letters*, 10, 300, 310, 341–44, 376–85.
14. Doyle, *Aristocracy*, 280, 288–90.
15. *Ibid.*, 309.
16. *Ibid.*, 289–90.
17. Videti PG, naročito str. viii–ix.
18. Doyle, *Aristocracy*, 311–40; Raeff, „Rusijan Nobility“, 115; Becker, *Nobility*, 178.
19. Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat*, 10, 58, 188–89.
20. *Ibid.*, 190–91.
21. Bertaux, ed., *On Living Through*, 1–22; Figes, *The Whisperers*.
22. Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat*, 189.
22. *Ibid.*, 180, 188–89.
23. Među takvim delima, od naročite važnost za ovu knjigu bili su mnogobrojno tomovi iz serijala *Khoziaeva i gosti*, objavljeni spisi sa godišnjeg okupljanja Golicina na nekadašnjem imanju Golicina Bolšije Vjazjom.
24. YPS/V, 51–52; ABM; OGSh, 78–80.
25. YPS/V, 79; ABM; OGSh, 79.
26. OR RNB, 585.4626, 13, 16, 21–21ob; 4627, 4, 13, 19; 4268, 4, 9, 13, 19; 4614, 2–3.

1: Rusija, 1900.

1. Rogger, *Russia*, 102–107, 122; Nove, *Economic History*, 11–19; Falkus, *Industrialization*, 61–74.
2. Solov'ev, Kruzhok, 3; McMeekin, *History's Greatest Heist*, xvi–xxii.
3. Rogger, *Russia*, 117–21, 127; Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 35; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 88.
4. Rogger, *Russia*, 124–27.
5. Videti Rogger, *Russia*, poglavje 2.
6. Videti Kolchin, *Unfree Labor*.
7. Rogger, *Russia*, 3–8, 10.
8. Ibid., 52–53; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 363–69.
9. Rogger, *Russia*, 16.
10. Ibid., 11.
11. *Once a Grand Duke*, 168–69, 175–76, 186, 223–25, 283.
12. Rogger, *Russia*, 18; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 369.
13. *Once a Grand Duke*, 223, 283.
14. Rogger, *Russia*, 20–22, 37–38.
15. Ibid., 2, 51–55, 59–61, 156–68; Emmons, „Russian Nobility“, 180–83; Raeff, „Russian Nobility“, 116–17; Hamburg, *Politics*.
16. Korelin, *Dvorianstvo*, 42–44, 292–303; Bibin, *Dvorianstvo*, 4; Wirtschafter, *Social Identity*, 21–37. Za opštiju sliku, videti: Becker, *Nobility*; Grenzer, *Adel*; Hamburg, *Politics*; Manning, *Crisis*.
17. Korelin, *Dvorianstvo*, 22.
18. Emmons, „Rusijan Nobility“, 179.
19. Lieven, „Elites“, 227–29, 232–33.
20. Skipworth, *Sofka*, 12–15; Zinovieff, *Red Princess*, 42.
21. Rogger, *Russia*, 88–89; Korelin, *Dvorianstvo*, 123.
21. *Višnjik*, 2. čin, kod Čehova, Četiri komada.
22. Rogger, *Russia*, 89–94. Videti takođe: Grenzer, *Adel*, naročito str. 5–6, 99, 209; Becker, *Nobility*, 172–77; Hamburg, *Politics*, 238–39; Lieven, *Aristocracy*, 52–54. Za negativniji

- pogled na stanje u plemstvu, videti Manning, *Crisis*. O plemićima zemljoposedncima, videti takođe: Osipova, *Klassovaia bor'ba*, 30–31.
23. Grenzer, *Adel*, 211–12; Lieven, *Aristocracy*, 49–54, 115–16, 133; idem, „Elites“, 241–44; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 213.
 24. Rogger, *Russia*, 48; Haimson, *Politics*, vii–viii.
 25. Broj porodica: Haimson, *Politics*, vii. Drugi izvori navode oko sto hiljada imanja sa nastanjениm plemićima 1905. godine. Videti: Barinova, *Vlast'*, 40.
 26. Gill, *Peasants*, 2–3, 8, 16–17; Rogger, *Russia*, 71–73, 76, 79; Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 51, 105.
 27. Roger, *Russia*, 71–72, 76–78, 86, 117–18; Robinson, *Rural Russia*, 64–116. Videti takođe: Tian-Shanskaia, *Village Life*; Worobec, *Peasant Rusija*.
 28. Heretz, *Russia on the Eve*, naročito 6. poglavlje.
 29. „Memoirs of Princess Barbara Dolgoruky“, HIA, 61. Videti takođe: Obolensky, *Bread*, 68.
 30. *Russian Sketches*, 177–79.
 31. Rogger, *Russia*, 109–11.
 32. Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, ur., *In the Shadow*, 169, 243–51.
 33. Videti: Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 103–34.
 34. *Speak*, 30.
 35. Ibid., 155.
 36. Ibid., 30–31, 45–46.
 37. Videti: Shtrange, *Russkoe obshchestvo*.
 38. Madariaga, *Russia*, 241–55; Alexander, *Emperor*.
 39. McConnell, *Russian Philosophie*; Lang, *First Russian Radical*.
 40. Raeff, *Origins*; Barinova, *Vlast'*, 129.
 41. Rappaport, *Conspirator*, 35.
 42. Pomper, *Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia*, 31–58.
 43. Sablin, *Sabliny*, 28–38, 152–53.
 44. Pipes, *Unknown Lenin*, 19; Rappaport, *Conspirator*, 11–15, 111, 198, 212, 247; Pomper, *Lenin's Brother*.
 45. Bagázh, 84, 85–87.

2: Šeremetjevi

1. Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauz-Efron, vol. 78, „Sheremetev, Fedor Ivanovich“; SH, 1:7–8, 25–26, 37–38.
2. Smith, *The Pearl*.
3. Shchepetov, *Krepostnoe pravo*, 20–21, 26; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 50, 413.
4. Fedorchenko, *Svita*, 2:418–19; SH, 2:140; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 415–16; Obolensky, „Semeinye zapiski“, 174 (1989): 238–39; ABM.
5. Fedorchenko, *Svita*, 2:418–19; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 416–17; ABM.
6. YPS/V, 3; Grabbe, *Windows*, 60–61; Obolensky, „Semeinye zapiski“, 174 (1989): 238–39; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 422; ABM; Iusupov, *Memuary* (1998), 90.
7. SVS, 200–01; ABM; Fedorchenko, *Svita*, 2:426–27; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 193; SH, 2:134–35, 138–39.
8. Kovaleva, *Staraya Moskva*, 76, 179–96; ABM; Fedorchenko, *Svita*, 2:426–27; SVS, 279.
9. Kovaleva, *Staraya Moskva*, 102, 109–14, 129–30; YPS/V, 36; „V. P. Sheremetev v Ostaf'eve“, brošura umetničke izložbe 1990. 10. SVS, 204, 311n.; ABM.
10. „Sheremetev, gr. Sergej Dmitrievich“, u *Chernaia sotnia*; SVS, 200; Kovaleva, *Staraya Moskva*, 4, 168–73.
11. Witte, *Memoirs*, 338, 499n., 679.
12. Kovaleva, *Staraya Moskva*, 70–75, 130–33; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 221; TAS, 65–66; SVS, 209, 227–42.
13. Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 203–05.
14. SVS, 324; Zhuravina, *Dvorianskoe gnezdo*, 141, 152, 173–76; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 344–47; SH, 2:144; Nikolaj II, *Dnevnik*, 12–23.
15. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 349; SH, 2:144–45.
16. SH, 2:148–49; ABM; „Nekrolog“, *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 5. jun, 1914; YPS/V, 34–35.

17. YPS/V, 36.
18. Ibid., 15.
19. Skipworth, *Sofka*, 28.
20. Krasko, „Graf“; ABM; KhiG 1, pt. 1 (1997): 116; Kovaleva, *Staraya Moskva*, 98–100; Karnishina, „Zhizn“.
21. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 365.
22. RGIA, 1088.2.312, 74ob–76; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 364–65.
23. P. Sheremetev, *Zametki*, 9, 37, 40, 53–53, 55, 57, 60–67, 99–100, 109.
24. Iu. B. Solov’ev, *Samoderzhavie*, 18.
25. Ibid., 19; Solov’ev, *Kruzhok*, 31, 40–41, 89, 137–38, 178–79, 210–11, 226–31; V. Obolenskii, *Moia zhizn’*, 177–81, 237, 261–62; Emmons, „Beseda Circle“; Polunov, *Russia*, 208–09; MVG/MV, 262–63, 272–74, 288.
26. Pares, *Memoirs*, 86.
27. ABM.
28. Ibid.
29. TAS, 78–80.
30. Ibid., 78–80; ABM; NIOR RGB, 340.6a.32; SVS, 279; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 384.
31. SVS, 300–01.
32. Ibid., 302–05; RGIA, 1088.2.627, 8ob.
33. SVS, 287; ABM.
34. SVS, 279–80; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 384; TAS, 78–80; Lieven, *Russia’s Rulers*, 9, 14–15, 118–19.
35. ABM; SH, 2:151.
36. ABM.
27. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 404–405; ABM; SH, 2:151–52.

3: Golicini

1. PG, viii–x; KNG, 7–8.
2. PG, 31–56; MVG/M, 43.
3. „Moskva i ee zhiteli“, 10 (1991): 23, i 11:25–28; ZVG, 4:78; Prishvin, *Dnevniki*, 1930–31, 23–24.

