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RUSSIAN NATIONAL MYTH IN TRANSITION

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University of Tartu
Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures
Department of Russian Literature

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INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITOR

LJUBOV KISSELJOVA

The reader keeps in the hands a collective monograph which was compiled by the authors living in different countries (Estonia, Finland, Russia, Ukraine, Germany, and Canada), forming a united research community guided by the traditions of the Tartu Lotman School. The topics, touched upon in the book, were worked at during several years and discussed at scientific meetings in different cities, in particular, in the framework of the Helsinki-Tartu seminar, held in Tartu on 28–30 June 2013. The seminar was the 14th in the series of mutual seminars of the Chairs of Russian Literature of the Universities of Helsinki and Tartu. In 1987, when the tradition of holding seminars was started, Pekka Pesonen, Ben Hellman, Yuri Lotman, Zara Mints and Sergei Isakov were at the beginning. As a result the research papers were published in the series "Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia" (the first issue was printed in Helsinki in 1989). This is why the present monograph is printed in this series.

Although the seminars have always united the literature researchers first of all, historians, culturologists, semiotics and folklore specialists and others have participated in them and the topics and problems studied and discussed had always had an interdisciplinary character. In last 10–15 years the choice of problems was connected with the most acute current issues exciting the world's humanitarian community: mythologizing and demythologizing of history, mythologizing of cultural space, etc. however devoting attention to the study of the role of literature in these processes. The collection of articles made on the basis of the materials of the 13th Helsinki-Tartu seminar is titled "Politics of Literature — Politics of Power"[1]. The collective monograph "Russian National Myth in Transition" can be considered the direct continuation of the central idea of the previous collection: literature, including fiction, is forming the discourse and the narratives — as well as in power and opposition.

The current collective monograph explains on the basis of the different materials of Russian culture, beginning from the Late Middle Ages and finishing with the Soviet epoch, the notion of national myth in its development. The main part of the study is devoted to the Imperial period — the epoch when in fact the notion of nation arises[2]. Although the understanding of "oneself" / "about oneself" and about "the other" / "the alien" is formed during several centuries, preparing the ground for the appearance and development of both the notion of nation and the national myth, having a long time ago consolidated in the cultural consciousness in the form of characteristic national-historical categories, stereotypes, prejudices, etc.

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[1] Политика литературы — поэтика власти: Сб. статей: Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia XIII / Под ред. Геннадия Обатнина, Бена Хеллмана и Томи Хуттунена. М., 2014.

The national myth — it is an ideological construct which is created both in the national culture as well as outside its borders (views about Russia and Russians inside and outside the country — in the interrelation of these views). It would be more exact to speak not about the myth but the myths as there is no single construct describing social-political and cultural reality, no single narrative in each given historical period and even the ideological camp. The term "national myth" (in the singular) is used as a general notion, fixing the presence of constructs connected with the concept of nationality. Beside that it is a virtual and "above the author" construct which has not been fixed by anybody and not in any time and it is not accessible for the fixation by one author in one text.

In the imperial epoch the situation with the birth of national myth becomes more complicated because of the obvious contradiction between the status of Empire as a multinational and multi-confessional state and the necessity to create the ideology which could unite its different parts into one political body — the nation, in the Herder and post-Herder language. A. Zorin, A. Miller, R. S. Wortman[3] vividly demonstrated how the Russian power tried to cope with this contradiction[4].

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[2] As it is known, national identity is one of the latest categories which appeared but one of the most powerful identification categories. Here we rely on the classical work: *Anderson, Benedict*. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London; New York, 2006.

[3] См.: *Зорин А. Л.* Кормя двуглавого орла… Литература и государственная идеология в России в последней трети XVIII – первой трети XIX века. М., 2001; *Miller, A.* The Romanov Empire and Nationalism. Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research. Budapest; New York, 2008; *Wortman, R. S.* Scenarios of power: myth and ceremony in Russian monarchy. Princeton University Press, 1995–2000.Vol. 1–2.

[4] See also the contribution of the Tartu researchers to the constructing both the imperial and national ideologies in the collective monograph "Ideological Geography of the Russian Empire: Space, Borders, Inhabitants" by M. Borovikova, I. Bulkina, A. Vdovin, R. Voitekhovich, T. Guzairov, D. Ivanov, L. Kisseljova, R. Leibov, I. Rudik, T. Stepanischeva, E. Fomina, A. Ospovat ("Идеологическая география" Российской империи: пространство, границы, обитатели. Коллективная монография. Тарту, 2012. http://www.ruthenia.ru/territoria_et_populi/ideogeograf. html).

The present study continues this trend and at the same time it is in the field of studying historical semantics[5]. Analyzing the mechanisms of construction national ideology, the authors especially stressed the participation of literature and art in the nation building: the role of the press, theatre, writers and their works in their dependence upon historical matters and political conjuncture. But, however, in the formation of the national canon (including the national myth) not only writers and memoir-writers of the different level and "rank", not only the press participate but there are also other nonfictional genres — such as school textbooks, readers, books for mass reading, etc. As it is demonstrated in the present study, their role should not be underestimated. The use of poetic means (and wider — artistic language in general) is not less important in building up the ideological discourse.

In the framework of Russian culture the figure of a writer (artist) was unfailingly given a special role which was expressed in the formula "The poet in Russia is more that the poet". In the present book this idea is analyzed by A. Nemzer in connection with the creative work of D. Samoilov.

Although raising the figure of a poet to the first ranks of nation building was made by German romanticism, the idea was warmly supported in Russia. All the Russian leading writers created their own, a more individual version of the national myth (L. Pild describes such a model using the example of Leskov) which then was repeated, very often in the transformed form, in the mass consciousness. It was also distorted when used by power structures in conjuncture aims. This way M. Kucherskaya opens up the process of "privatizing" Leskov's creative work by Soviet ideologues. They interpreted him as a "Russian" and anti-German writer. The Russian classical author, who was forgotten and unnecessary to the proletarian state, appeared to be useful in building up the Soviet patriotic discourse in the 1940s.

As it is shown in the monograph, in constructing the Russian national myth, the same means which characterize the whole European tradition in the 18th – 20th centuries, are used:

- mythologizing of historical events and the search for national heroes who would meet the image of national character;
- the construction of the national identity ("Russianness"; "the Russian idea");
- self-presentation, different from stereotypical images of Russians created in other cultures;

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[5] See the generalizing book: "Понятия о России": К исторической семантике имперского периода. М., 2012. Т. 1–2.

- the formation of national characterology (including the comparison and the opposing of the Russian character with the images of other nations, the neighboring nations incl.)

This list could be made longer but, however, it makes sense to pay attention to some particular subjects touched upon in the present book.

The national stereotypes and political metaphors connected with them are discussed by R. Voitekhovich using the example of the myth about the Russian frost. He analyzes the European understanding of Russia as a Northern country which was formed by European travelers beginning already at least from the 15th century.

Cultural mechanisms of autocratic power are analyzed by J. Pogosjan and K. Ospovat. Using the example of the activities of the Baroque woodcarver Ivan Zarudny, J. Pogosjan describes the intervention of imperial power in such spheres as icon-painting and the construction of the iconostases, their use as an instrument of building of imperial ideology. K. Ospovat touches upon the problem of theatricality of power and describes the similarity between the theatrical effects of the tragedy and the cultural mechanisms of autocratic power. The ruler's charisma and its recognition by the subjects rely on the quasi-theatrical models of fulfilling political roles. Such understanding of power was reflected in the theatrical performances at the ruler's court where in the imaginary plots the complicated interrelations between monarchy and subjects were explained.

The military discourse is one of the cultural topics of the present monograph. A. Bodrova, I. Bulkina, L. Kisseljova, T. Stepanischeva have written about the mechanisms of the construction of the narrative about the war. The first two authors deal with the war of Russia with Sweden in the years 1808–1809, and the participation of Russian literature in the construction of the narrative of the Finnish war. A. Bodrova stresses the simultaneous ideological shaping of the campaign in the Russian printed materials, the acceptance of the war by its participants and their younger contemporaries. Then she looks at the reflection of these images and ideological constructs in the poem "Eda" by E. Baratynsky. The same line is continued by I. Bulkina who analyzes Baratynsky's poem and its reflections in the Ukrainian literature (the poems "Katerina" by T. Shevchenko and "Serdeshna Oksana" by G. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko). As the authors show, in "Eda" the story of the love of the Russian hussar and the Finnish girl develops in the framework of the "civilized narrative" but Baratynsky looks at the "colonial" plot in a complicated manner. Finns are considered a cultured European nation; they are associated with the populations of German provinces that principally make them different from “wild Finns” and archaic sorcerers presented in the pre-romantic and romantic literature.

The imperial narrative, used by the Russian power in the beginning of the 20th century, is analyzed by T. Guzairov and it is an interesting “continuation” of this plot. The construction of the image of the enemy, the rhetoric of “national offence” and the policy of the protection of the title nation, on the one hand, vividly demonstrated the national myth of Finns to the metropolis and, on the other hand, allowed to legitimize the limitation of the constitutional rights of the Great Duchy of Finland in 1910.

L. Kisseljova deals with some basic constituents of the Russian national myth using the example of the Crimean War in the years 1853–1856. As the author shows the Russian military discourse unfailingly included the creation of heroes and “victorious” interpretation of events, the description of humaneness and scarifying of the Russian military as the basis of the national character. The model of the description of the lost war is in a paradoxical way adopting stories about the victorious Patriotic War of 1812 which has become the model of the narrative for any war in which Russia has participated not depending on the results of the war. The material for the analysis consisted of school textbooks, cheap popular prints and books for people’s reading in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Together with the Russian sources the Estonian proto-newspaper “Tallinna koddaniku ramat omma söbbradele male” (1854–1857) by F. N. Russow has been analyzed.

When L. Kisseljova analyzed the construction of the myth about the Crimean War for “inner” use (the formation of national memory), T. Stepanischeva, using the example of the collection of P. Viazemsky’s articles “Lettres d’un vétéran russe de l’année 1812 sur la question d’Orient” writes about the construction of the analogous myth “for export”. As the author shows, Viazemsky refutes the opinions of the European press about Russia and provides Russians with the providential mission — uniting the West and the East. With this purpose he creates in “Letters…” a fully imperial myth about the united nation, loyalty to the throne and the church.

A. Vdovin also writes about the epoch of the Crimean War. He studies the ideological constructs of national identity (Russianness) which were offered by A. Maikov, I. Goncharov and A. Pisemsky. The author deals with the possibilities of the denial of the European discourse about Russia’s barbarism by writers. Maikov confirms that the peoples of the Russian Empire have already been consolidated by Russians into one united nation. Goncharov in general supposes that it is necessary not simply to “civilize” but assimilate non-Russians, but, however, the reality described by him refutes his thesis: Russians will become influenced by Yakuts and not the other way round. In general Pisemsky had doubts about the success of the civilizing mission of the Empire in the outlying districts of the country but he blamed the non-Russians in it that they were unable to become cultured.

B. Hellman brought forward the English source of the "Russian fairy tale" by L. Tolstoy "Three bears" — "Goldilocks and the Three Bears". The Russification of the English original, becoming stronger in the Soviet years in the illustrations of Yu. Vasnetsov and V. Lebedev, allows to read the fairy tale as a part of the national discourse (the bear — the metaphor of Russia).

One of the constituent parts of "Russianness" — pity — is studied by M. Borovikova using the creative work of Tsvetaeva as an example and T. Huttunen analyzes "Russianness" in the declarations of Russian imaginists in the 1920s.

K. Polivanov has analyzed the Jewish topic in the novel "Doctor Zhivago" by B. Pasternak which was written in the years of the Soviet anti-Semitic campaign. The author analyzes the function of an episode in the novel in which the soldiers during World War I humiliate Jews. Through the words of the hero Pasternak expresses his idea of the necessity to give up the notion of nation in the Christian world.

R. Leibov showed the mechanism of the renewal of the national literary canon — how the important features of the lyrical hymn by V. Zhukovsky in the epoch of 1812 survived in the popular Soviet song of 1942.

The general topic of the book allowed the authors to touch upon a whole list of important philological issues, in particular the peculiarities of the poetic texts, the laws of referring to documentary sources and the ways of the incarnation of the author's historiosophy, intertextual relationships and their pragmatics, the interrelation of the text and non-textual reality (historical, social, political and biographical contexts), etc.

The present book was created in the framework of several research projects of the Chair of Russian Literature at the University of Tartu, in particular the topic of target financing SF0180046s09. The book is the introduction to the new project "Ideology of Translation and Translation of Ideology: Mechanisms of Cultural Dynamics under the Russian Empire and Soviet Power in Estonia in the 19th – 20th Centuries" which will also be implemented in the close mutual activities of the authors who participate in the present monograph and the other colleagues.

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"THE RUSSIAN COLD" AS PERCEIVED BY EUROPEANS IN THE 15TH THROUGH 19TH CENTURIES AS A CONSTITUENT ELEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL MYTH

ROMAN VOITEKHOVICH

This article brings together some preliminary observations on the given subject, which is part of the wider realm of questions related to mutual perceptions between Russians and Europeans, as well as the even broader problem the perceptions of a foreign culture. One of the mechanisms of this kind of perception are a priori judgments founded on the metonymic contiguity between a person and the realm of their inhabitation. Judging 'by the context' is one of the methods for summarizing the factors that influence human behavior into tractable lists which, when worse comes to worse, appear endless.

In the 18th century, Charles Montesquieu developed a theory of how climate influences peoples and states. His ideas were popular and illustrated, for instance, in Germaine de Staël's novel *Corinne, Or Italy,* where the entire conflict revolves around the opposition between the "Northern" nature of the male protagonist and the "Southern" nature of the female. Jules Michelet thought within the same paradigm when, in the middle of the 19th century, he constructed his noteworthy conception of the Russian people as a "Southern" people who live in the "North." This perception was based not only on historical and geographical data, but also on the rich European tradition of seeing Rus'/Russia as a Northern country.

As a rule, in the framework of a priori ideas about 'the exotic', there isn't much room for complex spectra of nuances; the scales are regulated by binary oppositions (*black – white, hot – cold, North – South, etc.*). This is expressed in certain rhetorical modes in the narratives about the locus of exoticism, including hyperbole and oxymoron. Although much has been written about the relationship of Europeans to the Russian cold in both of the local materials, as far as we are aware, this subject has not previously been considered in the context they are presented in this article.

1. Degree of Expression of Cold

Most rhetorically acute are paradoxical forms that give rise to violent conjunctions between that which, in normal circumstances, seems to be uncombinable.

a. **Oxymoron** ('fire and ice'[1])

Guillebert de Lannoy, the first traveler since Bruno de Querfurt to write about his journey to Rus', lists an entire series of "miracles" brought about by the frost in Novgorod and its vicinity in 1413. He was most impressed with a pot of meat in which the water was boiling on one side and freezing on the other: "Je veis l'eaue boullir a l'un des lez du pot et engeler a glace a l'autre lez" <sic!> [Ланнуа 2003: 79]. It's impossible to know what he really saw.

One hundred and fifty years later, in 1553, Englishmen exploring a Northern sea route to Russia witnessed something similar. Clement Adams, writing of the achievement of the English seamen, reported that "You may see the same faggot burning at the one end and freezing at the other" [Адамс 1838: 50]. Adams himself had never left England.

In 1867, another similar incident befell Théophile Gautier. This time, the wood transformed into a cigar, and there is no good reason to doubt the story quoted below:

> I went outside and lit an excellent Cuban cigar. Standing in the doorway, I recalled how in St. Petersburg it is forbidden to smoke in the street — there's a heavy fine <...> Because I only had to walk several steps, I concealed my cigar with my bent arm. <...> When I tried to relight it in the foyer <...> its chewed up and moist end had turned into a chunk of ice, while, on the other end, the generous and noble "puro" was still burning [Готье 1990: 74–75].

b. **Hyperbole** ('liquid freezing instantaneously')

While it was rare that descriptions of the Russian cold would reach the level of oxymoron, hyperbole was a common occurrence. According to this rhetorical model, saliva could freeze before hitting the ground in Russia, and the same was true of water. The first to write of this may have been Austrian diplomat Sigismund von Herberstein, first in Latin (1556), and later in German [Герберштейн 1988: 131]; between these two publications, there was even an edition in Italian. The book became an intellectual bestseller of the 16th century.

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[1] A typical example comes from *Eugene Onegin,* where Pushkin uses this duality to describe the "mutual difference" between Onegin and Lensky.

European travelers scrambled to outshine each other in their descriptions of this happening to them [Гейденштейн 1889: 244; Флетчер 1991: 20; Олеарий 1906: 328]. Reingold Heidenstein wrote that this happened to him while he was freezing beneath the walls of Pskov among the other troops led by Stephen Báthory. This is echoed by his contemporary Giles Fletcher and, in the 17th century, by Adam Olearius. Even the contemporary of Peter the Great Johann Korb (1698) 'observed' how "drops of water thrown up into the air freeze before they hit the ground" [Корб 1997: 231]. Unlike his predecessors, Korb gave the drops some extra time to freeze.

During the Enlightenment, these stories began to be considered laughable, and Gottfried Bürger included a parody of them in *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (1786):

> A furious bear attacked me with a terrifying roar. The only thing I could do was climb up a tree to escape <...> Forlorn, I looked down at my knife <...> sticking out of the snow <...> I dispatched a stream of liquid that, in times of great fear, always abounds in a man, directly at the handle of my knife. <...> the cruel cold instantly froze the stream <...> Grabbing onto the handle thus elongated I <...> pulled up the knife <...> and greeted the furry guest with such hospitality that he's never going to climb another tree again [Бюргер-Распе 1985: 26–27].

Any exaggeration has a grain of truth, and the Patriotic War of 1812 proved this, in the words of Napoleon's sergeant Adrien Bourgogne, who figured out he could eat the horse blood frozen in the snow (the carcasses of the animals were frozen too solid to be cut). Once, his comrade in arms broke a bottle of vodka during a brawl and Burgogne, interested in where this occurred, was rewarded for his curiosity: "Le morceau de biscuit <...> ainsi que quelques pincees de neige a l'eau-de-vie me firent beaucoup de bien" [Бургонь 2005: 94].

2. The effect of the cold on living nature

A majority of the Europeans who write about the cold agree that such severe cold cannot help but have an effect on man and living nature. The way it is said to affect each of these, however, is always cardinally different.

a. **Northern nature** (‘susceptibility to the cold’)

In 1526, unafraid of reproaches for inconsistency, Johann Fabri wrote that:

> Muscovy has incredibly vast forests where one can capture black foxes and white bears <...> the cause for this may be the severe Northern cold, which always gives rise to whiteness, as philosophy attests to [Фабри 1998: 21].

In the 17th century, this was repeated by Olearius, in his discussion of white rabbits: “white coloration arises from cold <...> and black from heat” [Олеарий 1906: 333]. At the same time, the cold was observed to do the opposite. For instance, in 1678, the Polish envoy Bernard Tanner heard that the pelt of a sable is “blacker, thicker, and has longer fur” depending on the severity of the winter [Таннер 1891: 108].

Other consequences of the cold were described in contradictory ways. Thus, in 1517, dean of Krakow’s Jagiellonian University Matvei Mekhovsky wrote that in Russia “...the livestock is smaller and without horns, likely, also due to the cold; the people are tall and strong” [Меховский 1936: 115].

Inquisitive foreigners even conducted experiments, like Olearius’s father-in-law in Estlandia, who turned gray rabbits white with the help of the cold, or Peter Bruce, who wanted to observe hibernating animals and thus acquired a bear cub for this purpose, writing “When snow fell, the bear climbed into his box and lay there for a month without leaving once or eating anything, just sucking on his paw” [Брюс 1991: 179].

b. **Northern Peoples** (‘cold-resistance’)

According to foreign observers, the cold had a rather different effect on Russians than it did on Europeans; early accounts claim that Russians didn’t feel the cold at all. Daniel Printz, an envoy of the Holy Roman Empire, witnessed infants being baptized in cold water in 1576: “They believe that infants are in no way harmed by the cold, but are instead made extra warm” [Даниил 1877: 39]. Soon afterwards, Giles Fletcher watched a celebration of the Feast of the Christening when “many men and women <...> threw themselves into a hole in the ice, some naked, others dressed, in weather where you could <...> freeze your finger just by dipping it into the water” [Флетчер 1991: 149–150].

It’s true that Fletcher did mention that not all Russians could tolerate the cold so well. According to him, holy fools were the best at tolerating it “they’re like Gymnosophists” (i. e. the yogis that Alexander the Great had encountered in India), but “there are not many people like this because it’s very cold <...> walking around naked in Russia, especially in the winter” [Ibid.: 131]. Russians were not much different in this amongst their closest neighbors. Olearius recalled that "In Narva, I was amazed to see Russian and Finnish boys <...> barefoot as geese, walking and standing around in the snow for half an hour" [Олеарий 1906: 346].

If overall, Russian ways did not impress Europeans, their ability to withstand the cold did. Clement Adams even used this characteristic as a moral parable:

> When the earth is covered in deep snow and has ossified from cold, the Russian will hang his cloak up over some picket posts <...> start a little fire, and lie down with his back to the wind; <...> This snow dweller gathers water from frozen rivers, pours oatmeal into it, and there's dinner. <...> The frozen ground is his blanket, and a tree stump or a rock is his pillow. <...> What a strong reproach this is to the effeminate delicateness of our Princes who wear their warm boots and fur coats in incomparably better climates! [Адамс 1838: 55].

The simplicity of Russian coachman would continue to fire the imaginations of foreigners for another three centuries. Nicolaes Witsen wrote in his diary (1664–1665): "Our Russian and Latvian drivers lit fires, lay down next to them, threw their clothes over their bodies and slept like that, despite the cold" [Витсен 1996: 47]. Madame de Staël (1812) wrote that "…in winter, the coachmen can wait by the gates ten hours at a time without complaining; they lay down on the snow under the wagons like the homeless of Naples, but at sixty degrees latitude" [Сталь 1991: 40].

The Russian's resistance to cold is not only 'hyperbolic' in descriptions, but even 'oxymoronic' when complemented with stories of their supposed resistance to heat — as demonstrated, most often, in the bathhouse: "When they get completely red <...> the men and women run outside naked and douse themselves in cold water, or, in the winter, roll around in the snow" [Олеарий 1906: 346]. The Danish diplomat Just Juel wrote that (1709–1711):

> That day, there was a harsh frost, but they ran out anyway <...> red as boiled lobsters <...> and <...> played for a long time, running around naked in the snow [Юль 2001: 78].

Francisco de Miranda (1786–1787) provided more quotidian examples:

> The children sleep in cubbies between the stove and the wall that are hot enough to bake bread in. I don't understand how these people don't get sick, alternating between heat and cold like that [Миранда 2001: 112].

3. Ideological Myths. "The Russian Cold" as a metaphor

In the 19th century, while the old reports about the strength of the Russian cold began to lose their credibility, the frosts did not fall out of the discourse about Russia, migrating to the level of metaphor.

After the Cossacks took Paris, Russian hardiness ceased to seem impressive to foreigners and even began to seem false. In 1827, François Anselot is shocked by the endurance of a Russian man who "falls asleep on stone or in snow", always prepared to take orders. What if he never finds out that there are better conditions for life? "Will he seek out warmer lands? <...> why do today's politicians stubbornly close off Asia from them?" Anselot was afraid that Russians in search of warmth would "drown" Europe in a great flood [Ансело 2001: 119–120].

In "Dziady", Adam Mickiewicz wrote that Russians walk around St. Petersburg dressed lightly not because they don't feel the cold, but because they are trying to oblige the emperor, who wants St. Petersburg to seem like a Southern city. The result of this despotism is the death of a valet who didn't dare put on the fur coat of the officer he served despite the freezing cold. The theme of the cold culminates in "Dziady" with the image of Russian as the ice block of a frozen waterfall. This is an image from P. A. Viazemsky, put into the words of a character recognizable as A. S. Pushkin, is too well-studied to need elaboration. We only note that there is a rhetorical similarity with Anselot's image: in Mickiewicz's poem, the ice block will melt if the sun of freedom comes out.

In both cases, the cold takes on a symbolic signification, and turns out to be unstable in that it allows for the possibility of a 'thaw' with the concomitant negative consequences: a 'flood' dangerous for Europe or a 'thaw' dangerous for Russia. For Mickiewicz, the 'ice' of autocracy lays the truth bare on a symbolic level: Russian people are thus described as 'nature' subject to the cold, not 'Northern peoples' who don't feel it. The truth of Russians' 'frozenness' (which doesn't apply to the poet's 'genius' friends) is in contradiction with their outer and mythologized resistance to cold.

The duality that emerges in Mickiewicz was further developed in Jules Michelet's *Democratic Legends of the North* (1854), where the author identifies Russians with water frozen by the Northern cold: "Russians are Southern people", "only the incursion of the Tatar hordes caused them to leave the South" and establish themselves in the Northern "swamps". They are lively and brisk "they walk, they ride, they travel. That's all Russians can think about". "Fickle lovers of the sea of Northern dirt <...> Russians seem to be made of water. 'As deceptive as water', in the words of Shakespeare" [Мишле 2007: 153–154].

Michelet believed that Russians (which he thought were the same as Scythians) had an elemental nature:

> The Greeks called Russians "the men with lizard eyes"; Mickiewicz put it even better, saying that real Russians had "insect eyes" that shone but seemed inhuman < … > Russians aren't quite human yet [Мишле 2007: 155].

He lifts the image of the cold of autocracy out of Mickiewicz, as well:

> The Russian government <...> wishes to bring about a harsh calm, a mighty stagnation, achieved at the cost of the best things in life. <...> The thickness of this ice is very dubious, it should not be depended on [Ibid.: 157].

It's incredible, although this is often the case with images arising from polemics, but the metaphorical idea of a 'frozen' Russia was also taken up by the people it was meant to criticize, the defenders of Russian conservative thought. After Alexander II's reforms, this metaphor was alluded to by Konstantin Leontiev, author of the famous aphorism "…Russia needs to be at least a bit frozen so as not to 'rot'…" [Леонтьев 1886: 86].

4. Demythologization. "The Russian Cold" in a mocking light

Despite the well-known legend, Denis Davydov proved that in 1812, the Russians chased the French from Russian soil without any help from the winter. Jean Baptiste Marbeau went even further, claiming that in 1812,

> Russian soldiers, accustomed to spending their winters <...> in heated dwellings <...> turned out to be much more sensitive to the cold than the European soldiers [Марбо 2005: 612].

Théophile Gautier repeats this notion:

> People from countries with more temperate climates <...> believe that <...> like polar bears, Russians delight in snow and ice. <...> On the contrary, they get cold easily and <...> take preventative measures that foreigners <...> will neglect [Готье 1990: 45].

Thus, Mickiewicz's jesting regarding Russian braggadocio is replaced by the mockery of the myth of Russians' resistance to cold itself. Gautier goes even further and calls the fatal force of the Russian cold itself into question:

> People complain that the climate isn't severe enough <...> old people tell you of wonderful winters when <...> people were "cheered" by temperatures of twenty-five and thirty degrees below zero [Ibid.: 57].

Gautier, who had always been afraid of the cold, found that the cold could be enjoyable:

> the snow sparkles like melted marble, <...> the samovar boils, the champagne is ice cold <...> and for desert, you slide down icy hills lit by men holding lanterns <...> you return to the city tasting the sweetness of the frost in the whirlwind of a brisk ride [Готье 1990: 80–82].

In the end, the author

> felt a strange love for the cold. <...> if important work hadn't kept me in St. Petersburg, I would have left to roam with the samoyeds [Ibid.: 84].

It turns out that the cold isn't as great as the Russians stories about it. It is possible that the hyperbolic and oxymoronic storytelling forms discussed above are reflections of analogous stories (at the very least, similarities with Russian folklore are easy to find) or exaggerated accounts of real events, as the case of Gautier's cigar. How the cold really affected Russian life is a question that lies outside of the competency of philology. Here we can say that without a doubt, "the Russian frosts" have influenced myths about Russia and the Russian national character.

Translated by Bela Shayevich

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HOW TO BUILD A RUSSIAN IMPERIAL ICONOSTASIS: IVAN ZARUDNY AND THE NAVIGATION OF GUIDELINES AND POLITICS

JELENA POGOSJAN

The reign of Peter I was a period of pervasive westernization, secularization, and regulation of the arts in Russia. Religious art has often been pushed by art historians to the periphery of this emerging cultural space, because it is perceived as being traditional and conservative by nature and, therefore, not consistent with the new trends of the period — not belonging to the "revolutionary" paradigm. It has also been repeatedly noted that while the Armoury Chamber, Moscow's main state-supported icon painting "factory," employed hundreds of highly skilled icon painters in the 17th century, it had just a few salaried artists by 1701. This observation was originally made by A. I. Uspensky, who stated:

> As if a mockery, only two icon painters — Tikhon Ivanov Filiatiev and Kirill Ivanov Ulanov — were still listed with the Armoury Chamber in 1701 and 1702. Apparently, this was still too many as no one took an interest in the icon painters and nothing about their activities was reported [Успенский: 268].

The decline of the Armoury Chamber, however, in no way demonstrates a decrease in the volume of icon painting. During the reign of Peter I there existed a high demand for new iconostases by both the state and private clients. In Moscow and the Moscow region alone, 153 new iconostases were commissioned between 1700 and 1725 [Николаева: 127–278]. During the reign of Peter I, the largest known iconostases were crafted in major centers throughout Russia: in Ryazan, the residence of the Head of the Russian Church; in Pskov, the headquarters of the Russian army at the beginning of the Northern War; in Archangelsk, the so-called "sea gate" of Russia before Saint-Petersburg was established; in Tobolsk, the largest city in Siberia and the base for missionary work aimed at baptizing the "wild peoples" of the empire; and, finally, in the

Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral in Saint-Petersburg. Icon painting and iconostasis building were not obscure or perishing forms of art. Indeed, they were booming artistic fields, to which artists were enticed by a surplus of influential and wealthy customers. Additionally, more and more iconostases were required for churches in the newly conquered cities of the Baltic, not to mention Saint-Petersburg, Russia's new capital.

Religious art of this period is widely represented by art historians as a product of strict state control. James Cracraft writes:

> [T]he overall purpose of this drastic reorganization of ecclesiastical administration, which entailed abolishing the centuries-old headship of the Russian church (the metropolitanate, then patriarchate of Moscow), was to reform the church as well as to run its affairs more efficiently. And high on Peter's list of "irregularities" to be thus eliminated by his Synod were supposedly improper painting and venerating of icons [Cracraft: 295].

Even more strongly, this approach to art is criticized by Leonid Ouspensky:

> The state was not concerned with tendencies in art: the one important thing was that art be under its control. It was understood that the essential task of this art was to be useful to the state; it had to contribute to the religious and moral education of the citizens. This is how Peter I viewed art in the general framework of his reforms [Ouspensky: 416].

Ivan Petrovich Zarudny was a key figure in the artistic scene during the reign of Peter I. During his work in Moscow (1701–1727), Zarudny built or decorated numerous churches, palaces, and public buildings, constructed triumphal gates and iconostases, and designed military banners, reliquaries and catafalques for official ceremonies [Мозговая]. Ivan Zarudny was an artist in the early modern sense. As Zarudny himself claimed, he was "an architect, a painter, a carpenter, a carver, a turner, a gilder, and everything that is instrumental for the craft" [Протоколы: II, 479]. He was a trusted artistic advisor to the tsar and his deputies, and the director of Peter I's major artistic projects, which were usually quite ambitious and involved large teams of craftsmen and artists. In some cases, Zarudny used his own designs approved by the tsar or a particular client; in other cases, he followed drawings or verbal instructions supplied by the tsar's deputies [Элькин: 149–150].

For his largest project, the iconostasis of the Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, Zarudny worked closely with Italian architect Domeniko Trezini, a Roman Catholic whose previous experience was largely with Lutheran churches. Zarudny based the iconostasis on a drawing by Trezini in order to match the overall design of the new church. In this project (and some others) Zarudny's role was not only to craft the iconostasis according to a proposed design, but, more importantly, to adapt the alien, unfamiliar "western" approach to Russian liturgical practices and thereby create a meaningful biblical narrative within the framework of Russian Orthodox dogmata. He was also expected to skillfully include in this narrative allusions to the tsar's military victories and dynastic circumstances, turning the iconostasis into a visual panegyric to the monarch.

From 1707 onwards, Zarudny also served as the head of the *Chamber for the Supervision of the Painting of Icons* ("Палата изугравств исправления"). He carried the official title of superintendent, and was obliged to conduct a census of all icons and to certify both Russian and foreign painters. It was a position of power, but also one of great responsibility. It was often up to him to decide which icon was "correct" and which was "corrupted". Moreover, Zarudny's own work received the greatest scrutiny, meaning that it could not be anything less than exemplary.

Zarudny's iconostases were strikingly different from anything that had been produced in Russia before [Gerasimova; Грабарь; Погосян; Постернак], which begs the following questions: why did the creator of this new form of iconostasis decide to depart so drastically from tradition; did any of the church hierarchs stand behind him and his new approach; and what did he rely on when he put together the programs for this untraditional form? All of these questions cannot, of course, be considered in just one article. The main objective of this article is to examine the rules that Ivan Zarudny received as superintendent and which he was supposed to enforce. It is reasonable to assume that Zarudny attempted to follow these rules when creating his own iconostases, and that Zarudny's extremely unconventional projects were simply a reflection of how he uniquely interpreted those rules.

By the tsar's order, which appointed Zarudny as superintendent, the Most Reverend Stefan (Yavorsky), Metropolitan of Ryazan and Murom, the head of Russian Church (the locum tenens of the patriarchal see since 1700), was ordered to protect "the greater beauty and honour of the holy icons, [and] to have over them artistic management and spiritual command in accordance with the rules of the apostles and of the holy fathers". Zarudny, on the other hand, was ordered to certify the artistic abilities of the "iconographers and painters from Moscow, as well as foreigners, working on holy icons anywhere within the Russian state", by issuing "an official seal for all icons" [Пекарский: I, 2–3][1].

Zarudny, with the approval of Stefan Yavorsky, was responsible for judging which icons and iconostases were correct (or proper) and which were not. To better facilitate this process, the tsar issued Zarudny a set of rules, which included two edicts: the first was issued in 1668 by three patriarchs, Paisius of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Ioasaph of Moscow; the second was an edict given by Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich in 1669. The rules given by Peter I to Zarudny further stated that "Everything said in the Tsar's [Aleksey Mikhailovich's edict] and the longer one of the three holy patriarchs are now inviolate and will be preserved and followed" [Пекарский: I, 2][2]. As Zarudny was required to enforce the edicts, it is reasonable to assume that Zarudny attempted to follow these edicts in creating his own iconostases — that his unprecedented work was, therefore, a reflection of how he interpreted those edicts. We need then to examine in more detail the content of the edicts, their origins and context in which they existed.

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[1] James Cracraft gives a concise but full description of this system of certification [Cracraft: 297].

The edicts given to Zarudny were both composed soon after the Great Church Council of Moscow (1666–1667)[3]. By 1667, the Council, among other important theological issues, turned their mind to the matter of iconography, and composed a separate chapter on icon painting.

> The rules of the Council are preserved. Some of them are written on behalf of the whole Council and others on behalf of just the two Patriarchs Paisius and Macarius. Some were outlined in the form of rules, some in the form of answers to questions, and some in the form of explanations; but all of them were afterwards accepted by the whole Council. All of the rulings were first written separately from each other on different scrolls and were signed by the fathers of the Council. Later they were copied together into one book under the title of *Acts of the Council* [Макарий: 404][4].

The decision on icon painting was only signed by the patriarchs Paisius and Macarius. In this decision, the two patriarchs pointed out a number of errors in existing Russian icons and, in order to prevent such errors in the future, they demanded supervision over all icon painters: "We decree that a skilled painter, who is also a good man (from the ranks of the clergy), be named monitor of the iconographers, their leader and overseer" [Деяния: 22[5]]. Initially, as Peter I indicated in his order, "the chief icon painter of the Tsar's [Armoury] Chamber, Simon Ushakov" was appointed as the overseer. Simon Ushakov received the same rules as later provided to Zarudny [Пекарский: I, 23].

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[2] A copy of this order survived in Ivan Zarudny's correspondence together with a later clarification given by the tsar in 1710, and was published later by P. P. Pekarsky [Пекарский: I, 1–30].

[3] The circumstances behind Aleksey Mikhailovich's decision to call this council, how it worked, and the major decisions it made are discussed in detail in the works of Metropolitan Makarii and A. V. Kartashev [Карташев].

[4] The Book of Acts was not published until 1881. We use the second edition, which was confirmed against the original manuscript and published in 1893 [Деяния].

[5] The part of the *Acts* of the Great Council of Moscow of 1666–1667 that was devoted to icon painting with only few small omissions is included in Leonid Ouspensky's book *Theology of the Icon* (translated by Anthony Gythiel) [Ouspensky: 371–372]. Here and below all excerpts from the *Acts* are given in this translation.

The major decisions of the Council were published in Moscow as a part of the Sluzhebnik [Служебник: 2nd pagination, 1–17 rev.] immediately following the Council's conclusion. However, the chapter on icon painting was not included in this book. Since the Council's decision on icon painting had not been published and was therefore not known by icon painters or the general public, one would expect that the edicts given to the newly established overseer of icon painters, appointed pursuant to said decision, would convey the major recommendations made by the Council in respect of icon painting. In reality, the Council's major recommendations on icon painting were deliberately excluded from the edicts.

One of the Council's major recommendations was that the Crucifixion be placed prominently on the top of the iconostasis:

> It is good and proper to place a cross, that is, the Crucifixion of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, above the Deesis in the holy churches in place of Lord Sabaoth, according to the norm preserved since ancient times in all the holy churches of the eastern countries, in Kiev, and everywhere else except in the Muscovite State. This is a great mystery kept by the holy Church.
>
> Лепо бо и прилично есть во святых церквах *надейсусе вместо Саваофа, поставити крест, сиречь Распятие* Господа и Спаса нашего Иисуса Христа. Якоже чин держится издревле во всех святых Церквах в восточных странах, и в Киеве и повсюду, опричь московскаго Государства, и то велие таинство содержится во святей Церкви [Деяния: 23–23 rev.].

The Council refers here to the common 17th century Russian practice of placing an icon of the Lord Sabaoth in the center of the upper, or "Forefathers," tier of the iconostasis[6]. In Greek alters of this period ("the holy churches of the eastern countries"), as well as in Ukrainian iconostases ("in Kiev"), the Crucifixion is always placed on the top of the iconostasis and the Lord Sabaoth is never included with the Forefathers. This demand by the patriarchs was meant to better align the Russian tradition with the "ancient" practice of the rest of "the holy Church," including the Greek and Ukrainian[7] churches.

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[6] The first iconostases with a Forefathers tier appeared in Russia at the very end of the 16th century (in 1598 in the Smolenskii Cathedral of the Virgin Monastery, and in 1599–1600 in the Trinity Cathedral for the Sergius Monastery) [Мельник: 435].

[7] The patriarchs traveled to Russia through Ukraine. We know that patriarch Macarius, in 1664 visited on his journey a number of Ukrainian monasteries and churches. Detailed descriptions of them (composed by Deacon Pavel Aleppsky, who accompanied the patriarch) specifically men-

The Council, however, not only demanded that the Lord Sabaoth be replaced by the Crucifixion; it prohibited the depiction of the Lord Sabaoth in general:

> Let all vanity of pretended wisdom cease, which has allowed everyone habitually to paint the Lord Sabaoth in various representations according to his own fantasy, without an authentic reference <…> We decree that from now on the image of the Lord Sabaoth will no longer be painted according to senseless and unsuitable imaginings, for no one has ever seen the Lord Sabaoth (that is, God the Father) in the flesh. Only Christ was seen in the flesh, and in this way He is portrayed, that is, in the flesh, and not according to His divinity.
>
> И да престанет всякое суемудрие неправедное, иже обыкоша всяк собою писати безсвидетельства: сиречь, Господа Саваофа образ в различных видех <…> Повелеваем убо от ныне Господа Саваофа образ в предь не писати: в нелепых и не приличны видениих зане Саваофа, (сиречь Отца) никтоже виде когда воплоти. Токмо якоже Христос виден бысть в плоти, тако и живописуется, сиречь воображается по плоти: а не по божеству [Деяния: 23 rev.].

In an attempt to explain its prohibition, the Council references the well-known arguments of John of Damascus ("Only Christ was seen in the flesh, and in this way He is portrayed").

The Council was similarly troubled by the depiction of the Holy Spirit as a dove:

> <…> the Holy Spirit is not, in His nature, a dove: He is by nature God. And no one has ever seen God, as the holy evangelist points out. Nonetheless, the Holy Spirit appeared in the form of a dove at the holy baptism of Christ in the Jordan; and this is why it is proper to represent the Holy Spirit in this form of a dove, in this context only. Anywhere else, those who have good sense do not represent the Holy Spirit in the form of dove, for on Mount Tabor He appeared in the form of cloud, and in another way elsewhere.
>
> <…> святый дух не есть существом голубь, но существом Бог есть, а Бога никтоже виде, якоже Иоанн Богослов и Евангелист свидетельствует, обаче аще во Иордане при святем крещении Христове явися святый Дух в виде голубине. И того ради на том месте точию подобает и писати святаго Духа в виде голубином. А на ином месте имущи разум, не изобразуют святаго Духа в голубином виде. Зане на Фаворстей горе яко облаком явися и иногда инако [Ibid.: 23].

Let us now turn to how the edicts given to Simon Ushakov and later to Zarudny addressed (or rather, failed to address) these changes to Russian icon pain-

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tion the Crucifixions over the iconostases and compare them to Greek examples [Павел Алеппский: 38–39, 52, 71–72].

ting. The edict of Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich likewise avoids practically all of the Council's decisions — the only trace of the Acts of the Council appear in the following segment:

> <…> image creation was performed by God himself when he created man in his own image and likeness. [Image creation] became honored also in the New Testament [coming] from Christ the Lord himself when He twice deigned to leave a likeness of His face on a shroud, firstly, for Tsar Agvar, and secondly, for the pious women Veronica. In the same manner, the Holy Spirit created an image [of Itself] when [It] appeared on the [River] Jordan and was praised by the holy apostles.
>
> <…> образотворения дело от самого Бога, егда сотвори по своему образу и по подобию человека. Прият честь и в новой благодати от самого Христа Господа, егда дващии изволил лице Свое на убрусе единою Агварю царю, второе благочестивой жене Веронице богоначертанно устроити; егда и Дух Святой образ сотвори, егда во образе голубя явися на Иордане почтеся от святых апостол [Пекарский: I, 19].

Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich, following the Council's example, addressed in his edict the possibility of depicting Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, sidestepping entirely, however, the supposed impossibility of depicting the Father. In this commentary, the tsar argued that in all *three* hypostases, God himself created images and gave those images to man in a visible form. It is impossible to imagine that Aleksey Mikhailovich did not perceive the contradiction here to the Council's (the patriarchs') position, and it is clear that he ignored the decision of the Council on purpose. It is likely that he wanted to keep from the public those decisions of the Council which directly opposed Russian traditional practice in order to avoid further Church unrest. It is also probable that he genuinely disagreed with the Council's view on icon painting.

The edict of the patriarchs also fails to mention anything discussed by the Council, however, we do not know, why this is the case. It is quite possible that the patriarchs expected a full publication of the *Acts*, as it was promised in the Sluzhebnik in 1667, and viewed the edict itself not as a publication of the Acts, but simply as a complimentary explanation, mostly dedicated to the important role of the icon painter. What is obvious, however, is that the recommendations of the Council on icon painting were not widely known in the time of Aleksey Mikhailovich. This situation was not changed by the reign of Peter I. The events occurring in the Holy Synod immediately after its formation, for instance, demonstrate how little the Council's recommendations were known.

The Holy Synod was formed in 1721 to replace the patriarch in the hierarchy of the Russian Church. One of the first things it sought to establish was a set of rules and instructions — the reign of Peter I was an era of rules and instructions — to guide the Church. Naturally, in this context, the Synod looked back to the Council of 1667. The Acts of the Council were first mentioned in a meeting of the Synod on June 21, 1721. The Synod requested that the Acts be brought to Saint-Petersburg from the patriarch's treasury in Moscow, and that they be kept as a book of reference available to the Synod at any time. However, the Synod was informed that the treasury was sealed by a secret councilor to the tsar — Count I. A. Musin-Pushkin. According to Musin-Pushkin, he could only unseal it by an order from the Senate.

The situation was not resolved until March 6, 1722, when both the Senate and the Synod travelled to Moscow for the celebration of the Nishtadt peace treaty with Sweden. There, in Moscow, the Tsar, or, to be precise, the Emperor (Peter I accepted this new title in 1721) ordered that the Acts be given to the Synod together with any other books and treasures [Протоколы: I, 181–182, 253–254; II, 114]. On first inspection, this conflict, resolved only by the personal intervention of the emperor, seems like the usual bureaucratic delay. In light of the subsequent events, described below, however, we can assume that the senators had viewed the Acts, and particularly the chapter on icon painting, with extreme suspicion.

The Synod began to combat the improper depiction of God, the Mother of God, and the Saints the moment it received the Acts. It issued its first order on April 6, 1722, when it prohibited the depiction of God the Father as an elderly man on the antimensia. The Synod ordered that "incorrect" antimensia be destroyed and that new antimensia be printed according to the recommendations of the Council, stressing, in particular, that they should not depict the Lord Sabaoth "as prohibited by the Council on pages 42 to 46". The Synod further ordered that "where God as Sabaoth was depicted from now on depict a radiance and draw the Jewish letters of the name of God." The Synod explained: "[treat errors in icon painting] not as sinful acts, but as improper ones, which give the ignorant an excuse to forsake [the truth]" ("не аки некое греховное дело, но яко не пристойное, и вину к поползновению невежд подающее") [Ibid.: II, 163–164]. It is clear that the members of the Synod understood how serious and potentially explosive the new rules were: the order was sent to the printing house, but it was never published.

The question of icon painting rose again after just one week. On April 12, 1722, there was a deliberation "on the correction of icon painting and supervision of painters and icon painters by architect Ivan Zarudny". This time a joint meeting of Senate and Synod was held, with Peter I also present. In preparation for the meeting, a summary of the Acts was prepared, which included all the recommendations made by the Council in 1667 regarding icon painting. As a result of the meeting the emperor ordered:

> Icon depictions are to be corrected according to the dictates of Church custom and according to [the rules of] the holy patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch and Moscow <...> which were made in 7175 (1667); and supervision over painters and iconographers is assigned to architect Zarudny who has been previously appointed superintendent in 1707; and he is to be placed under the supervision of the Synod.
>
> Иконное изображение исправить по содержанию церковнаго обычая и по соборному святейших Александрийскаго, Антиохийскаго и Московскаго патриархов [правилу] <...> каково в прошлом 7175 (1667) году учинено, а надзирательство над живописцами и иконописцами иметь архитектору Зарудневу, который и напеpед сего, в прошлом 1707 году <...> к такому надзирательству определен и супер-интендантом учинен, и бысть ему под синодальным ведением [Протоколы: II, 177–178].

On May 21, the members of the Synod discussed the subject yet again, composing a more detailed explanation of the emperor's order. It stated that the Synod had found many incorrect holy depictions, including: carved icons, the image of Saint Christopher with a dog's head, the image of Mother of God with three hands, the image of Saints Florus and Laurus with horses, etc. This list also included the image of the Lord Sabaoth, which the Synod again recommended be replaced with the name of God in Hebrew letters in a radiance.

Meanwhile, Peter I was set to leave the capital for the Persian campaign. As soon as the emperor departed, yet another meeting of the Synod on icon painting took place. On June 20, the Synod received visitors from the Senate: chancellor Count G. I. Golovkin, vice chancellor Baron P. P. Shafirov, and prosecutor general P. I. Yaguzhinsky. The visitors delivered the following "discourse":

> His Majesty's order concerning how to paint images such as the Lord Sabaoth and others *is to be kept publically silent.* The public is to be informed that there was an order about the rules of painting images, including excerpts from the order such as those concerning Saints Florus and Laurus with horses, but *omitting the rest of the order from the public.* Also, in orders to the archbishops in the dioceses direct that they should attentively oversee the correct painting of the abovementioned icons; that the [prohibited] icons must henceforth not to be painted, and mention that they should make changes gradually, rather than immediately halting [the prohibited icons].
>
> Имянной Его Императорскаго Величества указ о оном писании означение имянно образов яко Господа Саваофа и протчих, *в публике народно умолчать*; а в народной публике изъяснить то, что объявлено о писании образов в правилех, выписав их них, а особливо порознь, яко Флора и Лавра с конюхами,

> и о протчих *в публике умолчать*. Также в епархии к архиереом в указех означить, дабы во оном иконном справедливом писании имели усмотрительное попечение и об иконах, о которых объявлено выше, что их впред не писать, упомянуть чтоб *со времянем исправлять велели б, не вскоре оное прекратили* [Протоколы: II, 466–468].

The Synod provided Zarudny, who certified the icons, with the same information about the Peter I's order as was provided to the public, rather than that which was provided to the archbishops.

As discussed above, Peter I specified in his order of 1707 to Zarudny that the "artistic management and spiritual command" over icon painters was to be left to Metropolitan Stefan Yavorsky. In 1710, Zarudny received some guidelines ("память") from the Metropolitan [Пекарский: I, 21], but, unfortunately, this particular document has not survived. Stefan, however, explained his views on icon painting in detail in his book *The Rock of Faith*. Although this book was published only after Zarudny's death, it was written between 1713 and 1718, and we can, therefore, extrapolate from it a general understanding of what the instructions to Zarudny had looked like.

The Rock of Faith was written as a polemical treatise against the Lutherans and the Calvinists. The genre — polemical treatise — shapes, to some extent, the structure and nature of the arguments included in the chapter on icon painting (part 1 of the book). Despite the concessions to the genre, Stefan's positions on icon painting, in general, and the recommendations of the Council of 1667, in particular, are clear.

Stefan begins his defense of icon veneration with a long list of holy images. The first "natural" image of God the Father, he insists, is His Son, as well as any human made in His image. He also qualifies the Holy Scriptures, which render "invisible things visible", giving God eyes, and ears, and hands, and feet [Стефан Яворский: 4]. From that introduction, depictions of God the Father logically follow. In a chapter entitled *The Stumbling Blocks of Likeness in Holy Scripture as Described by the Prophet Isiah and the Deeds of the Apostles,* Stefan provides a list of potential "stumbling blocks":

> To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him? The workman melteth a graven image, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth silver chains (Isaiah 40:18–19).
>
> <…> we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device (Acts of Apostles 17: 29).

These two particular citations were also used in the Acts of the Council of 1666–1667 where they were supplemented with an additional passage from

John of Damascus: “Who can make an imitation of God, the invisible, the incorporeal, the indescribable, and unimaginable? To make an image of the Divinity is the height of folly and impiety” [Деяния: 22 rev.–23]. Stefan attempts to clarify the citations in what he calls, “corrections”. In the first, he states:

> When God said: let us create man in image and likeness of Us <…> man thereby became the image and likeness of God; the visible of the invisible, the decipherable of the indecipherable, the imaginable of the unimaginable, the corporeal of the incorporeal.
>
> Егда рече Господь Бог: Сотворим человека по образу нашему и подобию <…> како человек может быть подобием и образом Бога; Како видимое невидимаго, описанное неописаннаго, постижимое непостижимаго, тленное нетленнаго, может быти образом и подобием [Стефан Яворский: 118].

The last lines of this argument are an unreferenced citation from John of Damascus, the same employed in the Acts, to which Stefan certainly had access — the manuscript was kept in his treasury. The use of this type of bundling of thematically-linked biblical quotations was an established practice during this period and these bundles travelled from one work to another. However, it is still likely that Stefan specifically chose this combination of citations as an allusion to the Council and its Acts.

Stefan then turns to the issue of depicting of God the Father and the Holy Spirit:

> Icon painters (for whom no written law exists) depict God the Father as an old man beautified by his grey hair, not because this is His image in His incomprehensible divinity, but because this is the image in which He was seen by the prophet Daniel and also Isaiah. In the same way they depict the Holy Spirit in the image of a dove, not [because they are] describing Its indescribable divinity, but because It appeared in the image of a dove above the [River] Jordan”.
>
> Бога Отца иконописцы (имже закон неписан) образуют в виде старца сединами преукрашенного не яко таков есть в своем непостижимстем Божестве: но яко в сицевом образе *виден бысть* от Даниила пророка, и от Исайи. Тако и Духа святаго образуют в виде голубя, не божество его неописанное описующе, но яко *в сицевом зраце Голубя явися* на Иордане [Ibid.: 119].

He insists that depictions of God the Father are possible because He was seen by the prophets and, therefore, was depicted “by visions”. The Holy Spirit in the image of a dove again is depicted “by appearance”. Stefan’s arguments are very close to the arguments in Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich’s edict and contradict the rules of the Council.

The first edition of *The Rock of Faith* did not appear in Moscow until 1728. The engravings for this book were specifically chosen to illustrate the author's views on icon painting. The first page includes a depiction of the Trinity of the New Testament: the Son appears on the left, the Father on the right (with the inscription "God Sabaoth"), and a dove between them. Atop the next page is a panoramic of Moscow. Above that, however, are the apostles with the Holy Spirit descending upon them. The Holy Spirit is represented as a dove with a caption reading "the Holy Spirit". The third page includes a portrait of Stefan himself, his coat of arms, and another dove, emitting a ray of light upon the head of the author, again with the caption "the Holy Spirit".

The iconostasis in Dormition Cathedral in Ryazan is another illustration of Stefan's views. Work on this seven-tier iconostasis had already been started by the time Stefan was appointed archbishop of Ryazan and Murom: "in 1700–1702 on the orders of Archbishop Stefan and from his wealth, a large sum of money, 12,500 rubles, the iconostasis was gilded and the icons were painted for the cathedral. On the August 15th, 1702, the beautiful cathedral was consecrated" [Дмитрий Градусов: 51]. According to tradition and, pointedly, against the recommendation of the Council of 1667, the Lord Sabaoth again appeared prominently in the upper tier of the iconostasis, and directly beneath him — the Holy Spirit was depicted as a dove.

Let us return to *The Rock of Faith.* Although the image of God the Father and the Holy Spirit are acceptable to the author, he adds the caveat that: "for whom [the icon painters] no written law exists" ("имже закон неписан"). In a general sense, he may mean that icon painters follow unwritten custom, rather than written rules. The written rules in this case likely refer, first and foremost, to the widely known works of John of Damascus on icon painting. Those works were included, for instance, in Petr Mogila's *The Orthodox Confession of Faith*, translated from Greek, and published in 1696, later in 1709, and again in 1717 [Пекарский: II, № 138, 330]. At the same time, Stefan is almost certainly referencing a well-known proverb "There is no law written for fools". By employing this proverb, Stefan distances himself from the icon painters and the polemics surrounding their craft.

The duality of his position is comparable to the views of Dimitry Metropolitan of Rostov, who Stefan unquestionably considered an authority on everything concerning Orthodox dogma. Pavel Hondzinsky writes: "Already in St. Demetrius' "Inquiry into the Schismatic Faith in Brynsk" there is considerable space devoted to the analysis of the historical variability of the rite, proving that it does not affect the dogmatic foundations of the faith" [Павел Хондзинский: 61].

In "Inquiry into the schismatic faith in Brynsk", Dimitry repeatedly turns to the question of icon veneration. He insists:

> We venerate the holy icons of saints but do not idolize them, nor do we claim that the icon is God; rather [the icon is] a depiction of the likeness of Christ <…> I do not venerate a board, a wall, or paint, but a representation of the image of Christ and the divine Providence <…> When we bow before a holy icon, we bow not to a board, or paints, or patterns, or ancestry, or novelty, because we do not seek substance in an icon <…> instead we behold divinity.
>
> Почитаем мы иконы святыя, но не боготворим, не сказуем, яко икона есть Бог, но изображение подобия Христова <…> не доску почитаю, ниже стену, ниже мшель (вещество) шаровный, но воображение тела (Христова) и смотрение Господне <…> Егда убо кланяемся иконе святей, кланяемся не дске, ни вапам, ни переводам, ни ветхости, ни новости, понеже не вещества в иконе ищем <…> но на святыню взираем [Димитрий: 13–16].

Therefore, according to Dimitry, the schismatics (or old believers) betray their inability to venerate holiness; instead, perceiving only the corporeal aspect, they damn the new icons. In the same fashion, he argues that the cross too should be an object of veneration, whether it have four points, eight points, or more — every cross is an image of the Crucifix and, therefore, it should be treated as a holy object [Ibid.: 20–21].

Dimitry attempts to explain the striking variability of historical images throughout history with an example from the Old Testament:

> [I]n the Old Testament, when Solomon built the Temple of God, he made new cherubs using a new design; and set them over the Ark of the Covenant with the ancient ones, made by Moses. The people of Israel, living in those times, did not reject Solomon's new cherubs, did not plead saying: we don't want to venerate the new cherubs, and only keep Moses' old ones <...> and so we do not pick out the old or the new icons, but equally venerate them all.
>
> [В] Ветхом завете, егда Соломон создав церковь Богу, содела новыя и новым переводом херувимы, и постави я над кивотом завета купно с древними, от Моисея сделанными херувимами, людие Израильстии, в то время бывшии, не отметаху новых Соломоновых херувимов, ни моляху глаголюще не хощем почитати новыя херувимы, но старых Моисеевых держимся <…> Сице и мы не разбираем между старыми и новыми иконами, но равно почитаем [Ibid.: 18–19].

Of course, Dimitry agrees that there are some errors, for example, in the inscriptions on icons, and that they require correction. For him, though, "depravity" exists not in the errors in iconography or in inscriptions on icons, but in the refusal to honour icons because of those errors. Again, he argues that this refusal indicates that the schismatics only worship the corporeal aspect of icons. In fact, although he leaned towards the need for supervision of icon painting and the correction of errors ("due to our Russian ignoramuses" [Димитрий: 48]), he did not find these sorts of errors particularly troublesome or think them at all dangerous.

When Dimitry writes about objects of veneration, he compares the Old and New Testament:

> When, in the Old Testament, God's people venerated the Ark of the Covenant, and the object it contained <…> and the cherubs of Glory adorning the alter, they worshiped, not the corporeal [objects], but God Himself, in visible objects they worshiped the invisible. Similarly, we, in the time of the New Testament, venerate holy icons.
>
> Якоже в Ветхом завете людие Божии, почитающе кивот завета, и лежащия в нем вещи <…> и херувимы славы осеняющщия олтарь, и покланяющеся тем, не веществу поклоняхуся, но самому Богу, в видимых святых вещах почитающе невидимаго. Еще мы в новой благодати иконам святым покланяемся [Ibid.: 18].

Stefan bases his understanding of Orthodox image creation on the same principles of the unavoidability and the necessity of historical change in the forms of Church tradition, including in iconography as set forth by Dimitry. There are objects in Church customs and practices for which there is "no law": ignorance is not a sin; and imperfections are rectifiable. This approach also likely explains the various amendments issued by the Synod to Peter I's orders concerning icon painting, (e. g.: "[treat errors in icon painting] not as sinful acts, but as improper ones, which give the ignorant an excuse to forsake [the truth]"). The goal of the Synod in issuing the amendments was to enlighten the ignorant, not to fight the enemies of the Church.

The documents provided to superintendent Zarudny as guidelines for supervising icon painting, and therefore also for his own works, did not contain the same prohibitions, as had been imposed by the Acts of the Moscow Council of 1667. On the contrary Stefan Yavorsky, who directly supervised Zarudny, was inclined to avoid imposing restrictions on icon painting. As such, Zarudny was given a broad scope within which to create his iconostasis and he did not hesitate to make full use of this opportunity.

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THE (DIS)EMPOWERED PEOPLE: KINGSHIP, REVOLT AND THE ORIGINS OF RUSSIAN TRAGIC DRAMA[1]

KIRILL OSPOVAT

Tragedy as a literary genre and theatrical form was introduced to Russia around 1750 by Aleksandr Sumarokov (1717–1777), a dramatist and stage director active at the courts of Empresses Elizabeth (r. 1741–1761) and Catherine II (r. 1762–1796). In Petersburg, as in other European capitals, theatrical performances were a central element of what Grigorii Gukovskii called the "spectacle of the imperial court" [Гуковский 1936: 12–13]. Richard Wortman elaborates on this concept in his by now standard work, "Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy". While theater always provided a convenient metaphor for all kinds of political representation, actual theatrical practices were in fact commonly appropriated by early modern courts. By the eighteenth century, court theaters were firmly established across Europe as one of the crucial institutions of absolutist "culture of power" and shared a relatively uniform language of political representation, disseminated by travelling companies and individual professionals, as well as through print media. Since the late 1730s, and especially after the ascension of Elizabeth in 1742, Western-type court theater gradually set foot in Russia, as foreign (French, Italian, and German) companies were hired or invited to perform at court[2].

Sumarokov's dramas emerged from the pan-European idiom of court theater and drew upon the political theatrics of the court, ultimately functioning as a political medium. In one of the best accounts of the political underpinnings of Russian classicist tragedy, Vsevolod Vsevolodskii-Gerngross draws attention to the fact that throughout the eighteenth century, tragedy was both poorly performed and poorly received outside the capitals, where it was "cultivated by the Russian aristocracy", a limited social group centered around the court and more adequately identifiable as the "court society", or the political class of state servitors. With the tastes and interests of this group in mind, dramatic writers starting with Sumarokov developed an idiom of political allegory and allusion, which simultaneously expressed and masked the concerns of court society and the tensions permeating its social existence. Specific political allusions, which we might or might not discern in individual dramatic texts, are thus only symptomatic of more fundamental structures of political thinking that were both revealed and shaped by tragedy — a genre adopted in Russia precisely because, as Vsevolodskii-Gerngross argues, it was specifically tailored to negotiate "the problematic relationship between the aristocracy and the monarchy"[3] [Всеволодский-Гернгросс 2003: 107–109]. Building on this argument and reenhancing it with a comparative perspective on early modern drama and its political resonances, this paper will explore the fundamental affinity between the poetics of neoclassical tragedy, both in theory and practice, and the discursive mechanics of power in autocratic Russia.

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[1] This paper is part of a study carried out within the project "Early Modern European Drama and the Cultural Net" funded by the European Research Council at the Freie Universität Berlin.

[2] On the early history of Russian court theater, see [Всеволодский-Гернгросс 2003; Волков 1953; Старикова 2003–2011; Корндорф 2011].

Drama and the Poetics of Autocracy

Laying the ground for his analysis of Russian political symbolism, Wortman asks why Russia's rulers, "who disposed of a formidable administration and army", would require "demonstrative displays", and argues that such presentations, "by 'acting on the imagination', tied servitors to the throne as much as the prerequisites and emoluments they received from state service. To understand the persistence of absolute monarchy in Russia and the abiding loyalty of the nobility, we must examine the ways that <…> feelings were evoked and sustained" [Wortman 1995: 3–4].

Poetics of theater, considered since the times of Aristotle to be a perfect medium for the manipulation of collective emotion, provided a paradigm for absolutist exercise of power, and students of European cultural history (and tragedy in particular) have amply explored this parallel [Apostolidès 1985; Greenblatt 1988: 62–65; Wikander 1993]. Indeed, Aristotelian concepts which shaped tragedy as a genre — pity and fear, guilt, justice and punishment —

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[3] For a valuable discussion of the political and historical underpinnings of Sumarokov's tragedies see also [Касаткина 1955: 213–261]. On the "political dialogue" between eighteenth-century Russian rulers and the elites, reflected in the literary production of the time, including plays, see [Whittaker 2003].

were easily realigned to reflect the collective experience of absolutist polities. Accordingly, as Stephen Orgel concludes in his pioneering account of early modern court theatrics, "Dramas at court were not entertainments in the simple and dismissive sense we usually apply to the word. They were expressions of the age's most profound assumptions about the monarchy" [Orgel 1975: 8; Marin 2005: 264–266]. This was certainly true of Sumarokov's tragedies which are all set in royal residences (*v kniazheskom dome, v tsarskom dome*) populated by "tsars, princes and magnates" [Гуковский 1998: 135]. Abbé d'Aubignac's *La pratique du théâtre* (1657), one of the most influential European neoclassical theatrical treatises conceived under the auspices of France's famous first minister Cardinal Richelieu, expressly inscribed drama, and tragedy in particular, into a vision of state-sanctioned public spectacle. Aubignac suggested that the success of a play depended on its conformity to the collective sensibilities of the public understood as an audience of subjects representative of the political nation and reinforced by their theatrical experience in an emotionally charged loyalty to the crown:

> Thus the Athenians delighted to see upon their Theatre the Cruelties of Kings <...> because the State in which they liv'd being Popular, they lov'd to be perswaded that Monarchy was always Tyrannical <...> Whereas quite contrary among us, the respect and love which we have for our Princes, cannot endure that we should entertain the Public with such Spectacles of horror; we are not willing to believe that Kings are wicked, nor that their Subjects, though with same appearance of ill usage, ought to Rebel against their Power: or touch their Persons, no not in Effigie; and I do not believe that upon our Stage a Poet could cause a Tyrant to be murder'd with any applause, except he had very cautiously laid the thing: As for Example, that the Tyrant were and Usurper, and the right Heir should appear, and be own'd by the People, who should take that occasion to revenge the injuries that had suffered from a Tyrant[4] [D'Aubignac 1968: 70].

Despite his absolutist stance and the apparently non-political focus of his work, Aubignac does not shy away from addressing the most prominent threats to the monarchical order, imbedded in its own structure, — tyranny and revolt. Expressing faith in the stability of the French monarchy, he nevertheless links the "respect and love" inspired by sovereigns to a precarious dynamic of illusion: modern subjects are expected to willingly ignore the flaws of kings and evidence of their abusive power, while the tempting notions of popular prerogative, disputed but backed by the influential example of ancient republicanism, still loom in accepted discourse. Similar issues are raised in Louis Riccoboni's *Dissertation sur la Tragedie Moderne* (1730):

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[4] For the original see the recent critical edition: [D'Aubignac 2001: 119–120]. On d'Aubignac see an insightful study of the political agendas behind the shaping of neoclassical theatrical practices [Blocker 2009].

> Among the Greeks, the People having a great Share in the Government, nothing interested them so much as the Revolutions of Kingdoms: They were pleased to see the Passions drawn in such a manner as to occasion them, and to hear the Theatre adopt political Maxims. <...> The French, contented with their happy Government, through a long Succession of Years under the wise Direction of their Princes, are less touched with Pictures resembling the Intrigues of Ambition: They with Joy behold Love and Jealousy keep Possession of their Stage <...> Why may they not make their Princes represent Dramatic Heroes, as the English have done? [Riccoboni 1741: 329–330]; cf. [Riccoboni 1730: 1, 314–315].

If the predilection of French audiences for amorous themes was a reliable sign of the voluntary withdrawal of the people from the political sphere and their concession of power to the monarchy, then absolutist order had to be fragile: the public interest in the ruin of the powerful and "intrigues of ambition" might have been weakened but certainly was not extinguished, as canonical seventeenth-century plays such as Corneille's *Nicomède* (1650) and Racine's *Britannicus* (1669), among others, attest. Riccoboni's own sympathy for English-type political drama emphasizes the relevance of tragedy as a medium where royal power is (re-)negotiated, and the community of subjects, consigned to passivity by absolutist political theory, reclaim their indubitable and threatening power over their rulers. In her important study, Hélène Merlin-Kajman draws attention to an episode in *Nicomède,* where a popular revolt against an unworthy king is triggered by a perceived threat to Nicomède, the esteemed and valorous heir apparent. The rebels kill two henchmen involved in an intrigue against the prince, and continue to rage [V, 4]:

Le peuple par leur mort pourrait s'être adouci;
Mais un dessein formé ne tombe pas ainsi:
Il suit toujours son but jusqu'à ce qu'il l'emporte;
Le premier sang versé rend sa fureur plus forte;
Il l'amorce, il l'acharne, il en éteint l'horreur,
Et ne lui laisse plus ni pitié ni terreur.

The peoples rage no further might pretend
But form'd designs have seldom such an end,
They press as what they have contriv'd before
The first bloodshed opens the way to more.
Fleshes, and hardens, does all horror chace
And unto fear or pitty leaves no place.

Nicomède's appearance appeases the mutinous subjects, and he restores their obedience to the lawful king his father [V, 9]:

> Tout est calme, seigneur: un moment de ma vue
> A soudain apaisé la populace émue.
> All's quiet sir, my sight did soon asswage
> The peoples fury and has balmed their rage.
> [Corneille 1963: 538–540; Corneille 1671: 48, 54]

As Merlin-Kajman notes, during the revolt the populace is freed from the constraints of pity and fear, the two emotions that according to Aristotle had to be inspired and manipulated by a tragedy in order to achieve catharsis, a "purgation" or "purification of passions" (66–67). In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Aristotle's enigmatic doctrine and its diverging interpretations famously provided the groundwork for dramatic theory, including Corneille's own *Trois Discours sur la poésie dramatique* (*Three Discourses on Dramatic Poetry,* 1660). In *Nicomède,* the emotional mechanics of tragedy summarized in the notion of *catharsis* are identified with the workings of royal authority which brings about the restitution of the disciplining affects of pity and fear among rebellious subjects, and is itself construed as a fundamentally theatrical phenomenon. At the same time the theatrical paradigm secured a privileged role for the political nation, the audience of the spectacle of monarchy and the ultimate judge of its success, on and off stage.

The discourse on theater developed on the crossroads of Aristotelian theory and theatrical practice by Aubignac, Corneille, Riccoboni and the likes, saw the collective attitudes of the public as the most important measure of dramatic writing. At the same time it suggested that monarchy depended on a voluntary concession of power by the subjects in an act of semi-aesthetic illusion, "suspension of disbelief". In *Nicomède* the rebellious "people" is invested with the power to judge the prince's performance, while their uprising cannot be dismissed as illegitimate, as it is aroused by real crimes and fuelled by loyalty to a future king; in fact, the rebels save the day and secure the tragedy's happy ending. Their instantaneous submission to Nicomède, a reinstatement of monarchical order, is driven by *admiration,* — an emotion introduced by Corneille as a core element of his poetics in the *Examen de Nicomède,* and calculated to unite the theatrical audience of the play with the politically self-conscious subjects on stage. Tragedy could function as a ritualized reenactment of the original compact between monarchy and its subjects, and it is this role that it came to play in 18th-century Russia.

While no systematic treatises on drama were translated or composed in Russia at that time, an interesting case of an explicitly political reading of literary and dramatic poetics is found in John Barclay's neo-Latin novel *Argenis*, published in 1751 on royal orders in Trediakovskii's Russian translation as *Argenida*. At one point the author explains through his alter ego, the courtly writer Nicopompus, the idea of his novel, conceived as a royalist remedy against the disasters of political chaos. A crisis of monarchy, with "the people disobedient to the prince, to both their ruins", can be resolved with the help of fictional representation and its manipulative effects. To this end, Nicopompus designs "a stately fable, in manner of a history" which will attract the curiosity of the politically active public who will be conduced to acknowledge their errors at the same time as they "love my book above any stage-play or spectacle on the theatre".

Although Barclay seems to dismiss theater as a diversion lacking the political gravity appropriate for his novel, it in fact serves as a model for his vision of political didactics which heavily relies on classical discussions of theatrical poetics. It was drama that Horace referred to in his famous precept that Barclay elaborates upon: "Who can blend usefulness and sweetness wins every / Vote, at once delighting and teaching the reader" (Trediakovskii quoted those verses in the preface to his translation). He further bases his techniques of enticement on a reading of Aristotle's *Poetics* emphasizing the link between the tragic emotions of pity and fear, and poetic justice: "I will stir up pity, fear, and horror <…> I will figure vices and virtues, and each of them shall have his reward". Finally, Barclay resorts to a theatrical simile in order to express his idea of an edifying effect:

> <…> they shall meet with themselves and find in the glass held before them, the show and merit of their own fame. It will perchance make them ashamed longer to play those parts upon the stage of this life, for which they must confess themselves justly taxed in a fable.

The conventional concept of "the stage of this life", which makes drama the perfect mirror of political existence, serves in Barclay's rendering to align its chaotic developments with a certain vision of state order. Identifying "Rebellion" with "irreligion", he overtly links divine justice — both in fiction and outside it — to the royalist cause, doomed to triumph over aristocratic faction. Consequently, the didactic encouragement of "virtues" aims for the reinstatement of the traditional hierarchy of unconditional rule and obedience, undermined by the "vices" of political actors:

> How much better had it been (I speak the plainlier amongst my friends) for the King to look back upon his Ancestors, and to prevent mischiefes by the example either of their wiser resolutions, or their errors, then after the wound received, to stand in need of physique? But these Traitors now up against him, what title, what colour will they find for their Rebellion, which hath not been long before infamous by the like troubles? <…> I will discover, how the King hath done amiss: and what anchor the history of former times doth yet offer him in his now near ship-wrack. Then will I take off the mask from the factious subjects, that the people may know them: what they are like to hope, what to fear: by what means they may be reclaimmed to virtue, and by what means continuing obstinate, they may be cut off [Barclay 2004: 1, 333, 337]; cf. [Барклай 1751: 1, 416–417].

While individual rulers and their actions are not exempt from criticism, the moralizing effects of fiction help revive and renegotiate the absolutist compact between monarchy and its subjects, devoid of any constitutional limitations on royal power; in Lev Pumpianskii's terms, *Argenis* contained "a complete code of absolutist morals" [Пумпянский 2001: 6]. Literary reminders of "wiser resolutions" of historical kings as well as their "errors" are seen as crucial for the healthy functioning of monarchy as an institution and its dignity in the eyes of its subjects. Revealing the dramatic overtones of Barclay's poetics of political fiction, Aleksandr Karin in his 1760 epistle used a similar argument to describe the genre of tragedy, locating it in the spaces of royal power:

Трагедия пример Влыдыкам и Князьям,
Как должно сыскивать им путь в безсмертной храм.
В ином там славится щедрота иль геройство,
В другом, в владении восставил что спокойство.
В ином правдивой суд или великой дух:
Описан всякаго по мере вид заслуг:
Иного бедствия представлены злощастны,
Или в желаниях успехи как нещастны. <...>

(Tragedy gives an example to sovereigns and princes how they should find their way into the temple of immortality. One is famed for his liberality or valor, another for having restored peace in his realm, yet another for his justice or magnanimity. The merits of each are dutifully listed, as well as the misfortunes of others or their misguided wishes <…>) [Карин 1761: 11].

Denying subjects any direct political rights, Barclay quite importantly recognizes their role as the audience of the "public spectacles" of political action, fictional or not. "The people" (and he certainly means the political class), in its double role as a nation of subjects and the readership of the novel, are the ultimate judges of emotional techniques employed in order to persuade them to identify virtue with obedience and accept the sweeping denunciation of political resistance. Since the novel's readers are themselves guilty of "credulity" towards the rebels and have assumed shameful roles on "the stage of this life", it is only through the effects of fictional representation that they can be refashioned as worthy subjects and reminded of their duty. This was in fact the expressly recognized goal of drama. Following Horace who in his *Ars poetica* (twice translated into Russian in 1752–1755) stated that dramatic art had to rely on the knowledge of "What's required of a senator or a judge in office, / What's the role of a general in war", Riccoboni wrote in his dedication of the treatise *De la réformation du theâtre* to Empress Elizabeth that the establishment of a Russian national theater would allow her "teach the youth a sensible morality, suited to fashion wise politicians, courageous soldiers, magistrates upright and zealous in state service" [Riccoboni 1743: VIII].

Indeed, from its very beginnings Russian tragedy explored and reaffirmed the outlines of political order. As early as 1716 the Hannoverian diplomat Friedrich Christian Weber described in his famous account of Petrine Russia, *Das veränderte Russland,* a performance of a tragedy personally written and staged for Peter the Great by his sister, Princess Natalia. The play's "Subject related to one of the late Rebellions in Russia, represented under disguised Names", and it concluded "with a Moral, reflecting on the Horrors of Rebellion, and the unhappy Events it commonly issues in". In the following lines Weber linked the performative practices newly imported to Russia to the "a blind Obedience among these People towards their superiors" [Weber 1722: 189–190]. The same themes were reiterated in Sumarokov's neoclassical dramas: all of his tragedies, written between the 1740s and the 1770s, dealt with conspiracies and revolts — successful, abortive or only fearfully anticipated[5].

Gamlet (1748): The drama of coup d'état

In his discussion of dramatic plots acceptable in a monarchy d'Aubignac evokes stage representations of revolt, simultaneously forbidding and allowing them in case "the right Heir should appear, and be own'd by the People, who should take that occasion to revenge the injuries that had suffered from a Tyrant" [D'Aubignac 1968: 70]. His vision of a dramatic poetics fully subjected to absolutist orthodoxy is put to the test through the introduction of a paradox which alone seems to be able to provide a positive source of theatrical interest among prohibitive politically orthodox regulations: a legitimate revolt. This paradox can indeed be central for a vision of royal power which associates it with dramatic performance. In his seminal study of early modern tragedy Walter Benjamin links it to a vision of sovereignty as originating in extraordinary displays of power in a "state of exception" beyond any law, a vision revived in Carl Schmitt's influential readings of early modern political theory. In his *Prince,* well known in eighteenth-century Russia, Machiavelli suggests that a ruler should not shy away from forceful if questionable actions:

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[5] On the importance of revolt for Sumarokov's tragedies, see [Гуковский 1998: 137–138; Касаткина 1955: 223]. On palace revolutions in eighteenth-century Russia, see the recent comprehensive study: [Курукин 2003], specifically linking this issue to Sumarokov's dramatic practice [Ibid.: 345].

> mankind in general form their judgment rather from appearances than realities: all men have eyes, but not many have the gift of penetration: every one sees your exterior, but few can discern what you have in your heart; and those few dare not oppose the voice of the multitude, who have the Majesty of their Prince on their side <...> Let it then be the chief care of a Prince to preserve himself and his State: the means which he uses for that purpose, whatsoever they are, will always be esteemed honourable, and applauded by every one: for the opinion of the Vulgar is always determined by appearances and the issue of things <...> [Machiavelli 1762: 632][6].

Machiavelli derives power from political theatrics which is not limited to lies and fabrications: efficacious political action judged by its success, "the issue of things", can itself provide for its own legitimacy. A forceful act — easily identified as the conquest of power, *The Prince*'s most important subject — erases for a spectacular moment the boundary between reality and its representation: the ruler's public actions simultaneously establish his domination and produce narratives of legitimacy made possible by the public's need to consider any authority "honourable". Political order hinges, then, on the ability of the collective political imagination to inscribe royal violence into publicly accepted fictions. It is this aesthetic complicity between ruler and subjects which provides a blueprint for theater as an institution of monarchy, and specifically for tragic stagings of royal authority.

This pattern was also central for Empress Elizabeth's "scenario of power" originating in the coup d'état which brought her to the throne in November 1741. The coup itself followed a profoundly theatrical logic [Pogosjan 2008]. On the night of the coup Elizabeth walked into the barracks of the Preobrazhenskii guards regiment. According to a contemporary account, "she appeared before the soldiers, a sword in her hand, and told them in a few words that they saw in her a legitimate empress and those who loved her had to follow her immediately". Given that Peter the Great's succession abolished all rights of inheritance, Elizabeth's claim to power had no legal ground but mainly depended on her performance of the role assumed that night. Her performance was a success; the French ambassador marquis de la Chétardie, who enjoyed Elizabeth's favor and had first-hand knowledge of the events at court, reported that Elizabeth's conduct toward her visitors the next day "succeeded in winning her everyone's hearts" [SIRIO 96: 654, 648].

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[6] On the implications of this fragment for a "theatrical" understating of power see [Koschorke 2007: 156–157]. On the knowledge of Machiavelli in eighteenth-century Russia, see [Юсим 1998: 77–136].

Apparently, Elizabeth relied on the same patterns of theatricality of royal charisma that were explored and exposed in Corneille's *Nicomède.* Appearing in person before armed guards, Elizabeth claimed the same immediately theatrical power over her future subjects that befitted a true heir (or heiress) and secured her charismatic authority over the head of the lawful but unworthy ruler. In 1760, the anniversary of Elizabeth's ascension was celebrated with a performance of Metastasio's opera *Siroe, Re di Persia* (1725) which adapted Corneille's portrayal of the imperious heir apparent in the face of popular revolt which simultaneously shakes political order and establishes his personal power. If Corneille's prince magnanimously cedes this power to his weak-spirited father, in *Siroe* he is called upon to accept the crown, and is honored with an apotheosis projected in the Russian performance onto the coup of 1741 [Метастазио 1760].

A similar scenario underlies Sumarokov's second tragedy, *Gamlet* (1748), a remake of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* provided with a happy ending and transformed into a veiled celebration of Elizabeth's coup. Sumarokov's prince leads a successful popular revolt against Klavdii (Claudius): "Все здешне жительство на помощь мне предстало <…> Единодушно все на трон меня желали" ("All of the citizens did rally to support me <…> all expressed the wish to crown me king of Denmark") [V, 5] [Сумароков 1787: 116; Sumarokov 1970: 132][7]. Marcus Levitt in his valuable essay on the play criticizes the "common Russian view" which stresses the "political message of Sumarokov's plays" so that "some commentators have seen in [*Gamlet*] an allegorical defense of Empress Elizabeth's ascension to the throne" [Levitt 2009: 95–96]. However, this reading of the play, first suggested by Vsevolodskii-Gerngross [Всеволодский-Гернгросс 2003: 110–112], can hardly be ignored in its historical discussion.

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[7] I will quote the Russian and English texts of *Gamlet* from these editions, with page numbers in parentheses and correcting the translation when necessary. I also consult Maksim Amelin's republication of the play which takes into account Sumarokov's list of corrections to the original edition: *Novaia Iunost'.* 2003, № 4.