4. „Moskva i ee zhiteli“, 10 (1991): 18–23; PG, 393.
5. PG, 393.
6. KhiG 4, pt. 1 (1997): 70.
7. KhiG 8, pt. 2 (2002): 171.
8. KhiG 4, pt. 1 (1997): 67–69; KhiG 5 (1998): 113–14.
9. KhiG 5 (1998): 116.
10. KhiG 4, pt. 1 (1997): 57–67; PG, 393–94.
11. ZU, 23–27; S. N. Golicina, „Iz vospominaniia“, 4:26–29; KhiG 6 (1999): 198.
12. PG, 422–31; KNG, 25–28.
13. MVG/MV, 31, 90–93; KhiG 6 (1999): 191–99.
14. MVG/MV, 196, 199, 262–63, 272–74, 288.
15. MVG/MV, 5–7, 86, 292–94, 321, 329, 338, 340–44; ZU, 63–64, 89; Raevskii, *Piat' vekov*, 53.
16. ZU, 15; KhiG 9 (2002): 109–10; KhiG 11, pt. 1 (2004): 134–35; PG, 431; V. V. Golicin, „Letter“.
17. S. N. Golicina, „Iz vospominania“, 35. 18. PG, 402, 428; ZU, 14–15.
18. Videti: A. E. Trubetskoi, *Rossiia vosprianet*; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 151–52, 156–57.
19. V. S. Trubetskoi, „Zapiski kirasira“, u *Rossiia vosprianet*, 482, 487.
20. Trubetskoi, „Zapiski kirasira“, 498.
21. ZU, 91, 95–96, 102–103.
22. Ibid., 75–76.
23. Ibid., 66–74, 87–88; Raevskii, *Piat' vekov*, 120.
24. ZU, 115–16; MVG/MV, 39.
25. KhiG 6 (1999): 191–99.

4: Poslednji ples

1. King, *Court*, 414–18; Vyrubova, *Memories*, 8.
2. SH, 2:141; Alexander Mihailovich, *Once*, 211.
3. Rogger, *Russia*, 33, 94–95, 107, 114; Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 224; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 378–79.

4. Rogger, *Russia*, 177–80.
5. Ibid., 208–15; Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 270–303.
6. Once, 189, 223. Videti takođe *Moia russkaia zhizn'*, 144–45; Elizaveta Isaakova, „A Testimony“, BA, 58–59; Wassiltsc-hikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 120.
7. Seed, 163–74. Za nasilje nad Jevrejima pogledati: Klier and Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms*.
8. MVG/MV, 357–71.
9. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 203.
10. SVS, 201–202, 216–17.
11. P. S. Sheremetyev, *Zametki*, 111; Nikolaj II, *Dnevnik*, 205; Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 98–100; Iu. B. Solov'ev, *Samo-derzhavie*, 162, 171; G. A. Hosking and R. T. Manning, „What Was the United Nobility?“, u *Politics*, ed. Haimson 144–47; V. Levitskii, „Pravyia partii“, u *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie*, ed. Martov, 366–69; s.v. „Soiuz russkikh liudei“, u *Chernaia sotnia comp. Stepanov*; Gurko, *Features*, 386; Rawson, „Union“; „Soiuz russkikh liudei“, u [www.hrono.info/organ/rossiya\\$/soyuz_ru_ludey.html](http://www.hrono.info/organ/rossiya$/soyuz_ru_ludey.html), pristup 1. aprila 2009; Kireev, *Dnevnik*, 66–67.
12. Rogger, *Russia*, 23–24, 95; Emmons, „Russian Nobility“, 177–78, 210–11; za reakciu plemstva videti: Haimson, ed., *Politics*.
13. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 1–4.
14. Ibid., 93–100, 104; Baboreko, Bunin, 95–99; Bunin, *Cursed Days*, 5.
15. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 180. Odnedavno naučna zajed-nica podržava Bunjinovu procenu. Videti: Lieven, *Aristo-cracy*, 224–27.
16. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 6–7.
17. Bunin, *Collected Stories*, 18–73.
18. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 101; i videti: Woodward, „The Decline of the Peasantry and Landed Gentry“, kod Ivana Bunjina.

19. Figes, *Peasant Russia*, 18–19; i videti: Barinova, *Vlast'*.
20. Rogger, *Russia*, 95.
21. Nepoznati autor, „An Appreciation“, 6.
22. Geifman, *Thou Shalt*, 18–21, 112, 138.
23. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 232–33.
24. Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 205–206, 271.
25. Geifman, *Thou Shalt*, 50, 55.
26. Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 347–48.
27. Billington, *Icon*, 500–14; Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 385–88.
28. Zubov, *Stradnye gody*, 7.
29. Meiendorff, *Through Terror*, 26.
30. Gagarin, *Reminiscences*, 114–16; videti takođe: M. Buchanan, *Dissolution*, 72–73; M. Gagarine, *From Stolnoy*, 32–36.
31. *Once*, 254.
32. Rogger, *Russia*, 255–56; Lincoln, *Passage*, 41–50; Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Grinding Mill*, 17.
33. Rogger, *Russia*, 256.
34. B. A. Tatishchev, „Na rubezhe dvukh mirov“, Aleksei B. Tatishchev Collection, HIA, 199.
35. KhiG 8, pt. 2 (2002): 167–68.
36. Rappaport, *Conspirator*, 259–60; Rogger, *Russia*, 255–56.
37. Schapiro, *Communist Party*, 153, 184.
38. Tačan broj se nikada neće saznati. Videti raspravu u: Mawdsley, *Russian Civil War*, 285–87.
39. Lincoln, *Passage*, 89, 145, 255–56; S. Volkov, *Tragediia*, 8.
40. Rogger, *Russia*, 257.
41. V. S. Trubetskoi, *Russian Prince*, xi–xii; idem, *Zapiski krasira*; Smirnova, „...pod pokrov“, 250.
42. ZU, 106–107, 126–28; AVG/M, 40–41; KhiG 4, pt. 3 (1997): 78–85.
43. RGADA, 1287.1.5955, 174–80; SH, 2:139; RGIA, 1088.2.627, 7–10; Karnishina, „Blagotvoritel'naia deiatel'nost.“

44. YPS/V, 39–41.
45. Kleinmichel, *Memories*, 217–18; Almedingen, *Tomorrow*, 89; i videti: M. Gagarin, *From Stolnoy*; M. Gagarin, *Reminiscences*; Carlow, „Memoirs“, 22–23.
46. Nabokov, *Speak*, 47.
47. Lincoln, *Passage*, 11, 56, 61, 90–91, 103–104; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 392; Rogger, *Russia*, 257–58.
48. Lincoln, *Passage*, 93, 94, 107–10, 147.
49. *Ibid.*, 175.
50. D. S. Sheremetev, *Iz vospominanii*; Nikolaj II, *Complete*; Fedorchenko, *Svita*, 2:421; ABM.
51. Lincoln, *Passage*, 194; Rogger, *Russia*, 264–65; Fuller, *Foe*; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 206; SVS, 201–202, 217.
52. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 350–51; „V ianvare i fevrale 1917 g.“, 114; Blok, „Poslednye dni“, 18; i videti: Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 202; Nabokov, *Speak*, 186–88.
53. Barinova, *Vlast'*, 140–41; Aleksandar Mihailovich, *Once*, 196–97.
54. Fuller, *Foe*, 262.
55. Podbolotov, „Monarchists“.
56. Kir'ianov, *Pravye partii*, 99, 409–10; i videti: Bibin, *Dvorianstvo*, 220, 263–66.
57. Cockfield, *White Crow*, ix–x.
58. *Grinding Mill*, 167, 193–94.
59. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 229; Bunin, *Cursed Days*, 40–41.
60. Lincoln, *Passage*, 215–27.
61. Bashkiroff, *Sickle*, 27.
62. *Grinding Mill*, 193–94; i videti Paléologue, *Ambassador's Memoirs*, 3:164.
63. O Raspućinu, Varlamov, *Grigorii Rasputin-Novyi*.
64. Lincoln, *Passage*, 311.
65. KNA, 16.1916, 1–2.
66. Pokrovskii, ed., „Politicheskoe polozhenie“, 4, 6, 11.

5: Pad Romanovih

1. Lincoln, *Passage*, 321–23; Rogger, *Russia*, 266–67.
2. Lincoln, *Passage*, 323–25; Rogger, *Russia*, 266–67; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 274–75.
3. Lincoln, *Passage*, 327–31; Rogger, *Russia*, 266–67; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 311–20.
4. Pojedinosti su preuzete iz: RGIA, 1088.2.492, 1–3; 1088.2.307, 34–34ob, 97–98ob; 1088.2.537; RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 24–35; ABM; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 376–77.
5. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 31ob.
6. Ibid., 32–33.
7. ABM.
8. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 280.
9. Lincoln, *Passage*, 331–33; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 279–81; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 320–21.
10. Lincoln, *Passage*, 334–36; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 286–87; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 323–27.
11. Lincoln, *Passage*, 334–36; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 323–31; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 441–43.
12. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 334–35; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 320–23.
13. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 33–34.
14. Ibid., 34–35; YPS/V, 47–48.
15. YPS/V, 47–48.
16. RGADA, 1287.1.iv.5137, *Materialy I-II*, 1917; ABM. Po porodičnom predanju, Nikolaj je posle abdikacije pozvao Dmitrija da mu pravi društvo u Tobolsku, ali ovome je žena odbila da dozvoli da podje, jer je znala da to znači sigurnu smrt. Nema tadašnjih izvora koji bi potvrdili tu priču, kao što nema ni dokaza da su se njih dvojica ponovo videli posle Dmitrijevog odlaska iz štaba.
17. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 39; YPS/V, 47–48.
18. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 385–86; ABM; SH, 2:151.