Conceived with an eye for possible performances at court, *Gamlet* could not have avoided allusions to the palace revolution of November 1741 which brought Elizabeth to Russia's throne and was revived in public memory through yearly celebrations of the empress' "ascension day." In fact, the idiom of political allegory which aligns *Gamlet* with Elizabeth's ceremonial "scenarios of power" does not appear as superficial or straightforward as it is usually assumed. On the contrary, it challenges our assumptions of royal and authorial control over meaning and message, as it ventilates what Stephen Greenblatt defines as "paradoxes, ambiguities, and tensions of authority" [Greenblatt 1988: 65].

Reenacting in his tragedy the "theatrical" conception of royal power dependent on the approval of the public, Sumarokov evokes dramatic poetics as a mode of representation which relies on and fosters a fascination for forceful if questionable action. The paradoxical situation of legitimate revolt, recommended by d'Aubignac and staged by Sumarokov, necessarily calls into question and suspends the seemingly stable conditions of legitimacy. Aubignac's line of argument reveals the crux of the uneasy early modern understanding of monarchy: even a tyrant has a legitimate claim to obedience, "for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God" (Rom. 13: 1–2). In Shakespeare's Denmark, as Margreta de Grazia shows in her compelling study of *Hamlet,* "Claudius is the legitimate king; as far is known to the court, he has committed no legal offence in ascending to the throne", and Hamlet himself never accuses him of usurpation [De Grazia 2007: 87–88]. Similar to his Shakespearean counterpart, Sumarokov's Klavdii, also guilty of murder and usurpation, appropriates the language of legitimacy as he responds to the remorseful Gertruda who impels him to abdicate and hope for a pardon from the nation [II, 2]:

> Кому прощать Царя? народ в его руках.
> Он Бог, не человек, в подверженных странах.
> Когда кому даны порфира и корона,
> Тому вся правда власть, и нет ему закона [78].
>
> Who's to forgive the king? The nation's in his hands.
> He is not man but God through all the realm he rules.
> Whoever gains the crown and the imperial purple
> Knows no law but his own, his voice alone is justice [102].

Royal prerogatives evoked by Claudius are quite real: an absolute monarch is not bound by law and cannot be judged or punished by his subjects. In Sumarokov's play — much more clearly than in Shakespeare's — defiled and distorted certitudes of absolutist orthodoxy fail to contain resentment against Claudius both on stage and in the audience; in their stead, however, this failure unleashes the overtly destructive energies of political violence. The defeated Polonii is not legally wrong when he condemns Gamlet's triumph as mutiny [V, 4]:

Всходи взносись на трон высокой,
Когда тебе твоя неправда помогла,
И дерзостны сердца против Царя зажгла [110–111].

Go, ascend the throne of Denmark,
If your injustice has helped you gain your end,
And has inflamed the hearts of traitors to the king [127].

Fantasies of revolt were anything but irrelevant or harmless in Russia of the 1740s. In 1740, still during Empress Anna's reign, Artemii Volynskii was publicly executed on false charges of conspiracy: allegedly he harbored a dynastic claim to the Russian throne and planned to provoke a popular revolt in order to overthrow the empress, marry the princess Elizabeth and seize Russia's throne [Курукин: 356]. In this fictitious scenario forged by the collective imagination of the Russian court, Volynskii assumed a role very much similar to Sumarokov's Gamlet, who leads a popular revolt in order to claim his dynastic rights.

Another fiction of this kind surfaced in 1748, the year when *Gamlet* was published. At that time Sumarokov served as a high-ranking officer in the *leib-companiia*, a privileged unit of royal bodyguards formed from the soldiers involved in the palace revolution of 1741 and directly supervised by the Elizabeth's favorite, count Aleksei Razumovskii. Sometime during this year, Sumarokov's fellow guardsman Stepanov, possibly the poet's acquaintance if not his subordinate, as he was stationed at the doors of the royal chambers witnessed the empress enter with Razumovskii and received an order to leave the porch. In his own words, reported to the Secret Chancery and confirmed and expanded by Stepanov himself during ensuing interrogations, he heard the floor boarding creak and "reckoned that the most gracious lady is committing fornication with Razumovskii", so that he started trembling and considered bursting into the room and stabbing Razumovskii with his bayonet. Afterwards he planned to explain to the empress that he had stabbed her lover because "he commits fornication with your imperial majesty" and was hopeful that she would not have him punished. In one version of the story, he did not execute his plan because he was scared, in another because he was relieved by the next watch. Evgenii Anisimov, who recounts this case in his study of political prosecution in eighteenth-century Russia, is right to conclude that Stepanov was frightened by the "contradiction, horrifying for a man of his time, between the sacred, taboo status of the empress' persona, and the blasphemy of her trivial sexual intercourse with one of her subjects. Stepanov's intentions clearly affirm that he considered the empress' coition with a subject as an assault, an act of violence, and wished to defend the empress in accordance with the statutes and his oath, as he thought he was expected to when stationed at the doors of the royal bedroom" [Анисимов 1999: 64–65].

Stepanov's fantasy clearly parallels the plot of both *Hamlets* and draws on the deeply rooted political mythology which permeates them. Identifying sexual possession of the royal female body with the desecration of the monarchy, he follows the same logic as Hamlet himself in censuring Gertrude's lustful cohabitation with Claudius. Indeed, as de Grazia shows, in the world of Shakespeare's play, Gertrude's sexuality is intrinsically linked to the well-being of the body politic. Claudius addresses her as his "imperial jointress", a term which identifies her "as what joins him to the empire and the empire to him". The term alludes to "a legal *jointure*, an estate settled on a wife which reverts back to her in the event of her husband's death <…> What man the 'imperial jointress' chooses to conjoin with, then, would be of paramount concern for the empire <…> Union to her in marriage would settle the realm on her husband" [De Grazia 2007: 105]. This legal pattern is even more obvious in Sumarokov than it is in Shakespeare; the Russian Klavdii is not of royal birth, as Gertruda (Gertrude) admits to her son: "На царский одр, на трон раба я вознесла, / Чтоб лучше я твое наследие пасла" [I, 3: 66]; "Onto the kingly bed, onto the throne I've raised / A slave so that I might better guard your inheritance" [93]). She reiterates this admission in a speech which exhorts Klavdii to repent and abdicate and condemns their marriage in terms reminiscent of Stepanov, up to the shaking walls of the royal bedroom [II, 2]:

Любовь произвело во мне твое злодейство!
Супружество мое с тобой прелюбодейство. <...>
Как честь мою любовь챠 сквернейша поглотила,
А я тебя на трон Монаршеский пустила!
О как тогда, о как не сшел на землю гром,
И с нами не упал наш оскверненный дом!
Как стены наших сих чертогов не тряслися!
И как мы в таковом грехе с тобой спаслися! [76]

My love was fashioned when you wrought your greatest evil,
Our marriage is nothing but adultery <…>
When love profane won out and overcame my honor,
When I bestowed the throne upon you,
Where was the thunder then that should have rocked the earth?

> How did our sinful house withstand the wrath of God?
> How did the palace walls that housed our evil-doing
> Shake not, as though our sins were nothing? [100–101].

It is in this perspective that the use of armed force to fend off lovers of the "imperial jointress" can be considered a defense of the royal body and the body politic rather than an attack against them. In fact, Stepanov's imaginary defense of Elizabeth was not unique but represented a pattern often rehearsed by Russian political imagination of the 1740s. As if to make the analogies with *Hamlet* even more evident, popular rumors designated Grand Duke Peter, Elizabeth's nephew and proclaimed heir, as the future avenger of her affair with (or even a morganatic marriage to) Razumovskii. It was said, for example, that Elizabeth planned to abdicate, secluding herself in a convent (similar to Sumarokov's Gertruda) and that her heir Peter would have already stabbed Razumovskii with his sword had not the empress intervened [Семевский 1875: 529–530].

The affinity between both *Hamlets* and the wide-spread fantasies of legitimate revolt apparently shaped by common patterns of political imagination shared across Europe, underscores the drastic differences in the status which these fictions could assume. While Sumarokov's play was published and staged at court with royal approval, rumors of violence in the royal family were investigated and prosecuted by the Secret Chancery as cases of sedition. Anisimov does not relate what happened to Stepanov, but — as the very fact of his interrogation makes clear — even an intention of an armed intrusion into royal quarters fell under the definition of high treason. The practice of massive and violent prosecution of gossip was informed by a systemic fear of dissent and mutiny of the kind that Sumarokov's Gamlet reverts to. As contemporaries reiterate time and again, Petersburg soldiery was invigorated by the series of coups where it played the main part, and constantly evoked the possibility of a next revolt. Stepanov's crime was to evoke the armed subjects' roles as true judges and true sources of royal power, an admission which could not but put into question its symbolic legitimacy. The same crime, however, was committed on stage by Sumarokov's Gamlet: instead of justifying his revolt with his indisputable dynastic rights, which would have had at least an appearance of legality, he repeatedly emphasizes the need to punish King Claudius and to "liberate" the country from him — a course of action divinely forbidden to any absolutist subject, even one of royal birth.

In order to consecrate — rather than obliterate — this potentially dangerous contradiction which underlay Elizabeth's rule, Sumarokov conjures forth the ghost of Gamlet's nameless father [I, 2]:

Родитель мой в крови предстал передо мною
И, плача, мне вещал, о сын! любезный сын! <...>
Отмсти отцову смерть, и мщеньем утуши
Всегдашню жалобу стенящия души,
Прими Геройску мысль <...> [63].

My father, all in blood, appeared, I dreamt before me,
And tearfully called out: "O son, beloved son! <...>
Avenge your father's death, and with revenge suppress
The everlasting plaint of my lamenting soul.
Take up heroic thoughts <...>" [91]

Both in Shakespeare's and in Sumarokov's plays the ghost provides the Prince with a reinvigorating perspective on his intricate dynastic situation. Shakespeare's Denmark, as de Grazia elucidates, is an elective monarchy, which makes it "perfectly legal for the kingdom to pass to a collateral relation rather than the lineal <...> Denmark's elective constitution is crucial to the play's dramatic set-up. It allows for a situation impossible in a primogenitary monarchy: the Prince remains at court in the company of the King who was preferred over him. This is not a comfortable situation for either Prince or King, and for that very reason it provides a tensely dramatic one for the audience" [De Grazia 2007: 87–89].

The legal implications of Hamlet's situation, which we tend to overlook, were probably much more meaningful for Sumarokov and his audience, as they closely resembled Russian court politics. Russia was not legally an elective monarchy but it came close to functioning like one in the aftermath of Peter the Great's decision to abolish any regulations on the order of succession, leaving it to each subsequent ruler to choose their own heir. Instead of consolidating royal prerogative, this measure made royal succession dependent on the tumultuous struggle of court factions and, in the years 1728–30, the decisions of the Supreme Privy Council. (According to de Grazia, Shakespeare's Claudius was also elected by a Council which he addresses in his first scene.) Elizabeth, by 1741 the only surviving child of Peter and his wife and heir Catherine I, was twice denied the succession rights assured to her by her mother's testament in 1727. After the death of Elizabeth's nephew Peter II in 1730, the Supreme Privy Council passed the crown to her cousin Anna Ioannovna who, in 1740, left the throne to the infant emperor Ivan and his mother Anna Leopoldovna. Although Elizabeth did not have legal grounds to claim more legitimacy than her rivals, she still enjoyed exceptional popularity as the daughter of Peter, comparable in his charisma to King Hamlet. Just as the coup d'état that Shakespeare's Hamlet could not accomplish, Elizabeth's seizure of power was informed by the tension between the law of the land and the mechanics of personal charisma derived from a deceased royal father.

Indeed, the concept of charisma, personal and inherited, famously developed by Max Weber and closely related to the discussions of royal power by Machiavelli and Carl Schmitt, can prove fruitful for our analysis. It has been shown that it is relevant for an understanding of both Russian court politics of the Petrine age and a reading of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* [Zitser 2004; Falco 2000]. Weber's famous theory opposes types of rule ("traditional" or "legal") dependent on institutional and symbolic continuity to charismatic authority, which is originally generated by extraordinary qualities of a single leader but then itself undergoes "routinization" when power is passed to a successor. Of the various types of succession listed by Weber, several were simultaneously in play in eighteenth-century Russia. The first was envisaged but never accomplished by Peter the Great: "designation on the part of the original charismatic leader of his on successor". The second, "[d]esignation of a successor by the charismatically qualified administrative staff" which "should quite definitely not be interpreted as 'election'", resulted in the appointment of Anna Ioannovna in 1730. Finally, Weber mentions "hereditary charisma" invested in the "kinsmen of the bearers, particularly <…> his closest relatives", and complicated by the necessity "to select the proper heir within the kinship group". This was the case of Elizabeth and her nephew Peter [Weber 1947: 358–366].

Uncertainties of charismatic succession framed the situation of both Hamlets and Elizabeth in 1741. However, contrary to the customary scenario outlined by Weber, the idea of linear succession does not in either of our cases stand for a "routinization" of charisma but rather for its revival. Sumarokov's play, for example, stages the critical moment when hereditary charisma violently asserts itself over other types of legitimacy. Sumarokov's Gamlet accomplishes a double act of revenge and dynastic restoration which escapes Shakespeare's prince. This act is not, however, unrelated to Shakespeare's play where Claudius considers his "legal authority" menaced by Hamlet's charisma [IV, 2]:

> He's loved of the distracted multitude,
> Who like not in their judgment but their eyes… [292]

As Raphael Falco remarks in his Weberian reading of Shakespeare, "Hamlet has charismatic power with the populace and <…> their bond to him is irrational — which is the meaning of 'distracted' — and therefore dangerous to Claudius' rulership. Claudius fears revolution at this juncture just as much as he worries about his own exposure as a murderer" [Falco 2000: 111]. Indeed, as Falco notes, Weber's claim that "charismatic authority repudiates the past, and is in this sense a specifically revolutionary force" is further enacted in Shakespeare by the failed revolt of Laertes [IV, 5; 302–303; Falco 2000: 111, 114–115]. In Shakespeare's play, just as absolutist orthodoxy would have it, charismatic upheaval falls short of legitimacy or power necessary to resolve the crisis brought about by the desecration of dynastic lineage. On the contrary, Sumarokov's Gamlet is able to exploit popular force to renew the monarchic order. Already in the first act Gertruda warns Klavdii [II, 2]:

Ты в ненависти, Князь мой сын любим в народе,
Надежда всех граждан, остаток в царском роде [76].

The prince's lineage win him the people's honor.
He is their fondest hope, you are their greatest hatred [101].

Elizabeth's coup was also made possible by the favor she enjoyed with the populace and the military, and the French envoy Chétardie described her afterwards as a "legitimate heiress to the throne who has captivated the hearts of the whole empire by her charms as much as by the qualities of her spirit" [SIRIO 96: 662]. Accordingly, her first manifesto proclaimed that she only assumed her "legal right" to inherit her "paternal throne" because she had been urged by her "loyal subjects" and, specifically, the "guards regiments" to stop "troubles and perturbations" caused by unable rulers, which would lave lead to "a great ruin of the whole state" [ПСЗ: 537]. This argument bases Elizabeth's authority on the same patterns of crisis and action that are outlined by Schmitt and Weber. In Schmitt's terms, forceful action in a state of exception, is the ultimate origin of power and legitimacy. In Weber's terms, a ruler's charisma depends on "proof of charismatic qualification," possibly "a brilliant display of his authority", a success attributable to a "gift of grace" which provides him with the "recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma" [Weber 1947: 359–360, 362].

Weber's analysis of exceptional authority, like Machiavelli's, reveals its fundamental similarity to theater. Machiavelli grounds a prince's "esteem" on "extraordinary actions" which keep his subjects "in continual suspense and admiration" [Machiavelli 1762: 662]. According to Weber, a forceful act engenders charismatic authority only inasmuch as it dazzles the spectator subjects and engages public emotion: "The corporate group which is subject to charismatic authority is based on an emotional form of communal relationship" [Weber 1947: 360]. Charisma, then, is mediated by a poetics of represented action, a set of techniques tailored to produce an emotional complicity between ruler-as-actor and his subjects. Theatricality of charisma is exposed when dramatic plots reenact a coup d'état: political action and its representations in drama build upon the same visions of extraordinary power and share the fundamental tension between truth and fiction. Intensified violence of Sumarokov's *Gamlet* — Gamlet publicly kills their adversaries whereas Elizabeth quietly arrested hers in the middle of the night — directs dramatic interest toward the "physical battle of the leaders" identified by Weber as a basic form of charismatic self-assertion [Weber 1947: 361]. Conversely, the charismatic value of a royal act unfolds in fictions and narratives (manifestos and dramas) which both perpetuate self-serving royal violence and align it with visions of public salvation. To quote Machiavelli once more, "Let it then be the chief care of a Prince to preserve himself and his State: the means which he uses for that purpose, whatsoever they are, will always be esteemed honourable, and applauded by every one" [Machiavelli 1762: 632].

Similarly to Elizabeth's manifesto, Sumarokov's *Gamlet* overtly subordinates absolutist legality to an urge for action which amalgamates Gamlet's familial affair — revenge for his father's murderer — with public interest, the overturn of Klavdii's tyranny. Revolt of a legitimate heir, recommended by d'Aubignac as a topic of absolutist drama, is in fact — both on and off stage — a revolt which constitutes its own legitimacy, as political event and its representation. In 1742 Elizabeth's ascension and its effect on the populace was symbolized by yet another kind of spectacle, fireworks designed to revive the "most vivid joy" experienced, according to the official description, by all loyal subjects when they witnessed as the true heiress to the empire "lays the crown due to [her] upon [herself] through [her] own natural force" (instead of receiving it in regular succession, that is) [Старикова 2005: 416–421]. While Elizabeth's or Gamlet's revolt could hardly be justified by written law, this deficit is compensated by a symbolic pattern validated by the collective political imagination: the inheritance of paternal charisma incorporated by the ghost. In Shakespeare, the Ghost is easily recognized as an omen of political disaster but fails to bring about a resolution of the dynastic crisis. In Sumarokov, the striking dramatic effect associated with this figure is reinterpreted as an indisputable source of poetic justice and political authority.

The effect of this dramatic fiction on the play's audience recreates and intensifies the workings of hereditary charisma in Elizabethan Russia. Elizabeth made a point of publicly cultivating the memory of her father, and in panegyric poetry of the era, the ghost of Peter the Great often appeared to consecrate her coup, reinterpreting a spectacular breach of law as an extraordinary act of providentially sanctioned dynastic continuity. Sumarokov's ghost fulfills a similar function, glorifying a transmission of paternal charisma in an act of violence rather than legal procedure. The ghost uses his dual authority of a royal father and a divine messenger to proclaim a state of exception which brings about the downfall of a villainous ruler and suspends the divine prohibition of revolt. As a device conjured forth to establish legitimacy for illicit political success, Sumarokov's ghost conflates images and symbolic patterns of charisma with dramatic poetics in a stage metaphor which epitomizes theatricality itself along with its political consequences — a metaphor whose lack of metaphysical or juridical validity is outweighed by its spectacular appeal, the vivid cogency of fiction.

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RHETORIC AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE 1808–1809 FINNISH WAR IN BARATYNSKY'S POEM *EDA*[1]

ALINA BODROVA

The 1808–1809 Russian-Swedish (Finnish) War and its reflection in literature and the press have yet to be fully addressed by scholarship, remaining instead in the background of larger-scale and more "resounding" military campaigns between 1805–1815[2]. Scholarly attention to this topic also reflects contemporary evaluations: for many, the War of 1812 and the Russian army's campaigns abroad long remained the central political and military event of the time.

Although in terms of scale and consequences the Finnish War cannot be compared to the campaigns of 1812–1815, it required no less rhetorical accompaniment and ideological interpretation, mainly in relation to the fact that the 1808–1809 war resulted in the Grand Duchy of Finland becoming a part of the Russian Empire. This geopolitical acquisition, which was made possible by the disarray of European forces following the Treaties of Tilsit, required the creation and support of an ideological narrative, both at the moment of the Finnish campaign and for decades afterward. This narrative would provide a basis for and legitimize Russia's appropriation of Finland and Finland's status as part of the empire[3].

The polemics around the "Finnish question", specific aspects of official discourse and its opponents, and historiographical conceptions of the Finnish war between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have all been addressed in many historical and cultural studies[4]. Meanwhile, the beginning stages of the formation of a "Finnish" war narrative in the 1810s–1830s, the parallel ideological presentation of this campaign in the press, and first-hand accounts of the war by participants and their younger contemporaries have barely been described[5]. This can be partly explained by the fragmentation of known responses, scattered throughout periodicals from the end of the 1800s–1820s, as well as by the absence of a fully-formed conception (the first generalized studies of the history of the Finnish War appeared only in the 1830s–1840s)[6]. It was precisely during this period, however, that the Finnish War became an object for reflection in notable works of literature: in prose, K. N. Batyushkov's *Excerpts from a Russian officer's letters on Finland* (1810)[7], and in poetry, E. A. Baratynsky's "Finland tale", "Eda". The latter's plot is timed to the beginning of the Finnish campaign, and Baratynsky's original idea was for the poem to close with an epilogue directly treating the events of the Finnish War and its consequences.

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[2] For a survey of Russian historiography on the Finnish War see [Приходько 2002; Такала, Соломещ 2009].

[3] On propaganda relating to the 1808 Russian campaign in Finland see [Рогинский 2012: 133–139].

Although overall the immediate poetic background and generic context of the "Epilogue" have been long since well established, there have been no specific studies of the poem's relationship to the rhetorical interpretation of the Finnish War in 1808–1810, to those constructions which were evidently known to Baratynsky (who had served in Finland from 1820).

Meanwhile, this material — dispersed and not yet collected, but presenting a full and undiluted ideological picture — is significant for our understanding of both the ideological and stylistic "roots" of Baratynsky's poem. And when we compare synchronic literary responses to the Finnish campaign and interpretations of it offered in the press to that which we find in Baratynsky's text and similar statements on the Finnish War, we get a more vivid picture of the essential rhetorical and conceptual breakdown that occurred in the late 1800s – early 1810s in conceptualizing the fate of the empire's peoples.

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[4] [Korhonen 1967, Pogorelskin 1980; Суни 1982; Соломещ 2004; Лескинен 2004; Витухновская 2004; Витухновская 2008; Гузаиров 2012: 302–318].

[5] Only K. Batyushkov's *Excerpts from a Russian officer's letters on Finland* have attracted attention, although they do not directly address the war (see below, fn. 6); also *Thirteen days, or Finland*, by P. G. Gagarin, published in 1809 in Russian and French [Гагарин 1809a; Gagarin 1809], which relate Gagarin's visit to Finland as part of Emperor Alexander I's suite during the Diet of Porvoo (about Gagarin's book see [Соломещ 2004: 144–146; Гузаиров 2012: 309–312]).

[6] These were for the most part the military writings of P. K. Sukhtelen [Сухтелен 1832] and A. I. Mikhailovsky-Danilevsky [Михайловский-Данилевский 1841].

[7] See particularly [Батюшков 1885: 377–383; Шарыпкин 1980: 127–129; Boele 1996: 226–227; Hirvasaho 1997: 35–63].

Thus, the following observations seek to describe, on the one hand, the basic rhetorical constructions and ideological schemas used in constructing interpretations of the Finnish War in the late 1800s – early 1810s press; and also to reveal their "traces" in Baratynsky's text. On the other hand, we will attempt to clarify the role of those contemporary trends that managed to significantly transform both the ideology and the rhetoric of describing military events of the recent past.

History of "Eda" and the "Helsingfors court": biographical context

"Eda" was evidently first conceived of as a poem based on "ethnographic" material, projected onto Baratynsky's biography (including his literary biography). Many of the lyrical descriptions of Finnish nature, which occupy a significant place in all of the poem's parts, can be directly correlated with Baratynsky's "Finnish" elegies, which brought him fame and made his name as a poet. The precise historical details of the plot are rather more unexpected in such a canonical Romantic poem: "...in 1807, before the very opening of our final war in Finland", as indicated in the preface to the 1826 edition [Баратынский 1826: III]. To all appearances, however, Baratynsky did not begin with the idea of historically localizing the narrative; it emerged as he worked on the poem, and probably under some influence from external, biographical circumstances.

The concept of "Eda" and the first steps toward the poem can be dated to the late summer – early autumn of 1824, when the Nyslott regiment (in which Baratynsky served) returned from Petersburg to Rochensalm (Ruotsinsalmi) (see [Летопись 1998: 141]). Baratynsky informed Delvig of his new work in a letter that has since been lost, the contents of which Delvig related to Pushkin on 10 September 1824: "<Baratynsky> wrote a few days ago; he's finished a song and a half of some kind of Romantic poem. He promises to send it to me with the first mail" [Пушкин 1937–1958: XIII, 108; Летопись 1998: 143]. The remaining part of the poem — in its original version — was also written over a brief period, as can be determined from a letter of Baratynsky to A. I. Turgenev on 31 October 1824: "...perhaps I am being immodest if I tell you that I have written a fairly small poem, and if I ask for your permission to send a copy to you" [Летопись 1998: 145]. But work on the poem was still ongoing at this time — Baratynsky only sent "Eda" to Turgenev along with a letter from 25 January 1825 [Ibid.: 150], evidently continuing to write and "polish" it until this point. It is significant that both of these letters to Turgenev were sent from the capital city of the Grand Duchy of Finland, Helsingfors, where Baratynsky had arrived in mid-October 1824, on the invitation of the Governor-General A. A. Zakrevsky [Летопись 1998: 144].

The summons to the headquarters of the independent Finland corps, which doubtless attested to the new Governor-General's inclination toward Baratynsky, marked a new stage in the fate of the "Finland exile" and gave him new (and not unfounded) hopes of receiving the long-awaited rank of officer. And it was Zakrevsky's protection in response to intercessory pleas by A. I. Turgenev and D. V. Davydov that turned out to be decisive: in May 1825 Baratynsky was finally promoted to *praporshik* [Ibid.: 158]. Furthermore, Baratynsky's three-month stay in Helsingfors from October 1824 – January 1825 permitted him to acquire a different and far more interesting social life. While he had previously lodged with the Nyslott regiment in small fortress cities like Rochensalm and Fredrikshamn, in Helsingfors he lived among the officers of the Governor-General's headquarters and the scattered "Helsingfors court" of A. F. Zakrevskaya. Bearing in mind the important role that Zakrevsky played in Baratynsky's fate, as well as the significance that Baratynsky attached early on to his friendship with Zakrevsky's adjutants N. V. Putyata and A. A. Mukhanov[8], it seems safe to presume that during his time in Helsingfors, Baratynsky was affected in one way or another by discussions of those ideological and political-administrative problems of the Duchy of Finland that Zakrevsky and his close associates were dealing with at the time[9].

Appointed Governor-General of Finland and commander of the independent Finland corps on 30 August 1823, Zakrevsky was initially skeptical regarding the possibility of his success in this area: "After hearing two talks on Finland, I am even more convinced that I can be of no use there", he complained to P. D. Kiselev shortly after assuming his new position [Закревский 1891: 283; letter from 5 January 1824]. Having known Finland since the Finnish War of 1808–1809[10], Zakrevsky understood the national and ideological difficulties he would face in the region, bearing in mind that in his understanding, “the Finns hate the Russians” and “this is obvious nearly everywhere you look”, as he wrote to Kiselev [Закревский 1891: 283]. Thus, Zakrevsky was expected to help form and support the best possible feelings on the part of Finnish subjects toward Russia — particularly by skillfully playing on their national feelings. At the same time, he was also supposed to strengthen the Russian administration in Finland and direct its residents’ “hearts and thoughts away from individual welfare and toward all of Russia, their new Fatherland” (quoted in [Бородкин 1909: 552]; also see [Выскочков 2004: 21]). These tasks were evidently meant to be dealt with on both the political-administrative and the ideological levels. We can assume the great demand for rhetorical schemas aimed at redirecting the “enmity” of the subjugated Finns onto a more, as it were, constructive-imperial course, that is, to give the “fallen people” their due while indicating the unequivocal superiority of Russia and her right to control the “gloomy wastelands of the Finn” (cf. [Гузаиров 2012: 301–302]). In this context, an appropriate conceptualization was demanded by the very circumstances of Finland joining Russia, i. e. the events of the 1808–1809 Finnish War.

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[8] The "Finnish" interests of both Mukhanov and Putyata were not limited to their official duties, which fact is particularly evident in their statements in the press — Mukhanov's famous polemical article (which elicited a response from A. S. Pushkin), in which he protested mightily against what he saw as Madame de Stahl's superficial opinion on Finland [Муханов 1825]; and Putyata's "Excerpts from letters on Finland", published in various editions between 1825–27 (also see Putyata's late historical sketch "The Diet in the city of Porvoo in 1809" [Путята 1860] and the preliminary materials for the sketch [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 50], as well as draft for an article on the history of Finland [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 65]).

[9] On Zakrevsky's activity in Finland see [Бородкин 1909: 550–562; Бородкин 1915: 59–146; Выскочков 2004] and Zakrevsky's correspondence for 1823–1831, partially published in the digests of the Russian Historical Society: [Закревский 1890; Закревский 1891]. Detailed information on Zakrevsky's official trips around Finland in 1824-25 can be found in travel notes by Putyata, who accompanied him [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 18]. On Mukhanov's official activities and his trip to inspect the university in Åbo see [Ginsburg 1961].

We can assume that the emergence of this historical theme in Baratynsky’s poem is directly connected with the Helsingfors context described; this fact has been previously noted by I. N. Medvedeva [Медведева 1936: LIV– LVI]. The “military” “Epilogue” to the poem was written in Helsingfors[11]; it provides one of the rhetorical paths toward relieving national-imperial tensions. Importantly, its existence is immediately acknowledged as a motif of “hidden enmity” (cf. Zakrevsky’s impressions of the Finns’ “hatred”). In the Epilogue’s poetic construct, this “hatred” is declared to be “in vain”, since Fate itself had willed that the might of the Russian arms be capable of overcoming not only the courageous resistance of those who “бесстрашно <…> оборонял / Угрюмых скал своих свободу", but also that of the forces of nature ("Каким был ужасом объят / Пучины Бог седо-брадат…"). However, the greatness of the Russian victory was largely determined by this heroic opposition of the Finns, which enables Baratynsky to simultaneously praise "the might of Russia" and, on the other hand, to give the "fallen people" their due:

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[10] Zakrevsky was director of the office of General N. M. Kamensky, and later director of the office of the commander-in-chief of the Russian army in Finland; he was distinguished in battles at Oravais, Sarvik, Kaurtan and Salmo, for which he was awarded the Order of Saint Vladimir of the fourth degree with a ribbon; see [Выскочков 2004: 19].

[11] According to a late statement by N. V. Putyata, “the epilogue <…> was written in 1824 in Helsingfors, at the time when the whole Eda story was already finished...” ([Изд. 1914–1915: II, 239]). Putyata’s note on the “Epilogue”, quoted by M. L. Gofman and stated by the latter to be found in a printed copy of *Eda and Feasts* kept in the library of Muranovo (now lost). Also Putyata’s copy of the “Epilogue” is dated *1824. Helsingfors* [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 73. Л. 1–1 об.]. The latest possible date (*terminus ante quem*) is 25 January 1825, when Putyata left Helsingfors, taking the text of the “Epilogue” with him for publication in *Mnemozina* [Летопись 1998: 149].

Ты покорился край гранитной,
России мочь изведал ты,
И не столкнешь ее пяты,
Хоть к ней горишь враждою скрытной,
Срок плена вечного настал;
Но слава падшему народу!
Бесстрашно он оборонял
Угрюмых скал своих свободу.
Из-за утесистых громад
На нас летел свинцовый град;
Вкусить не смела краткой неги
Рать утомленная от ран:
Нож исступленный поселян
Окрововлял ее ночлеги!
И всё напрасно! чудный хлад
Сковал Ботнические воды.
Каким был ужасом объят
Пучины Бог седо-брадат;
Как изумилися народы,
Когда хребет его льдяной
Звеня под русскими полками,
Явил внезапною стеной
Их под Сиканскими брегами!
И как Стокгольм оцепенел,
Когда над ним шумя крылами
Орел двуглавой возлетел!
Он в нем узнал орла Полтавы!
Всё покорилось; но не мне
Певцу не знающему славы
Петь славу храбрых на войне.
Питомец Муз, питомец боя
Тебе, Давыдов, петь её:
Венцом певца, венцом героя
Чело украшено твое.
Ты видел Финские граниты
Бесстрашных кровию омыты,

По ним водил ты их строи;
Ударь же в струны позабыты
И вспомни подвиги свои[12].

It has been long since and repeatedly noted that the nearest generic example for Baratynsky's "Epilogue" was the epilogue to Pushkin's "Prisoner of the Caucasus" (see, for example, [Купреянова, Медведева 1936: 310; Архангельский 1995: 421–422]), which celebrates in odic form the victories of Russian arms on the borders of the empire, and accomplished despite the resistance of the proud sons of the Caucasus[13]. Cf.:

"Prisoner of the Caucasus"	**"Eda"**
<…> тот славный час, Когда, почуя бой кровавый, На негодующий Кавказ Подъялся наш орел двуглавый…	И как Стокгольм оцепенел, Когда над ним шумя крылами Орел двуглавой возлетел!
И в сече, с дерзостным челом, Явился пылкий Цицианов; Тебя я воспою, герой, О Котляревский, бич Кавказа!	Тебе *Давыдов* петь ее; Венцом певца, венцом героя Чело украшено твое.
И смолкнул ярый крик войны: Все русскому мечу подвластно. Кавказа гордые сыны, Сражались, гибли вы ужасно; Но не спасла вас наша кровь, Ни очарованные брони…	Ты покорился край гранитный России мочь изведал ты… Но слава, падшему народу, Бесстрашно он оборонял Угрюмых скал своих свободу; <…>
[Пушкин 1937–1959: IV, 113–114]	И все напрасно!..

In terms of artistic device and ideological purpose, Baratynsky's points of reference are for the most part clear; but the thematic background remains understudied. At the same time, when Baratynsky was presenting a series of key events of the Finnish War in his "Epilogue", he doubtless had to correlate his version with the existing tradition of description and reception of the war.

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[12] The "Epilogue" is cited according to N. V. Putyata's copy [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 73. Л. 1–1 об.], which dates back to the manuscript of the version Baratynsky sent to *Mnemozina*. Consequently, following the censorship of the publication in Küchelbecker and Odoyevsky's almanac, Baratynsky made a second attempt to print the "Epilogue" — in *Zvezdochka*, the almanac of K. F. Ryleev and A. A. Bestuzhev — and evidently made some changes to the text at this time (the relevant lines are indicated in italics). The "Epilogue" is traditionally printed according to the censored manuscript of *Zvezdochka*, which reflects later decisions by the author; the first version, written in Helsingfors, is more relevant for our purposes here, and we cite from it.

[13] On the ideology of the epilogue and its interpretations see [Проскурин, Охотин 2007: 239–249].

Examining this tradition will allow us to more accurately place Baratynsky's text in the context of the "Finnish War narrative" as the latter developed over the 1810s–1820s.

The "treacherous Swede" and brother Finns: war rhetoric in 1808–1810s

The Finnish War was covered quite comprehensively in the press. Newspaper reports on the campaign and official ceremonies, journal articles on the most significant events and battles, poetic responses to them, odes on the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, complemented by the famous book by Prince Gagarin *Thirteen days, or Finland* [Гагарин 1809a; Gagarin 1809], which described his trip to the Diet of Porvoo — all together, these materials paint a fairly cohesive image of how these military events were presented.

The motivation for the commencement of war with Sweden was founded, first and foremost, on a call to the image of Russia's historical "northern" foe, the "haughty Swedish neighbor"[14], who "in raptures of pride" wished to "conquer the Russians", and also furthermore fell for the treacherous advice of "renegade-friends", i. e. the British:

Да будут Шведы всем примером,
Коль страшно Россов оскорблять;
Друзей-изменщиков советам
Свое спокойствие вверять,
И слушая наветов ложных,
Идти против Героев мощных.

Не Шведы ль, в гордом упоеньи,
Хотели Россов победить,
В мечтательнейшем восхищеньи,
Желали славу их затмить?
Желали — но глагол Всемощный
Сей замысел их гордый, злобный
Разрушил, в прах преобратил [Голтяков 1809: 36–37].

Клятвопреступников постигнет длань Владыки
<…>
Реченья пусть сии: *война, враги, коварство,*
В устах исчезнут и в делах:
Едина правота стрежет Царей и Царство,
И Миротворца трон созиждется в сердцах! [Глинка 1809: II, IV]

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[14] On this image of the "Swede" see [Boele 1996: 215–218].

Царю, Отечеству в любови,
Он жизни не щадил и крови,
И дерзость Шведа наказал.

Смирися, о сосед кичливый!
От нынь главы не возноси… [Лобысевич 1810: 4]

In this way, literary texts reflected the motivation for war as a reaction to Sweden's failure to observe the pacts of 1780 and 1800 on the defense of the Baltic Sea from foreign fleets. After the Treaty of Tilsit and the British attack on Copenhagen, Russia demanded that Sweden join the continental blockade and assist in putting pressure on England. Meanwhile, the Swedish king Gustav Adolf decided, on the contrary, to support the British in their war against Denmark. This version of events was long held in official Russian historiography — and it is typical that this conception of the beginning the war ("to sever the union with England, as a cautionary measure and in order to force the hand of the Swedish king") was put forth in a late article, "The Diet at Porvoo" (1860) by N. V. Putyata [РГАЛИ. Ф. 394. Оп. 1. № 50. Л. 17–18]. The same explanation of military action can be found in the third part of "Eda": "Коварный швед опять / Не соблюдает договоров…" [Баратынский 1826: 35].

In descriptions of the course of the war and the most significant Russian victories, first place was predictably accorded to the feats of "brave Kulnev" while crossing the Gulf of Bothnia: in February–March 1809 the vanguard under his command managed to repulse the Swedes from the Aland Islands, cross the gulf and threaten Stockholm from the Swedish coast. The "Saint Petersburg Gazette" reported on the maneuver:

> when taking the Aland Islands, General-Major Kulnev was send with a division of cavalry to pursue the enemy; having driven off the enemy and captured the Swedish coast, Kulnev took Grisslehamn <…> Masses of ice in the frozen stormswept sea and deep snow seriously hindered the speed of movement <…> Our troops, crowned with new glory, entered the city of Umea with full military ceremony 10 March, having covered more than ninety versts of open sea in two days, beneath the 64th line of Northern latitude, with fierce frosts, going through great broken heaps of ice and deep snow, where no trace of man nor a single path had ever before been laid [СПб. ведомости. Прибавление. 1809. № 29. 9 апреля. С. 1–3].

Kulnev's feat was praised in verse and in reports printed during the course of military action, and was mentioned often in odes on the celebration of the treaty with Sweden:

Летя по льдам морским, ты мужеством пылаешь;
По мразным крутизнам путь к славе пролагаешь:

Смирилась Белта вод свирепа глубина!
Не мразом скована она;
Стеснилась мужеством Героев…
("To the brave Kulnev" [РВ. 1809. Ч. VI. № 5. С. 269–272])

> He was made famous by military feats in the last war with the French and during the crossing to the Aland Islands, where the Russians, battling Nature and the icy barriers of the sea, proved that for Russians nothing is impossible.
> ("Something about the brave Kulnev" [РВ. 1809. Ч. VIII. № 11. С. 171–172])

Росс выступил на поле брани;
<…>
Мир! мир! — Росс взором победил.

Его ничто не удержало,
Ни горы, реки, ни леса;
Пред ним и море встрепетало;
Угрюмо-вьюжная зима
Зунд бурный льдами оковала;
И тем к врагам путь открывала,
Чтоб Росс скорей их погубил.
От Свеаборгския твердыни,
Ботнийски шумные пучины,
Махнул мечом — и покорил [Голтяков 1809: 36–37].

Там Росс вновь славою процвел:
Там он против препон природы,
Чрез льды, скалы, чрез быстры воды,
Геройской цели достизал;
Царю, Отечеству в любови,
Он жизни не щадил и крови,
И дерзость Шведа наказал [Лобысевич 1810: 4].

It is noteworthy that Kulnev's maneuver was sometimes described — as in Baratynsky's "Epilogue" — as a triumph of the "Russian eagle", causing Stockholm to tremble. Cf.: "...at that time our Eagles forged their way through the *Bothnian* ices, and forced the Swedish Lion to tremble in Stockholm, and even at the pole" [Гагарин 1809a: 41]; cf. in the French version of the book: "A cette époque nos Aigles se frayoient des routes sur la glace de la Bothnique, et faisoient trembler le Lion suédois à Stockholm, et jusques près du Pôle" [Gagarin 1809: 40].