19. Priče ljudi koji su preživeli Februarsku revoluciju u Petrogradu razotkrivaju ovu tvrdnju kao laž. Videti, na primer: Arbenina (Meendorff), *Through Terror*, 39–40; Elizaveta Issakova, „A Testimony“, BA; Paley, *Memories*, 76–77; Poutiatine, *War*, 51.
20. Grabbe, *Windows*, 131–35; Francis, *Russia*, 62–65. Videti takođe: Elizaveta Issakova, „A Testimony“, BA, 164–65; Robien, *Diary*, 17; M. Buchanan, *Dissolution*, 171–72.
21. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 321; Čemberlin navodi broj od 1.315 u ruskoj revoluciji, 1:85. Videti takođe: Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 303–304.
22. Grabbe, *Windows*, 85; Pushkarev, *Vospominaniiia*, 52–53, 58; Glenny and Stone, eds., *Other Russia*, 55; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 93; Vasil'chikov, „Petrograd, 1918“, 128.
23. Figes and Kolonitskii, *Interpreting*, 167–86; Kolonitskii, „Anti-Bourgeois Propaganda“; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 31–33; Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 3–5.
24. Steinberg, *Voices*, 9, 13, 17–19; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 308.
25. Grabbe, *Windows*, 135. Iz Grbeove knjige nije jasno o kojoj se tačno grofici Šeremetjev radi.
25. Ignatieff, *Russian Album*, 115.
26. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 84, 143–46; Rendle, „Symbolic Revolution“; Bashkiroff, *Sickle*, 29–31; Fen, *Remember*, 63.
27. Count E. P. Bennigsen, „Zapiski“, BA, 488–89.
28. Mohrenschildt, *Russian Revolution*, 104. Za sličnu priču, videti kod Puriškevića, *Dnevnik*, umetak između str. 64–65.
29. Kleinmichel, *Memories*, 225–38, 258–59; Robien, *Diary*, 19, 54–56, 66–67.
30. Kleinmichel, *Memories*, 70–71; Volkov, *Tragediia*, 11; Wrangel, *Always*, 16; Robien, *Diary*, 55–56; Fel'shtinskii and Cherniavskii, „Krasnyi terror“, 9:10–12.
31. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 307–17; Lincoln, *Passage*, 337–45.
32. Lincoln, *Passage*, 344; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 344–49.

33. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 206.
34. Cantacuzène, *Revolutionary Days*, 159, 175–76; Arbenina, *Through Terror*, 42; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 322.
35. Rendle, *Defenders*, 52.
36. Dolgorukov, *Velikaia razrukha*, 11, 15; Tarasov-Rodionov, *February*, 92; Poutiatine, *War*, 60; Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Grinding Mill*, 203–204; Coles and Urusova, *Letters*, 270; Paléologue, *Ambassador's Memoirs*, 3:232, 259; Rendle, „Symbolic Revolution“.
37. IDG, 57.
38. Issakova, „A Testimony“, BA, 164.
39. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 262; RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 39–40.
40. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 41.
41. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 38.
42. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 261–62.
43. RGADA, 1287.1.510, 254–55ob.
44. Ibid., 260–63.
45. Ibid., 260–69ob.
46. RGADA, 1287.1.I.1943, 31–32; 1287.1.5062, 39, 52; YPS/V, 48; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 263, 352, 356.
47. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 44–45.
48. Paléologue, *Ambassador's Memoirs*, 3:258, 337; Cockfield, *White Crow*, 213–15; Perry and Pleshakov, *Flight*, 148, 154–55, 165–66, 207–209.
49. Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, 1:85; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 345–48; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 330–31.
50. Perelomy, 39–40. Videti, za sličnu reakciju, Rodzianko, *Tattered Banners*, 224.
51. Marie Kastchenko, „A World Destroyed“, HIA, 128–29.
52. Menzies, „Certain Vision“, 50.
53. *Russian Sketches*, 183–84.
54. ZU, 135–38.
55. MVG/MV, 562–66.
56. KhiG 1 (1996): 143.

57. ZU, 139.
58. AVG/M, 36–39, 42–44.
59. ZU, 15, 142–44; KhiG 1 (1996): 143; MVG/MV, 571–72.
60. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 50, 55.
61. RGADA, 1287.1.5966, 6; 1287.1.6083, 75–76ob.
62. RGADA, 1287.1.6108, 46–46ob; 1287.1.5966, 6.
63. RGADA, 1287.1.6135, 1–3; 1287.1.6115, 28–29.
64. *Ambassador's Memoirs*, 3:256, 281, 339.
65. Ibid., 3:227–29.
66. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 59; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 421–22.
67. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 421.
68. Barinova, *Vlast'*, 304–306; Rendle, *Defenders*, 1–3, 52–53, 186; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 262–63.
69. OR RNB, 585.4626, 13.
70. RGADA, 1287.1.1555, 160–61ob; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 253, 263.
71. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 64.

6: Zemlja buntovnih robova

1. Lincoln, *Passage*, 361–65; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 392–94; Schapiro, *Communist Party*, 162–66.
2. Lincoln, *Passage*, 368. O Lvovu, Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 355–56; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 300–01.
3. Kerensky, citirak kod Linkolna, *Passage*, 371.
4. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 379–80.
5. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 34–37, 45–49, 86–88.
6. *Novoe vremia*, 14736, str. 3.
7. *Den'*, br. 11, p. 4.
8. *Novoe vremia*, br. 14744, 14751, 14752, 14753, 14758, 14764; videti i: Igritskii, „Bor'ba“, 85–97.
9. *Novoe vremia*, br. 14767, str. 4–5; i *May* 4/17, br. 14768, str. 4; *May* 7/20, br. 14771, str. 4; *Den'*, 6. maj 1917, br. 52, str. 4; br. 53, 7. maj 1917, str. 3.

10. *Cursed Days*, 80.
11. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 130–33.
12. *Den'*, 25. jun 1917, br. 94, str. 5.
13. Ibid., 25. jul 1917, br. 118, str. 6; videti i: Figes, *Peasant Rusija*, 55.
14. Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 115.
15. TAS, 307.
16. *Perelomy*, 40–41.
17. O „slobodnim šetačima“ videti: *The Other Rusija*, 59–63; Igritskii, *1917 god*; „Mart-Mai 1917 g.“, 44; „Soiuz zemel'nykh sobstvennikov“, 97–121; Gill, *Peasants*, 163–64.
18. „A World Destroyed“, HIA, 129–33.
19. „Crossing the Field“, 90–92.
20. Baboreko, Bunin, 223–25; Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 238.
21. Marullo, *Ruasian Requiem*, 238.
22. Ibid., 246–47; Ustami Bunina, 163, 168.
23. ZU, 146.
24. Ibid., 146–47.
25. Ibid., 147–48; MVG/MV, 581–83.
26. *Revolutionary Days*, 213.
27. „Otryvki iz dnevnika, 1917–1920“, BA, 10–11.
28. Robien, *Diary*, 161.
29. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 264, 386; ABM; RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 68.
30. RGADA, 1287.1.510, 271–76, 279–82ob.
31. Obolensky, „Semeinye zapiski“, 175:177, 179.
32. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 76; 1287.1.3500, 87–90.
33. Ibid., 1287.1.2843, 71–72ob; 1287.1.1490, 44–44ob.
34. ABM; RGADA, 1287.1.I.3568; SH, 2:153–56.
35. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 422; ABM; SH, 2:140.
36. Carlow, „Memoirs“, 6; Aleksandrovskii, *Iz perezhitogo*, 103–104.
37. RGADA, 1287.1.5938, 68–68ob, 71, 75.
38. *Den'*, 14. april 1917, br. 33, str. 1.
39. Ibid., 17. maj 1917, br. 61, str. 4.

40. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 85–100.
41. *Den'*, 1. oktobar 1917, br. 178, str. 3.
42. *Pravda, vechernyi vypusk*, 24. decembar 1917, br. 33, str. 2.
43. RGADA, 1287.1.5960, 73–73ob.
44. *Ibid.*, 72; YPS/V, 48–49.
45. RGADA, 1287.1.5955, 183–83ob, 190–90ob, 195–95ob.
46. *Ibid.*, 193–94.
47. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 85–100, 111; 1287.1.3500, 1–3ob; 1287.1.2849, 175–76ob.
48. YPS/V, 48–54; SVS, 318.
49. *Reminiscences*, 1:166–67.
50. Browder and Kerensky, eds., *Russian Provisional Government*, 2:608–609; Rendle, *Defenders*, 84–114; Channon, „The Landowners“, u *Society*, ed. Service, 120–46.
51. Uporediti Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 419–38; Rabinowitch, *Bolsheviks*, 1–38; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 423–35.
52. SVS, 220–21.
53. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 68, 79–80.
54. Rendle, *Defenders*, 158–73.
55. VMG/D, 39–40, 50–51, 54–58, 84.
56. Rendle, *Defenders*, 173–80.
57. *Ibid.*, 180–86; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 439–67; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 445–57.
58. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 64–66; Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 299–314; Osipova, *Klassovaia bor'ba*, 226–28.
59. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 55–59.
60. Wassiltschkow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 332–33.
61. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 55–59.
62. *Den'*, 26. avgust 1917, br. 146, str. 4; 27. avgust 1917, br. 147.
63. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 112–13.
64. *Ibid.*, 1287.1.1980, 150–50ob.
65. Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 333; „K istorii provedeniiia v zhizn'“, 48–49; GARF, 5918.1.5, 122.
66. Osipova, *Klassovia bor'ba*, 227–28; *Zemlia i volia*, 28. avgust 1917, br. 128, str. 4; 12. oktobar 1917, br. 166, str. 2; *Den'*,

14. septembar 1917, br. 163, str. 5; 17. septembar 1919, br. 166, str. 5; *Den'* (pod specijalnim naslovom *Polnoch'*), 24. novembar 1917, br. 1, str. 5; Gill, *Peasants*, 142.
67. *Revolutionary Days*, 328.
68. *Den'*, 30. septembar 1917, br. 177, str. 3; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 462–63.
69. Ibid., 13. oktobar 1917, br. 188, str. 5.
70. Ibid., 18. oktobar 1917, br. 192, str. 2.
71. Ibid., (objavljeno kao *Noch*), 22. novembar 1917, br. 1, str. 6.
72. Figes, *Peasant Russia*, 21–22; Gill, *Peasants*, 157–58.
73. AVG/M, 44–45.
74. VMG/D, 71–72, 77, 89.
75. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 93–95, 149.