The stable character of the 1808–1809 rhetoric can be likened to the Great Northern War; this rhetoric was generally typical for descriptions of all new wars with Sweden. Recalling Peter's victories was part of the official ideological handling of the Treaty of Fredrikshamn. Thus Alexander I not only conducted a thanksgiving service "in the Cathedral built in the name of St. Isaac of Dalmatia and in memory of the birth of Peter the Great", but also "stopped before the monument to his Great Predecessor, saluted Him with all of His Troops, and thus resurrected the memory of the great deeds of the Victor of Poltava" [СПб. ведомости. 1809. № 74. 14 сентября. С. 947]. Cf. the exact same parallels in poetic texts:

> Проснись, Великий ПЕТР! зри… Правнук пред Тобою:
> Победоносною сразив врага рукою,
> Он лавры новые несет к Твоим стопам,
> Вещая: "Ты полет орлиным дал полкам".
> <…>
> Сей повторенный глас есть глас Полтавской славы…
> ("Стихи, по случаю возданной чести Императором АЛЕКСАНДРОМ Первым памяти ПЕТРА Первого" [РВ. 1809. Ч. VIII. № 10. С. 133, 136])
>
> О ПЕТР! Ты мнил ли под Полтавой,
> Разя кичливого врага,
> Что Твой ПРАПРАВНУК большей славой
> Восхитит Невские брега? [Голенищев-Кутузов: 4]

As is fairly obvious, the panegyric part of Baratynsky's "Epilogue", which praises the Russian victories, is a direct descendent of this tradition that was established in texts around 1809–1810. Baratynsky reproduces both the description of Kulnev's feat ("Как изумилися народы, / Когда хребет его льдяной / Звеня под русскими полками, / Явил внезапною стеной / Их под Сиканскими брегами! / И как Стокгольм оцепенел…") and directly likens the new victories to the victory at Poltava ("Он в нем узнал орла Полтавы… ").

In this context, we find an even more striking contrast in descriptions of the historical fate of the "fallen people" — the Finns — to the motivation of the necessity of Finland's joining the Empire. When considering the "Epilogue" to "Eda" (as in the "Prisoner of the Caucasus"), we can talk about the formation of a historiosophical idea appealing to the fate of the nation and its people[15]; but in the 1808–1810 texts this is still a purely mythological interpretation that refers to the sovereigns' mythical ancestors, or to allegorical figures that represent various states.

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[15] In the words of O. A. Proskurin, the postulate "that doomed were they who <…> stood in the way of the course of history and affirmation of the Russian Empire" despite "personal sympathy for heroic resistance, even of the hopeless variety" [Проскурин, Охотин 2007: 248].

In writings in the press from 1809–1810, Finns appear as “brothers” to the Russians [россы], “reaching out their hands” to them in the hopes of a long-awaited peace (cf. “Росс выступил на поле брани / К нему простерли Финны длани — / Мир! мир! — Росс взором победил” [Голтяков 1809: 36–37]). The Finns’ blood-ties to the Russians are emphasized through the fact that Riurik — the mythical predecessor of the Russian emperors — came from Finland, and thus the brave Russians were simply bound to return to the Russian tsar — the descendent of Riurik — the historical homeland of his forefathers. “The Finns are our ancient brothers”, wrote Prince Gagarin in his *Thirteen Days*; as the publisher of *The Russian Herald* clarified in his publication of excerpts from this book: “The father of Rurik (sic!), the first Russian Prince, ruled in the realm of the Finns” [Гагарин 1809b: 390]. This idea of returning what was deemed to be Riurik’s homeland was voiced in both official statements (cf. the speech of Metropolitan Ambrosius upon the signing of the treaty with Sweden, in which he states that Alexander “won the right to rule over all of the Varangian-Russian possessions that had belonged to his ancient ancestor... Riurik” [СПб. Ведомости. 1809. № 74. 14 сентября. С. 947]), and in poetic panegyrics:

> Родоначальный Князь, средь Финских стран рожденный,
> Еще властителем Славян не нареченный,
> Был славою велик <...>
>
> И в славном торжестве, великий сын Умилы,
> Ко благу устремя победоносны силы,
> Оставя край родной, к Новграду поспешал,
> И славою гремя, Вождем Славянским стал.
>
> Но к отческой стране невольно мы влечемся;
> В расстаньи с ней в душе унынью предаемся.
> О Рюрик! может быть ты в вечности скорбел,
> Что отческой твой край с Россией разделен!
>
> Спокойся! с нами он!.. он под одной Державой... [Глинка 1809: 136–138]

This expressive transformation clearly demonstrates how the archaic high odic style is gradually permeated by a new historical (and in the broad sense, Romantic) mythology — the mythology of the *nation*. The rapid development of this mythology began during and after the War of 1812. At the same time, the abstract odic canon was breaking down due to the juxtaposition of allegorical images (cf. “the grey-bearded god of the waves”, “the eagle of Poltava”) with concrete and “naturalistic” sketches, like the depiction of the Russian troops’ difficulties with advancement and living quarters (cf. the “leaden hail” flying from behind the Finnish “craggy boulders”, the “warriors exhausted from their wounds", etc.)[16]. In this connection, Pushkin's epilogue could have served as a guide for Baratynsky on the level of "construction" and style. However, the "Epilogue" also evidently had a significant pre-text that contributed to a shift in focus and a new twist on the military theme.

A new twist on the "Finnish" theme: Denis Davydov's notes on the 1808–1809 campaign as a pre-text for the "Epilogue"

The first issue (published 25 February 1824) of *Mnemosyne*, the almanac put out by V. K. Küchelbecker and V. F. Odoyevsky, featured "Excerpt from the Notes of Major-General D. V. Davydov" with the qualifying subheading "The 1808 campaign. Finland" [Давыдов 1824: 15–23]. This prose article, which came second in the issue following an article by Odoyevsky, turned out to be the most indisputable composition in the entire almanac and earned the praise of nearly all the reviewers of the first issue of *Mnemozina*[17]. The excerpt, which would be subsequently republished in the "Reminiscences of Kulnev in Finland", published only in 1838 (see [Давыдов 1838]), opened with a short survey of the war, the main thrust of which lay in reminding readers of the unjustly forgotten heroic campaign:

> The war in Finland, at its most fervent peak, did not attract the attention either of civil society or military men. The collective curiosity had been over-exhausted by the enormous events in Moravia and East Prussia <...> But meanwhile the blood of the courageous was washing the Finnish tundra and baking into the cliffs scattered throughout them! meanwhile we were seeing out the better part of our lives

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[16] Similar observations have been applied to the poetics of the epilogue to "Prisoner of the Caucasus"; see [Проскурин, Охотин 2007: 245–246].

[17] See, for instance: "The best article in this book, in terms of content, style and strategic observations. It is a shame that it is too short; for it contains only a quick glance at the topography of Finland and the first preparations for war. A continuation has been promised, and we await it with impatience" [Булгарин 1824: 183]; "Written with intelligence, shows the quick, reliable viewpoint of an experienced military man, on whom the Muses have smiled since birth, and converse with him even when he is discussing matters that cause the *aesthetic* fibers of such peaceful maidens to tremble" [СО. 1824. Ч. 93. № XV. Отд. III. Современная русская библиография. Новые книги. С. 33 (подпись: С….)]; "The prose *Notes of D. V. Davydov* on the *Finnish campaign* are very curious; their style is pure and clear. In his discussion of military action one can see an observant mind and sharp eye. We hope that the Author will keep his word and present us with not only a continuation, but also a conclusion" [Воейков 1824: 24–25]; "Who doesn't know our Partisan Writer? Should we speak of the virtues of his style? Of the expressive exposition of his thoughts? Unnecessary! Davydov is famous as an excellent *litterateur*, and the readers of *Mnemozina* will read his *Notes* with pleasure and benefit" [Благонамеренный. 1824. Ч. 26. № 8. Книжные известия. С. 131 (подпись: *Р.*)].

> beneath the frosts of the North amidst oceans of ancient forests, on the banks of desolate lakes, chasing after that glory of which nary an echo could be found in our fatherland! [Давыдов 1824: 13–14].

The article goes on, in the words of one of the reviewers, to include a "quick overview of the Topography of Finland and the first decrees of war" [Булгарин 1824: 183]; this is the point at which the "Extract" cut off, accompanied by an editorial note: "The respected Author promised to provide us with a continuation of this article — for one of the next parts of Mnemozina" [Давыдов 1824: 23]. The two following issues of *Mnemozina,* which came out in 1824[18], did not feature the continuation of Davydov's "Notes" (readers would have to wait nearly fifteen years for it), and in this context Baratynsky's poetic address to Davydov became a sort of reminder of readers' expectations. It was probably no accident that Baratynsky sent his "Epilogue" to *Mnemozina,* thus expressing his intention to continue pursuing the Finnish War theme on the pages of Küchelbecker and Odoyevsky's publication.

Continuity with Davydov's article can be observed not only in the general evaluations of the Finnish War — that forgotten but heroic page in the pantheon of Russian glory. Baratynsky's obvious orientation toward Davydov's text is also attested to by direct interchanges between the "Epilogue" to "Eda" and Davydov's article, including the interpretation of the "people's war" as a major hurdle on the path to victory. Cf.:

А между тем кровь храбрых орошала тундры Финские, запекалась на скалах по них усеянных!..	Ты видел финские граниты Бесстрашных кровию омыты.
…когда вспыхнула война народная, когда подвозы с пищею и с зарядами прекратились от набегов жителей, <…> когда каждый шаг вперед требовал всеминутных пожертвований жизни… [Давыдов 1824: 14]	Но слава, падшему народу, Бесстрашно он оборонял Угрюмых скал своих свободу; Из-за утесистых громад На нас летел свинцовой град, Вкусить не смела краткой неги Рать утомленная от ран, Нож исступленный поселян Окрововлял ее ночлеги.

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[18] Part 4 of the almanac, which was passed by the censors on 13 October 1824, took a long time to be published — the permit from the censors was issued only on 2 July 1825, and subscribers received this issue of *Mnemozina* only in mid-October 1825 (see [Летопись 1998: 163; Боратынский 2002: II, 111]).

In turn, the final lines of the "Epilogue" ("Ударь же в струны позабыты / И вспомни подвиги свои") can be read as a reaction to the closing lines of the opening passage of Davydov's article: "I will be satisfied in these notes <...> will remind my comrades of the enchanting moments of our youth, the dreams and hopes of honor and danger that we threw ourselves upon, and of our nomadic Ossian conversations beside flaming logs and beneath overcast skies" [Давыдов 1824: 15]. Baratynsky thus called for the "equestrian writer" to continue these memoirs — while perhaps suggesting that he abandon prose and return to poetry: Davydov's most vivid public statements of the early 1820s are closely tied to prose, particularly his "Attempt at a theory of partisan action" (1821).

We can point to an incontestable attestation of Baratynsky's familiarity with the 1824 first issue of *Mnemozina*. In a letter to the journal's publisher Küchelbecker, sent to Moscow with Putyata in late January 1825, Baratynsky specially thanked his old friend for having sent the first issue: "When you sent me the first part of *Mnemozina*, you did not bother to include even two lines of handwritten message; nevertheless I wished to thank you for this present, very nice for me..." [Летопись 1998: 149]. In turn, Davydov also managed — despite the censor's prohibition of the "Epilogue" — to acquaint himself with an early version of the text, as evident in a copy of Baratynsky's text preserved in Davydov's archive, hand-copied by the latter into a notebook under the heading "Collection of poems and prose written to me and about me"[19].

Baratynsky's address to Davydov at the end of the "Epilogue" had both a purely literary and a biographical subtext. On the one hand, Baratynsky-the-poet was making homage to Davydov-the-*litterateur*, responding rapturously to the latter's recently published composition and taking up the theme that it raised. On the other hand, the possibility of a literary dialogue with Davydov was even more important to Baratynsky because the "Finnish exile" was very much in Davydov's debt for the latter's intervention in his fate. Although he knew Baratynsky only through his poems and by recommendations for A. I. Turgenev and Viazemsky, Davydov eagerly interceded on Baratynsky's behalf and approached Zakrevsky several times with requests: "My dear friend Arseny Andreyevich <...> Brother, please make an effort for Baratynsky..." (letter of 11 May 1824 [Ibid.: 138]); "Again about Baratynsky, I repeat my request that you take him under your wing. If he has been censured, it is surely due to some kind of slander <...> Please take him under your wing <...>" (letter of 23 June 1824 [Летопись 1998: 140]). To all appearances, it was thanks to Davydov that Baratynsky moved to Helsingfors and found himself in Zakrevsky's good graces; the latter had enjoyed a friendship with Davydov for years, beginning from the 1808 Finnish campaign.

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[19] [РГВИА. Ф. 194. Оп. 1. № 64. Л. 19–19 об.]; this copy of the "Epilogue" was first printed as an appendix to an 1860 edition of Davydov's writings, under the heading "Epilogue, completing the first draft of the poem 'Eda'" (see [Давыдов 1860: III, 196–197]).

Bearing in mind all these circumstances, there is no reason to be surprised by the fact that Baratynsky attached particular significance to the "Epilogue", as evidenced by his rather unexpected decision to first present his new poem in print by means of an *epilogue*. After the censorship debacle in *Mnemozina*, Baratynsky did not give up on publishing the "Epilogue", passing it on — with a few revisions — to Ryleev and Bestuzhev in summer 1825 for publication in their almanac *Zvezdochka*. Given Baratynsky's recent promotion to *praporshik*, the "Epilogue" could be read as an expression of gratitude to Davydov and Zakrevsky for their efforts toward this long-awaited rank; but, as is well known, the last issue of *Zvezdochka* did not manage to appear in print.

It is not entirely clear why Baratynsky elected not to include the "Epilogue" in the full 1826 edition of "Eda" — for fear of censorship, or because "some expressions could appear offensive and inaccurate for the conquered nation", as Putyata suggests (quoted in [Изд. 1914–1915: II, 239]), or because of Baratynsky's not wishing to further emphasize his work's resemblance to the "Prisoner of the Caucasus". Whatever the reason, the censorship documents indicate that it was Baratynsky's own decision: at this stage the "Epilogue" was not presented to the censors.

Moreover, we can assume that the decision to exclude the "Epilogue" provoked certain reconstructions on the level of plot and composition in the 1826 version of the poem. Evidently, many of the epilogue's functions — particularly its indication of the time of the poem's action and the circle of important literary predecessors — were taken on by the prose preface, which in its leanings toward "perfect simplicity" contrasts with the odic rhetoric of the "Epilogue". Yet another "trace" can be found in the (likely late) plot shift — the link between the hussar's fateful departure and the beginning of the war with the "treacherous Swede": "Коварный Швед опять / Не соблюдает договоров: / Вновь хочет с Русским испытать / Неравный жребий бранных споров. / Уж переходят за Кюмень / Передовые ополченья: / Война, война! Грядущий день / День рокового разлученья" [Баратынский 1826: 35]. There are no chronological or precise geographical indications in the first parts of the poem at all; in the actual text of the poem, the Finnish War theme arises only in the middle of the third part. Meanwhile, as we can see in a fragment from an early version of "Eda" sent by A. I. Turgenev to Viazemsky 26 February 1825 (after having received the full text of the poem from Baratynsky — see above), at first the hussar's departure had no concretized motivation — cf.: "Меня зовет кровавый бой; / Не знаю сам куда Судьбой / Я увлечен отселе буду; / Но ты была любима мной, / Но ввек тебя я не забуду" [Остафьевский архив 1899: III, 100]; for the original, see: [РГАЛИ. Ф. 195. Оп. 1. № 2891. Л. 5 об.–6]). In the final text of the poem, however, this motivation appeared evidently as a reflection of the important historical theme discovered in the "Epilogue".

Translated by Ainsley Morse

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THE RUSSIAN WARRIOR AT A *RENDEZ-VOUS*. THE SOURCES AND RECEPTION OF EVGENY BARATYNSKY'S FINNISH POEM

INNA BULKINA

Baratynsky's "Eda" takes place in 1807, "on the very eve of our most recent war with Finland" [Боратынский 1915: 2, 15]. The winter campaign of 1808–1809 had become a certainty in June and July 1807, in Tilsit, when Alexander I and Napoleon had, for all intents and purposes, agreed to sever Finland from Sweden. Russia would become part of Napoleon's continental system, Sweden would remain allied with England. In September 1807, the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, bombarded the capital of Denmark, and the Swedish king Gustav IV Adolph refused to join the anti-British coalition, which led to the outbreak of war ["The cunning Swede is once again / Breaking agreements" [Боратынский 1915: 2, 33]). Russian troops converged in border towns; the Russian-Swedish border ran along the Kumen river, near Vyborg ("The frontline militias / Are already crossing the Kumen [Ibid.]). "Eda" takes place in one such border settlement, from spring to early winter of 1807. A little under a year passes between the beginning of an affair between a Finnish girl and a Hussar and her death. By all appearances, the Hussar leaves Eda at the end of December to join the corps of General Buxhoeveden. In January 1808, this corps was ordered into action against Swedish troops and in three divisions — under Tuchkov I, Bagration, and Gorchakov — concentrated between Fredrikshamn and Nyslott.

It is no accident that Baratynsky chooses this setting from relatively recent history: he has close biographical ties with Finland, and Finnish landscapes have a poetic tradition that Baratynsky also alludes to: "Rich in historical memory, this country was sung by Batyushkov" [Ibid.: 2, 15].

The introduction to "Eda" is in two parts: the first concerns Finland, and the second is addressed to critics. Baratynsky endeavors to explain the essence of his poem and what distinguishes it from other examples of the new genre, "The Prisoner of the Caucasus" and "The Fountain of Bakhchisaray". In the first part, Baratynsky invokes the Russian tradition of "Finnish" descriptions, recalling the elegies and prose of Batyushkov (above all, his "Fantasy" and "On the Ruins of a Castle in Sweden", as well as "Excerpt from the Letters of a Russian Officer about Finland"). He also mentions Denis Davydov, ("…its stones rang under the hooves of Davydov's horse" [Boratynsky 1915: 2, 15]), thus revealing a familiarity with Davydov's article "Excerpt from the Notes of Major-General D. V. Davydov", published in 1824 in *Mnemozina* (№ 1). Finally, he was clearly well-versed in military and historical official rhetoric, turning to it in the "Epilogue", which in turn is written on the model of the epilogue from "The Prisoner of the Caucasus'. The "Epilogue" did not appear in any of publications of the poem in Baratynsky's lifetime: it had been written for the fourth volume of *Mnemozina* (perhaps to accompany Davydov's Finnish memoirs)[1], was rejected by the Moscow censors, and then, for obvious reasons, was not published as part of the Decembrist almanac *Zvezdochka* (which was supposed to come out at the beginning of 1826).

The descriptions of Finland that may have served as source materials for "Eda" are varied. As the author of a monograph on the reception of Scandinavian literature in Russia justly remarks, the "singer of Finland" had no knowledge of original Finnish (Swedish) poetry, and the principal source for his "Ossianic reminiscences" was Batyushkov [Шарыпкин: 142]. Batyushkov's elegies conjure up images of a wild Northern land with somber and majestic landscapes, a harsh climate and a great history:

Я здесь, на сих скалах, висящих над водой,
   В священном сумраке дубравы
Задумчиво брожу и вижу пред собой
   Следы протекших лет и славы:
Обломки, грозный вал, поросший злаком ров,
Столбы и ветхий мост с чугунными цепями,
Твердыни мшистые с гранитными зубцами
   И длинный ряд гробов [Батюшков 1977: 202–203].

Compare:

> I saw a land near the North Pole, neighboring the Hyperborean sea, where nature is impoverished and morose, where there is constant sunlight — only for two

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[1] For more on the history of the "Epilogue" and the publication of Davydov's "Notes" in *Mnemozina,* see A. Bodrova's article in this book [Bodrova]. While preparing the academic edition of Baratynsky's poems, the authors relied on the same materials, consequently some overlapping between their articles is inevitable (editor's note).

> months, but where, as in lands blessed by nature, people may find happiness. <...> Here the earth all around appears desolate and barren, it is gloomy and overcast all around <...> It's possible that on this cliff, with its scattered pines, at whose feet the breath of zephyrs troubles the deep waters of the bay, perhaps, on this cliff, there once stood a temple of Odin [Батюшков 1977: 95].

Baratynsky turns to this Ossianic mode, and not at the opening of the poem (compare this with the "descriptive and ethnographic" opening of "The Prisoner of the Caucasus": "in the aul, on their thresholds / Idle Circassian sit…" [Пушкин: IV, 83]), but over thirty lines after its "dramatic" beginning. Conventionally, "ethnographic pictures" and a lyrical nocturnal landscape were used in Romantic poems to create the "descriptive" openings that served as backdrops to the appearance of the protagonist. In "Eda," the opening is neither ethnographic nor lyrical, but rather "historical". Baratynsky presents the composite context of his "Finnish elegies" and of the entire tradition of Russian Ossianism from Derzhavin to Batyushkov and Zhukovsky ("A severe land: its beauties / Are marveled at by frightened eyes…" [Боратынский 1915: 2, 18]). But one must bear in mind that, traditionally, Scandinavian imagery was carried over to Finland. Not by accident is one of the key "Finnish texts" in Russian literature Batyushkov's elegy "On the Ruins of a Castle in Sweden".

This metonymic mechanism is in obvious contradiction with the military theme that forms the background for the poem: as a result of the 1808 campaign, Finland ceased to be Sweden. The application of traditional Scandinavian imagery to the Finnish subject is thereby colored by a certain tension. This tension may be felt in the title as well: the Finnish woman's name is not by accident almost homonymic to the name of the Scandinavian epics. The difference in one letter is intended to be felt precisely as a difference: more or less as the difference between *"rossiyskiy"* and *"russkiy"* was felt in Karamzin's time, that is, as a difference between the "literary," historical, Proto-Slavic (*"slavenskiy"*) and the "specific", contemporary meaning. Compare also the play in the name of the "natural Finn" in *Ruslan and Ludmila,* with its "potential projection onto a character in the ancient Irish epic" [Проскурин, Охотин 2007: 98; Набоков 1997: 242].

Denis Davydov's "Notes", which Baratynsky refers to, is a text of a different order: it is not poetic mythology, but contemporary, historical, "topographical" prose, and "topographical" in the literal sense of the word — Davydov takes a map as his point of departure:

> An unbroken fen, strewn with cliffs and dense forests, vast lakes flowing into one another, and roads that extend radially to a small handful of centers, that are rarely

> connected to one another directly: these make up the surface of Finland [Давыдов 1942: 44].

These “reminiscences” of Davydov’s, concerning recent history, are directly tied to “Russian troops’ quarters” and the historical and social backdrop behind “Eda”. The greatest emphasis in the "Notes" is on the official rhetoric of the “Finnish campaign”: Davydov writes about the Finnish resistance, about the “people’s” (guerrilla) war, and about the fact that although the campaign was expected to be easy, it turned out to be difficult:

> <...> the conviction that conquering this land would not meet with any difficulties gained such strength that when concentrated enemy forces attacked the scatterings of ours, when the people’s war began and the locals destroyed our provisions and arms supply lines, when fires spilled across the measureless forests that we had been commanded to traverse, when every step — in advance and in retreat — required the instant sacrifice of lives, our countrymen, living in peace, did not want to believe the rumors that reached them. In their wrongheadedness, they would send soldiers invitations to parties and family entertainments in the capital [Ibid.: 43].

It is likely that this message from the “Notes” is what Baratynsky alludes to when invoking Davydov in the “Epilogue”. The “Epilogue” of “Eda”, which sends the potential reader to the epilogue of “The Prisoner of the Caucasus”, in fact “inverts” Pushkin’s example, replacing its meanings with their opposites. For Pushkin, “our two-headed eagle” is at the center, and he writes what is essentially an ode to the glory of Russian arms and Russian army commanders. Only the last section sees the appearance of “the proud sons of the Caucasus” and pays dues to their resistance (“you battled, dying horribly”). Baratynsky places the conquered “granite land” at the center of his poem, seemingly distancing himself from the usual “glory”: “it’s not for me, / A poet unfamiliar with glory, / To sing of courage in war” [Боратынский 1915: 2, 37], passing the honor to Davydov: “Child of the Muses, child of battles, / Davydov, it is yours to sing” [Ibid.][2]. In terms of where the accents are placed, his “Epilogue” is identical in its heading and subject: at the center of this drama, we find not a Russian officer, but a slain Finnish woman, and the “glory” does not belong to Russian arms, but to the “fallen nation”, the “fearlessly” resisting Finns:

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[2] It is possible that Baratynsky was here referring to the continuation of Davydov’s *Reminiscences,* which was to follow the publication of their first part in the first volume of *Mnemozina* (1824), which ended abruptly. However, the complete *Reminiscences* did not see publication until 1838, when they appeared supplemented with anecdotes about Kul’nev along the lines of anecdotes about Suvorov. “Glory”, that is, a traditional *apologia* in the form of an ode, was not included in them.

Ты покорился край гранитной,
Россіи мочь извѣдалъ ты,
И не столкнешь ея пяты,
Хоть дышешь къ ней враждою скрытной.
  Срокъ плѣна вѣчнаго насталъ;
Но слава падшему народу!
Безстрашно онъ оборонялъ
Угрюмыхъ скалъ своихъ свободу.
Изъ за утесистыхъ громадъ
  На насъ летѣлъ свинцовый градъ;
Вкусить не смѣла краткой нѣги
Рать утомленная отъ ранъ:
Ножъ изступленный поселянъ
Окрововлялъ ея ночлеги! [Боратынский 1915: 2, 36]

Overall, the passages about the Finns' resistance in Davydov and then in Baratynsky are intended to correct Karamzin's pronouncement from the second chapter of his *History of the Russian State,* where he wrote that "This nation <...> never glorifies its victories, has never taken foreign lands, and has always given up its own" [Карамзин 1989: I, 50], and Lomonosov's image of the cowardly Finn: "Abandoning the harvest in the fields, the Finn flees, terrified of vengeance…" [Ломоносов 1959: VIII, 93][3].

An exhaustive overview of the official military rhetoric from 1808–1809 can be found in the article by A. S. Bodrova in the present volume. Here, we will only mention Prince P. G. Gagarin's piece, "Thirty Days, or Finland" (1809). Prince P. G. Gagarin was dispatched by Emperor Alexander I to the Diet of Porvoo and kept a travel journal. The first part, containing entries from March 12 to March 24, 1809, titled "Experiences, or the Journey", and the second part, titled "Excerpts from Books", offered "moral" and "physical" views of Finland, respectively. Gagarin described the assembly of Finnish deputies to the new monarch, taking every opportunity to emphasize the fact that the Finns were more drawn to the Russians than to the Swedes, and that they practically surrendered to them willingly:

> From the firmness of their voices it was clear that the hearts of the nobility were swearing allegiance along with their voices! Afterward, the clergy, solicitors, merchants, and peasants took the oath. <...> Outside the temple, the voice of the cele-

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[3] This line from Lomonosov's "Ode on the Arrival of Elizaveta Petrovna from Moscow to St. Petersburg on the Occasion of her Coronation in 1742" is refashioned by Pushkin in "Ruslan and Ludmila": his hero also "abandons the fields" for the sake of "conquered glory", see [Проскурин, Охотин 2007: 100].

> brating masses, and inside, the voice of the servant of God confirmed the establishment of the new Sovereign of Finland. It seemed as though the mellifluous organ played the accord between the Finns' hearts and souls [Гагарин: 33][4].

This idea of the return of historic lands to the control of the Russian Tsar became firmly established in the odic rhetoric: "The ancestral prince, born amidst Finnish cliffs", S. N. Glinka wrote in "Verses on the Occasion of the Homage Paid by the Emperor Alexander I to the Memory of Peter I"; and in his notes, he referred to "certain episodes from the life of Riurik", a work by Catherine II: "Sinav and Truvor, the Russian-Varangian Princes, sons of the Finnish King Lyudbrandt and his spouse Umila, the middle daughter of Gostomysl"[5]. The idea that the Varangians came from Finland and that Riurik was a close relative of the Finnish King Uzon goes back to V. N. Tatishchev: "Joachim above all maintains that Riurik came from Finland and, as the son of Gostomysl's daughter, inherited sovereignty over Rus'" [Татищев 1994: I, 291]. The use of such sovereign-right rhetoric to legitimate the official position was undermined somewhat by Davydov, and later by Baratynsky.

Another idea found in the official rhetoric consists in the analogy between the Swedish campaign of Alexander and the Swedish campaign of Peter (thus, Prince Gagarin reports that Alexander I not only performed a supplicatory prayer service in the "Cathedral church dedicated to Saint Isaac of Dalmatia and to the memory of the birth of Peter the Great", but also, "stopping before the monument of His Great Ancestor, saluted Him with all His troops, and in this way resurrected the memory of the great deeds of the Victor of Poltava" [Гагарин: 21–22]). Baratynsky reproduces this analogy: "... a wondrous cold / Hardened the Bothnian waters... And how Stockholm did grow numb / When above it soared, beating its wings, / Our terrible eagle! / It recognized in it the eagle of Poltava!" [Боратынский 1915: 2, 36], literally paraphrasing Gagarin's formula: "At that time our Eagles made a path for themselves through the Bothnian ice, and forced the Swedish Lion to tremble in Stockholm, and even near the pole" [Гагарин: 21–22.].

In the descriptions of Finland available to Baratynsky we also find an idea of a different nature, not political, but pertaining to education and, in part, pragmatic. The untamed wilderness and gloomy Ossianic landscapes are juxtaposed with descriptions of the daily life and customs of a people that is educated and civilized. Prince Gagarin paints Finnish winter landscapes, paying tribute to the literary tradition: "This lamentable view, combined with bloody reminiscences, forces one to perceive this corner of Finland as a vast cemetery that has taken in the victims of ambition" [Гагарин: 13]. But as the traveler approaches the capital, nature becomes more picturesque, and the description shifts to others kinds of subjects:

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[4] Compare also: "Nothing ties them to the Swedes, and even the Swedish language is as foreign to them as the Russian. But Russia, whose capital is closer to them, has more means to maintain them in a good position and in friendship with itself" [Гагарин: 52].

[5] *Russkij vestnik*. 1809. № 10. P. 136.

> the capital of Finland, the bishop's seat, has also an economic society and a University founded in 1640 by Queen Christina; although it is located in a Northern climate and has quite modest resources, thanks to its works it has won exceptional respect. The population is 12,000. Wharfs, sugar factories, manufactories of woolens, silks, and other textiles. A quite distinguished market [Ibid.: table 3].

Davydov also traces the borderline between the untamed wilderness and European enlightenment along the urban settlements, but Davydov follows the map here as well. Underlying the opposition nature vs. civilization is a certain geographic continuity:

> The entire coastal part of this region differs a great deal from the hinterlands with respect to the wealth, cleanliness, gentle manners, and even education of its inhabitants. It may be said that while you are traveling from Aborfors to Abo and from Abo to Uleaborg, you are still traveling in Europe: trade, bringing people together, strips them of their natural crust and homogenizes customs and social life; but the more you penetrate into the depth of this region, the more you see that the customs of the people, becoming gradually darker, finally merge with their austere and gloomy surroundings [Давыдов 1942: 44].

In the "Introduction", Baratynsky defines the same opposition using categories from history and the literary tradition: a reference to Batyushkov with "historical reminiscences" (Scandinavian mythology) is followed by Davydov and his recollections of recent history, after which comes a brief description of the contemporary daily life of an enlightened European people: "The inhabitants are distinguished by the simplicity of their manners, combined with a certain level of education, similar to the level of education in the German provinces" [Боратынский 1915: 2, 15]. This remark obviously contrasts with the Ossianic pathos of Batyushkov's descriptions: the poeticized image of the "wild Finn" is juxtaposed with the "inhabitants of the German provinces", who read the Bible and subscribe to a farmers' almanac.

In this context, mention should be made of yet another Finnish topos, which was popular in pre-Romantic and then also in Romantic literature, but which is altogether absent from Baratynsky's poem, namely, "Finnish sorcerers" — compare in "Ruslan and Ludmila"*:* "amidst forests, in the distant wilds, / Live ancient sorcerers" [Пушкин: IV, 18]. Pushkin's main source was Karamzin's *History*: writing about the inhabitants of the "Finnish lands", Karamzin indicates that they "were famous for their imagined sorcery even more than for their courage", and in a note refers to "Northern fairy tales" [Карамзин 1989, I: 51, 201–202], although it appears that another important source was Lomonosov. Compare: "Nordic writers ascribed not a little of the courage of the Finnish people to sorcery, for which the latter came under great opprobrium" [Ломоносов 1959: VI, 197][6]. This semantics of the supernatural, as we will see, played a role in later texts, too, but "magical" themes, as well as the very idea of a wild archaic people, is completely absent from "Eda". Eda, her father, their neighbors, are enlightened "inhabitants of German provinces", law-abiding Protestants. Baratynsky's conscious avoidance of the potential themes of "natural archaism" is all the more telling in light of the fact that later "Finnish novels", as well as Romantic novels with a national exotic flavor in general, developed the postulate of the primacy of national consciousness: their characters were carriers of such a consciousness, and fantastic stories were based on legends and superstitions. The plot of V. F. Odoyevsky's novel *Salamandra,* "based on Finnish legends", was constructed in precisely this way. In the introduction to this novel, the Finns are described as follows: "An innate passion for the supernatural is combined in them with a powerful poetic element and a half-wild attachment to their land" [Одоевский 1981: II, 141]. *Salamandra* was written ten years after "Eda", but the events that it describes took place a century earlier, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In other words, the distinctness of Baratynsky's poem consists, apart from everything else, in the fact that readers perceived it as a story from recent history, whose characters were contemporary people, and whose plot suggested prosaic veracity much more than poetic fabulousness.

In the "Introduction", Baratynsky described his own way as the opposite of Pushkin's: its "originality" stemmed from "detailed specificity" and the rejection of a "lyrical tone". Critics noted that the poem's subject matter was "slight" and "negligible", and its language "prosaic and dull"[7]. Researchers subsequently defined this "originality" as a movement toward the "prosaicization of the material" [Андреевская: 86–88; Манн: 226], and it was specifically this "prosaicization" that in their view explained the fact that Baratynsky as the author of

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[6] It is possible that "Northern fairy tales" was a reference to certain "ancient Swedish manuscripts", which revealed that "Finnish sorcerers helped the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, but could not put a spell on Russian arms" [Елисеев: 294].

[7] See the reviews of Bestuzhev [Пушкин, Переписка: XIII, 149–150], Bulgarin (*Severnaya pchela*, 16 February 1826, № 20), Belinsky [Белинский 1979: V, 184].

"Eda" had practically no followers. Later works that were in one way or another connected with the subject matter of the "Finnish poem" exhibit rather a repulsion from it, in the literal sense of the word. This may be clearly seen, for example, in F. N. Glinka's poem "The Maiden of the Karelian Forests" (1828).

The plot of this poem unfolds in the Olonets Gubernia (Karelia), near the border, against the backdrop of Northern landscapes. The plot is based on an encounter, typical for a Romantic poem, between a "civilized hero" and a "natural maiden". In part, Fyodor Glinka's approach was similar to Baratynsky's. The distinctive characteristic of his "novel in verse" consists in the fact that at its center (and this, as in "Eda", is emphasized by its title) is a female protagonist. It also has three characters: the maiden, her father, and a certain "bold stranger". But Glinka follows the schema that Baratynsky rejected: the "maiden of the Karelian forests" is an embodiment of the natural maiden; it is impossible to imagine her with a Bible in her hands or in hair curlers. Her mother, like a pagan goddess, jumped from cliff to cliff; "an arrow in her hand, her bow stretched", the daughter roams the wild woods, pulling behind her a swan on a pink string.

> И твой товарищ, лебедь белый, —
> В воде, на суше спутник твой!
> Ручной, и ласковый, и смелый
> К тебе в колени головой
> Доверчиво порой ложится,
> И дремлет — полный тайных нег!
> [Русская романтическая поэма: 325]

The author makes no erotic allusions: when the "stranger" appears, no conflict between nature and civilization arises, no offense against virgin nature occurs: "He lives with the maiden as a brother". The plot of this poem is resolved by a "distant" war and the tidings of freedom ("by a proclamation") — in this way, the natural utopia becomes a social utopia.

But if we put aside the ideological component of the poem about the "maiden of the forests", we are left with a traditional narrative about a "captive", whose main meaning is often seen as an encounter between a creature of nature with a creature from the world of civilization. Glinka stretched the Northern maiden's "natural" essence to the limit, while eliminating the actual conflict. In Baratynsky we find the opposite: the natural essence is far less pronounced, and on the whole nature (the somber Ossianic landscapes and pastorals of spring, which are set decorations for the unfolding of the romance between Eda and the Hussar) constitutes more of a literary backdrop, and one that is rather detached from the action. A. S. Nemzer and A. L. Zorin drew attention to the fact that nature in the Finnish poem is merely a cold witness, offering no direct psychological hints, not "mourning the loss of innocence", as was the case in Karamzin's novel, which contained the paradigmatic version of this plot [Зорин, Немзер 1989: 37]. The personalities of the characters do not fit into the traditional opposition. The actual conflict, or rather, drama, takes place within the framework of a "civilizational narrative", offering a "psychologized instance of a *general* rule" [Ibid.: 36].

With reference to the traditional opposition nature / civilization, let us turn to yet another, rather late source — F. V. Bulgarin's *Memoirs*, or more precisely, those pages in them that are devoted to the war of 1808. Until the mid-1820s, Bulgarin and Baratynsky were friendly and very likely had conversations about Finland and the Finnish campaign. It is possible that Bulgarin recounted the anecdote that he later related in his *Memoirs*. But on the whole the Finnish pages of the *Memoirs* may be seen as drawing on pre-Romantic Finnish topoi, and it is precisely in this light that one should read the cleverly "inverted" conflict between nature and civilization in Bulgarin's description of the start of the war:

> We were considered savages, almost cannibals, bloodthirsty and predatory, and they refused to believe our European education, considering all well-bred officers to be either foreigners or foreign Russian subjects [Булгарин 2001: 465].

Bulgarin characterizes Finland as a country that looks to Sweden in the realm of culture and education ("Every person with pretensions to a high level of education or importance called himself a Swede" [Ibid.: 464]), and the Finns as an exceptionally religious and law-abiding people. The greatest influence, in his opinion, is enjoyed by Protestant pastors, and the anecdote which he relates is meant in part to illustrate this idea. The anecdote has some relation to the plot of "Eda", since it addresses the romantic side of the war:

> <...> the female sex, particularly among the middle class, did not share the men's hatred toward us, and <...> in general at that time many things in Finland were permitted by love that were forbidden by strict morality [Ibid.: 466].

Then follows an eloquent description of the prison in Kuopio, in which the narrator meets the heroine of his story. The walls of this prison are painted with scenes of the Last Judgment:

> The devils, depicted in the form of horned and winged negroes, fried the unfortunate male and female criminals on spits and skillets and boiled them in pots; wild animals and serpents gnawed at them... The art was even worse than the subject matter! At the end of each hall was a pulpit from which the pastor preached two

> times per week. The ceiling depicted the sky for those who had repented and confessed their crimes. While inspecting the arrangement of the prison, I noticed among those accused of crimes a young woman, about twenty years old, of extraordinary beauty. Among the sentries was a Finn from the Vyborg Gubernia, and through him I learned that the young woman had been accused of infanticide, but that she did not confess her guilt and instead claimed that she had been denounced, in an act of revenge, by a certain licentious clerk, because she did not want to be his lover. Beauty is more persuasive than any eloquence: I believed the young woman's words, and talked my friend into letting her go free [Булгарин 2001: 466–467].

After some time, while visiting the prison in the line of duty, the narrator again sees the same young woman and discovers that she has returned of her own free will:

> When you released me, I went to my mother, three miles from here, but no one wanted to talk to me, and even my girlfriends turned away from me. On Sunday, the peasants did not let me into the church. My mother took me to the pastor to consult with him about what I should do, and the pastor said that only a trial can set me free, and that I will anger God and be unhappy my whole life if I avoid a trial by impermissible means [Ibid.: 467].

In the end, the young woman's fate is settled with the aid of the same "good pastor" who put the fear of God in her.

Here, it should probably be recalled that when she declares her love for the Hussar, Eda holds a Bible in her hands, and that sensuality in the plot of the poem prevails over austere Protestant morality, which is represented by Eda's old father.

Above, we noted that the original manner in which the topos was developed (the "negligibility of the subject matter" and "prosaicization") explains why the author of "Eda" had practically no followers. All the more interesting, therefore, is an allusion to this story — with an explicit indication of the source — in the Ukrainian Romantic tradition.

Taras Shevchenko's Russian-language novella *Twins* (1855) is made up of the notes of a "Ukrainian traveler" with numerous "lyrical digressions" and obvious borrowings from popular texts of Russian literature. When the author speaks about the "encampments of Russian troops", he recalls a characteristic anecdote:

> The infantry regiment NN was quartered in the city of Nezhin. My friend was brought to this regiment and quartered in a white house with a small orchard and flower garden, directly across from the Greek cemetery. On the very first day, he noticed a flower in the garden that made his mouth water. This enchanting flower was a beautiful girl at the very dawn of her life and the only thing of value possessed

> by the townsman Makukha, who was an impoverished widowed old man. The continuation and ending of this story is known to you, patient readers, and I have no intention of burdening you with the repetition of the thousand-and-first, unfortunately, true story or poem in this lamentable vein, beginning with Baratynsky's "Eda" and ending with Sh<evchenko>'s "Katerina" and Osnovyanenko's "Kind-Hearted Oksana". The continuation and ending are decidedly the same, with the exception that my friend was nearly forced to marry the townswoman Yakylina, Makukha's daughter. Thanks are due to the kind, old regiment commander: he intervened on his officer's behalf [Шевченко 1949: IV, 74–75].