7: Boljševički puč

1. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 124–25.
2. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 456–58, 469–78; Rendle, *Defenders*, 199; Robert Service, „The Bolshevik Party“, u *Critical Companion*, 234–35.
3. Rendle, *Defenders*, 199; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 493–95.
4. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 481–95; Lincoln, *Passage*, 441–53.
5. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 136–38.
6. Lincoln, *Passage*, 468–70.
7. OGSh, 21.
8. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 136–38; OGSh, 20–24.
9. OGSh, 24–25.
10. Lincoln, *Passage*, 470–71; RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 139–42.
11. SVS, 245; Alekseeva, „Velikii“, 25–26.
12. VMG/D, 103–109.
13. AVG/M, 46–47.
14. Prilog II uz AVG/M: „Excerpts from the Diaries of Olga and Marina Golitzin and Olga's Poems“, 9.
15. Ibid., 5.
16. AVG/M, 48; PG, 432.

17. ZU, 148–51.
18. VMG/D, 112, 116, 120, 124–25, 133; ZU, 152–53.
19. ZU, 148–52.
20. Marie Kastchenko, „A World Destroyed“, HIA, 138–76.
21. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 102–28; videti takođe TAS, 309–12.
22. TAS, 115.
23. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 496–98; Lincoln, *Passage*, 457–58; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 489–91.
24. Lincoln, *Passage*, 458; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 492–97; Rabinowitch, *Bolsheviks*, 302–304.
25. Lincoln, *Passage*, 458–61; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 499.
26. Ryan, „Revolution“, 261.
27. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 509.
28. Ibid., 521–24.
29. Rendle, *Defenders*, 54; *Izvestia*, 12. mart 1917, br. 13, str. 4.
30. Dekrety, 1:41–42, 71, 132–37; Rendle, *Defenders*, 212.
31. OGSh, 19.
32. Lincoln, *Passage*, 462–63; Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 526–27.
33. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 527–28.
34. Golinkov, *Krakh*, 73.
35. Lincoln, *Passage*, 463–68.
36. OGSh, 27–28.
37. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 541–42.
38. OGSh, 27–28.
39. Pipes, *Russian Revolution*, 537–55; Lincoln, *Passage*, 475–79; Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 509–10.
40. Andrew and Gordievsky, *KGB*, 38–41; Lincoln, *Passage*, 474–75.
41. Nabokov, *Speak*, 2, 41–43.
42. „Zapiski M. S. Trubetskoi“, u zbirci A. B. Tatistcheff, kutija 4, HIA, 1.
43. VMG/D, 118–19, 121–22, 140, 161; AVG/M, 48–50, i Prilog IV, 15; KhiG 9 (2002): 156–62, 203–36; KhiG 7 (2000): 368–75.

44. AVG/M, 35, i Prilog II, 7, 9–10; Prilog IV, 2; ZU, 80–81, 243–44; VMG/D, 118–19, 121–22, 140, 161; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 155–56, 185; KhiG 10, deo 1 (2003):203–12.
45. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 159; 1287.1.5062, 156a.
46. Ibid., 1287.1.5062, 156a.
47. ABM.
48. MVG/M, 65.
49. RGADA, 1287.1.3500, 27–30ob.
50. OGSh, 28–31.
51. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 128.
52. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 172.
53. VMG/D, 116.

8: Eksproprijacija eksproprijatora

1. Mawdsley, *Civil War*, v, 399. Na osnovu radova različitih stručnjaka, Modslji procenjuje između sedam i deset miliona mrtvih kao posledicu borbi. Za više toga o broju mrtvih, videti: Raleigh, „Rusijan Civil War“, 166. Istorici se ne slažu oko dana kada je započeo građanski rat, ali ova knjiga prati argument koji su izneli Modslji i drugi, da je on započeo boljševičkim pućem, a ne, kao što neki tvrde, sledećeg leta.
2. Mawdsley, *Civil War*, 268–98.
3. Ibid., 4–5.
4. Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 464.
5. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 23.
6. Dekrety, 6:124; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 9, 14, 56, 76; Rendle, *Defenders*, 203–204.
7. Nabokov, *Bagazh*, 111.
8. Navedeno u: Ryan, „Revolution“, 270–71.
9. Trifonov, *Likvidatsiya*, 162.
10. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie*, 34:287–339; 35:156–58.
11. Ibid., 34:195–205.
12. Schapiro, *Communist Party*, 210.

13. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 73; Applebaum, *Gulag*, 28–29.
14. Zinovieff, *Princess Remembers*, 122–25.
15. Wolksinsky, *Way*, 120–23. Videti takođe: Robien, *Diary*, 218; WSHC, 1720/1130, *Prince Nikolai Galitzine*, 6–7.
16. Ivanov, *Byvshie liudi*, 70; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 57.
17. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 727.
18. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 57.
19. Fel'shtinskii, *Krasnyi terror*, 108–10; Fel'shtinskii and Chernavskii, „*Krasnyi terror*“, 8:14–15; 9:27.
20. Preston, *Before the Curtain*, 92–94.
21. McMeekin, *History's Greatest Heist*, 6–7, 91.
22. Osipova, *Klassovaia bor'ba*, 269; Figes, *Peasant Rusija*, 296–97.
23. Figes, *Peasant Russia*, 133–34.
24. Igritskii, *1917 god*, 259–69; Gill, *Peasants*, 154.
25. „*K istorii provedeniiia v zhizn'*“, 48–52.
26. McMeekin, *History's Great Heist*, 12–13, 17, 24–25, 35–36, 45, 73–91.
27. Trifonov, *Likvidatsiia*, 117.
28. Dolgorukov, *Velikaia razrukha*, 96; OGSh, 41–42.
29. O konsolidaciji i njenom učinku, videti: Bertaux, „*Transmission*“, i Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*, 138–40; Zubov, *Stradnye gody*, 80–97; Glenny and Stone, eds., *Other Russia*, 122–24; Shapovalov, *Remembering*, 131–32; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 132–34; Reed, *Ten Days*, 354; Kovalevskii, *Dnevniki*, 51–68.
30. Steinberg and Riasanovsky, *History*, 460–66; Raleigh, „*Russian Civil War*“, 157–63; Trifonov, *Likvidatsiia*, 107–108; *Dekrety*, 1:240, 230, 236, 390; 2:136–37.
31. Trifonov, *Likvidatsiia*, 103–105; McMeekin, *History's Greatest Heist*, 12–13, 17, 24–25, 35–36, 45, 73–91.
32. Skariatina, *World*, 229–32. Videti takođe: M. F. Meiendorff, *Vospominaniia*, 242–43; Meshcherskaya, *Russian Princess*, 11–14.

33. Tatischchev, *Zemli*, 265, 269–70; I. Vasil’chikov, *To, chto mne*, 144; Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 335; Robien, *Diary*, 104.
34. McMeekin, *History’s Greatest Heist*, 17–21, 46–48, 56–71.
35. IDG, 71–72.
36. GARF, R-5446.5a.737, 2–3; Iusupov, *Memuary*, 1998, 235; Von Meck, *As I*, 179; *Iusupovskii dvorets*, 2:383–84; Clarke, *Lost Fortune*, 106–107, 158–61.
37. Tolstoy, *I Worked*, 56, 149–50; Tatistscheff, „Crossing the Field“, 148–50; Zinovieff, *Princess*, 122–25; Horsbrugh-Peter, *Memories*, 101. Videti takođe: Urusova, *Materinskii plach*, 29; M. F. Meiendorff, *Vospominaniia*, 220; KNG, 155–56; Clarke, *Lost Fortune*, 106–108, 157–61; Williams, *Olga’s Story*, 206; Meshcherskaya, *Russian Princess*, 70, 82–83; Shcherbatova, „*Dnevnik*“, 70.
38. Nabokov, *Speak*, 187–88, 244–46.
39. Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 345.
40. Welch, *Russian Court*, 133.
41. Von Meck, *As I*, 174–76.
42. Nabokov, *Speak*, 183.
43. Meiendorff, *Through Terror*, 96, 102, 132.
44. Babine, *Civil War*, 75.
45. Skriabina, *Strannitsy*, 79.
46. Trifonov, *Likvidatsiia*, 164; Ivanov, *Byvshie liudi*, 70–71; McMeekin, *History’s Greatest Heist*, 49; Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 168, 180–82; Von Meck, *As I*, 161–62. Videti takođe: Gipius, „*Iz nebytiia*“, 90–91; Babine, *Civil War*, 47, 78; E. F. Rodzianko, *Perelomy*, 74–75; Welch, *Russian Court*, 134–35.
47. BP, 4:18.
48. Brovkin, *Behind*, 119–26; OPR, 40; Leggett, *Cheka*, 147–51.
49. Brovkin, *Behind*, 74–75.
50. Videti, na primer, Kovalevskii, *Dnevnikii*, 20.

51. Paley, *Memories*, 126, 264; M. Buchanan, *Dissolution*, 265–66.
52. McMeekin, *History's Greatest Heist*, 39.
53. Ibid., 56–71.
54. Coles and Urusova, *Letters*, 326–33.
55. M. Buchanan, *City*, 217–18.
56. Figes and Kolonitskii, *Interpreting*, 186.
57. Robien, *Diary*, 186, 190, 218.

9: Kuća na uglu

1. OGSh, 33–39; RGADA, 1287.1.3500, 54–59ob, 64–68ob.
2. OR RNB, 585.4627, 3–4, 13, 23; RGADA, 1287.1.3759, 75–75ob.; Kraskov, *Tri veka*, 269–79; RGADA, 1287.1.3759, 84; autorov intervju sa Jevdokijom Šeremetjev, 19. mart 2009.
3. KNA, 145, 15; 146, 1–3; 148, 1; Zhukov, *Sokhrannye revoliutsiei*, 60, 82–83, 92–93, 172–74; idem, *Stanovlenie*, 165; Konchin, *Revoliutsiei prizvannyе*, 88.
4. ABM.
5. Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 139–40; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 378; OR RNB, 585.4363; ABM; YPS/V, 53; SH, 2:147.
6. Krasko, „Graf“, 467; idem, „Ob odnom“, 93–94; OR RNB, 585.6085, 3–3ob; SH, 2:147.
7. Kiriushina, „Stranitsy“, 184–85; GARF, 2307.8.5, 3; Alekseeva, „Velikii“, 25–26; Krasko, „Graf“, 467; Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 392–93; RGALI, 612.1.2853, 188, 190–92.
8. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 156–59.
9. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 67–68.
10. OGSh, 75–76.
11. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 159–61; Anichkov, *Ekaterinburg*, 155.
12. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 510.
13. Volkov-Muromtsev, *Iunost'*, 172.
14. ABM.

15. OR RNB, 585.4614, 2–3.
16. ABM; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 267–68; OGSh, 80; YPS/V, 53; RGADA, 1287.1.5919, 24–25; Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 34–35, 139.
17. ABM.
18. YPS/V, 54.
19. Ibid., 51, 54–55.
20. Ibid., 54–55; Meiendorff, *Through Terror*, 48, 132–33; RGA-DA, 1287.1.3431, 16–18.
21. YPS/V, 54–55.
22. OR RNB, 585.4628, 11ob.
23. Za primere smelih bekstava, videti: Korostowetz, *Seed*, 357–79; Paley, *Memories*, 272–73, 302–309; Wolkonsky, *Way*, 144; Belosselsky-Belozerky, *Memoirs*, 65–69; Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow*, 135–39; Vyrubova, *Memories*, 376–81; Polovtsov, *Glory*, 336–44; Glenny and Stone, *Other Russia*, 120–21; Isaakova, „Testimony“, BA, 237; Rodzianko, *Perelomy*, 79–80; Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 214–56, 265–70, 290; TAS, 326–28; Wolkonsky, „Diary“, 65–66; Ponafidine, *Russia*, 231–301.
24. Meshcherskaya, *Russian Princess*, 9–10.
25. Almedingen, *Tomorrow*, 124.
26. Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*, 18–19, 36.
27. Almedingen, *Tomorrow*, 147. Videti takođe: Robien, *Diary*, 233, 268; Pethybridge, *Spread*, 170–75.
28. Coles and Urusova, *Letters*, 289.
29. OGSh, 75–76. See also 33–35, 48–51, 56–57, 62–63, 73; RGADA, 1287.1.3500, 60–63ob.
30. Bunin, *Cursed Days*, 57.
31. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 175, 179; Coles and Urusova, *Letters*, 360–62.
32. OGSh, 33–35, 58–59, 73.
33. Sayn-Wittgenstein, *Dnevnik*, 175, 179; Kokovtsov, *Iz mogego*, 2:428; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 99.

34. MVG/M, 65; TAS, 322.
35. YPS/V, 53; ABM; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 383, 393, 403; SH, 2:148, 150.
36. SH, 3:391–92, 398.
37. RGADA, 1287.1.5062, 81–82; ABM.
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39. ABM; Reswick, *I Dreamt*, 112, 160–61. O pitomim komunistima, KNG, 219, 232–33.
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10: Pakao u banji

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10. Savel'eva, *Kavkazskie Mineral'nye Vody*, 124, 135–36, 244–45; Tatistcheff, „Crossing the Field“, 204, 209–12; Serge, *Year One*, 214–15, 394–95n.8 i 20, 399n.48; Buldakov, „Revoliutsiia, naselie“; *Kriven'kii, Politicheskie deiateli*; GАRF, 5819.1.4, 3ob–5; Amfiteatrov-Kadashev, „Stranitsy“, 559–60; Acton, ed., *Critical Companion*, 223, 225, 749.
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17. Fel'shtinskii and Cherniavskii, „Krasnyi terror“, 7:21–24; Akt.
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19. L'vova and Bochkareva, *Rod L'vovykh*, 140–47, 257; GАRF, 5819.1.125, 126–27.
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11: Bogorodick

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4. Ibid., 272.
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20. Ibid., 179–91; RGADA, 1287.3.90, 32–32ob; 1287.3.91, 1; 1287.3.107, 35–38ob; KNG, 123–24.
21. ZU, 193–94; KhiG 4, pt. 1 (1997): 70–71; Muratov, *Rod*, 97.
22. RGADA, 1287.3.100, 225–25ob.
23. KNG, 129–30.
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25. RGADA, 1263.3.97, 8–8ob, 34–35.
26. Almedingen, *Tomorrow*, 230; S. E. Trubetskoi, *Minuvshee*, 160, 181–83. Videti takođe: Kovalevskii, *Dnevniki*, 25–27, 44; Meiendorff, *Through Terror*, 96, 102, 132; Britneva, *One Woman's Story*, 87–88; ZVG, 4:87; IDG, 69–70, 85; Alekseev, *Usad'ba andreevskoe*, 59–61; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 142–44.
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28. „Zapiski kn. M. S. Trubetskoi“, u Zbirci A. B. Tatishchev, kutija 4, HIA, 28.
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30. RGADA, 1263.3.99, 42–43ob.
31. Ibid., l. 57–58ob.
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39. Kantor, *Voina; Butson, Tsar's Lieutenant.*
40. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, naročito str. 549–50, 644–45, 696–99; Kovalevskii, *Istoriia*. Brusilov je bio ubeđen da je njegov sin pogubljen, premda je moguće da je umro od tifusa.
41. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 696n.
42. ZU, 221–24; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xiii; RGADA, 1263.3.95, 36–37; AVT/V, 1:3.
43. KNG, 132–33, 358; ZU, 121–23, 154–55, 221–24, 229–40; RGADA, 1263.3.107, 35–38ob; 1263.3.104, 25–26ob.
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47. Ibid., 1263.3.95, 41–42ob; 1263.3.104, 109.
48. Ibid., 41–42ob.

12: Doktor Golicin

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6. AVG/M, 22–26.
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12. Figes, *People's Tragedy*, 650–51.
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16. Ibid., 260–61; Steinberg and Khrustalëv, *Fall*, 301, 322–23; Preston, *Before the Curtain*, 106–107.
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19. King and Wilson, *Fate*, 218–21, 336–37, 504; Cockfield, *White Crow*, 243–45; Nikolai Mihailovich, „Pis’mo“, 87.
20. OGSh, 56–59, 61; AVG/M, 75–76.
21. ZU, 173.
22. VMG/D, 333–34.
23. Za jedan primer, videti: Shcherbatov, *Pravo*, 56.
24. Von Meck, *As I*, 172.
25. AVG/M, 59–65; VMG/D, 281, 287, 298, 300; AVG/M, Prilog I:15, 19; Prilog IV: 1–6, 22–25; RGADA, 1263.3.94, 111–12ob.
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27. Ibid., 74.
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34. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 250–52.
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38. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 259–65; Mawdsley, *Civil War*, 186–90, 204–207.

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42. Smele, *Civil War*, 587–89; Mawdsley, *Civil War*, 318.
43. AVG/M, 86–92.
44. YP/D, 9, 27; RGADA, 1263.3.107, 28–28ob.
45. Smele, *Civil War*, 590–92; Mawdsley, *Civil War*, 318.
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49. AVG/M, Prilog III:8–10; YP/D, 1, 3.
50. AVG/M, Prilog II:15–16.
51. Ibid., 16–17.
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59. Rodzianko, *Tattered Banners*, 262.
60. Brovkin, *Behind*, 205–206; Welch, *Russian Court*, 101.
61. YP/D, 14–15.
62. Ibid., 15.
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13: Egzodus

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2. Ibid., 95.
3. Marullo, *Russian Requiem*, 287–88, 294, 339; videti takođe Fen, *Remember*, 101–200.
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33. Brovkin, *Behind*, 346–49.
34. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 82–83.
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14: Škola života

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9. Almedingen, *Tomorrow*, 291–92.
10. KNG, 156–59; Fen, *Remember*, 265; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 188.
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26. IDG, 101–102.
27. Reswick, *I Dreamt*, 36–38, 42, 160–61.
28. Fen, *Remember*, 255–59, 273–74.
29. Ibid., 290–92; Smith, *The Pearl*.
30. ZU, 358; Volkov, *Gorodu*, 404; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 252.
31. Hullinger, *Reforging*, 321–23.
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15: Plemeniti ostaci

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22. KhiG 1 (1996): 145–46; Muratov, Rod, 126; RGADA, 1263.3.104, 19–22ob.

23. ZU, 241; ZVG, 2:89; OPR, 421; Raevskii, *Piat' vekov*, 272; Sofia Golicin, pismo bez datuma, Porodična dokumenta Golicina, kutija 1, fascikla 1, HIA.
24. NIOR RGB, 265.233. 37, 76ob–77ob; KhiG 13 (2006): 129–30; ZU, 307–13.
25. ZU, 225–26, 257, 305; KhiG 10, pt. 1 (2003): 74–75; AV-T/V, 1:6–8.
26. ZU, 56–57, 315–17, 347; Smirnova, „...pod“.
27. ZU, 317–20; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xiii–xiv; A. V. Trubetskoi, *Puti*, 6, 9; AVT/V, 1:8–9; Smirnova, „...pod“, 245, 253–54; Varlamov, *Prishvin*.
28. Muratov, *Rod*, 124–52; KhiG 13 (2006): 128, 130–31; I. V. Golicin, „Otets“, 89; OPR, 421; ZU, 342–43, 380–81, 410–11. Trubeckojeve priče prevedene su u: Fusso, *Russian Prince*.
29. ZU, 295–96.
30. Raevskii, *Piat' vekov*, 321–22; ZU, 306.
31. ZVG, 4:80.
32. Ibid., 3:89–91; MVG/M, 68. Petar Veliki je poklonio selo Pebalg Borisu Šeremetjevu, Nikolajevom navrđedi, godine 1711. za njegovu službu u Velikom severnom ratu.
33. Fen, *Remember*, 239–49.
34. Kimerling, „Civil Rights“; Alexopoulos, *Stalin's Outcasts*, 1–6, 97; Pethybridge, *Social Prelude*, 197–99; Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 30–34; idem, *Everyday*, 11; Dobkin, „Lishentsy“; Brovkin, *Russia*, 31–32; Osokina, *Our Daily Bread*, 80.
35. Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 34, 43–45, 50, 54, 59–60; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 46–48.
36. Sevost'ianov, ed., „Sovershenno sekretno“, vol. 1, deo. 1, 94–95, 125–26, 195–96.
37. Von Meck, *As I*, 412.
38. Rendle, „Family, Kinship“, 14.
39. Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag*, 2:53; Brovkin, *Russia*, 11–13, 16–17, 30–36, 219–22, 198–99; Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*,

- 46–51; Raleigh, „Russian Civil War“, 154; Shearer, *Policing*, 259–60.
40. Brovkin, *Russia*, 184.
41. KhiG 13 (2006): 109.