As it happens, however, the "continuation and ending" is different in each case.

"Katerina", a poem from 1838 dedicated to Zhukovsky, represents an example of "bloody Romanticism" in the style of the French "*frénétiques*", typical of the early Shevchenko. It begins, in fact, with a direct quotation from "Eda"*:*

> Кохайтеся, чорнобриві,
> Та не з москалями,
> Бо москалі — чужі люде,
> Роблять лихо з вами.
> Москаль любить жартуючи,
> Жартуючи кине [Шевченко 1989: 30].

Compare:

> Намъ строго, строго не велятъ
> Дружиться съ вами. Говорятъ,
> Что вѣроломны, злобны всѣ вы;
> Что васъ бѣжать должны бы дѣвы,
> Что какъ-то губите вы насъ...

And indeed, in the beginning of the poem the connection with "Eda", or more precisely, with the storyline of the Hussar, is apparent: the Russian (Ivan) does not appear to be a villain and promises to marry, but his regiment departs. Here the resemblance ends. Katerina gives birth to a son, people censure her, her parents throw her out. Note that in "Eda" this theme appears only as an unrealized threat ("Let him blame my ways who will, / But no hussy is a daughter of mine"), but is not developed.

Katerina sets off for "Moskovshchina" (Russia) to look for her Ivan. Winter comes, and Shevchenko describes all the difficulties of her journey in heartrending detail. Katerina finds Ivan, and this time he comports himself like a genuine evildoer: "Fool, get away from me! Take the madwoman away!" Katerina drowns herself, and her orphaned child becomes a helper to a blind kobzar. In the final scene, a "wealthy carriage" appears, the "*pani*" admires the handsome boy, while the "*pan*" turns away — recognizing Katerina's son. Such is the Romantic continuation of the "slight" plot; indeed, here the connection with the original source — Karamzin's novella about the poor young woman who drowns herself — is even more obvious.

H. Kvitka's "The Kind-Hearted Oksana" was written two years after Shevchenko's poem, and Kvitka himself wrote that it was "copied" from "Katerina", but the plot in this text develops in a fundamentally different way. Although the story begins with the same "encampments of Russian troops", the heroine outwardly resembles the Finnish young woman Eda, and not the "black-browed" Oksana: "fair, nimble, quick, rapid... Where she is, there is merry-making, and laughter, and stories" [Квитка-Основьяненко 1982: 273], compare:

> Была безпечна, весела
> Когда-то добренькая Эда;
> Одною Эдой и жила
> Когда-то дѣвичья бесѣда.

Oksana's seducer, a consummate villain, insidious and false, intends to marry the young woman to an officer's valet or to lose her in a card game; Oksana flees, and the story reproduces the plot of "Katerina", with the unwed mother suffering every kind of hardship and humiliation. However, the ending is completely reversed: Oksana comes home, the "people" accept both her and her child, her former betrothed forgives her everything and marries her, and everyone is happy.

It is characteristic that in later texts, the "people" become virtually the main source of action in this plot's development (this, incidentally, occurs also in Somov's "ethnographic" Ukrainian stories "The Kiev Witches" and "The Mermaid", and indeed, "The Mermaid" is directly dependent on "Poor Liza" as a narrative model in exactly the same way). The place of the "creature of nature" in the new texts is occupied by the so-called "people's consciousness"; ethnographic superstitions and the supernatural become indispensable requirements of Romantic exoticism. In other words, the plot tends to a ballad-style development, and against this background the uniqueness of Baratynsky's Finnish poem — in which the "subject" (story) is "slight" even by comparison with the traditional idyllic model, and the narrative in its ending (fall and death) turns into an elegy — becomes even more obvious.

Translated by Ilya Bernstein and Bela Shayevich

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"FINNISH ATTITUDES TOWARD RUSSIANS": NATIONAL NARRATIVE, IMPERIAL POLITICS AND THE MECHANISM OF GOVERNANCE OF THE REBELLIOUS BORDERLAND (1907–1910)

TIMUR GUZAIROV

The official version of the Russian national myth of the 19th and early 20th centuries was imperial in nature, built on images of military victory and the ideas of autocratic rule and the titular nation. However, an examination of the process of adopting this official imperial ideology in the Grand Duchy of Finland at the beginning of the 20th century reveals a surprising phenomenon. Over the course of three years (1907–1910), the official, Russian-language *Finlandskaya Gazeta* actively published articles and reports on "matters of contempt of the crown". One might naturally assume that such cases should have immediately destroyed the Russian imperial myth in the Grand Duchy of Finland, especially since, to our knowledge, no such matters were publicized during these years on Russian territory. This raises the question of the pragmatics of this "contemptuous" story in the official press. Its study will help clarify the course of the debate around the "Finnish question" as a whole, as well as the status of the "Finnish problem" in the evolution of the Russian national myth.

As this article will attempt to demonstrate, the theme of "contempt of the crown" is an integral part of the narrative of the victorious empire and of the Russian national myth as a whole. In official practice, the narrative of "contempt" appears to have been intended to provide the moral legitimacy of future "victorious" actions by the empire in the Grand Duchy of Finland. The construction of an image of the enemy, rhetoric of "national offense", and a policy of defending the titular nation/emperor were all methods used by state ideologues to achieve both external and internal political goals. In reporting on cases of contempt of the crown, the parent state seemed to "lose" the borderland on the ideological field, while at the same time winning in realpolitik.

Let us begin with the publications of the historian, military attorney, and political figure M. M. Borodkin, who was a member of the Special Meeting and an active participant in the settlement of the "Finnish question". In 1902, Borodkin published his first handbook, *Finland in the Russian Press* ("Финляндия в русской печати" [Бородкин 1902]), and a few years later published *A History of Finland* ("История Финляндии" [Бородкин 1908]). The characteristic feature of the latter book was the appearance of a special chapter entitled "Finnish Attitudes toward Russians". This chapter reflected national conflicts in response to the ideological demands of the new political situation[1], in which the description of the relationship between the native population of the regions and the titular nation (between Finns and Russians) became a part of the imperial narrative. This text built the prism through which the position of the Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire was characterized. Borodkin's assertions about the territory of the state and its subjects form a specific system of ideological governance and preservation of the empire in this period.

In 1915 Borodkin published the continuation of his bibliographic guidebook, *Finland in the Russian Press* [Бородкин 1915], which included a new search term in the index — "Insults". The historian classified material into nine thematic groups: contempt of the crown, state seal, and flag, and insults to the clergy, police, religion, Russians, Russian troops, and Russian officials. The section on "Contempt of the Crown" includes two additional sections from *Finlandskaya Gazeta*: "the Chronicle" and "Litigation". The guidebook contains references to 164 articles, of which 137 relate to "Contempt of the Crown".

Per the Criminal Code of 1903, contempt of the Imperial Majesty was classified as a crime against the state. The corresponding third chapter, entitled "On the revolt against Supreme authority and on the criminal acts against the Sacred Person of the Emperor and Members of the Imperial House", went into effect in 1904. According to B. Kolonitsky, in 1911 62% of state criminals were convicted under the articles on insulting the imperial house. Kolonitsky examined the corresponding cases from 1914–1916, which occurred, for the most part, in the interior provinces of Russia (see further: [Колоницкий: 43–71]).

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[1] Cf. Chapter 15, *Russo-Finnish Relationships*, in Borodkin's work *History of Finland: The Time of Emperor Alexander I* (СПб., 1909), as well as Chapter 13, *Russo-Finnish Relationships*, in his book *History of Finland: The Time of Emperor Nicholas I* (Пг., 1915). See also individual observations [Гузаиров]. It is interesting to note that the second volume of *Picturesque Russia. Our Fatherland in its Territorial, Historical, Tribal, Economic, and Domestic Values* ("Живописная Россия. Отечество наше в его земельном, историческом, племенном, экономическом и бытовом значении" 1882), published by the Imperial Geographic Society under the editorship of P. P. Semyonov, lacked a special chapter on Russian-Finnish relations.

However, it is significant that information about court cases involving contempt of the emperor began to arise in the Russian public consciousness and be given publicity beginning in 1907 specifically in the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Reports from the section on "Matters of Contempt of the Crown" frequently appeared on the front page of *Finlandskaya Gazeta*. Charges of preparing and distributing written and printed works designed to excite disrespect for the supreme authority, for the sovereign, or for his governance of the state were also classified by the Criminal Code as insults to the imperial dignity. Information about cases of this type taking place in Finland appeared in the pages not only of *Finlandskaya Gazeta,* but also in *Moskovskie Vedomosti, Novaya Gazeta, Birzhevye Vedomosti,* and others. Newspaper articles appeared irregularly from 1907 to 1912. The majority of these reports were published in the period up to and including 1910, that is, during the celebration of the 100-year anniversary of Russia's victory in the Swedish war and the addition of Finland to the Russian empire. From the end of 1910, their number dropped sharply and dramatically: in *Finlandskaya Gazeta,* 58 articles and announcements were published in 1910, 12 in 1911, and one in 1912. This paper will examine the possible ideological role the publication of articles about contempt of the crown occurring in Finland had in the political script of the Russian authorities in 1907–1910.

The question of Finland's status in the Russian empire has its own background. In the 1890s, historical and legal debates developed between the Finnish and Russian sides about whether Finland was a separate state united to the Russian empire, or an imperial province (see further: [Юссила: 539–593]). In the foreword to the book *The Modern Finnish Question According to Russian and Finnish Sources* ("Финляндский современный вопрос по русским и финляндским источникам", 1891), the censor F. Yelenev wondered:

> For Russians living in Finland, there has long remained an unresolved question: how has such an order been established in this province of the Russian state that Russian government authorities are clearly trampled there, and Russian people, the Orthodox religion, and her clergy are exposed to systematic harassment and insults? [Еленев: 5].

Yelenev had intended to write a special composition, "Finland and the Position of Russians in It" ("Финляндия и положение в ней русских"), in which he planned to provide numerous examples of the insulting behavior of Finns toward Russians in the 1860s. However, yet in 1889, Alexander III, having read the report of the Finnish Senate, declared: "Which is it, finally, Russia belongs to or is a part of Finland, or the G. D. of Finland belongs to the Russian empire?" (quoted from [Юссила: 528]). Gradually, in the statements of Russian publicists and officials, the theme of contempt for the titular nation became a part of an overall historical, legal, and political narrative about the parent state's struggle with the rebellious borderland of the Empire. In 1891–1897, a three-volume edition entitled *The Finnish Province of Russia* ("Финляндская окраина России") was published under the editorship of Sergey Petrovsky [Финляндская окраина][2]. The collection was comprised of texts published at different times in *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, including such authors as M. Katkov and K. Ordin — known for their research entitled *The Subjugation of Finland: A description from unpublished sources* ("Покорение Финляндии. Опыт описания по неизданным источникам", 1889) — F. Yelenev, and M. Borodkin. Articles on historical, administrative, financial, customs, military, legal, and other questions were accompanied in the collection by reports from the lives of Russians in Finland depicting instances of attacks and insults by Finns on representatives of the titular nation. I have examined this theme in another article [Гузаиров: 158–169]. Here, two moments are of note:

1. In these articles, Russian clergy and military figures are named as the objects of contempt by Finns; that is, living symbols of two imperial concepts — "Orthodoxy" and "Autocracy"[3].

2. The new historical context required previously uncirculated negative information about the conflict between the titular nation and the local population. The collection *The Finnish Province* ("Финляндская окраина") formed a new strategy for describing the interethnic relationships between Russians and Finns. It served to establish a representation of Finns as enemies in the guise of subjects. This constructed image of the enemy could be used as a rhe-

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[2] Regarding its reception by Russian public figures in Finland, see: [Витухновская 2004: 89–142]. This researcher demonstrates that the impressions of the elite changed under the influence of ideological attitudes, as did the situation in Finland and Russia itself.

[3] A characteristic example of an article from the collection: "Life for Russians in Finland (*Mosckovskie Vedomosti.* 1890, № 82. March 24). From Helsingfors: '<…> Today along the Esplanade (the main street of the city) artillery officer M. walked with his wife and child <…> Suddenly they were set upon by some Finn, who struck Mr. M.'s wife <…>. M. filed a complaint at the local Dragoon court, and revealed the following: on March 5, the blacksmith Lindel attacked the wife of officer M. and struck her in the eye with his fist. When Mr. M. tried to take him to the police, he began to resist. Deposited, at last, in a cab, along the way Lindel knocked off Mr. M's cap. In court he testified that he had been drunk and remembered nothing'" [Финляндская окраина: I, 236–237]. On insults toward representatives and sacred objects of the Russian Orthodox Church see, for example, the articles "Mockery of Orthodox Clergy" ("Издевательства над православным духовенством" [Ibid.: I, 235–236]), "The Valaam Monastery Question" ("Вопрос о Валаамском монастыре" [Ibid.: I, 417]), and "The Burning of Icons by Finnish Soldiers (from Helsingfors)" ("Сожжение иконы финскими солдатами. (Нам пишут из Гельсингфорса)" [Ibid.: II, 453]).

torical argument in social and political debates between the parent nation and the imperial borderland. From a historical perspective, this text implemented ideological preparation for the deprivation of special privileges in Finland and the enactment in the Duchy of "unifying" laws by the Russian empire (1910).

The *Finlandskaya Gazeta,* which was founded in November 1899 in Helsingfors, issued a weekly supplement in Finnish (see: [Назарова: 113–146]). The first issue came out in January 1900. In that same year, the *Mosckovskie Vedomosti* published a series of articles by N. Talin entitled "'Cultured' Achievements by Finns" ("'Культурные' подвиги финляндцев"). Talin paints a picture of Finnish civil boycott of representatives of the titular nation:

> <…> to not recognize on crowded streets one's Russian acquaintances has long ago become a universal slogan; <…> to approach and speak with them among the "crowd" is certain to cause a hasty and disorderly "flight" <…> one of the people living in Helsingfors, due to his official activities, could not find a masseuse <…> one would appear to be a masseuse for two days, but suddenly, she refuses; after her a second does the same, then a third — and so all of them down the line [Талин 1900а: № 149. С. 2].
>
> <…> it has occurred many times that, at references to advertisements or inquiries by telephone about a published apartment, said place was "unexpectedly" "already rented" as soon as the name, title, or nationality of the inquirer became known [Ibid.: № 150. С. 2].

Talin reinterprets the image of the Finn, underscoring the loss of those positive characteristics traditionally noted by Russian travelers: honesty, decency, and civility[4]. Despite the negative representation of Finns he has established, Talin ends his cycle with the article "Prayer for the Tsar in Finland" ("Молитва за царя в Финляндии"):

> In Finland, of late there is a universal prayer for the good health of the Dear Tsar, all its residents, Russians and Finns alike, forgetting temporarily their scores and transient causes, are joined in a general irrepressible feeling <…> in a feeling of boundless love for the object unceasingly in the thoughts of all, the Sovereign Patient… [Талин 1900б: 4].

This reference to the monarch serves as a *rhetorical* resolution of the everyday, "contemptuous" conflicts between the local population of the rebellious borderland and representatives of the titular nation. The Emperor is depicted as a peacemaking figure who unites all his subjects, and the personal feelings of Finns toward the Russian tsar as standing higher than their national and political priorities. This is characteristic also of subsequent publications of loyalist texts in *Finlandskaya Gazeta*[5]. Thus, during the Russian Revolution in September 1905, a letter by Finnish peasants was published, expressing their devoted love for the tsar [Всеподданнейший адрес: 1].

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[4] Here is a typical example: "But Finns justly court fame and glory throughout the world for their irreproachable honesty" [Водовозова: 21]. For more on the formation and evolution of the stereotype of Finnish honesty, see: [Лескинен: 277–301].

In spring of 1906 the constitution of the Russian Empire was adopted, which also defined the status of Finland. The final formulation of the articles of the Russian lawmakers, after negotiations with Finnish representatives, declined to mention that Finland was "under sovereign possession". However, the remarks of Leo Mechelin, head of the Finnish Senate, which emphasized that Finland was governed not "on special grounds" but rather by her own constitutional laws, were not taken into consideration. According to the constitution, Finland was no longer a state, but a province of the empire, autonomous in its administration and legislation.

In the summer of 1907, Leo Mechelin began an initiative to define Finland's status and entity. According to this secret initiative, Finland was defined as a separate state in union with the Russian Empire. P. Stolypin, head of the Cabinet of Ministers, having learned of this document only from *Novoe Vremia*, wrote to the head of the Chancery: "What is this project on the form of government? It must not slip by. Please report. 18.6" (quoted from: [Юссила: 704]). Stolypin refused to present Mechelin's initiative to the emperor.

At the end of August and beginning of September 1907, the Finnish Parliament began discussing legislation on contempt of the crown. On September 29, 1907, issue № 139 of *Finlandskaya Gazeta* contained a notice entitled "The Case of Ida Valonne"; this was the first article to report on the prosecution of a case of contempt of the crown. On October 18, the Cabinet of Ministers formed a Special Meeting on the affairs of the Grand Duchy of Finland, whose attendees included the above-mentioned General-Lieutenant M. Borodkin. On November 1, the Third State Duma was called, with whom Stolypin was able to work, one way or another. A month later, on December 4, *Finlandskaya Gazeta* (№ 173) contained for the first time the section called "Cases of Contempt of the Crown". On December 22, the head of the Cabinet of Ministers wrote to the tsar:

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[5] In 1900, *Finlandskaya Gazeta* published in two issues the text "Russian Tsars and the Finnish People. A Feuilleton" ("Русские цари и финский народ. Фельетон"). An essay about Nicholas I references "The Laudatory Ode of Old Lyytinen" ("Хвалебная ода старика Лютинена"). In that work, Emperor Nicholas corresponds to the traditional image of the tsar-father (strong and caring), defender against outside enemies and guardian of the internal peace of the country. In this ideological construction, Finnish peasants are portrayed as the true representatives of their people, who receive the right to speak for all nations. The author constructs a "new" image of the loyal Finn, who is defined not by his ethnic or national self-identity, but by his affiliation with the empire. The fourth stanza of the ode is typical in this regard: "Suomi! Be able to appreciate your happiness at a time when you enjoy it, when you are under His power. Bow and thank the Sovereign, when He sends grace and bears a fatherly heart" [Русские цари: 117, 2].

> I found it not out of place to loudly declare [to the Finnish Governor-General and State Secretary] that Your Majesty firmly decided, in cases of violation of the law by Finns and disobedience to lawful demands, to act by the power of *manu militari.* Evidently, they are beginning to understand in Helsingfors that these are not empty threats, and it seems to me that the matter is taking a satisfactory turn [Столыпин: 81].

The implementation of Stolypin's systematic program to limit the legislative freedom and rights of Finland corresponded with the beginning of publications about cases of contempt of the crown. On May 5, 1908, in a Duma speech about Finland, Stolypin also mentioned the law on contempt of the crown[6]. The two processes — political and ideological — developed in parallel, comprising two parts of a single mechanism in the fight to control the recalcitrant borderland.

The *Finlandskaya Gazeta* began publishing yet another series of articles, about the prosecution of newspaper editors and distributors of revolutionary literature for contempt of the crown. Thus, in 1907, the publisher of the worker's newspaper *Sociaalidemokraatti*, Etu Salin, was indicted for the article "Not All Can Be Said" ("Не все можно говорить"). In his statement, the accused insisted on an acquittal, emphasizing that "the basis for this accusation seems to him insignificant, since it boils down to the four words of an article title" [ДОВ 1907: 1]. In the next year, Etu Salin was once again accused of contempt of the crown for his article "Helmikuun, 14 päivää (July 14)", which was about the dissolution of the Second State Duma and criticized the actions of the government.

In 1908, the publisher of the newspaper *Hämeen Voima* was sentenced to four months in jail for printing the article "Clash of Giants in Russia" ("Борьба гигантов в России") in 1906 [Два приговора: 2]. Typically, reports of this type were limited to a reference to the newspaper under prosecution and to the published article, as well as information about the trial.

The following two examples were exceptions to this rule. The occasion for the prosecution of the newspaper *Kansan Lehti*, according to *Finlandskaya Gazeta,* was the article "Against False Parliamentarism" ("Valeparlamentarisma vastaa"), which called for "a protest against the Russian Autocracy" [ДОВ 1908: 1].

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[6] P. Stolypin insisted: "Then several legislative bills became known to me only through rumors in the papers. Is this proper? By the way, this is how I learned about the bill on trade, and on contempt of the Crown…" [Столыпин 1908].

In 1911, *Moskovskie Vedomosti* republished an excerpt from the Finnish article, whose author and publisher were brought to trial:

> Kansan Lehti. 1911. № 39: "Great Russia, however — her place on the map is reminiscent of the rear seats in the theater. Finland sits closer to the stage, and Russia only leans over the back of the chairs" [Шафров: 3].

As a result of the published report and excerpts from the contempt of the crown case, Russian readers formed an image of an unruly, revolutionary-minded, rebellious borderland, with which it was necessary to take stern and decisive measures. Not by accident, the *Finlandskaya Gazeta* drew readers' attention to the fact that many contempt of the crown court cases ended in either acquittal, the suspension of proceedings, or a statement of the disappearance of the accused.

> The Åbo Hofgericht heard on Thursday the case of the seamstress Ida Valonne of Helsingfors, accused of contempt of the Crown. <…> Ida Valonne, as is evident from the inquiry, confessed to the distribution of proclamations and subversive publications among soldiers <…> the Nyland provincial government has reported that Ida Valonne is not being pursued and she has not been summoned to appear before the Hofgericht [Дело: 1].
>
> <…> Upon reading the indictment the judge called the accused persons to be questioned, of whom Heikkilya was nowhere to be found, and did not appear before the judge <…> The judged decided to defer further proceedings until November 17 [Gregorian style]. And to take measures to bring Heikkilya to court on the appointed day [ДОВ 1908б: 1].
>
> The Hofgericht, admitting that expressions in the article specified in the incitement could not be considered insulting to His Majesty, released the accused Paappanen from any responsibility [Судебные дела: 3].

Newspaper reports about cases like this were designed, among other things, to create the impression that local judicial authorities were incompetent to independently handle the growing threat of revolution. Characteristically, at the same time as these publications, articles appeared about insults by Finns towards the state flag, seal, and Russian clergy. In 1909, along with reports about the initiation of another case of contempt of the crown and a case against the editors of local papers for the article "Harassment of Women by Russian Soldiers" ("Приставания русских солдат к женщинам") (in the "Court Cases" section), the 183rd issue of *Finlandskaya Gazeta* informed:

> <…> deacon Nicholas of the Orthodox Church of the Assumption was subjected to an outrageous insult from two girls aged 11–12 years. One of the girls <…> spit on the right sleeve of his coat such that the entire sleeve was soiled; the other,

> running up from the other direction, also spit, but missed, after which both ran away <…> (Местная хроника, № 183. С. 3).

On March 17, 1910, the conservative paper of the capital, *Novoe Vremia,* wrote indignantly:

> The boy Pietikainen related that a bigger boy walking past told him to spit on a priest. He spit, but missed him. Then he ran home, where the police shortly arrived [Финляндия: 7].

In 1910 *Novoe Vremia* continued to publish articles by A. A. Stolypin, the Prime Minister's brother, about the "Finnish" question and about relations between the local population and representatives of the titular nation[7]. On March 21, the article "The Call for 'Speeches'" ("Вызов 'Речи'", № 12221. С. 2) appeared, and on April 16 — "Finland's Moral Obligation" ("Нравственный долг Финляндии", № 12247. С. 3). Newspaper articles thus portrayed in Finland a shock to the foundational institutions of the Russian Empire: Orthodoxy and the Autocracy. At the same time, as noted above, from the end of 1910 the number of publications about cases of contempt of the crown dropped sharply. To explain the reasons behind this tactical shift in the authorities' script, let us look at the court case of Hjalmar Procopè, which received considerable attention.

In February 1910, criminal proceedings were opened against the editor of the socialist newspaper *Framtid* for the publication of a poem by the Swedish-Finnish poet Hjalmar Procopè (1868–1927), the son of a lieutenant general of the Russian army. The poem, "On the Day of the Singer" ("В день певца"), called for a fight against Russian authority. In the article, "The Arraignment of the Newspaper *Framtid*" ("Привлечение к суду газеты 'Framtid'"), the *Finlandskaya Gazeta* journalist translated and quoted the seditious lines from the poetic composition: "Sing, singer, hope and consolation, sing the shot of the liberator" [Привлечение: 2].

The pressurized atmosphere of political unrest in the northwestern borderland and the emphasis on the image of the enemy-Finn in the press during the first half of 1910 accompanied the active legislative endeavors of Russian authorities to resolve the "Finnish" question. On May 25, the Third State Duma accepted Prime Minister P. Stolypin's proposal on nationwide legislation. The goal of the 1910 law, which had been under preparation since 1908 by commission of the Special Meeting, consisted of the implementation of empire-wide laws in the territories of the borderlands, which resulted in the lowering of Finland's legal status to that of a province and destroying its constitution[8].

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[7] In 1909 *Novoe Vremia* also published A. A. Stolypin's articles "The Limits of Patience" ("Пределы терпения", № 12070. № 2), "Finnish Cases" ("Дела финляндские", № 12071. С. 2), and "Vile Rumors" ("Гнусные сплетни", № 12093. С. 4), which reported on Finnish insults toward Russian priests.

In the second half of 1910, Procopè published a poetry collection entitled *The Storm* ("Буря"), which drew the attention of judicial authorities. The local intelligentsia of Helsingfors began a collection for a thank you gift for the persecuted national poet. In 1911 the Finnish Literary Commission awarded the poet a prize of 1,500 marks. On September 20 / October 13, 1911, *Novoe Vremia* published the article "From Finnish Customs and Attitudes" ("Из финляндских нравов и настроений"), in which the author expressed outrage at the poet's acquittal by the Finnish judge. As evidence of sedition, the author chose two poems from the poet's collection. He retold the text of "Peasant Bringing a Complaint to the Lord God" ("Крестьянин, приносящий жалобу Господу Богу"), about a court case regarding the murder of a Finnish worker by two Russian soldiers. The poem tells how God is unable to fulfill the murdered soul's request for vengeance, since "the laws of divine justice are accessible in Turkey and China, but not in Russia" [Из нравов: 3]. The article's author included lines chosen from another poem, translated into Russian:

> Thus, on the banks of the Neva raves the parliament, full of malice and stupidity together; it shows the whole world its education received in Tashkent, and thinks that Tashkent is Europe <...> [Ibid.].

These lines come from the first stanza of the poem, but the author of the newspaper article skipped the opening lines: "Vårt öde är afgjordt! Nu faller ridån, / och liken i sista akten" (Our fate is decided! Now the curtain / And the corpses are in the final act) [Procopè: 16]. He also failed to mention the title of the text — "Finis Finlandiae" ("The End of Finland"). The title was enclosed in parentheses, formulated like a micro-citation that referred the reader to a famous quote by deputy V. Purishkevich, which he uttered on May 25, 1910 after the Third State Duma's adoption of the law on nationwide legislation. From the Swedish edition of the collection, the reader learns that "Finis Finlandiae" was written on June 16, 1910. Thus, Procopè's verses became a sharp poetic response to Russia's political plans in 1908–1910.

The case against the poet was simultaneously the climax and the beginning of the end of the public coverage of court proceedings on contempt of the imperial majesty in Finland. The "contemptuous" narrative had successfully fulfilled its ideological role. These texts portrayed the central (mobilizing) feature of the Russian national myth: a conspiratorial impression of threat “from without” and of never-ending imperial subjugation of the borderlands. Characteristically, along with information on contempt of the crown, the pages of *Finlandskaya Gazeta* in 1908–1909 were filled with articles on the events of the Russian-Swedish War of 1808–1809.

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[8] Although in 1910 the rights of the Finnish parliament were *de jure* considerably restricted, the parliament, Senate, central institutions, and provincial boards were not abolished. Regarding differing views on the consequences of the 1910 law, see: [Аврех: 44–78; Юссила: 725–733].

Thus the mechanism of restricting the Grand Duchy of Finland’s constitutional rights was put into action and operated parallel to the 1907–1910 media campaign to highlight cases of contempt of the emperor, Orthodoxy, state symbols, and the titular nation in the official press. The ideological construction of a conflict between the parent country and the borderland of the empire created pressurized political tensions and national enmity. These reports served as a demonstration of the dangerous power of Finnish separatists and revolutionaries, as well as the weakness, as it was portrayed in the parent country, of the independent Finnish judicial system[9]. Newspaper articles about cases of contempt of the crown depicted an image of a restless, revolution-minded, rebellious northwestern borderland, in relation to which it was necessary to take firm and decisive measures. These “contemptuous” texts establish an imperial narrative, allowing one to follow the parent country’s process of envisioning and constructing the interactions between itself and the imperial borderland in 1907–1910.

Translated by Allison Rockwell

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[9] The Finnish court became the subject of particularly sharp criticism (leading up to a demand for its dissolution) in 1908–1909 in connection with the process of Herzenstein; see: [Витухновская 2006].

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FORMULATING THE "RUSSIAN IDEA": RUSSIAN WRITERS AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF PATRIOTISM DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR (MAIKOV, GONCHAROV, PISEMSKY)

ALEXEY VDOVIN

Until recent times, studies of the "patriotic elation" that swept up many Russian writers and poets during the Crimean War (1853–1856) confined themselves to determining how sincere various authors were in their expressions of Russophilia. Following studies by historians and, in particular, O. Maiorova, the issue was formulated in a fundamentally new way: what were the implications and consequences of the powerful wave of patriotism in Russian journalistic writing and poetry during the Crimean War in terms of constructing a new type of identity in the public realm? From such a perspective, the focus of attention for the literary historian becomes less the rhetoric of elation in odes on the triumphs of Russian arms or, conversely, the rhetoric of prognosticating the imminent demise of autocracy and the rebirth of Russia, and more the ideological constructs of a new community that were formulated in such writings. I am referring to appeals to the idea of "Russian" and "Russianness". What were the foundations of this Russianness in the views of writers? To what historical narratives did they appeal? How was this Russianness defined? How did writers conceive of the relation between Russians and "others" (East, West)? I propose to examine these questions using the polemical writings of several well-known writers, which have never been considered all together as a dialogue regarding the problem of "Russian civilization" or the "Russian idea", as it was first called by Dostoevsky in a letter to Apollon Maikov in the spring of 1856. We will focus on the essays and fiction of three writers, Apollon Maikov, Ivan Goncharov, and Aleksey Pisemsky, who during the years 1854–1856 became involved in a discussion of political problems and articulated their conceptions of Russian civilizations: Maikov in a newspaper editorial and the poems in his notorious collection *1854*; Goncharov in the travelogue *The Frigate Pallada*; and Pisemsky in his *Traveler's Sketches.*

1. A Pre-text: The Idea of Russianness in Apollon Maikov's "Letter to Pisemsky"

The beginning of war with Turkey in October 1853 compelled many writers not hitherto given to expressions of loyalism and public patriotism to find a meaning in what was taking place and to formulate their own attitude toward it. The external threat, particularly from the Moslem East, became a natural stimulus for the emergence of an acute feeling of unity and the consciousness of belonging to a community with the other subjects of the empire. This process stretched out over a whole year: only by the middle – end of 1854, when the allied fleet of France and Great Britain entered the Black Sea and the Russian army began to suffer defeats, many writers began to express themselves in public, both in journalistic writing and in literary texts. Patriotism found its most immediate expression in poems of various genres, which began to appear on the pages of official newspapers — *Russkiy invalid* and *Severnaya pchela* — as well as the Russophile journal *Moskvityanin*. Not surprisingly, the authors of the first patriotic texts included writers famous for their historiosophical lyric poetry: P. Viazemsky, S. Shevyrev, F. Glinka, S. Raich, D. Oznobishin, N. Arbuzov, P. Grigoriev, L. Brant, and others[1].

Against this background, it is significant that some writers who had hitherto been regarded if not as representatives of the opposition to Nicholas I's policy then certainly as liberals, started to publish patriotic texts. The first figure that must be mentioned is Apollon Maikov, who frequented Petrashevsky's Friday gathering and at one time was even under investigation by the authorities. Later, in 1854, in an unsent letter to M. A. Yazykov, Maikov admitted that already in the late 1840s he had distanced himself from the Westernizers and from Petrashevsky's more radical followers, as well as from Slavophiles, in search of a new foundation. Maikov's description of the spiritual rebirth brought on by the Crimean War deserves to be quoted:

> News of Bebutov's and Nakhimov's victories overwhelmed me and awakened in me a patriotic feeling that had previously been completely foreign to me; I wept like a madman, and my heart ached with pride and elation, and I unconsciously repeated one word over and over again: this is *us!* This is us in these soldiers — heroes,

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[1] Patriotic poetry from the Crimean War is collected in the anthology [Ратников]. See the introduction to the same volume.

> I would now call them — whom we have been taught to despise and ridicule [Ямпольский 1976: 39].

Maikov's language here is focused on the experience of community ("we, us") which for the first time connected him with many of his countrymen. It is telling that some time later, in August 1854, Maikov published this private, diary-entry note in somewhat revised form in the newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskiye vedomosti*. Under a demonstratively private and seemingly incidental title — "Excerpt from a Letter to A. F. Pisemsky" — Maikov laid out his views on national consolidation and Russia's grand mission. The poet's idea was that the circumstance of war gave Russia a unique, historic opportunity to develop a new form of unification, an expression of the "people's consciousness", since current events had

> forced each and everyone suddenly to stop and ask themselves: so who are you? And regardless of each person's level of education, regardless of the sources from which he drew his knowledge and opinions, everyone with one voice and in the same instant had to resolve this question and unanimously, before the tribunal of conscience, to answer: I am a Russian! The arguments of Westernizers and Slavophiles resolve themselves on their own and resolve themselves to the glory of Russia <...> nothing could suppress our consciousness of the fact that one could be a learned and educated person, and at the same time feel that we are Russians, and that the highest thing in us is the same sacred feeling of love for the fatherland!.. [Майков 1854: 863].

According to Maikov, consolidation occurs simultaneously on several levels and along several planes. First, it consists of the erasing of ideological differences among the various tendencies in Russian thought of the 1840s (Slavophiles and Westernizers). Second, it involves social integration, which erases the borders between all social classes — "a genuine democratic minute in our life", as Maikov characterized the situation in a letter to S. Shevyrev [Майков 1977: 822]. Finally, the third aspect of consolidation, to which almost half of the article is devoted, pertains to interethnic integration. In Maikov's opinion, the war awakened all residents of the empire to the recognition of the fact that they were "Russian" and established "unity among all tribes living under the scepter of one Tsar".

Rejecting the European discourse of Russia's barbaric nature, which "devours like Saturn" the nations that are annexed to it, Maikov on the contrary asserts that, by "joining the great family of nations that comprise the Russian empire, it is as if each of them received the right and opportunity to participate in world events, the right and opportunity to write its own name in the annals of human history!.. Russia opens up to them the path to glory, the broad highway to posterity!" Maikov exults in the fact that Russia ostensibly in a short period of time transformed the Crimea, Astrakhan, Transcaucasia, Siberia, and the Orenburg region into flourishing regions, for which reason one may confidently affirm that, contrary to Western propaganda, Russians are a "civilized people, and what is even more important, even higher, a civilizing people. A Cossack sentry in the Kyrgyz steppe is the seed of Europe in Asia" [Майков 1854: 864].

Although Maikov writes about ideological, social, and ethnic consolidation, appealing to a certain Russian identity, his article only cursorily talks about who "Russians" are and who belongs to this category. This is done by referring to the concept of "Holy Rus'" (by this time well-developed in poetry — see [Киселева]) and to K. Pavlova's poem "Conversation in the Kremlin" (1854), whose idea Maikov shares completely. This idea consists in Russia's chosenness and particular path, which is different from that of the rest of Europe.

In this way, it is implied by the subtext of the article that Russianness is the feeling of "forgetting one's individuality for one's fatherland" [Майков 1854: 864]. Once can see here the modern conception of the nation in merely embryonic form[2].

The ideas presented in Maikov's newspaper article in a condensed and conceptual fashion were fleshed out by him in a collection of nine poems, entitled *1854* (St. Petersburg, 1855), which can be regarded as a political statement (not by accident did the poet himself during his life recalled this publication with regret and reprinted only three poems from it). The collection opened with the poem, "Бывало, уловить из жизни миг случайный...", whose culmination repeated the lines from Maikov's article: "Благодарю, Тебя, Творец, благодарю / Что мы не скованы лжемудростию узкой! / Что с гордостью я всем сказать могу: я Русский! / Что пламенем одним с Россией я горю!" [Майков 1855: 4]. Maikov's historiosophical views on the relation between Russia and the West are expressed in the famous poem "Клермонтский собор" ("The Council of Clermont"), whose idea consists in the fact that Russia had its own crusades[3] (against the Mongols) and that its history not only parallels the history of Europe, but foreshadows something greater: the possibility of seizing the initiative from the West ("to finish what the West began"). Maikov's conception differs from Slavophile ideas (for example, Khomyakov's) in that it does not reject the West and its values, but on the contrary, sees them as being reborn in Russia, as it were. Thus, it is not by accident that the text concludes with the "image of Peter" the Great — the symbol of the construction of the new Russia.

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[2] About the crystallization of the modern conception of the nation after the Crimean War, see [Maiorova: 52].

[3] The projection of current events onto the European crusades was not Maikov's invention: compare D. P. Oznobishin's poem "That Was a Century!" (*Moskvityanin.* 1854. № 5. Issue I (March issue)), in which Russians were enjoined to repeat the Crusade in the East. "The Council of Clermont" was published in № 4 of *Otechestvennye zapiski* in 1854, hence Maikov had most likely read Oznobishin's text.

Maikov's collection contains two other noteworthy poems about sacrifices made by Russian peasants: *How the Retired Soldier Perfiliev Re-Enlisted* and *The Shepherd*. In the former, the 48-year-old retired soldier Perfiliev explains to his wife, Mavrusha, why it is necessary to join the army again: that is the duty of any genuinely Russian man. The slothful peasant youth in *The Shepherd*, after having a prophetic dream in which the motherland, personified as a woman, calls to him for help, gains vision and asks his old father to take him to enlist in the army. Out of the whole collection, the critics praised only these two "folksy" poems — as an unbiased attempt to depict the spirit of the Russian lower classes, ready to defend their homeland. By contrast with his newspaper rhetoric, Maikov's poetic picture of the unifying "national consciousness" turned out much weaker and not convincing. The author himself went through a crisis at the beginning of 1855 and after the death of Nicholas I tempered his patriotic and monarchical fervor. Doubts in the correctness of his political position led to a creative crisis, which was expressed in an urgent desire to "clear out of St. Petersburg, at least for one year, and to roam about Russia, in order to begin a new life for myself too" [Ямпольский 1977: 840]. Maikov's desire coincided with an opportunity that presented itself: in August 1855, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich was recruiting young writers for a "literary expedition" aimed at describing the life and customs of Russia's outlying regions, along the shores of its seas and rivers. Maikov petitioned to take part in the expedition, but the Minister of National Education, A. S. Norov, under whom the poet was employed, did not allow Maikov to go on the trip[4]. Maikov's dream was realized only in 1858, when he obtained permission to sail to the Mediterranean Sea aboard the Corvette *Bayan*. The search for an answer about the fate of Holy Rus' and a new world view led Maikov to the idea of traveling around Russia, and subsequently beyond its borders as well.

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[4] In November 1855, Konstantin Nikolayevich personally interceded on Maikov's behalf, but Norov refused, stating that he could not let a member of the committee on foreign censorship take such a long leave. See: Russian State Archive of the Navy in St. Petersburg. Fond 410. Inventory 2. File 1069. Folio 25, 44–45.

2. "Russian Siberia" and the Ethos of Assimilation: Goncharov's Reply to Maikov

Maikov's unconditional faith in Holy Rus' and the success of its civilizing mission soon elicited a response, not from the addressee of the letter (Pisemsky), but from Maikov's teacher and mentor Ivan Goncharov, who in 1854 returned to St. Petersburg through Siberia from his sea voyage to Japan. Goncharov read Maikov's newspaper article in Yakutsk in October–November, as he informed the Maikov family on January 11, 1855:

> I have so much empathy for what is moving you and all of Rus' at the present time that I forgive you, Yevgeniya Petrovna, my friend, for filling your letter with political news... With you, my dear Apollon, I have empathy in deed as well: in Yakutsk I read your feuilleton in the St. Petersburg Journal for 11 August 1854, No. 176, and immediately pushed aside the travelogue which I was then working on, and wrote an article, "Yakutsk", in which I use facts to support your idea about how Russia opens up for its subject peoples *a vast arena for action and rational work* [Гончаров 1935: 419].