16: Afera Fokstrot

1. Brovkin, *Russia*, 2, 213–15.
2. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 71, 147, 153–54; Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 36.
3. Andrew and Gordievsky, *KGB*, 85, 94, 97–106; Andrew and Mitrokhin, *Sword*, 33, 34–35, 42; Perry and Pleshakov, *Flight*, 280–92, 296; i, uz oprez, Nikulin, *Mertvaia zyb'*.
4. PG, 64–66, 423–24; KNG, 162–75; OPR, 69–71.
5. Troyat, *Gorky*, 62, 65, 76, 100; Dolzhanskaia and Osipova, „Dorogaia Ekaterina“, 21–30; OPR, 5–6; Mering, „Politicheskii krasnyi krest“.
6. Dolzhanskaia and Osipova, „Dorogaia Ekaterina“, 30–47; OPR, 7.
7. ZU, 327–28.
8. OPR, 71.
9. ZU, 337–38. Ujka Miša je bio Mihail Lopuhin, brat Sergejeve majke, koga su pogubili boljševici.
10. Ibid., 329.
11. KNG, 221–22.
12. Von Meck, *As I*, 245–51.
13. TAS, 423.
14. ZU, 330; RGADA, 1287.1.3304, 1–2ob; Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 139–40; S. D. Sheremetev, *Vozdvizhenskii nau-gol'nyi dom*.
15. YPS/V, 9; ABM; ZU, 354–55; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 392; KhiG 13 (2006): 126.
16. SH, 2:169.

17. ZU, 329; MVG/M, 68–69; Elagin, *Ukroshchenie*, 52–53; Kaufman, *Pervaja Turandot*, 35, 309–10.
18. ZU, 325–26; ABM; SVS, 20; OPR, 23, 405–406, 480–81; KhiG 7 (2000): 294–95.
19. KNG, 210–11, 214–16; AVT/V, 1:11–12; Kireev, *Dnevnik*, 406.
20. KNG, 215–16, 243–53; PG, 68–70.
21. M. Osorgin, *Zametki*, 617.
22. O. Volkov, *Gorodu*, 404; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 250–53. O mišolovkama, Lincoln, *War's Dark Shadow*, 203; Sollohub, *Russian Countess*, 148; OPR, 34.
23. ZU, 359–60; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 254–58.
24. ZU, 365–70; V. M. Golicin, „*Vyderzhki*“, 34.
25. ZU, 370.
26. Ibid., 371; V. M. Golicin, Napomene za „*Vyderzhki*“, 35, 36; PG, 435–37.
27. ZU, 361–62, 371.
28. PG, 435–37; ZU, 387–88; V. M. Golicin, Napomene za „*Vyderzhki*“, 48; OPR, 241.
29. ZVG, 3:90.
30. ZU, 394.
31. KNG, 276.

17: Vrlina u dronjcima

1. Pismo Aleksandre Sipjagin, 16. februar 1921, privatna zbirka.
2. RGALI, 195.1.5018a, 1.
3. Kiriushina, „*Stranitsy*“, 185.
4. RGALI, 195.1.4983, 1–100.
5. NIOR RGB, 265.233.37, 73–76ob.
6. ABM; SH, 2:145.
7. SH, 2:145; OR RNB, 585. 4614, 4ob; ABM.
8. OGSh, 104. Sofija Vasilevna nije identifikovana.
9. ABM.

10. Wassiltschikow, *Verschwundenes Russland*, 203–204; ABM; Karnishina, „Vozvrashchais“, 29.
11. ABM.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.; OR RNB, 585.4614.
14. Alekseeva, „Velikii terpelivets“, 26; ABM; SVS, 245.
15. ZVG, 5:83; Shumikhin, „Konets“.
16. Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 3. Zahvaljujem Marijani Markovoj za pomoć oko ovog prevoda.
17. Koval', *Kniaz' Vasilii*, 231–32.
18. *Moskva Memoirs*, 197.
19. Koval, *Kniaz' Vasilii*, 231–32.
20. Ibid., 175, 226–72.
21. OPR, 71; ZU, 398–99.
22. KhiG 5 (1998): 114–16; KhiG 1 (1996): 150–52; Osokina, *Our Daily Bread*, 72–74.
23. Napomene za „Vyderzhki“, 40; pismo M. V. Golicina upućeno A. V. Golicinu, *Moskva*, 1. decembar 1925, Porodična dokumenta Golicina, kutija 1, fascikla 2, HIA; ZU, 375; ZVG, 4:78.
24. ZU, 347; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 265.
25. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 184.
26. ZU, 354.
27. Ibid., 419–20, 434, 437–49.
28. Ibid., 413.
29. ABM; OPR, 23.
30. TAS, 423–24, 454; ABM.
31. ABM.
32. TAS, 453; ABM.

18: Veliki raskol

1. Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 476–85; Ball, „Building“, 184–88; Gladkov, *Cement*, 246–47, 275–76.

2. Brovkin, *Russia*, 219–22; Khlevniuk, *Master*, 1–38; Ball, „Building“, 188–91.
3. Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 484–94; Shearer, „Stalinism“, 192–99; Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 2, 41–42, 54–57; Viola, *Unknown Gulag*; Werth, *Cannibal Island*; Khlevniuk, *History*, 9, 57, 107, 237; Applebaum, *Gulag*, 4.
4. Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 38–40, 47, 47n34; idem, *Everyday*, 5–12, 19.
5. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 71, 190.
6. Ivanov, „Byvshie liudi“, 71–72; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 192, 269; Fitzpatrick, *Tear Off*, 49; *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, br. 266, 26. septembar 1931., 2; br. 62, 16. mart 1933, 1.
7. Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 72, 234–35; OPR, 10; Khlevniuk, *History*, 55; Shearer, *Policing*, 57–58, 188, 243, 253.
8. Lyons, *Assignment*, 174–76.
9. Duranty Reports, 209–11.
10. Channon, „Tsarist Landowners“; *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, br. 1, 24. maj 1925, 3; br. 13, 10. jun, 3; br. 14, 11. jun, 2; br. 24, 23. jun, 2; Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*, 33–34.
11. Tolstoy, *I Worked*; Croskey, *Legacy*; OPR, 153; *Dekrety*, 8:12, 16:70.

19: Parnasova smrt

1. OGSh, 121–22.
2. ABM; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 380.
3. GARF, 2307.10.218, 31; ABM; Kiriushina, „Stranitsy“, 190–93; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 379; SH, 2:147.
4. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, br. 58, 10. mart 1929, 1.
5. ABM; SH, 2:147; Kiriushina, „Stranitsy“, 194.
6. Shumikhin, „Konets“.
7. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 380; ABM; Kiriushina, „Stranitsy“, 198–201; RGALI, 612.1.2853, 190–92.
8. Krasko, *Tri veka*, 298–332; Mishkevich, *Doktor*, pogl. 8.

9. TsGAMO, 66.11.7906, 2.
10. KNA, 29, 1–7; 34; 47, 9; 129; TsGAMO, 66.1.7906, 1–6; 2157.1.522, 15, 93, 94, 99; 4341.1.259, 159–59ob; SVS, 397.
11. *Okhrana i restavratsiia*, 24; „Russkaia usad’ba“, 145, 155; Poliakova, „Usadebnaia kul’tura“, 119.
12. Shumikhin, „Konets“.
13. Alekseeva, „Velikii terpelivets“, 26–27.
14. Hughes, *Sophia*, 242–59.
15. ABM; autorov intervju sa Jevdokijom Šeremetjevom, 14. mart 2009.
16. SH, 2:147; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 380.
17. ABM; NIOR RGB, 369.367.19, 1–6; 369.367.20, 1–3; 369.367.21, 1–2; 369.224.59, 1–9; 667.7.14, 1–1ob, 41–41ob; 667.4.5, 40; 369.328.5, 1; Smith, *The Pearl*; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 380.
18. SVS, 353; MVG/M, 65; Alekseeva, „Velikii terpelivets“, 27.
19. OGSh, 130–31; SH, 3:382.
20. SVS, 347–52; SH, 2:152; RGALI, 195.1.6552a, 6.

20: Prognanici

1. ZU, 459–63.
2. Ibid., 451–56; PG, 423–25; OPR, 71; KhiG 11, pt. 1 (2004): 138. Nisu svi izvori saglasni oko datuma njegovog otkaza.
3. ZU, 390, 459–65, 507.
4. Ibid., 498–501.
5. Ibid., 511–19.
6. Ibid., 470–94; OPR, 401.
7. ZU, 520–29; Raevskii, *Piat’ vekov*, 388.
8. AVT/V, 1:21–22.
9. *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, br. 111, 15. maj 1928, 4; Smirnova, „...pod“, 73, 254; Prishvin, *Dnevniki*, 1936–37, 565.
10. *Komsomol’skaia pravda*, br. 113, 17. maj 1928, 6. Velika slova kao u originalu.