Goncharov is in complete solidarity with Maikov's patriotic enthusiasm and attempts to develop his thoughts in an article of his own. Contrary to the opinion of the publisher of the letter, B. M. Engelhardt [Ibid.: 422], Goncharov is evidently referring not to a separate article, but to an early draft of his sketch "From Yakutsk" (Morskoi Sbornik, 1855, № 6, part 4), in which the writer enters into dialogue with Maikov concerning Russia's civilizing mission[5]. Researchers have already noted that, while sharing Maikov's civilizing and patriotic pathos, Goncharov goes much further in his vision of Russia's role and progress in the fate of the indigenous populations of Siberia [Краснощекова: 209–217; Гончаров 2000: 520]. Nonetheless, no one who has studied *The Frigate Pallada* has inquired about the limits of the civilizing process that Goncharov sees as the most important goal of the Russian presence in Siberia. Meanwhile, this aspect of the sketch *From Yakutsk* deserves special attention, and therefore a detailed examination of Goncharov's conception of Russia's civilizing mission is called for.

Researchers have emphasized that the author of *The Frigate Pallada* contrasts British and American colonialism with "Russia's original model of the civilizing process", which is humane, noncoercive, disinterested, gradual [Краснощекова: 212–217; Гончаров 2000: 520–521; Lim 35–37]. Such a picture of Russia's policies in Siberia and the Far East is indeed presented in the final chapters of the travelogue. However, such interpretation of Goncharov's viewpoint turns out to be uncritical and cut off from contemporaneous notions of Russia's civilizing mission. In order to understand the specific nature of Goncharov's stance, we must, first, examine how the sketch *From Yakutsk* develops the theme of the limits of the civilizing process when it is applied to the Yakuts, and second, describe the place of Goncharov's stance in the ethnographic context of the mid-1850s.

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[5] It is possible that the mysterious letter from Goncharov to A. Maikov from 25 April 1855, which alludes to a passionate argument between them, which almost ended in a fight, is also connected with the same issues. S. Drugoveiko, who published the letter, makes the reasonable assumption that the discussion most likely concerned politics and the complex and rapid evolution of the writers' viewpoints [Гончаров 2000a: 353–354].

By contrast with Maikov, who does not directly address the problem of the Russification of foreigners, Goncharov does not conceal his position: he comes out in favor of full assimilation[6], to which the Yakuts, Chukchi, and other Siberian peoples must be subjected. On the very first pages of the sketch (cited here as first published in 1855[7]), readers are confronted with a strong tension between Russianness and otherness. The author, who has spent several years in the distant seas and exotic countries, perceives Yakutsk simultaneously as *ours*, Russian, and as *other*, a foreign space:

> From having nothing to do, I amused myself with the thought that, after two years of travels, I would finally see the first Russian city, even if a provincial one. But it too is not quite Russian, although it has Russian churches, Russian houses, Russian clerks and merchants, but how bare everything is! Who ever heard of such a thing in Rus' — not one little garden or dooryard [to be seen]; no greenery — if not of apple and pear trees, then at least of birches and acacias — shading the houses and fences! And these narrow-eyed, flat-nosed people, are they really Russians? All are Yakuts! [Гончаров 1855: 279–280].

Subsequently, the author draws parallels between Russians and Yakuts, finding many more similarities with Russians in the latter than is commonly thought — in their hair cuts, in their settled way of life. Goncharov's remark that, like the Yakuts with their summer and winter yurts, "we, too, are a kind of nomadic people, since in the summers we relocate to Pargolovo, Tsarskoye Selo, Oranienbaum" [Гончаров 1855: 281], also looks like a rhetorical balancing act. Ultimately, the author perceives Yakutsk as a typical provincial Russian city, although one populated by Yakuts ("still, this is Rus', although it is Siberian Rus'!" [Ibid.: 282]). The epithet "Siberian" gradually becomes transformed in Goncharov's text into the ethnonym "Sibiryak", whose identity is described in a lyrical fragment deleted by the author in subsequent editions, after 1862. Goncharov initially defines the identity of the "Sibiryak" not by appealing to ethnicity or blood, but through the image of the life of a "person racing on a wild troika, hidden in his carriage, buried in furs". Sibiryaks are a "multi-tribal family", united by their common style of life as hunters and farmers, and by their understanding of Siberia as a "mother" (inhabitants of Russia's European part also treated their land as a "mother") [Ibid.: 282–283]. Later on, the reader can infer that Goncharov still conceives of the Sibiryaks' identity as Russian. Writing about the fact that "there is much Russian and non-Russian, which in time will also become Russian" [Ibid.: 284], and that "all measures and actions taken by the government are aimed at bringing [this] handful of children from a foreign tribe into the enormous Russian family" [Ibid.: 299], Goncharov unambiguously means the Yakuts' gradual assimilation, the idea that they will dissolve completely in Russian society[8].

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[6] It is necessary to distinguish more thoroughly between two dominant positions held by ethnographers and orientalists in accordance with their stated views on the final aim of the civilizing process: assimilation (the complete absorption of one people by another) or acculturation (the preservation of cultural or linguistic identity). The differentiation of these two conceptions and goals is necessary and justified because Russian orientalists of the 1850s used these concepts. Compare the use of such concepts as assimilation, agglutination, and agglomeration in I. N. Berezin's article "Metropolis and Colony" (*Otechestvennye zapiski*, 1858, vol. 118, № 5). For more detail, see [Вдовин 2014: 101–102].

[7] In subsequent editions, Goncharov deleted from the text many important and ideologically charged fragments. See their description [Гончаров 2000: 316–321].

The Yakuts, as the main object of the Russian civilizing mission, come across in Goncharov as a "quiet and polite people", which is moving rapidly on the path of Christianization and progress, and consequently, according to Goncharov, of education and maturation (a large part of the sketch *From Yakutsk* is devoted to a description of the success of Russian Orthodox missionaries). The Yakut, the savage, "who but recently was half man, half beast" [Ibid.: 293], becomes the Russians' main helper in the domestication of a harsh land, a testament to the absolute success of the Russian civilizing mission in the Far East and the guarantor of Russia's high status among other empires. About the appropriateness and usefulness of this mission, Goncharov has no doubts whatsoever: the Russians "taught the Aleuts and the Kuril Islanders to live and pray... created, invented Siberia, populated and educated it, and now want to give back to the Creator the fruit of the seed cast by Him" [Ibid.: 289]. Arguing with Maikov, Goncharov comes to the conclusion that the empire's civilizing work is no longer "the seed of Europe in Asia, but an original Russian model of the civilizing process" [Гончаров 1855: 299], which differs from the British and American models first and foremost due to the wise policies of the government, which prohibited liquor tax farming in the Far East and did not destroy the natives, as happened in the United States. In the mid-1850s, articles about the dismal condition of the North American Indians, who had been corrupted and destroyed by European civilization, were common in the Russian press. Thus, in 1856, the *Russkiy vestnik* journal published the translation of an article by Franz Loeher, "The Dying Native Tribes of North America", in which the proto-racist author proposed to divide peoples into the "highest", "best breeds", and the "lowest" — worst ones [Леэр: 71]. He saw modernity not only as the era of the awakening of nationalities, but also of their extinction. The reasons for this lie less in external circumstances (the encounter with European civilization) than in internal ones: the absence of a necessary, threshold level of civilization, below which the irreversible dissolution of the community begins, followed by the degradation of the individuals, and subsequently of the national character as well. This is what happened, in Loeher's view, with the American Indians, who, "awakened by civilized man", turned out to be incapable of "escaping from the bleak cycle" [Ibid.: 68–70], since they lacked a basic level of civilization.

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[8] In this respect, as is well known, Goncharov takes a sharply polemical stance against M. M. Gedenshtrom, who in a book from 1830 described the Yakuts as "noble savages" and voiced the apprehension that European civilization would bring them only troubles (illnesses, destructive habits, and so on). By contrast with Gedenshtrom, a Romantic and Rousseauist, Goncharov, in M. Bassin's opinion, comes out as a modern nationalist who believes in the power of European civilization [Bassin: 186–190].

This context helps to understand Goncharov's position, which was not unique and was entirely in keeping with the official discourse concerning the necessity of Russia's civilizing mission, which differed from the British and American approaches because it was aimed not at the segregation of the conquered peoples, but at their integration and subsequent assimilation (see the classic article: [Becker], as well as [Джераси]).

At the same time, the idyllic picture painted by Goncharov in the published version of his sketch may be revised in view of his epistolary judgment concerning the influences of Russians and Yakuts on one another. In a letter to A. Krayevsky from Yakutsk (September 1854), Goncharov admitted that he was astonished most of all by the Yakuts' unwillingness to learn the Russian language, while "Russians speak Yakut to an inexcusable degree":

> In one yurt I see a pretty white girl, about 11 years old, whose cheekbones don't look like horse-carriage shafts, and who doesn't have bear fur on her head instead of hair — in short, a Russian. I ask her name. She doesn't speak Russian, replies Yegor Petrov Bushkov, a middle class citizen, owner of post horses, her father. Why not? Is her mother a Yakut? — Not at all; she's Russian. — Why, then, doesn't she speak Russian? Silence <...> Not only their language, they began to adopt even Yakut cus-

> toms, leaving their children in the care of Yakut women, who instilled in them their morals and much else, including syphilis. But now these vices have been eliminated [Гончаров 1855: 279–280].

Goncharov did not include these observations into the published version of his sketch about Yakutsk, probably because they did not fit his conception of Russia's idealized civilizing mission. The superiority of the principles of progress and civilization did not allow for "reverse" influences — of those who were being civilized on those who were civilizing them (Yakuts on Russians). Goncharov's literary depiction of assimilation, as often happens, does not reflect the actual complexity of processes that he encountered in Siberia, but which he ultimately did not venture to commit to paper[9].

3. North vs. East: Pisemsky on the Muscovite Civilization

In 1856, the actual addressee of Maikov's letter, Aleksey Pisemsky[10], entered into polemics with him as well. In the fall of 1855, Pisemsky had been sent by the Naval Ministry to Astrakhan and the Caspian Sea as a participant of the "literary expedition" (about the "literary expedition", see [Вдовин 2014]). By contrast with Maikov and Goncharov, Pisemsky turned out to be less subject to patriotic and nationalistic fervor[11] and in his sketches about Astrakhan Tatars, Armenians, and Kalmyks he raised doubts about the success of the civilizing mission in specific regions. His doubts stemmed from his conviction that "inorodtsy" were incapable of becoming civilized[12].

For his views on the Asiatic East, Pisemsky, who had poor command of foreign languages, relied on Russian journalistic writing of the 1840s–50s, first and foremost the articles of V. G. Belinsky and P. I. Nebolsin, who depicted Asians as sleepy, lazy peoples, who were arrested in their development, could not be considered "historic", and existed in a state of stagnation[13]. However, when he came into actual contact with ethnic diversity in Astrakhan, Pisemsky developed these notions into something more complex, contrasting the East not with the West, but with the North and Muscovite civilization[14]. In this way, Pisemsky obtained an ideological "triangle", which he derived most likely from the late works of Lermontov and the Slavophiles[15].

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[9] This refers only to the sketch discussed above. In the context of the book *The Frigate Pallada*, Goncharov's overall position turns out to be far more complex. See [Kleespies: 113–143].

[10] Through his wife, née Ye. P. Svinyina, Pisemsky was Maikov's relative.

[11] Although in 1854 he published and staged a patriotic dramatic episode, "The Veteran and the New Recruit", by the end of 1855, when he was in Astrakhan, Pisemsky's attitude toward the government's policies had become more critical.

[12] For a more detailed account of Pisemsky's trip, his interactions with the editors of "Morskoi Sbornik", and his ideological position on *inorodtsy*, see: [Вдовин 2012].

[13] About the perception of Asians in Russia during the 1830s–1850s see [Becker]. Belinsky and other journalists of his time borrowed their ideas from Hegel, see [Siljak].

In the sketch "The Armenians of Astrakhan", Pisemsky criticizes Armenians for the "loss of their national character" [Писемский 1858a: 9], as reflected in the Europeanization of their dress and the mixing of the Russian and Armenian languages, as a result of which these people are becoming "half-Asian, half-European" [Ibid.: 15]. If Armenians occupy an intermediary position in the cultural hierarchy, standing with one foot in Europe, then the Tatars and the Kalmyks in Pisemsky's sketches come across as typical Asians, standing at a lower rung of development. In Pisemsky's depiction of them, these two peoples of Astrakhan are endowed with all the negative traits that the Asian character is thought to possess: laziness, fatalism, inability to improve, passivity, and moral apathy [Писемский 1858b: 5]. This state of affairs, in Pisemsky's view, cannot be rectified, since "vice lies in the very nature of the Asian" [Писемский 1860: 5]. According to his logic, the innate defects of the Eastern peoples (i. e. racialist discourse) explains why "the North conquered the East and in time must swallow it up altogether" [Ibid.]. Pisemsky writes about the triumph not of the West and Western civilization, but of the North, i. e. the Russian, Muscovite civilization. It draws its strength from the Russian *muzhik*, who has "more ability in his heel than an Ulus here has in his whole body" [Писемский 1936: 97]. The author sees no meaning whatsoever in the continuation of history for the Tatars and the Kalmyks: "Rest in peace, you people who have outlived your time!.. Your historical significance was an accident. To sustain and to preserve your ethnic character now is the same as to warm a dead corpse" [Писемский 1858b: 10]. According to Pisemsky, efforts of ethnographers and linguists who tried to keep the "spirit of small nations" were pointless. They are already dead and doomed to disappear, due to the Tatars' underlying natural inadequacy, their inability to develop. It is easy to see that such a skeptical view of the appropriateness of the civilizing mission in the East constitutes a polemical stance on Pisemsky's part that is directly opposed to Maikov's ultra-patriotic newspaper article, on the one hand, and to Goncharov's idealized picture of "Russian Siberia", on the other.

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[14] See his letter to A. N. Ostrovsky from Astrakhan: "All of this, my dear", he assured Ostrovsky, "is shit compared to our region, shit — the people and even the climate. Now I understand why the Muscovite Tsardom overcame all others" [Писемский 1936: 94].

[15] See [Лотман].

Conclusion

One can say that already in 1854, in the middle of the Crimean War, certain Russian writers were searching for new ways of legitimating and motivating national unity, less by invoking the idea of loyalty to the emperor, the fatherland, and the Russian Orthodox faith, and more by invoking to the notion of "the Russian" and Russian civilization. "Russianness" could be defined through its folk or peasant origins (see, for example, the poetry of Ivan Nikitin from 1853–1855, Pisemsky's folksy stories, A. Potekhin's plays from this period) or through the idea of progress, the abolition of serfdom, missionary work, and the civilizing mission, as it was articulated by Goncharov in *The Frigate Pallada*. Finally, in Maikov's newspaper article from 1854, we encounter the idea of a collective unification, the neutralization of ideological, social, and ethnic borders. The result of such a consolidation, brought about by the patriotic fervor surrounding the Crimean War, becomes a new experience of unity, based on a feeling of national solidarity. In this way, by the end of the war, a "nationalization and Russification of patriotic language" [Maiorova: 28] had gradually taken place. As a vivid illustration of this complex process, it is appropriate to quote the words of Fyodor Dostoevsky, who in 1856 also entered into dialogue with Maikov in connection with the latter's poem "The Council of Clermont":

> I talk about patriotism, the Russian idea, the sense of duty, national honor — about everything that you talk about with such enthusiasm. But, my friend! Were you really ever any different? I have always shared these very feelings and convictions. Russia, duty, honor? — yes! I was always genuinely Russian — I am being frank. What is new, then, in the movement that you find around you, which you describe as some new tendency? I confess to you that I did not understand you. I read your poems and found them wonderful; I completely share you patriotic feeling concerning the moral liberation of the Slavs. This is the role of Russia, noble, great Russia, our holy mother. How good is the ending, the final lines, of your "Council of Clermont"! Where did you find such language, to express so magnificently such an enormous thought? Yes! I share your idea that Europe and its purpose will be concluded by Russia [Достоевский: 208].

It is important to note that in this private letter, Dostoevsky was chronologically one of the first writers in Russia to formulate the concept of the "Russian idea", which referred to a special mission of Russia and by the 1880s became a commonplace of the philosophical and journalistic vocabulary (see the recent study by [Hudspith]).

Thus, I have shown how Maikov's journalistic intervention from 1854 inaugurated a discussion about Russianness and Russian civilization among three well-known Russian writers — Goncharov, Pisemsky, and Dostoevsky. All of them (apart from Dostoevsky) made use of literary sketches to articulate the nationalist idea, which was correlated in a complex manner with patriotic journalistic and literary writing of the period of the Crimean War.

Translated by Ilya Bernstein

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ACTA SLAVICA ESTONICA VI.
Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia XIV.
Russian National Myth in Transition.
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THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL MYTH IN EXPORT: P. A. VIAZEMSKY'S *LETTRES D'UN VÉTÉRAN RUSSE DE L'ANNÉE 1812 SUR LA QUESTION D'ORIENT*

TATIANA STEPANISCHEVA

> I have always been of the opinion that language is not our gift. In writing we will always look foolish. No wonder *Moniteur* laughs at us. Meanwhile, our actions are somehow no better than our logic and our rhetoric.
>
> *P. A. Viazemsky. Notebook. November 1853.*

In the vast literary legacy left by P. A. Viazemsky, *Letters of a Russian Veteran of the War of 1812 on the Eastern Question*[1] (*Letters*) is a peripheral work. After its publication in the sixth volume of his collected works [Вяземский: VI], never again has it been published in its entirety; it has remained without commentary or particular study[2]. Additionally, the historical fate of *Letters* confirms Viazemsky's reputation as an "outsider", not only of the Pushkin era[3], but also of the decade following it. In preparing *Letters* for publication in the collected works of Viazemsky, P. Bartenev noted that it "adds a *new, hitherto little known* feature to the characterization of the author" who, in addition to literary pursuits, "always kept up with common affairs" and knew well "both the domestic and foreign political life of contemporary Russian and European society". As the reason Viazemsky's Crimean works are so little known, Bartenev specifies that the book "was not successful abroad and *only a small number came*

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[1] First edition: Lettres d'un vétéran russe de l'année 1812 sur la question d'Orient, publiées par P. d'Ostafievo. Lausanne, 1855.

[2] *Letters* is only sometimes mentioned in connection with the author's later life. M. I. Gillel'son devoted just under three pages to it in his monograph *P. A. Viazemsky: Life and Works* [Гиллельсон: 331–333], but the book receives no mention in the article he wrote about Viazemsky in the *Russian Writers* reference book [Русские писатели].

[3] This formula comprised the title of Yu. M. Lotman's report on Viazemsky [Лотман].

to us" [Вяземский: VI, VII; italics added][4]. It is unlikely that an orientation toward a European audience and a small print run were the only reasons Viazemsky's Crimean works were forgotten. After the collapse of Nicholas' system, Viazemsky's position could no longer be leveraged to arouse sympathy from Russian readers and help increase the popularity of *Letters.*

Of course, the fact that Viazemsky wrote his epistolary articles in French made their reception and evaluation more difficult. In publishing an unauthorized translation, Bartenev makes a characterizing stipulation:

> Readers will notice that the French style of Prince P. A. Viazemsky is as idiosyncratic as the style of his Russian works. I dare not vouch for the exactness of the translation and admit its shortcomings, but I tried to be meticulous in this matter… (VIII).

One can assume that one of the translator's goals was to widen *Letters*' audience and popularize Viazemsky's works. Presenting the public with a book that had earned no recognition in Europe and was little known in Russia, Bartenev appraises it as:

> … an honest and talented fulfillment of the civic duty of the writer, who is earnestly faithful to his fatherland, about the love of which Prince P. A. Viazemsky used to say that it should have more of the properties of paternal than filial love (VII).

The most important thing noted by the publisher-translator is the author's virtue of ideas and good intentions, who "felt the necessity of serving, to the best of his abilities, as the pen of the common Russian cause", to stand against "false news about Russia" and the "twisted interpretations" of official Russian politics [Ibid.]. Bartenev's estimation of Viazemsky is not fully disclosed: he mentions his talent, but what he means by that, whether rhetorical mastery, an elegant style, or the depth and importance of his political observations, is unclear. In characterizing Viazemsky's style, the translator calls him *idiosyncratic* (*своеобычливый*), which can be interpreted in different ways.

Naturally, any attempt to study *Letters* without analyzing Viazemsky's French speech will be necessarily incomplete. However, this article will not attempt to answer every question *Letters* poses to those who would study the work. This article will focus first and foremost on Viazemsky's ideological constructions, his journalistic position, and his views on Russian history and politics in the confrontation between Russia and Europe resulting from the situation in 1812. This position in particular led to the unpopularity of *Letters* among Russian readers. I believe that this book was nearly completely forgotten not because of the "small number" of copies made, as P. Bartenev so delicately explains. Viazemsky, however he himself defined his position, acted as defender of the official politics of Russia, and his journalism was pro-government, which, after military defeats and a crisis of governance, had lost the confidence of the public.

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[4] From here on citations of this volume of *The Complete Works of P. A. Viazemsky* will include page numbers only.

Viazemsky's position also made *Letters* unpopular among scholars. In the author's life and works, much more interest was aroused by his connections to Pushkin, the era of Pushkin, and, relatively speaking, the "Pushkin line" in the history of Russian culture. Viazemsky's later works were particularly unlucky in Soviet literary studies: his aristocratic conservatism and conflicts with the literary youth, which began as early as the 1830s, became barriers to analysis and historical evaluation. Unsurprisingly, his praise for Russian policies during the Crimean War, which in Soviet historiography symbolized the collapse of Nicholas' regime, put *Letters* out of bounds for research. It is also revealing that in M. I. Gillel'son's monograph, the section devoted to Viazemsky's works of the war period is limited to literally a single line about his poetry (the writer "spoke out during the Crimean War in poetry of an official-patriotic nature") and he tries to avoid the riskier statements in *Letters*. The "Orthodox-monarchical postulate" of *Letters*, in Gillel'son's opinion, "is obvious and requires no particular clarification", while conservatism "did not prevent Viazemsky from neatly striking at bourgeois law and order" and in his assessments of Turkey's European allies, there was "much of value and historical fairness" [Гиллельсон: 331–333]. The interpretation of these assessments occupies all of the space allocated to *Letters* in Gillel'son's book. Clearly, reducing Viazemsky's ideas to mere criticism of Europe's political course made it possible for Gillel'son to discuss the journalistic cycle which Viazemsky wrote to justify the actions of the Russian government in the Crimean War.

Of course, *Letters* needs further study. Establishing which factors influenced the direction of Viazemsky's thoughts presents a serious difficulty. At the time (1853–1855), the writer was traveling in Europe, found himself in the middle of arguments, read the current press, and observed the proceedings of the European political arena. To a significant degree, his articles were a direct answer to periodical publications, salon conversations, rumors, etc. The re-creation of this context is necessary in order to comment thoroughly, and is a difficult and multifaceted task. The author's circle of acquaintances and calendar of meetings at that time can be reconstructed, on the whole, from his notebooks (which are published in the *Complete Works of P. A. Viazemsky,* though without satisfactory commentary). It is more difficult to reconstruct the author's full list of readings: even by outlining the repertoire of French, English, and German periodicals available to Viazemsky, one is unlikely to be able to imagine his most likely course of discussion of the published materials.

Keeping these difficulties in mind, this paper will focus on just one aspect of the author's position in *Letters*, which has hitherto not attracted the attention of historians: the image of the Russian nation presented (constructed) in the text.

The intention of *Letters*, as noted above, is openly polemical. Viazemsky announces this in the introduction. Although it is unknown how the text of *Letters* was produced and when exactly the introduction was written, it reflects the author's vision of the text's pragmatics and may be considered programmatic (it is irrelevant here whether the program was prospective or retrospective):

> On pourrait hardiment, de nos jours, appliquer aux journaux, en le parodiant, le mot célèbre qu'on attribue à m. de Talleyrand: "La presse a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée". En effet, vit-on jamais des faits contemporains, qui se passent pour ainsi dire sous nos yeux, aussi indignement mutilés? Si nous révoquons en doute quelque récit des historiens de l'antiquité; si Tacite, ou Suétone nous semblent avoir exagéré la caractère des Césars romains et hyperboliquement chargé le tableau des crimes de quelques-uns, des vertus de quelques autres, nous ne nous étonnons point outre mesure, en songeant qu'à cette époque il n'existait pas de presse périodique, pas de critique, pas de contrôle; que les écrivaines étaient peu nombreux et que leurs œuvres étaient réputées des articles de foi irrécusables. Mais aujourd'hui, quand pullulent les écrivaines, quand la réfutation suit immédiatement l'assertion, comment se fait-il que la mauvaise foi gagne toujours du terrin sur la logique et la vérité? (1)

What follows is the corresponding passage from Bartenev's translation — presented not so much as an aid to the reader, as an illustration of the translator's reflections quoted above:

> Speaking of the newspapers of our time, one may boldly apply to them the famous expression attributed to Talleyrand and say: "Print was given to man in order to mask his thoughts". Truly, has there been a time when current events, that is to say those happening before our eyes, have been so distorted in such an undignified fashion? Several stories of ancient historians have been exposed to doubt, they find that Tacitus or Suetonius inaccurately portray the characters of Roman Caesars, and in their depictions the vices of one or the good deeds of another are exaggerated; and we are not particularly surprised by this: there did not exist then real-time printing, they knew nothing of criticism and verification, there were few writers, and their works were read as immutable. But in our day, when we have no end of

> writers, when refutations follow immediately after assertions, how can it be that dishonesty constantly prevails over logic and truth? (265)[5].

In this excerpt Bartenev drops the phrase "en le parodiant", transforming Viazemsky's witticism into a mistake. The author of the introduction offers the undistorted version (*La presse* a été donnée á l'histoire pour déguiser sa pensée), but plays on the words attributed to Talleyrand (*La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour qu'il trahisse sa pensée*). Such imprecisions noted from the very first page force discretion in the use of Bartenev's translation, though an evaluation of his accuracy shall be left to future scholars.

And so, for the opening of *Letters*, Viazemsky chooses the *mot* of an utterly odious personage (of Talleyrand it was said that he "sold those who had bought him"[6]). Talleyrand's rephrased witticism should have, according to the author, characterized the essence of contemporary periodical print. The passage following it presents one of the key contrasts in *Letters* — the juxtaposition of history and modernity, *resp.* historiography and journalism. This contrast is highly characteristic of Viazemsky and comprises the foundation of his literary, critical, historical, and cultural constructions. In the new environment of the informational war taking place in European periodical publications, the author uses a familiar system of literary coordinates for journalistic purposes.

At first glance, one may ascertain in *Letters* a bias in Viazemsky's opinions on the opposing ideas of history and modernity. Viazemsky's inclination toward literary battles and magazine disputes is well known. Even while he was a member of The Arzamas Society, he was a proponent of literary organization and, above all, of the development of periodicals, since journals in particular were to serve to unite writers and shape tastes. Viazemsky considered journalism and fiction to be the most effective methods of education; once in a letter to A. I. Turgenev he likened current literature to "boiling broth from the womb of modernity". However, in Viazemsky's viewpoints, high literature and historiography serve as constant counterweights to current literature. To Viazemsky at the end of the 1820s, journalism, intended for a mass audience and presenting a "general opinion" — the opinion of the "crowd" or "mob" — was already a sign of the degradation of true literature (as evidenced by his unconditional support of the "literary aristocracy" in the fight against "commercial tendencies"). Viazemsky maintained the opinion that a literary revolution should proceed "from the top": it is not an increase in the number of readers that produces writers, but the appearance of writers (individually) that nurtures and shapes the reader. These ideas, developed in relation to the literary situation of the 1820s and 1830s, were transposed onto the politics of the 1850s. Characteristically, Viazemsky described his position as that of an independent individual, outside parties and orders of any kind (from above or below)[7].

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[5] Henceforth, Bartenev's Russian translations will follow Viazemsky's text in French.

[6] E. V. Tarle conveys this witticism in this form and without citation in the tenth chapter of his book on Napoleon [Тарле: 203]. The collection *L'esprit de M. de Talleyrand: anecdotes et bons mots, recueillis par Louis Thomas* (1909) is its likely source: "Comme on s'étonnait de la fortune laissée par M. de Talleyrand: Rien d'étonnant, dit quelqu'un, il a vendu tous ceux qui l'ont acheté" [Talleyrand: 90]. In Tarle's version the meaning of the line is somewhat altered.

In Viazemsky's eyes, Russian history and historiography were embodied in N. M. Karamzin. It was Karamzin who founded Russian history, his *History* established (or, more precisely, revealed) great Russia. The younger man's respect for his brother-in-law Karamzin's authority gradually grew into veneration; while the authority of other literary figures gradually lost meaning for him, Karamzin's only increased. In a poem dedicated to the 100-year jubilee of the historiographer, Viazemsky's "Karamzin-olotry" ("карамзинолатрия")[8] manifests in full measure:

Нам предков воскресил он лица,
Их образ в нас запечатлел,
И каждая его страница
Зерцало древних дней и дел.
Своей живительной рукою
Событий нить связал он вновь,
Сроднил нас с русскою семьею
И пробудил он к ней любовь
<…>
Воздвиг он храм сей величавый,
Прекрасный стройностью частей,
Сей памятник и русской славы,
И славы собственной своей [Вяземский: XII, 279].

This is just one of Viazemsky's utterances about Karamzin which represents the historian as a cultural hero who shaped not only the past, but the present and future of the nation. The existence of Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*, according to Viazemsky, irrefutably proves the rightness of the current Russian government and the trueness of its foreign policy (the author of *Letters* maintained a critical attitude toward domestic policy, but commented on it only to his "inner" circle). Viazemsky imputes Russia's European opponents with an excessive attachment to modernity, an absorption in the interests of the minute, and an unstable political trajectory (which he considers an unavoidable consequence of democracy). In the journalist's opinion, this should lead to unavoidable defeat, not only on the battlefield, but in a wider historical perspective — as has happened more than once in Russian history. From Letter XXIII (September 1854):

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[7] Viazemsky's sincerity in his assertion of his independent position is unquestioned. However, his journalistic activities of 1854 turned out to be on par with the works of Ya. N. Tolstoy, and agent of the Russian government in France since the 1830s whose fundamental mission was counterpropaganda (about this, see: [Донесения]). Viazemsky had long known Ya. N. Tolstoy, since 1820s. It was Tolstoy who, in a letter dated July 16/28, 1853, informed Viazemsky of the ban on any pro-Russian publication in the French press (pointed out in [Осповат: 474]).

[8] A word coined by N. I. Grech, who speaks in his memoirs with extreme hostility of the "Arzamasites" and their veneration for Karamzin.

> Le préoccupation exclusive de intérêts du moments exerce une singulière et fâcheuse influence, même sur les esprits les plus distingués. Pour arriver plus promptement à une solution qui mette fin aux agitations et aux anxiétés du présent, pour donner gain de cause à ce qu'ils croient être utile et vrai, ces esprits s'accrochent à la première chance venue et ne tiennent plus aucun compte de l'histoire et des conditions qu'elle impose, ou, du moins, qu'elle légitime et consacre. Quand le sacrifice qu'ils ont fait des enseignements de l'histoire n'a pas suffi, c'est la géografie, avec ses vérités matérielles et topografiques, qui tombe sous leur coups (163).
>
> Even the most elite minds succumb to strange passions when their attention is occupied exclusively with current affairs. In order to more quickly arrive at a decisive conclusion and be done with the anxiety and malice of the current day, desiring triumph for that which, in their opinion, is good and true, they attach themselves to the first accident they come upon and have no desire to know about history or the conditions it imposes or, at the very least, legitimizes and sanctifies; but when historical evidence contradicts them too clearly, they take up geography and sacrifice its topographical and material truths to their self-delusion (426).

The resolution of the "Eastern Question" in Russia's favor is, in the opinion of the "Russian veteran", unavoidable, since in the end history will unavoidably carry the day against "the daily papers". From Letter XXX:

> Sans doute, une fois le tumulte des passions apaisé, une fois les questions brûlants refroidies, l'histoire vient succéder aux feuilles quotidiennes et aux pamphlets du jour. Mais, dans tous les cas, elle doit les consulter avec prudence et critique, comme pièces du procès qu'elle est appelée à juger en dernier resort (228).
>
> Of course, as soon as the storm of passions subsides and burning questions cool, history will take the place of daily papers and current libels. But, in any case, history must take note of them, discussing them carefully and critically, seeing in them the acts, as it were, of the process it must decide in the last resort (487).

"In the last resort", victory is on the side of Russia, since in the past it has been victorious more than once over the current adversaries: France and Turkey.

Throughout the series of letters, the journalist submits examples of the superiority and victories of Russia, both military and, relatively speaking, "moral". The case of England is more complex; here Viazemsky is forced to turn to rhetorical contrivances in order to present Russia as victor. In this way, historical precedents are used to confirm the unavoidability of Europe's defeat in the impending clash with Russia — history should repeat itself.

In Letter XII Viazemsky presents examples of Russia's successful Eastern politics. He lists efficacious "political and military relations with the Eastern Empire", beginning with Prince Oleg's campaign at Byzance and the marriage of Prince Vladimir to a Greek princess — these examples are intended to uphold Russia's claim to the right to participate in the fate of contemporary Greeks. Viazemsky projects the failure of the Russian ambassador Menshikov at the talks in Constantinople in March 1853 onto nearly 500-year-old events, when, in 1497, the ambassador Pleshcheev, following the orders of the grand prince, refused to negotiate with the Pashas after having attained an audience with the sultan:

> Si le prince Menschikoff a été accusé, de nos jours, d'une fierte exessive, les publicistes européens pourront du moins reconnaître que ses procédés diplomatiques, si toutefois ils sont avérés, ne sont pas de son invention, mais qu'ils appartiennent à la traditiom et remontent au quinzième siècle (71).
>
> In our times they accused prince Menshikov of excessive pride; but the little European newspapers must admit that his diplomatic maneuvers (if they would report on them honestly) are not his own ideas, but based on tradition arising in the 15th century (335).

The repetition of history is one of the central themes in *Letters*:

> Il est curieux de retrouver, au bout de quelques siécles, la répétition des mêmes événements qui se reproduisent de loin en loin avec une similitude parfaite. Ce sont là de petites malices de l'histoire, bonnes à relever à l'usage des médiocrités oublieuses et présomptueuses (74).
>
> It is curious to follow how the same events are reproduced and repeated over the centuries with surprising sameness. This is the cruel joke of history, which must be remembered for the instruction of mediocrity, forgetfulness, and vainglory (338).

Viazemsky discovers repeating events not only in large historical intervals; cf. the following excerpt from Letter XXI, which speaks of modern times:

> … la Russie est peut-être appelée par la Providence à démonstrer *encore une fois* deux choses identiques: aux idées napoléoniennes, que la Russie est le terrain où elles échouent; à l'Europe, qu'elle ne peut ni ne doit être napoléonienne (159).

> … maybe, Russia is called by Providence *once again* to clarify two identical circumstances, namely, that Napoleonic ideas are untenable when applied to us, and that Europe cannot and should not be Napoleonic (422).

Of course, Viazemsky did not invent the use of historical parallels and analogies. France's participation in the conflict of 1853–56 and the identical names of the two Napoleons, uncle and nephew, made the Russian press' comparison of the Crimean War with the War of 1812 inevitable. In particular, F. I. Tyutchev, Viazemsky's companion and correspondent, makes this comparison in the fall of 1853:

> The last courier who arrived from London brought news that forces the anticipation of an inevitable rupture, and, probably, the same news will come with the courier anticipated tomorrow from Paris. In essence, *1812 approaches once again for Russia*, and it's possible that the attack being prepared against her is no less frightening than the first, although it is not embodied in a single person, not in such a great person as was the first Napoleon… As to the enemy, it is still the same — the West (quoted from: [Летопись], italics added).

The comparison of the Crimean War with the Patriotic War of 1812 is a constant theme throughout *Letters*. It is deployed in most detail in Letters VI and XXI ("February 1854. Émile de Girardin. Memories of 1812 and the following years" and "July 1854. Napoleon III's Declaration of War"). In the first, Viazemsky answers de Girardin's article, which had proposed that the allies hasten their attack in order to avoid a repeat of the 1815 taking of Paris by the Russian army. The "Russian veteran" points out to the French journalist the "gap in mind and memory" inherent to him and to the majority of the French ("comme bien des Français des lacunes dans la mémoire et dans son intelligence"):

> … il ne saisit et ne reticent bien que les chiffres et les faites qui peuvent lui servir à grouper et à arrondir le total dont il peut avoir besoin pour le moment. C'est ainsi que les Français écrivent, non-seulement des articles de journaux, mais l'histoire. C'est pourquoi notre publiciste saute à pieds joints sur l'année 1812, dont il voudrait la répétition tout en oubliant ses résultats, et qu'il arrive d'emblée au spectre de 1815, dont il veut effrayer la France, oubliant encore une fois que les années 1814 et 1815 n'ont été qu'une suite inévitable et mémorable des événements de 1812 (30).

> … he seizes upon and firmly holds to only those dates and events that are of use to him in summing up and rounding off the total needed at the given time. The French write not only newspaper articles in this way, but history itself. That is why our journalist has no trouble skipping over 1812, as if he desires its repetition, forgetting its outcome; he rushes straight to the ghost of 1815 with which he hopes

> to scare France, forgetting again, that 1814 and 1815 were only the fatal consequence of blessed memory of the events of 1812 (296).

Viazemsky again refers to the dangerous misconceptions of de Girardin, a spokesman of French politics, as obliviousness of historical events. The author of *Letters* considers the victory over the first Napoleon an incontrovertible foreshadowing of a new victory: "Ce qui s'est vu alors se verrait inévitablement encore une fois, si les leçons du passé devaient être perdues pour le présent" (31) ("What happened then will inevitably happen again, if the lessons of the past are lost on the present" [297]). Winter, which became an important motif in the mythology surrounding 1812, is transformed by Viazemsky into a universal symbol of Russian superiority:

> La Russie est un pays tellement bizarre, que l'étranger, sans prévoir ni où, ni quand, risque toujours de se heurter contre un hiver quelconque (159).
>
> Our Russia is a strange land: the foreigner can never calculate where and when winter will come for him, and every time he runs the risk of a winter that will be a hindrance to him (422).

In Letter XXI, dedicated to an analysis of the proclamations and actions of Napoleon III, Viazemsky successively compares him to his predecessor, Napoleon I, and every comparison is to the detriment of the present emperor. Noting the military-strategic and political superiority of the "Emperor of War" over the "Emperor of Peace"[9], the author of *Letters* once again asserts the inevitability of Russian victory: since today's adversary is weaker, then it will be possible to defeat him with less effort.

The history of the War of 1812 was a kind of "indulgence" for the possible failures of Russia in the new war. Viazemsky writes of this in Letter VI (in an excerpt entitled "Memories of 1812 and the following years"):

> Une fois la grande guerre commencée, il faudra bien nous résigner à voir *nos ennemies remporter sur nous des avantages isolés* que la force numérique doit obtenir, si ce n'est partout et toujours mais *du moins ça et là et quelquefois*. Dieu merci, nous n'avons pas le dogme de l'infaillibilité de la victoire, et voilà pourquoi *nous ne nous laissons pas abattre par les revers*. Mais tout Russe a le sentiment inné du devoir et de la force morale. Il sait, et *son histoire le lui a appris*, qu'un peuple puissant et uni qui tient à ses traditions nationales et conserve celles de la foi religieuse, ne peut être vaincu, s'il ne le veut pas, et qu'en tenant tête à l'ennemi jusqu'au bout, son courage

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[9] Here Viazemsky uses a formula from a speech of then-president Napoleon III, given in Bordeaux on October 9, 1852: "Certaines personnes disent: l'Empire c'est la guerre. Moi, je dis, l'Empire, c'est la paix".

> et sa persévérance doivent finir par lasser l'ennemi et le réduire à l'impuissance (31–32).
>
> As soon as the great war begins, we should anticipate that *our enemies may win partial victories over us* through superiority of forces, though not everywhere and always, but *temporarily, in certain circumstances.* We, thank God, do not profess the dogma of invincibility, and that is why *failures cannot disturb us.* But every Russian has an inborn sense of duty and moral strength. He *knows from the lessons of his history* that a powerful and united people, faithful to their nation and religious tradition, cannot be defeated if it does not want to be, and that, not retreating before the enemy until the end, he will, finally, exhaust and bring the enemy to impotence through his courage and perseverance (297–298).