11. Smirnova, „...pod“, 73–75, 142–43, 180–87; ZU, 578–79.
12. Smirnova, „...pod“, 247–49, 258–59; ZU, 558; pismo od 19. januara 1933., Porodična dokumenta Golicina, kutija 1, HIA; Rowan-Hamilton, *Under*, 63; Osokina, *Our Daily*, 123–24; idem, Zoloto; Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 57–58.
13. Smirnova, „...pod“, 258–59; AVT/V, 1:120, 122n.6.
14. AVT/V, 1:52.
15. Prishvin, *Dnevnik*, 1930–31, 68, 71.
16. Varlamov, *Prishvin*, 307, i potpis fotografije između str. 192–93.
17. AVT/V, 1:13–14, 16, 22–23.
18. ZU, 529–39; Schmemann, *Echoes*, 258–66; Likachev, *Vospominaniia*, 153, 200, 262–63; Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag*, 2:44–45; TAS, 480–81; OPR, 302.
19. ZU, 531–32, 599; Kuz'mina, *Kniaz' Shakhovskoi*, 273, 313, 331–32; KhiG 5 (1999): 104–106.

21: Miš, kerozin i šibica

1. Videti članke N. Fedorova u BP, 2:32–42; 8:219–60; 4:12–21. Shalamov, *Vishera*, 37.
2. Khlevniuk, History, 102, 114–16.
3. BP, 2:32–42; 7:45–52.
4. Von Meck, *As I*, 398–404.
5. Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag*, 2:293–303.
6. ZVG, 3:99; MVG/M, 106.
7. ZVG, 5:84; MVG/M, 105, 110.
8. ZVG, 3:99; MVG/M, 184; OPR, 406; ABM.
9. BP, 7:53–59.
10. PG, 396; ZU, 659–60; MVG/M, 24; VMG/D, 355–56.
11. MVG/M, 129, 134; KhiG 4, pt. 1 (1997): 97–98; KhiG 1 (1996): 147; pismo, 4. jun 1939, u Porodičnim dokumentima Golicina, kutija 1, HIA.

12. AVG/M: I. M. Barnes, epilog, 67, i M. Dakserhoff i I. M. Barnes, „Natasha Goes to Hollywood“; PG, 451–55; Muratov, *Rod*, 87; čitulje za Aleksandra Golicina: *Guardian*, 22. avgust 2005, *New York Times*, 20. avgust 2005.
13. MVG/M, 87, 138–42.
14. Ibid., 69–72; Kaufman, *Pervaia Turandot*, 115, 219–20, 393; Elagin, *Ukroshchenie*, 48–54, 157, 175, 182; DS 2 (1995): 273; ABM; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 394.
15. KhiG 11, deo 1 (2004): 138–39; KhiG 1 (1996): 152–53; ZU, 689–91; AVT/V, 1:42–43; Taylor, *Stalin's Apologist*, 177–79; ZVG, 3:96; Khlevniuk, *History*, 37–39. Za Urusove, videti: Urusova, *Materinskii plach*.
16. AVT/V, 1:40–41.
17. Ashnin, Delo; AVT/V, 1:32–43.
18. AVT/V, 2:1–2, 4–9, 11; V. S. Trubetskoi, „Pis'ma“.
19. AVT/V, 2:1–5, 16–25, 39–40; V. S. Trubetskoi, „Pis'ma“; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xv–xviii, 107–43. Prishvin, *Dnevniki*, 1938–39, 264.
20. MVG/M, 112.
21. ZU, 683–94, 734–35; KhiG 1 (1996): 148–49; pismo, mart 1934, Porodična dokumenta Golicina, kutija 1, HIA; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, 110.
22. ZU, 665–66, 687–88; KhiG 5 (1998): 107–109.
23. ZU, 709–11; MVG/M, 92; ZVG, 5:86.
24. ZVG, 5:79.
25. MVG/M, 111–12.
26. I. V. Golicin, „Otets“, 89.
27. ZU, 712–13; ZVG, 5:83–84; KhiG 1 (1996): 153–54.
28. ZVG, 5:79.

22: Anin usud

1. KHiG 7 (2000): 294; OPR, 23; ABM.
2. KHiG 7 (2000): 294–95.

3. OPR, 23; NIOR RGB, 369.328.4, 19–20ob; ABM.
4. OPR, 23, 405–06; ABM.
5. SH, 2:152.
6. NIOR RGB, 667.6.4, 1–7; 667.5.1, 1–7b ob; 667.4.2, 3. Datumi na pismima protivreće preciznoj hronologiji njihovog hapšenja i izgona. Pokušao sam da što je moguće bolje rekonstruišem najverovatniji sled događaja.
7. NIOR RGB, 667.5.1, 19.
8. Ibid., 667.4.1, 1, 11, 13.
9. Ibid., 667.6.4, 10–11ob.
10. Ibid., 667.5.3, 7–18ob.
11. Ibid., 667.5.3, 68–68ob.
12. Ibid., 667.5.3, 24–29.
13. Ibid., 667.5.3, 63–68ob.
14. Ibid., 667.6.9, 22–27ob.
15. Ibid., 667.4.3, 1–13ob.
16. Ibid., 667.4.2, 29–38ob.
17. Ibid., 667.5.3, 61ob.
18. Ibid., 667.5.3, 26–35ob.
19. Ibid., 38–43ob.
20. Ibid., 49–62.
21. Ibid., 667.4.2, 2, 6, 10, 25; 667.6.9, 1; 369.328.4, 3–5ob; KhiG 7 (2000): 295–96.
22. ABM; Iudin, *Zamok*, 59–60; NIOR RGB, 667.6.14, 58–58ob; 667.7.3; KhiG 7 (2000): 296–97; „Dukhom ne ugasavhie“, *Rossiiskie vesti* (19–26. jula). Pristup onlajn, 22. aprila 2011.
23. ABM; NIOR RGB, 667.5.4, 27–28ob; 667.6.9, 7–10; 667.6.10, 1–2; 667.5.5, 48, 71–73ob, 84–87ob, 118–18ob; 667.6.4, 17.
24. TAS, 502; NIOR RGB, 667.7.14.
25. KhiG 7 (2000): 297; NIOR RGB, 667.5.6, 3; 667.6.4, l. 20; Kosik, *Molitva*, 1–24; OPR, 481. Izvori se spore oko toga kada su Saburovs oteran iz Ivanova, premda pisma, uglavnom Borisova, koja to smeštaju u septembar, izgledaju najpouzdanije.

26. NIOR RGB, 667.6.1, 3–4ob; ABM; OPR, 481.
27. NIOR RGB, 667.5.6, 4–5ob.
28. Ibid., 667.6.4, 43–44ob.
29. KhiG 7 (2000), 297–98; NIOR RGB, 667.6.13, l. 32–32ob; 667.4.6, 41.
30. NIOR RGB, 667.5.6, 34–62ob; 667.7.10, 1; ABM.
31. NIOR RGB, 667.7.9, 1–2ob.
32. Ibid., 667.5.7, 4–44ob; 667.5.8, 1–17; OPR, 481; KhiG 7 (2000): 298–99.
33. Ibid., 667.6.9, 13–16ob.
34. Ibid., 667.4.4, 5–6ob.
35. Ibid., 19–26ob.
36. Kosik, Molitva, 274n61.
37. ABM; NIOR RGB, 667.6.13, 49–50ob; 667.6.17, 37–37ob; KhiG 7 (2000): 298–99.
38. NIOR RGB, 667.6.13, 1–8ob.
39. Ibid., 13–22ob, 27ob; 667.6.5, 1–5ob; ABM.
40. Ibid., 667.6.12, 1.
41. Ibid., 667.6.13, 21–27ob; 667.7.1, 69–69ob.
42. Ibid., 667.4.4, 28–29ob, 31–36ob; 667.6.5, 11ob–13.
43. Ibid., 667.6.13, 25–27ob, 30–32ob, 36–39, 49–50ob.

23: Srećna vremena

1. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 90; *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, br. 191, 28. avgust 1935., 4.
2. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 6–7, 93–95; Kamenskii, Deviatyi vek, 177–78.
3. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 130–32; idem, *Tear Off*, 40–42; Smirnova, *Byvshie liudi*, 10, 230–37, 267; Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*, 56–58; Alexopoulos, *Stalin's Outcasts*, 181–82; Stalin, *Doklad*, 10.
4. Paley, *Memories*, 195–96, 253–55; Fen, *Remember*, 290–93; Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 95–106; Service, *Spies*, 331–32.

5. Ciliberti, *Backstairs*, 44–45, 110, 116; Tzouliadis, *Forsaken*, 142; imejl poruka od Ružice Popović-Krekić, 4. jun 2008.
6. KNG, 360–65; Sebag Montefiore, *Court*, 64–66; ZU, 12, 66–67; Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, 213–14.
7. Fitzpatrick, *Everyday*, 105.
8. Rowan-Hamilton, *Under*, 53–44.
9. OGSh, 132–34.
10. Abbe, *I Photograph*, 182–83, 222–33; Tzouliadis, *Forsaken*, 53–54; Iudin, *Zamok*, 60; Kovaleva, *Staraja Moskva*, 76–81, 89–90.
11. OGSh, 122; ABM.
12. OGSh, 109–10.
13. Tolstoy, *I Worked*, 102–103.
14. Iudin, *Zamok*, 208.
15. P. A. Obolensky, „Semeinye zapiski“, 176: 186; Shcherbatov, *Pravo*, 40–41.
16. Merridale, *Night*, 173–75.
17. Ignat'ev, *50 let*, 736–38; Ignatieff, *Russian Album*, 17, 80, 97, 145–46, 178; *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopediia*, s.v. „Ignat'ev, A. A.“
18. Muggeridge, *Winter*, 219; idem, *Like It Was*, 24, 50–52, 65, 69, 273; G. Smith, D. S. Mirsky: *A Russian*, xiii, 18–19, 209–10, 224–27, 291–92, 316–18.
19. Terras, *Handbook*, s.v. „Tolstoi, A. N.“; Lyons, *Assignment*, 587; Elagin, *Ukroshchenie*, 140–44, 175. Za druge plemiće povratnike videti: Dubinets, *Kniaz'*; Zinovieff, *Red Princess*.