In this way, according to Viazemsky, the Russian people in the past have already received confirmation that "Russia is called by Providence", and preserving their loyalty to this call will ensure Russian victory in the future. Time, history, and Providence are treated as synonyms in *Letters*; they protect Russia from external dangers essentially without the efforts of the Russian people. Passivity is almost prescribed for the compatriots of the "Russian veteran", because strong actions can only disrupt things:

> Si des circonstances l'exigent, il nous faut agir vigouresement; si l'affaire peut être remise au lendemain, il faut attendre patiemment, mais avec vigilance, que le temps vienne à notre aide et dénoue les difficultés. Car dans les questions qui sont vraiment russes, il nous faudrait à plaisir gâter nous-mêmes nos aggaires, pour que le dernier mot ne fût pas dit en notre faveur. L'Océan n'a pas besoin de s'agiter pour que les fleuves viennent se verser dans son sein, l'ordre de la nature les pousse à lui. Il y aussi *des courants historiques qu'on ne saurait détourner de leur direction* (177–178).
>
> As circumstances demand we should act with strength; but if there is the option of being cautious, we will arm ourselves with patience and vigor and will wait until *time comes to our aid and removes our difficulties* [italics added]; because in purely Russian questions, *if only we ourselves do not ruin matters, the deciding word will always belong to us.* The ocean must move nothing to make the rivers flow into its bosom; nature itself chases them there. *There are also such historical rivers which nothing will turn aside* (440–441).

Small failures, according to Viazemsky, can and always should be negligible to Russia. He believes the historical example of failures in the war with Napoleon supports this thesis. This was precisely the case in which Russian "courage and perseverance" "exhausted and brought the enemy to impotence". In contrasting small failures with the overall victory, one of the fundamental contrasts of *Letters* appears once again — *newspapers vs. history*; from Letter XXVII:

> Succès momentanés, échecs momentanés, ne veulent rien dire. C'est beaucoup *pour les gazettes* et les vanités du jour, mais ce n'est rien pour l'avenir *et pour l'histoire*. Tout se retrouve et se résume à la fin, ce qu'on a perdu et ce qu'on a gagné. Souvent les échecs d'aujourd'hui sont un gage de succés du lendemain, et le lendemain d'une nation puissante, ne s'accomplit pas dans les vingt-quatre heures. Une puissante nation doit avant tout savoir être patiente (209).
>
> Momentary successes and momentary failures mean nothing. They are important *for newspapers* and daily bustle, and have no significance for the future and *for history*. In the end everything is found and counted: both gains and losses. Often today's failure is the key to tomorrow's success, and the tomorrow of a great nation is not realized in twenty-four hours (471).

Thus, Viazemsky interprets the retreat from Silistra and the fall of Bomarsund as expressions of common sense:

> Il ne s'agissait pas là d'obtenir un succés de vanité: du moment que de plus grands sacrifices étaient superflus, du moment que l'occupation de Silistrie, dans le circonstances données, devenait pour nous d'une importance secondaire et peut-être même tout-à-fait nulle, le bon sens nous prescrivait de nous retirer. C'est ainsi que notre retrait s'explique et se justifie aux yeux des hommes de querre et de bonne foi. Quand les alliés, pour faire enfin quelque chose, dirigérent des forces supérieurs sur Bomarsund, dénué de tout moyen de défence, tout le monde en Russie s'attendait à ce que cette plase tomberait infailliblement en leurs mains. De pareils échecs et de pareils succés ne prouvent rien. Il y a plus: des échecs et des succés plus sérieux ne sauraient changer ce que l'on convenu d'appeler *la question d'Orient* <...> la question de temps est, pour l'impereur et pour la Russie, d'une importance secondaire.
>
> We did not desire a vain success and senseless spilling of blood, and from the moment that the taking of Silistra in the given circumstances became of secondary importance, and possibly even totally unnecessary, common sense suggested that we leave it. That is how military and conscientious people explain and justify our retreat. When the allies, in order to finally do something, directed their superior forces on Bomarsund, which had been stripped of any means of self-defense, everyone in Russia knew in advance that they would necessarily take that fortress. Such failures and setbacks prove exactly nothing. Further: failures and setbacks of greater importance that these will have no influence on that which is called the *Eastern Question*….For us the time of resolving the issue is of merely secondary importance (439).

In Viazemsky's description, Russians do not rush to victory, and since they do not fear to cede victory, it is always on their side. The "veteran of 1812" is certain that until the Russian people have fulfilled their destiny, they are protected by Providence. What does he see as their destiny? The concluding passage of

Letter XXVII, "The Qualities of the Russian People", defines this mission as the establishment and maintenance of "balance between East and West" (*l'équilibre entre l'Occident et l'Orient* [208]). This is not the "purely conditional" "balance of cabinets" (such a task is too insignificant, and Viazemsky considers its pursuit the reason for the failures of European diplomats). Russia's mission is to establish balance between "the providential and the humanitarian" (*providentiel et humanitaire* [208]). According to Viazemsky, the Russian nation holds the patent on this mission's execution because it is the only nation that combines Slavic heritage with membership in the Eastern Church: "Nous sommes dans la famille humaine les seuls représentants légitimes, indépendants et constitués de la race slave et de l'Eglise d'Orient"[10] (208). The author admits the "seniority" of other Christian nations over Russians, but at the same time points out that the Russians spilled blood on behalf of their church "brothers". Thus the Russian nation has demonstrated its virtue and confirmed its right to decide the Eastern Question:

> La pratique de ces vertues, et l'influence qu'elles doivent avoir sur le destinées du monde, voilà l'équilibre que nous sommes appelés à faire triompher sur les empiétements et les perturbations de l'Occident (209).

Viazemsky is fairly traditional in his listing of Russian national virtues:

> Mais tout Russe a le sentiment inné du devoir et de la force morale (32).
>
> ... every Russian has an innate sense of duty and moral strength (297);
>
> La peuple russe a ses défauts, mais il n'est pas orgueilleux dans le sens de l'orgueil de siècle, il est religieux, charitable, simple et généreux, fidèle à son souverain, résigné, brave et humble à la fois; il ets toujours prêt à voler à la défense des opprimés: l'Eglise d'Orient et pour lui une mère qui a tout son amour, toute sa vénération; les fil aînés de cette Eglise sont ses frères et il aime à verser son sang pour venger, et s'il est possible pour racheter leur souffrances (208–209).
>
> The Russian people have their shortcomings, but they are not proud, in the sense of worldly pride; they are pious, compassionate, simple and generous, devoted to their sovereign, patient, brave and humble; they are always ready to rush to the aid of the oppressed. The Eastern Church is their mother tenderly beloved and deeply venerated; the older sons of this church are their brothers, and they will gladly spill their own blood on their behalf, and, if possible, redeem their suffering (470).

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[10] Bartenev translates *la race* as *tribe* (cf.: "Nous sommes une race, et les races ne se dispersant et ne disparaissent que sous le main de Dieu" [208] — "We are a tribe; and tribes do not break apart and do not perish but by God's will" [469]).

Russian shortcomings, as Viazemsky describes them, are at the heart of their merits. Their biggest shortcoming lies in the fact that "Slavs by their very nature are always more or less carefree, and consequently don't look ahead" (433) ("Le Slave est de sa nature tant soit peu insouciant et, par consequent, imprévoyant" [170]). "A deep and burning sense of national virtue" (432) ("un profond et ardent sentiment de nationalité et de dignité" [169]) has always existed in Russians, but often "in a platonic condition" (433) ("à l'état platonique" [169]). Upon prevailing over and defeating enemies — both external and internal — "we easily calm down and relax our perseverance" (433). The nature of a "real Slav", according to Viazemsky, is expressed in the Russian saying "Le Russe ne fait le signe de la croix, que quand il entend gronder le tonnerre" (170) (translated by Bartenev from French as "Русский не перекрестится прежде, чем гром не грянет" [433]).

Contrasting Russia to its European opponents[11], Viazemsky particularly stresses its innate unity. Unity of faith determines unity in other respects:

> Quant à nous, en nous disant orthodoxes, nous avons tout dix. C'est là notre profession de foi religieuse, nationale et politique (14);
>
> We are Orthodox, and this word says it all. It is our symbol of faith, national and political (279).

Viazemsky's reasons for discussing Russian Orthodoxy so thoroughly are understandable — protection of the Orthodox inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire was a reason for the outbreak of the war. This made it easy for the author to avoid the issue of people of other ethnicities and faiths in Russia.

In other passages of *Letters,* Viazemsky mentions such people in order to demonstrate that national origin is of little significance to the Russian tsar's subjects, as they are united in the imperial whole. In Letter XX, written in July 1854 in rebuttal to Eugène Forcade's article in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Viazemsky denies the existence of a "German party" in contemporary, military Russia, and then goes on to deny completely any national differences within the empire:

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[11] Remarkably, like Tyutchev and many other Russian thinkers and journalists, Viazemsky considers the West to be Russia's main opponent in the Eastern War. The introduction to *Letters* states that in actuality, the Eastern Question is mainly the English Question. Above, an excerpt from Letter XII was quoted, in which Viazemsky lists historical precedents of successful interactions between Russia and the East. He explains these successes as resulting not only from the particular merits of the Russian nation, but also from the similarity between Russians and Turks (more on this below). Thus, in the Crimean War, Turks for Viazemsky are not the main enemy, they are merely following French and English instigators.

> Quant à la présence d'un certain nombre d'Allemands en Russie, les uns indigènes. Les autres implantés, elle est incontestable. Que dans le temps calmes et ordinaires, que dans le transactions de la vie privée la communauté de religion, de langage, de moeurs, puisse établir quelques nuances qui distinguent les Allemands de la masse nationale et primitive, c'est tout naturel. Voudrait-on même affirmer que dans des questions municipales, de priviléges spéciaux et de localité, d'intéréts de clocher, quelques légeres dissentiments, quelques tiraillements se font quelquefois sentir, nous ne dirons pas non. Mais dans toutes les grands questions de dignité nationale, toutes les fois qu'il s'agits de l'Etats <...>, toutes les nuances s'effacent ou plutôt se confondent et s'unissent dans une expression commune à tous. Il n'y a pas plus alors de camp allemand ou de camp russe; il n'existe plus qu'un seul camp et une seule banniére: l'année 1854 en fait foi, aussi bien que l'année 1812[12] (154).
>
> As to the fact that a known number of Germans live in Russia, both our natives and newcomers, that is true; ... in usual, peaceful times, in private life they stand out a bit from the masses due to their faith, language, and customs — this is also completely natural. I also do not deny that in matters of self-governance, as regards well-known entitlements and local isolation, now and again one can feel mild dissatisfaction and hear discord. But in all the important matters of national virtues, in every case pertaining to the government <...> all differences disappear, or more accurately, the same sense is aroused in all. Then there are no more German and Russian camps: there is one camp and one banner. This is evidenced by 1854, just as 1812 (417).

Later, Viazemsky asserts that Russia's national policies are fundamentally different than Europe's:

> Loin de suivre l'exemple des autres gouvernements, le nôtre a toujours eu pour principe de favoriser, autant que le permettait l'intérét général de l'Etat, les nationalités incorporées à la mère patrie. Sous plus d'un rapport, ce n'étaient pas les vainqueurs, mais les vaincus, qui étaient privilégiés (154–155).
>
> Contrasting the example of other powers, our government has always provided patronage to the nationalities that have entered the ranks of our state <...> Entitlements, in many respects, were provided not to the victors, but to the vanquished (417).

As evidence, he gives the example of the special rules of self-governance and trade in the Baltic provinces, Finland, and Asian regions (see [155; 417–418]). Poles, according to the author, destroyed with their own hands the benefits they'd received from Russia. National differences between subjects fall away, and the peoples become a single race under the authority of the Russian emperor:

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[12] Note yet another parallel Viazemsky draws between the years 1812 and 1854.

> Tout Allemande faisant partie de la Russie, tout Finlandais de bon sens, seront toujours fiers et heureux de tenir à un grand empire qui les associe à sa puissance (155).
>
> Any German subject of Russia, any sensible Finn, will always be proud and happy to be part of the great empire which has joined him to its might (418).

Religious and national unity is reinforced by linguistic unity, by which Viazemsky means political discourse, not language itself. This also works to contrast Russia with its opponents, Germany, France, and England. The unity which the author ascribes to Russian subjects is attributed also to the language (or rather, to the system of values and judgments it expresses) used by "Russia and its government":

> … qu'il est consolant pour tout Russe de voir l'exemple donné par la Russie et son governement. Là tout est simple et édifiant de vérité, beau de dévonement. À chaque action, à chaque parole, on retrouve la conviction qu'un seul sentiment, qu'un seul devoir anime, soutient et guide le souverain et la nation. Comparez le derniere manifeste émané le 14 décembre 1854 avec d'autres manifestes et documents publics qui ont paru depuis le commencement de la querre. C'est toujours la même langage, car quand on est dans le vrai on ne saurait varier d'opinion et de principe (224).
>
> … The actions of Russia and its government are reassuring to every Russian person. There everything is simple, instructive in righteousness, perfect in self-denial. In every measure, in every word it is felt that the sovereign and the people are animated and guided by a single motive, a single duty. Compare the latest declaration of December 14, 1854 with other declarations related to the beginning of war: everywhere one and the same language, because when truth reigns, there is no reason to change opinions or rules (484).

Viazemsky depicts a utopian image of national unity that is beyond the influence of social status, gender, and age — a unity founded on the language of "original policies for all":

> Ce langage simple, vrai et énergique, est à la portée de tout le monde; il fait vibrer en Rusiie les mêmes cordes dans le cœur du patricien et de l'homme du peuple, du soldat et du laboureur. <…> Ceci n'est pas de la politique transcendante, ni abstraite: c'est de la politique élémentaire et populaire. Tous, jusqu'aux femmes et aux enfants, la comprennent en Russie (224–225).
>
> This simple, truthful, and strong language is understood by all, and in Russia is equally in the hearts of the aristocrat and the common man, the solider and the plowman. <…> Here there are no philosophical, abstract policies, here policy is original and for all. Everyone in Russia understands it, women and children (484–485).

Although this passage is not about natural language, an obvious parallel can be drawn between these thoughts in *Letters* and Viazemsky's 1848 lyrical manifesto, "Святая Русь". The fundamental theses put forward by this poem (as interpreted by L. N. Kisseljova: "Holy Rus is 1) faith, the church; 2) autocracy ["the Tsar's Throne is hereditary"]; and 3) Russian history and language as manifestations of the ideas of the fatherland" [Киселева: 139]), are developed in *Letters* in an extensive textual space. Of course, fundamental differences between the lyric and journalistic statements do not allow for direct correlations (*Letters* does not use the key formulae of "Святая Русь"), but the continuity of these texts is undeniable.

The unity of the people and the throne described in Letter XXIX is contrasted by the author with the wild discordance of Europe: France has been occupied for the last sixty years with nothing but one revolutionary government after another (78–79, 342–343); in England the government is surrounded by revolutionary contagion, the people eschew it and so are disunited with the government (79, 343); Germany is also ruled by parties, each pulling in its own direction (344–345); moreover, several German newspapers are possessed by fear of the French[13]. Everywhere in Europe contradiction, masking as "public opinion", splashes across the pages of periodicals. Public opinion is a bogey to Prince Viazemsky. In *Letters* he uses an example from the Gospels to show the unfairness and insolvency of relying on the majority (who did they choose to pardon? Barabbas). Since each of the debaters pulls in his own direction, public opinion fluctuates and political leanings constantly change; this Viazemsky interprets as a continuous betrayal (not only of Russia by its former allies, such as Austria, but also the betrayal by European governments of their peoples). Unity, as manifested by the Russian people, should be the natural antidote to the treason and contradiction reigning in Europe. The author of *Letters* attempts to demonstrate that war is the only way remaining to spread Russia's beneficial influence.

Viazemsky uses various arguments to justify the necessity of war. For example, he calls war a "sacrifice" brought by the Russian people for the salvation of their co-religionists. In addition, in Letter XII he focuses specifically on Rome's attempts to convert Russians to Catholicism. Finally, in Letter IV he declares — appealing to his own experiences in the East (a pilgrimage in 1850) and to the reviews of European travelers — that only Russians make pilgrimages to the sacred Christian sites of the East:

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[13] Viazemsky compares these papers, obsessed with phantom menaces, with Evgeny from Pushkin's *The Bronze Horseman*: they also see visions everywhere of the tramping and neighing of French horses.

> Je le demande à tout voyageur impartial et consciencieux qui, ainsi que moi, a été à Jèrusalem: y a-t-il rencontré beaucoup de *vrais pèlerins* si ce n'est parmi les Russes. Vous y trouverez sans doute des Français curiex et oisifs, des hommes de science qui viennent explorer ce terrain pour le soumettre à leurs investigations géografiques et historiques. Vous y trouverez des Anglais touristes <...> qui vont à Jérusalem comme ils iraient au Monomotapa. Mais la Russie seule voit partir <...> des légions de pèlerins qui vont faire leurs dévotions et communier au pied du Saint-Sépulcre. Non-seulement vous rencontrez peu des Français parmi les pélerins laïques, mais on y voit même peu des prêtres (22–23).
>
> Ask any impartial and conscientious traveler who, like me, has been in Jerusalem: was he met by many *true pilgrims,* except for Russians? Without a doubt, one encounters inquisitive or leisured French people, men of science who had come to research this land for their geographical or historical investigations. You will find here English tourists <...> who wander about Jerusalem as if they'd gone to Monomotapa[14]. But only from Russia <...> come entire crowds of pilgrims to fast and partake of Holy Communion at the Holy Sepulchre. There are few French among the lay pilgrims, and even few clergy (288–289).

From these statements Viazemsky concludes that Russia's debt to Europe has been paid and their future paths will inevitably diverge (regarding this, see the concluding passage of Letter XXIV, "A Return to Nationalism. A Break with the West" [173–178, 436–441]). According to the author's conception, "Europeanization" gave much to Russia, above all education (Russians became "enlightened Russians"), but, of course, much was borrowed that was extraneous — now the time has arrived for movement in the opposite direction, a separation from Europe (especially since Europe itself did much to distance itself from Russia). Viazemsky believes that Russia has no common language with modern Europe. Here he recalls J. J. Rousseau's response to the Archbishop of Paris: "Quelle langue commune pouvons-nous parler? Comment pouvons-nous nous entendre ? Et qu'y a-t-il entre vous et moi ?" (177). A "divorce" that goes in Russia's favor follows this "marriage of convenience". Viazemsky believes isolationism must become the next stage in Russia's political existence. Everything stated above confirms the conclusion that in the Eastern Question, Viazemsky was really most interested in the "Western", or European, question.

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[14] During the Middle Ages, Monomotapa was an extensive kingdom in southern Africa (the lands of modern-day Zimbabwe and part of Mozambique). It flourished during the 13th–15th centuries. By the beginning of Portuguese colonization, Monomotapa had already split into smaller kingdoms.

What place in the conflict among governments and, in the end, civilizations, did the "Russian veteran of 1812" assign to Turkey? Here Viazemsky proves himself a fairly resourceful demagogue. As a consequence of Russia's divorce from Europe, he pulls together Russians and Turks. In his depiction, these two nations have many things in common; from Letter III:

> Il est entre les Turcs et les Slaves des affinités orientales qui ne peuvent être ni méconnues, ni détruites. Les vrais Turcs sont doux et francs; les rapports de voisinage et, abstraction faite de la religion, les mœurs patriarcales communes aux deux nations, bien d'autres rapprochements encore, pourraient, les circonstances aidant, favoriser l'union des deux races aujourd'hui divisées. La Russie ayant déjà des millions de Musulmans sous sa domination, n'en serait plus à étudier et à comprendre le naturel et la caractère musulman. Une Turquie gréco-russe est donc encore le seul qui aurait quelque chance de vitalité (18).
>
> Between the Turks and the Slavs there is something common in their Eastern origins which is impossible not to recognize and impossible to destroy. Real Turks are kind-hearted and honest. Close cohabitation and, with the exception of faith, common patriarchal customs, and many other similar characteristics could, under favorable circumstances, lead to the union of the two races that today are divided. With millions of Muslims among its subjects, Russia is familiar with the Muslim character and nature. And so, it must be admitted that a Greco-Russian Turkey has the best chance of vitality (283).

Viazemsky notes that Russia and Turkey have made war more than once; however, he believes that when necessary, Turks will trust "Muscovites" more readily than Europeans. He sees the proselytizing of the Catholic Church as the reason for this: after providing military aid, the European allies will attempt to convert the Turks to Catholicism, therefore the Muslims will avoid fraternization with the infidels. The closeness of Russians and Turks, exaggerated by Viazemsky, along with other historical precedents (the political successes of Rus/Russia in Eastern politics), in his eyes is evidence of the unavoidability of Turkey's absorption into Russia.

Russia, understanding Turkey well, thanks to the presence of several million Muslims among its subjects and thanks to its longstanding presence on the Eastern political scene, will be able to achieve its goals and complete its providential mission as defender of the Orthodox Church; from Letter IX:

> Si le pouvoir ottoman doit tomber en Turquie, que nous y aidions ou non, ce n'est qu'en notre faveur que cette chute peut s'accomplir. Ce n'est pas une conquête que nous convoitions, c'est *un héritage historique* que tôt ou tard nous avons à recuillir. Nous ne pressons pas l'usufruitier de nous céder la place. Mais après lui, *l'histoire à la main,* nous vienfrons légalement en prendre possession (55).

> If Ottoman power must fall in Turkey, its fall will certainly be accomplished in our favor, whether we facilitate it or not. We are greedy not for victories, but for the *historical inheritance* which will pass to us sooner or later. We do not rush the current proprietor to cede his place to us; but after him, *with history in our hands*, we will come to begin our legal possession (319–320)[15].

This passage shows how Viazemsky rhetorically draws a contrast between Turkey and its European allies. In fact, he uses the same method to describe France and England. In his political picture, only the Russian side is endowed with unity: the Russian government, authorities, and people are united (this is expressed particularly in unity of language, as described above). In England and France, the people and the government are divided; the "Russian veteran" ascribes to them a different understanding of modernity and divergent political aspirations (the governments of England and France move toward revolution, while the people do not share this destructive aspiration). This same method is used in the case of Turkey: to Turks as a people, Viazemsky attributes traits similar to those of Russians, softening the conflict of civilizations and transferring it onto the political plane (*pouvoir ottoman* is differentiated from *Turquie*).

Of course, the conflict has not diminished during this time; its easing in *Letters* was necessary for the journalistic task. The contrast of Eastern Christianity to Islam and Western Christianity excludes the possibility of reconciliation, and this, according to Viazemsky, is also explained by historical precedents:

> Les population orthodoxes orientales ont une répulsion presque tout aussi vivace et aussi profonde pour la civilisation occidentale que pour la barbarie musulmane. Si l'on demandait porquoi? Je répondrais: étudiez l'histoire (57).
>
> The Orthodox races of the East feel almost the same deep and living aversion to Western education as to the barbarism of Islam. They ask me why that is; I reply: read history (321).

In his poetry about the Crimean War, the author of *Letters of a Russian Veteran of the War of 1812* expresses his opinion of the adversary much more sharply, due not only to the orientation of these texts toward an "internal market", which allowed him to ignore diplomatic conventions, but also due to the author's poetic attitudes. Viazemsky was sure that Count Rostopchin's vulgar style would be more effective in conversation about politics with ordinary people than Karamzin's refined rhetoric[16]. In one Crimean War poem, the Turks are presented as caricatures; no mention is made of any similarity with Russians:

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[15] Cf. also a note from his diary of 1853: "Only idiots talk of autonomy and independence for Turkey, or unscrupulous journalists. Turkey cannot stand on its own, it can only fall. It has only the strength of gravity. And the obvious purpose of Providence — when its fatal hour strikes — is for it to fall into Russia's arms. Until that time, its best ally, its most loyal guardian, is Russia" [Вяземский: X, 72–73].

Заспесивился турчонок,
Он зафыркал, поднял нос,
И ревет: я не ребенок,
Я и сам теперь подрос.
Вырос ты — чресчур не бреди!
А к чему ж, скажи-ка нам,
Взял к себе ты в няньки — леди,
Да французскую мадам?
Из-за них на нас ты лезешь,
Кажешь кукиш вгорячах
И победы сдуру грезишь
На полях и на морях [Вяземский: XI, 114].

In another poem addressed to Nakhimov and Bebutov, the poet sees in their actions evidence that, "Что не отвыкли мы турить пашей по шее, / Что не отвык орел луне сшибать рога!" [Ibid.: XI, 98].

The Crimean poems form an essential background for *Letters* and are, in a way, a poetic self-caricature of the work. During the war, Viazemsky constantly published new poems on the topic of the day in Russian newspapers, and some of them also came out in separate reprints. These texts were, of course, intended for a Russian audience. Viazemsky chose a poetic form for his compatriots — in Russia he was known specifically as a poet. Moreover, he chose a genre and style that, in his opinion, were the clearest and closest to the Russian reader. Thus these two courses, *Letters* and the Crimean songs, characterize Viazemsky's literary and journalistic work during the Crimean War.

The final genre in which the Crimean theme appears in Viazemsky's writing is his notebooks. In them, he articulates that which is hidden behind journalistic conventions in *Letters,* but is more freely expressed in the poetry intended for his compatriots:

> From the very beginning of our escapades I said and wrote that if we rely on the success of our negotiations, then the joke will be on us. Our negotiations with the Turks: after the first word that didn't receive a satisfactory answer, grab 'em by the beards! There's our diplomacy. And it doesn't do to sit quietly and wait for the right case. With the Turks and Europe we have one language in common: bayonets. In this language it still isn't clear whose speech will come first. Yet in any other lan-

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[16] I refer the reader to my article on P. A. Viazemsky's Crimean "songs" [Степанищева].

> guage they talk over, under, and around us and, to our misfortune, convince us [Вяземский: X, 75].

In light of the subsequent fate of *Letters,* this note can be read as prophetic — the book was unsuccessful among its intended audience, and quickly lost relevance in Russia. Lofty declarations in *Letters* hid Prince Viazemsky's attempts at "grab 'em by the beards" ("хвать в рожу да и за бороду") literary diplomacy.

Translated by Allison Rockwell

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WAR DISCOURSE AS A MEANS OF CONSTRUCTING A NATIONAL MYTH (THE CRIMEAN WAR IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SCHOOLBOOKS AND POPULAR LITERATURE)

LJUBOV KISSELJOVA

In regimes throughout history, war has been and remains one of the most powerful instruments for anyone attempting to shape the ideology of the popular consciousness, no matter what their beliefs about war. These patterns extend far beyond the bounds of the 19th century, although this paper will focus on that era.

The first step in the process of ideological preparation for a military campaign is the search for historical parallels and analogues which can serve as models and reference points in the building of a new ideological paradigm. Such searches have been conducted by power structures, literati, journalists, and publicists. In Russia in the time of the Napoleonic Wars, the Battle of Kulikovo, and particularly the year 1612, served as analogues. Then, the Patriotic War itself became a consistent source of myths[1]. However, the Patriotic War was one of victory, placing Russia in an exclusive position among European powers. The final victory against Napoleon allowed Russians, if not to forget, then at least to smooth over the memories of Austerlitz, of the defeats in 1807, and of the Treaties of Tilsit. This national triumph, the remembrance of which was skillfully maintained under Nicholas I through anniversary celebrations, monuments, and other symbolic actions, neutralized awareness in the Russian social consciousness of the new political realities of Nicholas' rule: the lamentable consequences of the politics of the Holy Alliance and the rapid decline of Russia's status in Europe.

Beginning with declaration of war against Turkey in 1853, Nicholas consistently drew direct parallels between the Crimean War and the War of 1812, and was far from the only one to do so. It might appear that this Eastern War, begun (officially) to defend Orthodox holy places in Palestine, followed much more closely the model of the Crusades; however, as Olga Maiorova has demonstrated, that parallel does not work [Maiorova: 30]. In symbolic parallels, an important role is played by the element of magic; therefore the military parallel must be "victorious". The chronologically distant events of the Crusades, in which, furthermore, Rus' did not participate, failed miserably — the Holy Land remained for centuries under Islamic rule. Instead, the formation of the ideology of the Crimean War followed the smoother path of the "new" Patriotic War [Maiorova; Майорова]. Later, the same model was used to a different degree of effectiveness in 1914, and again in 1941. However, the symbolic potential of the Napoleonic Wars were also used by Russia's opponents in the Crimean War, especially France: the French Commander-in-Chief Pélissier began the assault on Sevastopol on June 18, 1855, the fortieth anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, hoping to please the French emperor Napoleon III, Bonaparte's nephew, and achieve for him symbolic revenge for his uncle's defeat (this symbolic action failed) [Тарле 1950: 2, 401–402].

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[1] See the multifaceted analysis of this phenomenon: [Отечественная война].

Russia obtained a real basis for parallels between 1812 and the events at the beginning of the 1850s at the moment that Coalition troops landed on the Crimean peninsula and began the siege of Sevastopol. While Russia had been the aggressor at the beginning of hostilities, invading the territory belonging to the Ottoman Porte and destroying its fleet in Turkey's Sinop Bay without a declaration of war, the landing in Crimea was an enemy invasion into Russian territory, and, consequently, provided a firm foundation for the use of the rhetoric of "homeland defense". Military defeats only strengthened the analogies, which hid a hope that, like in 1812, initial failures would turn into final victory. But this did not come to pass, and then attention turned to another myth of the Patriotic War — the idea of a "people's war" and the heroism of the defenders of Sevastopol, warriors repeating and even surpassing the feat of Borodino. This attitude is characterized in A. N. Apukhtin's poem "Солдатская песня о Севастополе" ("A Soldier's Song of Sevastopol", 1869), a kind of inverse "Borodino":

Не веселую, братцы, я песню спою,
Не могучую песню победы,
Что певали отцы в Бородинском бою,
Что певали в Очакове деды[2].

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[2] It is significant that this poem was chosen by N. F. Dubrovin as a kind of epigraph to his foundational monograph [Дубровин 1900: 1, III].

While Lermontov's "current tribe" is unworthy of their heroic grandfathers, Apukhtin's heroes of Sevastopol, standing on the brink of death for 11 months, are "Herculean men" ("богатырская рать") and "warriors of iron and steel" ("бойцы из железа и стали"). Although victory was on the side of the enemy, it brought them neither glory nor satisfaction:

А и так победили, что долго потом
Не совались к нам с дерзким вопросом,
А и так победили, что с кислым лицом
И с разбитым отчалили носом.

Apukhtin is far from original in his interpretation of events; he develops the compensatory model that proved the most popular in the discourse about the Crimean War. This model differed fundamentally from Tolstoy's. Tolstoy's *Sevastopol Sketches,* despite their popularity and significance for the literary process, and despite their distinct patriotism, do not fit into the model featuring fearless and irreproachable soldiers. They reveal different (and often ignoble) motives for human actions at war, speaking of the fear of death and the inhumanity of war. For the goals of propaganda and education, *The Sevastopol Sketches* were too complex and ambiguous, so they were not used, as far as we know, in educational or popular books, unlike *War and Peace,* for example, from which relevant excerpts were readily published in such texts. In the ideological discourse discussed here, the main emphasis is placed on *feats,* both personal and collective. It cannot be assumed that there was no talk of the victims and horrors of war, but heroism was the main focus. This was all the more necessary since contemporaries' real perceptions of the war were altogether unenthusiastic — society was dominated by apathy and discontent, and among the people there were uprisings and unrest against recruitment into the militia [Соловьев 2007: 33]. To meet the goals of education and propaganda, a depiction of war was needed that would glorify history and consolidate the nation[3].

This paper will analyze how the Crimean War was interpreted by the target audience, which was highly significant to both governmental (educational) and non-governmental (popular) ideologues. It will also note how the gymnasium curriculum responded instantly to current events — history textbooks of pre-revolution schools always included events that had occurred up to the moment of publication.

One of the first surveys of the just-ended Crimean War was given in D. I. Ilovaisky's 1860 textbook, which was reprinted around 40 times before the revolution and was one of the most loyal gymnasium manuals [Иловайский]. One of the textbook's goals, undoubtedly, was to establish a positive image of Russia and to justify the country's actions under any circumstances. And so, in the course of presenting events, after triumphant reports on the wars of the 1810s and 1820s, the author had to deal in some way with the news of Russia's shameful defeat in the Eastern War. What follows is an attempt to concisely analyze the basic discursive methods Ilovaisky uses, to compare the way in which the exact same events are presented at the beginning of the 20th century by another, equally conservative author, K. A. Ivanov [Иванов], and to draw parallels between Ilovaisky's book and the textbooks of S. Ye. Rozhdestvensky [Рождественский 1873] and S. P. Melgunov and V. A. Petrushevsky [Мельгунов-Петрушевский].

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[3] Regarding the efforts of the authorities and the press to establish such an image during the period of military action, see: [Соловьев 2007; Maiorova; Майорова].

These textbooks, except for the latter, strive to maintain the neutral tone of an "objective" record of events, while also directing the narrative to a positive, optimistic conclusion. Moments "unfavorable" to Russia are left out when possible, or words are carefully chosen to create the illusion of the unavoidability of the misfortunate turn of events in a given situation. Above all, these authors avoid problematizing the narrative at all cost. The question "Why?" is simply never addressed, nor is a cause-and-effect relationship ever established between separate facts. The reasons for war are presented in such a way that there could be no doubt about the legitimacy of Russia's actions, and the war's victorious beginning is emphasized:

> ...the Russian tsar **stood up for the rights** of the peasants of the Greek Christians in Palestine. When the **Porte refused** the demands of Emperor Nicholas, the Russian army, under the command of Prince Gorchakov, in summer 1853 **crossed the border and occupied** the Duchies of Moldavia and Wallachia; that fall, the Russian Black Sea fleet, under the command of Admiral Nakhimov, **destroyed the Turkish squadron** at Sinop [Иловайский: 367]. Here and hereafter, emphasis mine. — *L. K.*

Both Rozhdestvensky and Ivanov present essentially the same picture, but especially emphasize the enemy actions against Russia from western states, to whose incitements Turkey succumbed, and declare directly that "the Turks **began hostilities first** <what kind is not mentioned. — *L. K.*>, but suffered defeat on all sides" [Иванов: 454]. Rozhdestvensky and Ivanov overall are less restrained in their characterizations and add colorful details that reinforce the effect of Russia's strength and triumph.

Later, these authors begin to prepare students for the bad turn of events in the successfully begun and just cause. Russia's isolation in the face of a united and consequently stronger enemy is emphasized:

> Then the struggle between Russia and **four united powers** ignited. The Coalition, using an **enormous** fleet, appeared in nearly all Russian waters: in the Black Sea, the Baltic Sea, the White Sea, and on the shores of Kamchatka. The main military actions concentrated on our southern borders [Иловайский: 368].

The defeats at Inkerman and Alma, which were caused by the incompetent actions of the Russian command, are presented in a marvelous way:

> The Commander-in-Chief of the Crimean army, Prince Menshikov, **gave battle** on the banks of the Alma, but **was forced to retreat**. Adversaries on land and sea besieged Sevastopol, in the harbor of which was locked our Black Sea Fleet [Ibid.].
>
> The Commander-in-Chief of our forces in Crimea, Menshikov, **took it to mind to prevent** the movement of the enemy on Sevastopol, but **suffered defeat** on the banks of the Alma [Иванов: 465].

Rozhdestvensky emphasizes the numerical advantage (60,000 against 30,000) and superior weaponry of the enemy, as well as writing that Menshikov "**wanted to delay** the movement" of the enemy, "took a strong position on the River Alma" and "**had to retreat** to the north" [Рождественский: 432]. It is significant that Ivanov, who subsequently is mildly critical of Menshikov's actions (unlike his predecessors), does not avoid the word "defeat". Ilovaisky speaks only of "misfortune".

In their interpretations of the defense of Sevastopol, these authors avoid the phrase "people's war". Ilovaisky doesn't even speak of *heroic* defense: "A stubborn and extremely bloody battle for Sevastopol persisted over the course of 11 months" [Иловайский: 368]. From among the defenders Ilovaisky names only Totleben, Rozhdestvensky and Ivanov mention others, though in a characteristically compensatory context:

> The last, difficult period of the defense of Sevastopol arrived. The harbinger of **unavoidable catastrophe** was the taking of Malakhov Redoubt by the enemy, which Admiral Istomin had made into a real fortress. But Istomin was no longer among the living, Nakhimov also soon perished, and before them Kornilov died a heroic death. With the taking of Malakhov Redoubt, with its great height and dominance over the city, the **defense of Sevastopol became impossible** [Иванов: 456].

In other words, these authors give the impression that catastrophe was unavoidable due to the deaths of the main defenders of Sevastopol.

Nonetheless, the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War required a somewhat more specific explanation. The authors could not discuss the ineptitude of the Russian commanders, of course, lest they cast a shadow on the emperor who had appointed them. Ilovaisky very cautiously introduces the idea of Russia's technological inferiority:

> **The Russian army**, having always been the **subject of special care** by Emperor Nicholas, fought with its usual valor and selflessness[4], but the **allies had** on their side **superior military science, superior weapons and methods of communication**: whereas **they easily received** reinforcements and supplies from their fleet, messages between central Russia and Crimea had to travel across vast steppes along basic roads (Russia had **only one railroad**, between Petersburg and Moscow) [Иловайский: 368].

Ivanov decides to point out not only the bad roads, but also the prevalence of abuse in the army:

> Meanwhile, our Crimean army was cut off from the motherland by bad communication routes, and suffered much both from this and from the unscrupulousness of the people whose business it was to supply the troops with all necessities [Иванов: 456].

Of course, neither of these authors analyzes the reasons for the poor state of the roads. Rozhdestvensky omits completely mention of any shortcomings, insisting only that the enemy derived no benefit from taking Sevastopol [Рождественский 1873: 433][5].

Curiously, after discussing the taking of Sevastopol, all three authors immediately transition from defeat to success: the victory of Muravyov at Kars, and then the Treaty of Paris[6], but most importantly, the positive influence of the Crimean War on Russian history:

> Due to its moral consequences, this war **was beneficent** for Russia, because it facilitated the clarification of societal deficiencies [Иловайский: 369].

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[4] The logical disconnect of this argument with the one following the contrasting conjunction "but" is characteristic.

[5] Before the revolution Rozhdestvensky's textbook was reprinted 27 times. Notably, 40,000 copies of this specific textbook were reprinted by the publishing house "Просвещение" in 1997 as part of the "History Textbooks of Pre-revolutionary Russia" series. It is amazing that the extremely pro-government, patriotic pathos and anti-Western position of the gymnasium teacher of tsarist Russia (Rozhdestvensky was a history instructor in Petersburg at Gymnasium No. 6, at the Naval Academy, and at the Pavlovsky Institute) found itself in demand a century later in what would seem to be completely new historical conditions.

[6] Once again, Ivanov is blunter, and in contrast to Ilovaisky, dwells on the terms of the agreement, which are humiliating for Russia: "…Russia forfeited the mouth of the Danube and part of Bessarabia. The loss was not great, but the point was not in the land, but in the **humiliation** of Russia, for which our enemies were so eager. The most severe and most insulting of all the conditions for Russia was its obligation to keep neither fleet nor fortifications on the Black Sea" [Иванов: 457].

> The Crimean War, though unfortunate for us, was of **historic importance**. It revealed all our shortcomings and weaknesses, and thus completely naturally lead to the thought of the need for serious reforms [Иванов: 458].

An exception to this pattern is presented by the 1909 schoolbook edited by S. P. Melgunov and V. A. Petrushevsky. The paragraph about the Crimean War begins with a discussion of the Russian government's aggressive designs on the East, and the reasons for defeat are mentioned without equivocation:

> As a result of the ignorance and embezzlement of officials, Russia's military forces were in the **most deplorable** condition. <…> The **incompetence of our commanders** played a huge role in the disasters of the Crimean War [Мельгунов-Петрушевский: 422],

although here also the "lion's courage" of the Russian soldiers is emphasized. However, this oppositional text was a contribution from a very different era and clearly breaks with imperial discourse.

And so, pre-revolutionary secondary school texts did not silence the sadder moments of contemporary history, although for the most part they did attempt to present them as gently as possible and without problematizing the presentation (the responsibility for an analytical approach was transferred to the teacher or to the pupil himself, if he was inquisitive and inclined to a critical reading of the text). However, the schools did not exist in a vacuum, and the Crimean War immediately received wide attention not only in the daily press[7], but also in abundant memoirs and numerous studies. These texts shaped a **two-sided myth about the Crimean War**. On the one hand, the principal works of the official historians M. B. Bogdanovich, N. F. Dubrovin, and N. K. Shilder [Богданович; Дубровин; Шильдер] develop the *myth of the union of the tsar and the people* (monarchical consolidation myth). These works include such a quantity of documents and impartial evidence about the flagrant abuses of the quartermasters, the incompetence of the commanders, and the senseless loss of human life, that they contributed to the ***destruction*** of this myth, possibly against the wills of the well-intentioned authors, and also undermined the reputation of the late Emperor Nicholas I and his entire reign[8].

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[7] Note that the government fully recognized the role of the press in the formation of public opinion over the course of the unsuccessfully unfolding Eastern War, although the process of overcoming the inertia of former restrictions and censorship was slow and difficult (see: [Соловьев: 2007; Соловьев 2008]). However, even Nicholas I gave permission to reprint in individual pamphlets materials about the war that had appeared earlier in periodical publications [Сборник]. The future entrepreneur and founder of the famous factory N. Putilov published these materials in 12 issues totaling several thousand pages.