24: Zmije otrovnice i osvetnički mač: Operacija Bivši ljudi

1. ZVG, 4:87.
2. Ubstvo je najpreciznije istraženo u: Lenoe, *Kirov*.
3. Khlevniuk, *History*, 88; Boterbloem, *Life*, 126–27.
4. Shearer, *Policing*, 215–18.

5. OPR, 298.
6. Ivanov, „Operatsiia“, 118; idem, „Byvshie liudi“, 72.
7. Rimmel, „Microcosm“, 533.
8. Ivanov, „Byvshie liudi“, 71.
9. *Leningradskaja pravda*, br. 33, 8. februar 1935, 2; br. 45, 22. februar 1935.
10. Videti: Rimmel, „Microcosm“, 540–49; Alexopoulos, *Stalin's Outcasts*, 180–81; Sarah Davies, „'Us Against Them': Social Identity in Soviet Rusija, 1934–41“, u *Stalinism*, ed. Fitzpatrick, 51, 65.
11. Ivanov, „Operatsiia“, 121, 126–27; Rimmel, „Microcosm“, 530, 534; Boterbloem, *Life*, 126–27.
12. Navedeno u: Rimmel, „Microcosm“, 547–48n.138.
13. *Leningradskaja pravda*, br. 45, 22. februar 1935, 3–4; br. 47, 24. februar, 3; br. 48, 26. februar, 3; br. 51, 1. mart, 3; br. 57, 9. mart 1935, 3; *Smena*, br. 67, 22. mart, 2; br. 70, 26. mart, 3.
14. *Smena*, br. 70, 26. mart 1935, 3.
15. *Leningradskaja pravda*, br. 57, 9. mart, 3; *Smena*, br. 67, 22. mart, 2; br. 70, 26. mart, 3.
16. *Leningradskaja pravda*, br. 68, 22. mart 1935, 2; br. 69, 23. mart, 2; br. 70, 24. mart, 2.
17. ZU, 698–99.
18. OGSh, 140–43.
19. TAS, 511–13, 533–41.
20. Ivanov, „Operatsiia“, 122–29; idem, „Byvshie liudi“, 72–73; Livshin, *Pis'ma*, 261.
21. *Vospominaniia*, 291–92, 299–301.
22. OPR, 311, 321–23, 326, 329; Ivanov, „Operatsiia“, 129.
23. PG, 61–62; OPR, 402; Khlevniuk, *History*, 97–98.
24. TAS, 543–45, 563–68, 577, 617–18.
25. Khlevniuk, *History*, 88; Ivanov, „Operatsiia“, 118–19, 126–27; idem, „Byvshie liudi“, 72.
26. Chuikina, *Dvorianskaia pamiat'*, 172.
27. *Komsomolskaja pravda*, br. 172, 28. jul 1935, 5.

25: Veliki teror

1. Videti: Khlevniuk, *Master*, uvod i pogl. 5; Getty and Naumov, *Road*; Jansen and Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner*; i McLoughlin and McDermott, *Stalin's Terror*.
2. Jansen and Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner*, 195.
3. Khlevniuk, *Master*, 194; Getty and Naumov, *Yezhov*.
4. Shearer, „*Stalinism*,“ 212–14; Jansen and Petrov, *Stalin's Loyal Executioner*, 139–91; Khlevniuk, *Master*, 180–201.
5. Khlevniuk, *History*, 165–66. Getty and Naumov, *Road*, 591.
6. Urusova, *Materinskii plach*, 351–59, 419–34; PG, 66–68; Muratov, *Rod*, 98–99; KHiG 11, pt. 1 (2004): 134–35.
7. Khaustov et al., *Stalin*, 332–35.
8. 1936–37 gg. *Konveier*, 24, 164–66, 269–72, 282–89, 335–36, 341n.1, 401–402.
9. KHiG 11, pt. 1 (2004): 134–35, 142; PG, 66–67; Muratov, *Rod*, 99; Urusova, *Materinskii plach*.
10. V. S. Trubetskoi, „*Pis'ma*“, 18–20.
11. Fusso, *Russian Prince*, 136–37.
12. A. V. Trubetskoi, *Puti*, 6, 9; AVT/V, 2:40–41.
13. „*Sudebnoe delo sem'i Vladimira Sergeevicha Trubetskogo*“, Porodična dokumenta Golicina, kutija 3, deo. 2:19, HIA. [U daljem tekstu: „*Sudebnoe delo*.“]
14. Ibid., kutija 3, deo. 3:3.
15. AVT/V, 2:42–50.
16. „*Sudebnoe delo*“, kutija 3, deo 3:14–15; OPR, 316, 318, 352.
17. AVT/V, 2:49.
18. „*Sudebnoe delo*“, kutija 3, deo 2:1–4; pt. 3:21–23; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xv.
19. AVT/V, 2:49, 59–64; idem, *Puti*, 6, 9; V. S. Trubetskoi, „*Pis'ma*“; Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xiv.
20. ZU, 740–43.
21. BP, 2:40; 4:13–14; 7:51.
22. OPR, 23n.2; SH, 2:152.
23. BP, 3:123; 7:302.

24. NIOR RGB, 667.7.14, 20–21.
25. Ibid., 57–58; 667.4.5, 71–72ob.
26. ABM; OPR, 23; komunikacija imejtom sa Varvarom Pavlinovom, 23–25. novembar 2009; NIOR RGB, 667.4.6, 17ob, 22–23.

26: Rat: Kraj

1. MVG/M, 93–94, 178, 182–83; PG, 82–91.
2. Barber and Harrison, „Patriotic War“; Riasanovsky and Steinberg, *History*, 508–19.
3. Khlevniuk, *History*, 237.
4. KNG, 257–77, 375, 381.
5. PG, 58–59, 73–74, 399; OPR, 152.
6. MVG/M, 95–96; I. V. Golicin, „Otets“, 2:89.
7. NIOR RGB, 667.7.14, 63–65ob; 667.7.15, 1–2ob; 667.4.7, 35, 36; 667.6.17, 62ob; SH, 2:160; Alekseeva, „Velikii terpelivets“, 27–28; ABM; MVG/M, 65.
8. NIOR RGB, 667.4.7, 21–22ob.
9. OGSh, 9, 12–13; TAS, 614–15, 681.
10. MVG/M, 66–68, 72–76, 86; Kaufmann, *Pervaja Turandot*, 246; ABM; SH, 2:162.
11. ABM; MVG/M, 132; Krasko, *Tri veka*, 497; SH, 2:152; NIOR RGB, 667.4.5, 25–28ob, 33; 667.6.15, 8–9, 16–19ob.
12. NIOR RGB, 667.4.6, 9–11; 667.4.7, 1–7.
13. Ibid., 667.7.4; 667.6.14, 1–2ob, 37.
14. Ibid., 667.4.4, 1–4ob; 667.4.5, 1–4ob; 667.7.3; 667.4.6, 32–41ob; 667.6.8.
15. ABM; KhiG 7 (2000): 299–300; NIOR RGB, 667.6.15, 1–7ob.
16. NIOR RGB, 667.4.5, 71–72ob; 667.6.17, 1.
17. Ibid., 667.4.7, 25–25ob.
18. Ibid., 667.4.8, 6, 23–23ob; 667.7.1, 32–32ob; 667.7.14, 79–80; 369.328.5, 1; komunikacija imejtom sa Varvarom Pavlinovom, 22. novembar 2009.

19. ABM; Alekseeva, „Velikii terpelivets“, 28.
20. Lincoln, *Red Victory*, 188–91.
21. Muratov, *Rod*, 128; MVG/M, 99.
22. MVG/M, 65–66, 97–98; SH, 2:168; KhiG 4, pt. 1, (1997), 100–103; 13 (2006), 130–31.
23. KhiG 3 (1996): 157–64; 4 (1999): 302–309; MVG/M, 44.
24. Applebaum, *Gulag*, 374–76.
25. SVS, 374–75; MVG/M, 99–100; PG, 88.
26. MVG/M, 100.
27. Ibid., 101; Smirnova, „...pod“, 22; SH, 2:168.
28. Fusso, *Russian Prince*, xv; „Sudebnoe delo“, kutija 3, 2:1–4; Smirnova, „...pod“, 263–64; A. V. Trubetskoi, *Puti*, 6–9, 191.
29. NIOR RGB, 667.4.8, 5–6ob; 44–44ob, 53.
30. Ibid., 667.7.1, 25–25ob.
31. Ibid., 667.7.1, 32–32ob, 39–39ob, 48–59ob, 77; 667.7.4.
32. Ibid., 667.4.9, 1–8ob, 19–32ob; ABM.
33. Iudin, *Zamok*, 58–59.
34. ABM; SH, 2:150.
35. ABM; Kovaleva, *Staraia Moskva*, 18–19; MVG/M, 65; „V. P. Sheremetev v Ostaf’eve“.
36. SH, 2:157; Ignatieff, *Russian Album*, 178; autorov intervju sa Nikitom Čeremetevim, 8. marta 2009.; komunikacija imejlom sa Kirom Čeremetev, 17. maj 2011; Andreyev, *Vlasov; Fischer, Soviet Opposition*.
37. ABM; A. V. Trubetskoi, *Puti*, 6–7; Smirnova, „...pod“, 263–66.
38. SVS, 21–22, 353–56; SH, 2:160; ABM; autorov intervju sa Jevdokijom Šeremetjev, Moskva, 14. mart 2009.

Epilog

1. MVG/M, 101–102.
2. Khlevniuk, *History*, 328. Za diskusiju o mogućim brojevima ljudi ubijenih u gulagu i nemogućnosti da se ikad sazna

puna istina, videti: Applebaum, *Gulag*, 515–22. Eplbaumova „nevolejno“ navodi nisku procenu broja onih koji su umrli u gulagu i specijanim naseljima, od 2.749.163 u periodu od 1929. do 1953.

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