On the other hand, the texts mentioned above and numerous other publications were filled with apologetic evidence of the selfless heroism of the defenders of Sevastopol. As a result, the Crimean War in Russian public opinion took on a more and more *heroic and sacrificial aura* — to no less and possibly a greater degree than the Patriotic War of 1812. The main emphasis was placed on the fact that the Crimean War, although lost, demonstrated the great potential of the nation: specifically "Russian" soldiers (and it was unimportant that they were not always ethnically Great Russian) withstood a nearly year-long siege by a far superior opponent.

The government was completely successful in picking up this heroic discourse. They erected monuments to the defenders of Sevastopol, and in the 1870s a massive museum and archive of the defense of Sevastopol was established[9]. In 1905 in Sevastopol, on the 50th anniversary of the war, a grandiose panorama exhibit opened called "The Defense of Sevastopol"; at the time, this was a new way to perpetuate military glory. Heroic discourse also began to be used widely in popular patriotic literature, which, in turn, was introduced into the schools. "Shares of memory" became particularly active in anniversary years (especially since the 50th anniversary coincided with the unsuccessful Russo-Japanese War, and the 60th anniversary with World War I).

Popular patriotic literature was addressed, as a rule, to three audiences, thereby lumping into a single category, children, the people, and sometimes soldiers. As part of the "Дешевая библиотека" series, publisher I. Sytin printed popular pamphlets about the Crimean War in copious editions and frequent reprints, which poetically and stylistically reproduced many of the literary techniques of battle paperbacks (*лубок*).

"Crimean paperbacks" were quite popular both during and after the war. A. F. Nekrylova, an expert in popular culture, characterizes them thus:

> Particular attention was paid to victories, events, and characters associated with Russian military glory and the triumph of Russian weapons. The grim, tragic, and frightening realities of day-to-day war were excluded from the pages of the paperbacks [Некрылова: 5].

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[8] This last is quite consistent with the perception of contemporaries. See the analysis of Slavophiles' statements made synchronously with the Crimean War, which pinned responsibility for Russia's defeat on the emperor [Maiorova: 38].

[9] While still in the planning stage, the future museum began to publish a series of materials on the history of the Crimean War which are still valuable resources today; see: [Материалы].

Crimean paperbacks strove to be "documentary", reproducing the major stages of the war with detailed commentaries, yet completely bypassed the defeats at Alma, Inkerman, and others. The paperbacks do not record the fall of Sevastopol; instead, this popular literature perpetuates the meeting of "glorious guests, the defenders of Sevastopol and the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, in Moscow". Within these descriptive paperbacks one encounters portrayals not only of popular heroes (such as the sailor Petr Koshka, the gunner Timofey Chilikin, the soldier Ivan Rogozin, or the hieromonk Ioanniky Savinov), but also military leaders, both successful and unsuccessful. Nekrylova notes that depictions of the Sevastopol favorites Nakhimov and Kornilov appear less often than one might expect. As a curious parallel, it is of note that even in Tolstoy's *Sevastopol Sketches* the names of Kornilov and Totleben flash by only twice, and Nakhimov and Istomin are absent altogether.

The battle paperbacks focus on personal feats, and the most common heading found on their pages is the "Feat" of one warrior or another. This is just what is lacking in the defamiliarized narrative of the gymnasium textbook. Rozhdestvensky attempted to correct this by creating a simplified version of his textbook "for public elementary schools and for the people in general" [Рождественский 1874]. The concepts of his two works coincide, but the authorial tone and accent differ in the shorter version. The pronoun "we" is preserved, which unites all Russians, including the author and the reader, as the group attacked by the enemy ("the sultan first began hostile actions against **us** in Asia" [Рождественский 1873: 431]; "the allies began military action against **us**" [Рождественский 1874: 199]). However, in the simplified version this construction is repeated much more often. Its most important feature is the new, more colorful (within the author's capabilities) and emotional narrative. For example, regarding the construction of fortifications in Sevastopol, the original textbook says briefly: "The fortress was weakly strengthened on the land side <…> the Russians, under the command of the skilled engineer Totleben[10], raised with unusual speed such fortifications that could only be overtaken with tremendous effort" [Рождественский 1873: 432]. Here is how this is described "for the people":

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[10] This name, like all the names of the defenders of Sevastopol, disappears from the book written for the masses. It also disappears from the book of the academician Yevgeny Tarle published by the Military Press of the Ministry of Defense, which was clearly intended to stir the patriotism of Soviet soldiers and officers [Тарле 1954], but for a different reason. In the era of anti-Cosmopolitanism, the Baltic German Totleben could not be glorified alongside the Russians Nakhimov, Istomin, and Kornilov, and so his achievements are credited by the author to the engineer Melnikov and his assistants Polzikov and Khlebnikov [Ibid.: 114–115], names which are not even mentioned in the scholar's scientific monograph [Тарле 1950]. While in the monograph the historian writes that it is Totleben who was "destined to save" Sevastopol "from imminent capitulation" [Ibid.: 2, 109], in the "soldier's" book the engineer merely follows Nakhimov's instructions.

> The enemy approached Sevastopol. The fortress was well strengthened only from the sea side; from the direction of solid land it was not even entrenched. But before the eyes of the adversary fortifications arose that drove him to astonishment. Work proceeded in full swing day and night. Not only the soldiers worked tirelessly, but also the city's residents: men dug ditches and hollowed the rocky ground, women and children carried earth. A battery even appeared operated only by women; it existed until the end of the siege and was called The Maiden. Thanks to such spiritedness and diligence, Sevastopol was shielded with unbelievable speed by a series of fortifications that stretched seven versts [Рождественский 1874: 200].

The description of the Sevastopol defense is built on the juxtaposition of the danger and horrors of war with the calm courage of the city's residents:

> Every day thousands of shells from our side and from the adversary filled the air from early morning until late at night <…> cannonballs bounced along the city streets like rubber balls; concussions in the air, from their flights and from the explosion of bombs, made buildings quake; the window frames of every house shook; windowpanes shattered to pieces; inside the houses plaster crumbled. But the intrepid defenders of Sevastopol stood like a living wall; they burned with courage and valor, and each kept his place as long as a spark of life remained in his body [Ibid.: 200–201].

The author goes on in the same vein, and concludes thus: "Such a defense would have been possible for the Russian soldiers alone" [Ibid.: 201]. Note also that in choosing which details of the Sevastopol defense to portray, Rozhdestvensky favors those that relate to the everyday life of the reader: window frames shake, plaster crumbles, glass shatters, etc., all of which can strike a chord with even an inexperienced and unimaginative reader. All the same, this narrative lacks specific individuals. Only once is Nakhimov mentioned, in relation to Sinop; everywhere else the actors are a collective image of the heroic people and the Russian soldiers who are inspired by the emperors — first Nicholas I, and then Alexander II.

Nonetheless, personalities were undoubtedly indispensable to the so-called educational goals of the school curriculum and public training. The mythologem of the "national hero" — the savior of the homeland — is always concre-

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It claims that the achievements of Russian military engineers were "incorrectly attributed to Totleben". On the whole, Tarle's "soldier's" book is characterized by the same principles and examples as the essays of Lukashevich and Pogossky, about whom more is written below (of course, exchanging monarchical ideology for Soviet), with the addition only of references to sources.

te (see: [Киселева]). The heroes of Sevastopol could not save the city from capitulation, but there was a successful and widely circulated explanation for this — Alexander II's aphoristic statement: "There are impossibilities even for heroes".

The writer and pedagogue Klavdia Lukashevich (1859–1937), author of dozens of elementary and secondary schoolbooks, undertook to create patriotic school literature. Her pamphlets were printed in large editions and were reprinted multiple times in different combinations, which witnesses to the high (and unremitting[11]) demand for such works.

Popular literature (including patriotic literature) has been little studied hitherto. Without attempting to cover as large a collection of sources as possible, this paper will consider the general trends that characterize this literary genre. Key examples will be taken from the works of K. V. Lukashevich; A. F. Pogossky's "conversations about the war" [Погосский] and Friedrich Nikolai Russow's proto-newspaper [Russow], the first Estonian publication devoted to the Crimean War and the originator of Estonian journalism, will also be studied.

Popular literature has distinct parallels with national gravure. The main features of the publications of interest here are: the unconditional glorification of events, a documentary orientation (real people, precise references to actual times and places), a focus on depicting participants of different social statuses, and, at the same time, a clear preservation of the social hierarchy. The tsar, members of the tsar's family, and commanders are often depicted loftily and given alibis to explain away failures. Even so, Lukashevich writes about the true balance of power in the besieged city:

> The commander of the land and maritime forces in Sevastopol at that time was Prince Menshikov. He was a man of knowledge, just, but distant and cold; he was not loved by the people of Sevastopol. No, not on him with high hopes were set the sights of the Sevastopolites <…> among the people were the seasoned and beloved admirals Nakhimov and Kornilov, who were bedecked with honor and great glory. They were known by every boy in the city, every sailor in the fleet. The besieged people devotedly believed in them, hoped in them, relied only on them as on a stone wall[12] [Лукашевич 1903: 9].

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[11] Recently, the books of K. V. Lukashevich, including those about the heroes of the Sevastopol defense ("Даша Севастопольская"), have been actively reprinted and accessible even on the Internet.

[12] In the 1922 edition, the text is changed thus: "Louder than any military accolades, brighter than any star or cross, these best people of the time were adorned with great human souls and hearts full of love. They were known by every boy in the city. Officers and sailors adored them and were prepared to follow them into fire or water" [Лукашевич 1922: 17].

Lukashevich strives to show representatives of different social classes — soldiers of every rank, regular residents of the city, the clergy, doctors and nurses. Russia is a single nation-family, with the monarch-father at the head[13]. However, the majority of her narratives are dominated by folk heroes (the sailor Petr Koshka, nurse Dasha Mikhailova called Sevastopolskaya, and other unnamed soldiers and sailors) and other favorites of the people, like Admirals Istomin, Kornilov, and Nakhimov, General Khrulyov, and even Totleben. A detailed image of a people's war is established, but the war's subordination to the Christian laws of sacrifice "for ones' friends" and love of neighbor[14] is emphasized. The word "Russian" denotes national and political affiliation, although sometimes ethnic characteristics are isolated: positive examples include the "Baltic native Totleben" [Лукашевич 1903: 38–39] and the "honest Little Russian" who didn't want to bribe the quartermasters [Ibid.: 62]; negative examples include the Tartars who "passed to the enemy's side and plunder and rob all around" [Ibid.: 64].

The key features of popular books that are also inherent in "Crimean paperbacks" are an absence of xenophobia, respect for the enemy[15], and an emphasis on helping the enemy when wounded or in trouble. Moreover,

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[13] A. F. Pogossky writes directly that the tsar is the head of a large family, and his unity with even the lowest private is confirmed by the fact that Nicholas sent his own children into battle [Погосский: 1, III]. Lukashevich also brings up the visit by Grand Princes Mikhail and Nicholas to the field army [Лукашевич 1922: 50–54]. However, while Lukashevich did not need to prove her honest support of the monarchy (not for nothing did she refuse to cooperate with Soviet authorities after the revolution [Николаев: 404]), Pogossky's situation was much more complex. His biography is fairly confusing. A member of the Polish aristocracy, he began his career as one of Nicholas' soldiers. After retiring at an officer's rank he served in various departments and published numerous moralistic essays and magazines for soldiers and the people (with completely loyal content, of course). However, while abroad Pogossky came into contact with Bakunin, Herzen, and Ogaryov, in Petersburg with Chernyshevsky, and almost with the Land and Liberty organization [Шешунова: 10–11].

[14] Pogossky also calls his readers to learn of the Sevastopolites' love for their enemy, speaking of how the wounded lay side by side in the hospitals with the enemy, sharing their bread with him and caring for him [Погосский: 1, 2]. It is interesting that at the same time Sevastopol (Chersonesus) is almost never mentioned as a cradle of Russian Christianity.

[15] Here is one example from among many: even in the sorrowful narrative about the taking of Malakhov Redoubt, a single epithet is used to refer to both Russian and English generals — the "courageous General Semyakin" and the "courageous General MacMahon" [Лукашевич 1904: 9 и 13]. Cf. Pogossky: "The French General Bosquet, whose name, as an **unquestionably brave man**, soon became known even among our own soldiers, commanded the Zouaves and African riflemen; and this **dexterous and adaptable people** climb and scramble about the mountains and cliffs just the same as our old Caucasians. General Bosquet took measure of the slope with his eyes and sent in his Zouaves. The **daredevils** not only clambered up the cliffs, but did so with their mortars in their hands" [Погосский: 1, 30].

Lukashevich strives to give examples of the humanity of both sides. The “true story” of “Dasha Sevastopolskaya” (first printed in 1899 and then reissued many times) contains an account of a soldier[16] who, having been wounded at Alma, tries to crawl back to his side, but twice falls in among the enemy by mistake, first among the French, then among the English. The first group gives him water, but at the sound of the alarm they themselves must enter battle. The English give him tea and rum and medical attention, and then carry him on a stretcher to the wounded exchange point [Лукашевич 1915: 175–177]. Russian nurses were also compassionate to the enemy, seeing in them “only suffering brothers. Wounded French and English later in their homelands spoke with particular gratitude of the Christian help of Russian women” [Ibid.: 167].

Lukashevich attempts to instill humanism in her readers, showing that even in the inhumane conditions of war, people can raise themselves above hatred for the enemy. Only in relating the final storm of Malakhov Redoubt does she demonstrate how war distorts the human soul and elevates a rejection of war to the level of pathos:

> The adversaries mixed in with one another, losing consciousness, and struck one another with rocks and wood, choked one another’s throats, scratched and bit in a frenzy. <…> People stopped being people and became raging animals. Terrible murder sought its victims and found them in plenty [Лукашевич 1904: 21].

Most memoirists of the Crimean War tried to brighten the heavy details of war with stories of soldiers’ prowess (including such famous cases as when the sailor Koshka saved the corpse (!) of a Russian non-commissioned officer, or when another sailor contrived to throw an unexploded bomb into a pot of porridge, while a third doused the fuse with mud, etc.) and sense of humor. Lukashevich reproduces these stories with pleasure [Лукашевич 1922: 46–47, 60][17]. Importantly, such examples in her work encompass both Russians and their adversaries. For example, there is the story about the cock Pelisei (nicknamed by the artillerymen after the French commander Pélissier), who from fright "with a loud cry flew over the rampart and rolled into the ditch. <…> The French, seeing this prank from their trenches, ceased fire and clapped their hands". And the English applauded and shouted "Hooray" to Efim Kuznetsov, who pulled a dead rabbit out from under heavy fire [Лукашевич 1922: 61].

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[16] In this composition the author references sources, which witnesses to her attentive and conscientious study of materials. For “Dasha Sevastopolskaya”, sources include the notes of Leslie, Chaplinksy, Zhandr, and articles from “Одесский вестник” (from which the story of the wounded soldier was drawn) [Лукашевич 1915: 180]. Her sketch of Bishop Innocent and of Pirogov [Лукашевич 1904a] reproduces the sermon of the Archbishop Innocent (Borisov) of Kherson and Tauride, which he gave in besieged Sevastopol, and excerpts from the notes of N. I. Pirogov. The story of the storm of Malakhov Redoubt quotes excerpts from the memoirs of participants Alabin and Korzhensky [Лукашевич 1904]. There are many more such examples.

[17] Tarle also uses these and similar examples in his “soldier’s” book, sometimes adding moralizing commentary. Referencing the memoirs of N. A. Gorbunov, he relates an episode of a sailor extinguishing a bomb fuse with his hand. Admiral Pereleshin, witnessing this, rewards the sailor for saving officers and at the same time reprimanding him for abuse of bravado [Тарле 1954: 47].

Lukashevich also does not pass over disorder in the Russian army. For example, at the end of her sketch about Pirogov, it is mentioned that "he fought fiercely, battled brutally against the abuses of the quartermasters, and energetically demanded improvements" [Лукашевич 1904a: 35]. The most critical note is heard in her most detailed account of the Sevastopol defense [Лукашевич 1903]. Here Menshikov always serves as an anti-hero, although in the Crimean War literature of the day there was no lack of apologetics for the high commander[18]. But Lukashevich writes that even in extreme situations he conferred with no one: "Prince Menshikov took all the troops and left the city, leaving the population to defend itself. No one knew what that secretive and distrustful man would undertake to do" [Ibid.: 64]. The author writes reproachfully of how at the Battle of Alma he did not spare the troops exhausted by their long passage: "The good soldiers had no time to rest or even load their weapons; hungry and thirsty, they were immediately sent into the heat of battle" [Ibid.: 15]. She also includes the episode of the spoiled rusks [Ibid.: 63], about which Menshikov himself wrote, but took no action to address the situation with supplies available in Sevastopol.

Thus, popular patriotic literature, aimed at stirring love for the homeland and national pride in its audience, developed heroic and consolidating myths about the Crimean War. Accordingly, the main emphasis was placed on the heroic spirit of the defenders of Sevastopol and those who fought at the Battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and on the readiness of Russians to die "for faith, the tsar, and the homeland". "Courage and loyalty against all odds" — thus one might describe the pathos of these compositions. Their authors strive not to concentrate on the negative aspects of the war (the incompetence and indifference of the high command, the poor provisions, the looting, etc.), but all the same do not avoid them altogether. Of course, they write of "isolated", rather than systematic "shortcomings". No popular protests against the war or dissatisfied public opinion made their way into these popular stories or school books. It is difficult to judge the degree and kind of influence these types of publications may have had on the consciousness of the youth and simple people.

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[18] In Pogossky's text the top of the first page is adorned with portraits in vignettes: Menshikov in the center, Totleben to the left, and Nakhimov to the right [Погосский: 1, 1].

However, taking into consideration the large print runs and numerous reprints, as well as the sheer number of this type of product on the whole, at the very least one can conclude that people bought and read them.

These authors, though not possessing great literary talent, attempt to vary their narratives and take into consideration the tastes (of course, constructed by themselves) of different groups of readers within what was labeled as a single audience. A. F. Pogossky, although he suggests that his book should be read everywhere — "in cottages, in schools, in barracks, in tents" — primarily addresses his work to soldiers, and therefore provides a detailed chronicle of combat operations, the names of regiments, death statistics, and the names of distinguished participants (alternately listing generals, colonels, and common soldiers). K. V. Lukashevich addresses her work mainly to an adolescent audience, including young girls, and therefore appeals more to the emotions — hence her emphasis on touching stories and on humor.

To the extent that these texts deal with the lost war, it is necessary to neutralize the feeling of bitterness and avoid the possible appearance of skepticism — hence the stress on heroism as a categorical imperative of the national character. Heroism and sacrifice are inalienable "natural" Russian qualities, those gifts that no circumstances have the power to change. Of course, this attitude acquired particular significance at times of defeat in newer wars — the Russo-Japanese War and World War I — but this had more to do with the pragmatics of publishers rather than authors.

As has already been mentioned, humanism is an immutable feature of this literature. Despite the harsh military theme, these compositions strive to stir "kind feelings" in their readers; their patriotism is founded on love and sacrifice, not on hatred of the enemy.

Comparing these historical narratives to gymnasium textbooks, both their common bias and their informational and documentary focus are evident. Tendentiousness in the selection of facts and the manner of their presentation are related to pragmatics — to the educational (that is, unavoidably propagandistic) orientation of these texts. What is interesting is not what social demand all these texts serve (that is obvious), but how their authors overcome the difficulties of trying to instill positive values using an unfavorable historical example.

This analysis will conclude with a few words about a very special text that is little known outside Estonia: Freidrich Nikolai Russow's 12-issue series of pamphlets entitled "Tallinna koddaniko ramat omma söbbradele male" [Russow], which were published in Estonian in Tallinn from 1854–1857. The title translates literally as *A Book by a Citizen of Tallinn (a Townsman) for His Rural*

Friends; the more literary and, probably, more authorized translation is *Letters from a Resident of Reval to his Village Friends* [Петри: 2].

F. N. Russow (1828–1906), known in Russian as Fyodor Karlovich, was of Estonian origin, a graduate of the German Provincial Gymnasium of Reval and then the University of Petersburg (1851), and, at the time of the publication of *Letters*, an official in the Estonian provincial government. By his own admission, Russow had a poor command of the Russian language; however, it appears this mostly applied to conversational speech. It is assumed that he relied on German newspapers as he penned his sketches of the Crimean War [Peegel: 129], although more research is needed to clarify his sources. Having finished university in Petersburg, Russow certainly knew enough Russian to read texts in that language.

Russow was an activist in the Estonian national revival, wrote poetry in Estonian and published folk songs, translated "The Peasant Code of Estland" into Estonian, and participated in a major national fundraising campaign to build the Estonian Charles' Church in Tallinn. It is possible that he was involved in the publication of a landmark work on the condition of Estonian peasants, *The Estonian and his Lord*, printed anonymously in 1861. He was also co-publisher of the liberal newspaper *Revalsche Zeitung* (1860–1863). Beginning in 1863, Russow lived in Petersburg and was a member of an Estonian circle of "Petersburg Patriots". At first he served in the Ministry of Finance, then from 1875–1888 he headed the etchings and drawings section of the Hermitage. From 1865 to the end of his life, Russow was a curator — from 1874 a scholar curator — of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. A man of many talents with remarkable erudition and memory, he is counted among the founders of this museum [Петри]. In addition, he was an artist and art critic.

Russow's work on the Crimean War is of interest here as an example of the translation of imperial patriotic ideology (in the terminological and not evaluative sense of the word) to the Baltic provinces among a people just beginning to participate in society life. In his choice and interpretation of events, Russow follows the same models that were reproduced by Russian journalists and publications and is in complete solidarity with the "Russian" point of view. Such a position should not be surprising. Like the majority of activists in the first period of the Estonian national revival, Russow was oriented toward Russia and the central government, believing that only it was capable of defending Estonian peasants against the whips of the Baltic Germans. He inspires his rural brothers that Estonians are involved in the affairs of a common homeland — Russia. Although the main events of the Crimean War took place in the far south, war affected the Estonian population directly. Estonians served in the Russian army and navy. Moreover, the English fleet operated also in the Baltic Sea, blockading Tallinn and landing on Saaremaa Island, where they accosted the locals [Russow: IV].

In explaining the causes of the war, Russow (like Russian authors thereafter, as discussed above) transfers blame onto European powers fearful of a strengthening Russia. He provides a fairly detailed account of events and focuses primarily on the heroism of the Russian soldiers, while also giving examples of their humanity toward the enemy. For example, in the fifth issue, Russow tells of two soldiers who take care of a wounded Turk, saying, "This is just such a wounded soldier as we; let him, poor fellow, rest a while and pray to God for us, according to his faith". The selflessness of the Russian soldiers is demonstrated, for example, in the story of the saving of Totleben: at the explosion of a bomb, soldiers protect him with their own bodies and themselves perish [Ibid.: X, 6]. Another example is Kornilov's speech to the defenders just before the bombardment of Sevastopol begins, as well as the story of his death. The leader here conducts himself not like a lord, but like a comrade of the soldiers and sailors. His last words are "I am happy to die for the Fatherland <…> how sweet to die with a clean heart" [Ibid.: VII, 5–6]. Later, this scene is included in every work about the siege of Sevastopol.

Russow writes not only of Russia's feats, but also of the technological disadvantages (insufficient steamships, bad weaponry, bad roads, etc.) that lead to its defeat in the war. However, his stories contain no judgmental or accusatory notes; he speaks of this as a communal trouble.

Russow's works are fairly voluminous (130 pages of fine print) and deserve special study; for this paper, the number of examples cannot be expanded (in many ways they repeat those discussed above from other works). To conclude, consider some features of the author's position.

Russow does not fear overburdening his peasant readers with information — military, geographical, and topographical details, as well as historical excursus to the eras of Peter I and Alexander I. He gives the names of French, English, and Russian commanders, and writes about French Emperor Napoleon III and the Russian Tsars Nicholas I and Alexander II. Although the author is a city dweller (at that time, when "Estonian" was synonymous with "peasant", "city dweller" usually meant "lord" — that is, a German), he speaks to his audience as to *equals*. The author and his readers are united by ethnicity and language, and his choice of language proves to be decisive, although the inclusion of the word "friends" in the title (*Letters… to Village Friends*) also helps to establish contact as among equals. An educational pathos is characteristic of Russow; he wants to expand the horizons of Estonians, not only intellectually, but politically. Additionally, he assumes that even if the peasants don't know something, they will be interested in learning and capable of understanding it.

Russow acquaints his rural friends with the unfamiliar to them Russian people (the percentage of Russians in Estonia in the middle of the 19th century was so small that not every rural inhabitant had encountered one). He reveals the Russian character primarily through examples of the behavior of soldiers — that is, of former peasants — as courageous, steadfast, selfless, and kind people who should be treated with sympathy and trust. In essence, Russow taps into Russian national mythmaking and transmits this myth to his readers. However, between him and the Russian authors discussed above there are at least two differences. First, while the Russian authors write *about Russians for Russians*[19], that is, to stir national pride *for themselves*, the Estonian author writes *about others* in an attempt to make them *one of us* for his readers[20]. Second, Russow does not treat Estonian peasants like children. This distinctly differentiates his authorial position from that of the Russian authors who write "for children and the people" and seem to equate the intellectual and emotional level of adult peasants and city dwellers with a child's consciousness. Instead, *Letters from a Resident of Reval to his Village Friends*, composed as the war unfolded, is characterized by a focus specifically on those events of the Crimean War that would later be included in retrospective compilations, comprising the canonical national narrative about this lost, but nonetheless heroic, popular war.

This paper has focused specifically on those compositions that propagated the popular — that is, somewhat simplistic, but more striking — version of the national canon of this historic event in schoolbooks and children's and popular literature: the Crimean War, despite military defeat, was a victory of the popular spirit and a point of national pride. Thus the canon turned out to be victorious after all, and any analysis of the reasons for defeat typically remained beyond the understanding of the popular consciousness. In fact, the defeat and the losses, the victims of the war became a long-lasting Russian national trauma. And in the national memory traumas are often cured by myths. That is why a narrative of a lost war has transformed into a narrative of heroic deeds, and therefore it can be argued that today this strong myth allowed manipulating with the mass consciousness of nowadays Russians.

Translated by Allison Rockwell

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[19] The language in which the composition is written is also fundamental here.

[20] This is emphasized by the pronoun "our": Russian troops are "*our* troops", against whom stands the "enemy" (the English, French, and Turks).

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TOLSTOY'S "THE THREE BEARS": THE METAMORPHOSIS OF AN ENGLISH TALE INTO A RUSSIAN NATIONAL MYTH

BEN HELLMAN

The bear is a recurrent figure in Russian folk and animal tales. Sometimes he is pictured as naïve, simple and goodhearted, but he can also be represented as brutal, strong and powerful. The same ambivalence is also typical for the bears from Slavic myths and Russian literary tales and poems [Розенгольм, Савкина: 297]. As a metaphor for Russia bear got its final, conceptual form in the early 18th century; in foreign, primarily British, political caricatures he came to denote not only the national character but also the politics of the country [Россомахин, Хрусталев: 127]. The bear symbol conveys a notion of "a foreign, backward, aggressive, despotic, strong, but clumsy country" [Рябов, Константинова: 118]. It became a stereotype, denoting the essential difference between Europe and Russia. The bear functions as a symbolic frontier guard, marking the differing line between civilization and barbarity, culture and nature, progress and backwardness, freedom and despotism, Europe and Asia, West and East [Ibid.].

A literary work which has not been introduced into the Russian bear discourse is Leo Tolstoy's "The Three Bears" ("Tri medvedya"). It is, however, a good example of how the bear symbol functions in a literary work and its illustrations, ultimately growing into a national myth. The tale is one of Tolstoy's most popular works for children, and possibly his most read work in Russia. Printed in millions of copies, it is known to practically all Russians. "The Three Bears" has mostly been taken to be a purely national Russian tale, adapted by of one the country's greatest writers. Certain similarities to the folk tale "Mashenka and the Bear" ("Mashenka i medved") have added to this misconception.

"The Three Bears" tells about a girl who loses her way in the forest and comes to the house of three bears. After having tasted their food and broken a chair she goes to sleep in one of their beds. When the bears return she hastily escapes through the window. A Western reader has no problems in recognizing the story — not as a work by Leo Tolstoy, though, but as an English tale, usually published under the title "Goldilocks and the Three Bears". It has been reworked and translated into most languages, not from Russian, however, but from English[1]. It has been the subject of many analyses[2], but none of them helps us when it comes to interpreting its Russian version. What Tolstoy produced and Russian artists later further developed is an original work, which can be analysed in its own right.

"The Three Bears" was originally published in *The New ABC Book* (*Novaya azbuka*) in 1875. Together with the four volumes of *Russian Readers* (*Russkie knigi dlya chteniya,* 1875–85)[3] it gave Tolstoy a prominent place also in the history of Russian children's literature. For his reader Tolstoy borrowed freely from various sources, like Aesop's fables, English folklore and Hans Christian Andersen. Tolstoy not only translated the foreign texts but he also revised and rewrote them. At the centre of his attention was not so much the moral side of the works as the formal part; the aim was to create examples of good art. The ideal was brevity and simplicity; the writing should have few words and be as concise as possible.

In order to fully understand the nature of the metamorphosis that the English tale went through in Russia, it is necessary to establish the probable source of Tolstoy's "The Three Bears". The author's first mention of the tale is to be found in *Anna Karenina,* which he was working on from 1872 onwards:

> "Yes, we're growing up", she said to him, glancing towards Kitty, "and growing old. Tiny bear has grown big now!" added the Frenchwoman with a laugh, and she reminded him of his joke about the three young ladies whom he had called the three bears from the English tale. "Do you remember that you used to call them so?"

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[1] There are, to be sure, translations also of Tolstoy's "The Three Bears", but in these cases he is always attributed as the author.

[2] See, for example, [Elms 1977; Hammel 1972 and Philips 1954]. There are also some recent analyses of Tolstoy's "The Three Bears". In two articles, Leonid Chernov employs Vladimir Propp's theories, applying the morphology of Russian folk tales to Tolstoy's tale [Чернов 1999a] and interpreting it as a visit to the realm of death [Чернов 1999b].

[3] About Tolstoy's pedagogical practice and writings in a broad context of his evolution see [Эйхенбаум: 575–606]. See also recent paper [Осипова].

> He did not remember it, but she had been laughing at the joke for about ten years now, and was fond of it[4].

It is Mademoiselle Linon, the French governess of the Shcherbatsky family that reminds Konstantin Levin of an old joke of his: he used to call the three Shcherbatsky sisters — Dolly, Natalia and Kitty — the three bears from the English nursery tale. As Professor Barbara Lönnqvist [Леннквист: 98] has pointed out, external details also strengthen the bear parallel, as when the narrator presents the three sisters according to the length of their fur coats: "they drove in their coach to the Tver boulevard, dressed in their satin furs — Dolly in a long one, Natalia in a semi-long, and Kitty in a very short fur < … >"[5].

Levin fails to remember the joke, but he would not miss its implications. As a student "he had a feeling that he had to fall in love with one of the sisters, only he could not figure out which one"[6]. He has romantic feelings for all three of them in turn, and tests them all, starting with the oldest, Dolly, then moving on to the middle sister, Natalia, and finally focusing on Kitty. It is Kitty, then "only a child", whom Linon calls "tiny bear" and who has now grown up[7]. Courting the three sisters in turn, Levin each time feels as though he has been chased away from the Shcherbatsky house, but eventually he ends up in the "the tiny bear's" bed. Once married to Kitty, he is consequently told by one of his friends that now his bear-hunting days are over[8].

The role of the bear motif in *Anna Karenina* is reminiscent of the psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim's interpretation of "Goldilocks and the Three Bears". For him the tale is "a voyage of self-discovery", the point of which is a search for sexual identity [Bettelheim: 220]. In Tolstoy's novel, all three objects for Levin's erotic feelings are sisters, all possible candidates for marriage, but still Bettelheim's concept is applicable also in this context.

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[4] "— Да, вот растем, — сказала она ему, указывая глазами на Кити, — и стареем. Tiny bear уже стал большой! — продолжала француженка, смеясь, и напомнила ему его шутку о трех барышнях, которых он называл тремя медведями из английской сказки. — Помните, вы, бывало, так говорили?

Он решительно не помнил этого, но она уже лет десять смеялась этой шутке и любила ее" [Толстой 1934: 34]. — The translation is mine.

[5] "<...> подъезжали в коляске к Тверскому бульвару в своих атласных шубах — Долли в длинной, Натали в полудлинной, а Кити в совершенно короткой <...>" [Толстой 1934: 25]. — The translation is mine.

[6] "Он как будто чувствовал, что ему надо влюбиться в одну из сестер, только не мог разобрать, в какую именно" [Толстой 1934:25] The translation is mine.

[7] There is no ground for interpreting the words "tiny bear" to refer to Levin, and not to Kitty, as Alla Polosoina does [Полосина: 40]. Speaking these words, Linon is looking at Kitty, and it is explicitly the three sisters, with Kitty as the young one, whom had been called the three bears.

[8] Richard Gregg [Gregg: 99] has pointed out an interesting biographical link in connection with Tolstoy's tale. Tolstoy married one of three sisters with the surname Bers, that is Bears. As he did not choose the youngest one, he disrupted "the domestic tranquillity of that trio".

Tolstoy started the publication of *Anna Karenina* in 1875. *The New ABC Book,* which included "The Three Bears", appeared in the same year. What was Tolstoy's source?[9] No edition of the tale is to be found in his library and likewise it is not mentioned in his diaries, letters or other people's memoirs. But as the tale is said to be English in *Anna Karenina,* we can assume that Tolstoy originally read or heard it in English. "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" was first published as an anonymous folk tale in England in 1837 under the title "The Story of the Three Bears". In this edition the animals are all male bears and the intruder an old woman. The girl, initially called "Silver Hair", is introduced only in 1850, and the group of bears turns into a family ten years later. The name of the girl was changed to "Golden Hair" in the 1860 edition[10].

When we look for Tolstoy's initial source, a small detail is of great importance; it is the words "tiny bear", which in *Anna Karenina* are given in English with Latin letters. In early English variants of the tale the bear cub is called either "the little, small, wee bear" or "the baby bear", and only in one version published prior to 1875 is the word "tiny" linked to the little bear. The book is "The Three Bears", published in London in 1867 by George Routledge and Sons[11]. Tolstoy's knowledge of English was not sufficiently proficient for him to have come up with the synonym himself. Other exceptional details confirm that this must be the edition that Tolstoy used. Both tales start with the girl leaving for a walk in the forest and not with a description of the peaceful life of the bears, the bears do not eat porridge but soup, and in both cases the bears have names. And, indeed, the animals had names for the first time in precisely this Routledge publication from 1867.

In the commentaries in Tolstoy's *Complete Collected Works* (The Jubilee Edition) it is said that his text comes close to "the French original", *Une fille nommeé* [sic] *boucles d´orèes* [sic], *ou Les trois our* [Толстой 1957: 622–623]. Because of the faulty spelling of its title, this book was not found for a long time, and its very existence was in doubt [Жданов, Зайденшнур: 471]. Only recently was a Tolstoy scholar, Alla Polosina, able to identify the publication that V. S. Spiridonov, the commentator in 1957, obviously had in mind. It is a bilingual, French-Russian volume, *Une fille nommée Flacons-d'or*[12] *ou Les trois ours.*

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[9] Here we bypass the question where and when Levin, and not Tolstoy, became familiar with the English tale, as it has only a theoretical interest in this connection.

[10] Early English versions of the tale are reprinted in [Ober 1981].

[11] This edition is reprinted with a foreword in [Ober: 189–206].

[12] In the text itself the girl is called Flacon-d'or.

Devochka – Zolotye kudri ili Tri medvedya, published by the historian Mikhail Pogodin in Moscow in 1871 (2nd ed. – 1873)[13]. Having found in the French text some verbal parallels with Tolstoy's "The Three Bears", that is, the references to the blue colour of the bear cub's bowl and the English words "tiny bear", Polosina decided that the source of Tolstoy's tale had been found[14].

I am, however, of a different opinion. The Moscow French-Russian volume is a word-for-word translation of Routledge's 1867 publication, and even the illustrations are the same. As this is the case, on what grounds can we then decide which one of the two publications Tolstoy used as his source? First of all, Tolstoy knew that the tale was English. In the Moscow publication this is not said; it is not even stated that the French text is a translation. Secondly, it is notable that Tolstoy does not use any words or expressions from the Russian translation, which at places is very skilful. For example, the unknown translator calls the bears Kosmach, Mufta and Toptyshka. The purely Russian names could have fitted Tolstoy well, but he does not repeat them in his version. The Moscow bear cub has a "miska" (bowl), while in Tolstoy's rendering he eats from a "chashechka" (little cup). One gets the impression that Tolstoy was not familiar with this, presumably the first, Russian translation of the English tale[15]. Thirdly, the title of the English book is simply *The Three Bears*, while the French-Russian edition carries the long title *Devochka – Zolotye kudry ili Tri medvedya* (The Girl Goldilocks, or The Three Bears). Tolstoy, that is, named his version according to the London version. Fourthly, and this is the most important evidence, the cries of the bears at the unexpected sight of the chaos in their house are given in Tolstoy's tale by different letter sizes, dependent upon the volume of the speaker. This unusual device Tolstoy could find in the Routledge publication, but not in the Moscow one. Tolstoy is highly unlikely to have invented such a radical and extremely rare typographical device on his own[16].

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[13] As A. Polosina [Полосина: 34–35] shows, Pogodin and Tolstoy were acquaintances. Pogodin sometimes presented Tolstoy with books, and from a letter of August 22, 1872, it is also clear that Pogodin knew about Tolstoy's work on the first *ABC Book* (Azbuka, 1872). Naturally, this does not yet mean that Pogodin would have sent his French-Russian publication of the tale to Tolstoy. If the French and the Russian translations were done in Moscow, it means that Pogodin also had the English original of 1867 and that he could thus have given Tolstoy this particular edition. It is also possible that the London edition came to Yasnaya Polyana through one of the English governesses who stayed with the Tolstoy family in these years — Hanna Tarsey (1866–1872), Dora Helliyer (1872–73) and Emily Tabor (1873–76).

[14] A. Polosina [Полосина: 33–34, 40–41] also propose the book *Les petits enfants: Contes d'une mère* (Paris, 1861), in which "L'histoire des trois ours" is included, as yet another possible source for Tolstoy's "The Three Bears". The supposition is based on the fact that the author of the volume, Henriette Witt-Guizot, was known to Tolstoy (he even had some of her books in his library) and that it is explicitly said that it is a translation from English. However, many counter-arguments can be raised against this proposal: the title, the beginning of the tale (it starts with the bears and not with the girl), the colour of the bowl is not mentioned, the bears do not have names, and the volume of their voices is given with the same letter size. In this connection yet another possible source can be rejected, that is, the possibility that Tolstoy found "The Three Bears" in one of readers that the American diplomat Eugene Schuyler gave him at the end of the 1860s [Ober 1981: 220]. These readers have been identified as *Willson's First Reader* (New York, s. a.), *The Third Reader of the School and Family Series* (NY, [1863]), *A Fourth Reader: Of a Grade between the Third and Fourth Readers of the School and Family Series* (NY, [1866]), *The Fourth Reader* (NY, [1860]) and *The Fifth Reader of the School and Family Series* (NY, 1861), and it turns out that the English tale is not included in any of these volumes. "The Three Bears" can be found in *Second Reader* (1873), edited by Lewis B. Monroe, but this is a pre-Routledge version and thus very different from Tolstoy's work.

Tolstoy has moulded the verbose English tale in accordance with his ideal of simplicity and clarity and thereby shortened it to about half the length of the original. The narrator's comments are removed; likewise the ending with its moral (uninvited guests should not enter people's homes) is left out. Simultaneously Tolstoy made some changes to the text, changes which may appear to be insignificant but read within the new framework become meaningful. Paradoxically, the passages that Tolstoy left untouched also take on new significance in his version.

Tolstoy thus called his tale "The Three Bears" in accordance with the original London edition. The French-Russian variant which anticipates a conflict between two forces, placing the girl in the foreground, would not have suited him. For Tolstoy, the hero is clearly not the girl but the bear family, not the curious, active and adventurous individual, but the organic, harmonious family collective. The reader is invited to side with the bears and look at events from their perspective. There is a distinct division between the self and the other, when the familiar and the foreign are confronted. And as in the dispute between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers, the collective is perceived as a Russian ideal, here strengthened by the number three with its religious connotations, while the individual, the loner, is seen as a foreign, Western concept.

At the time of the birth of the English tale "The Tale of the Three Bears", the bear was already a symbol of Russia. But when we look at the first English publications of the tale — both the texts and the illustrations — there are no associations with Russia. The bears are either wild animals, or they are dressed up like proper British citizens. What Tolstoy did — and this is his most radical change to the text — was to make the bears and their surrounding explicitly Russian. In the earliest editions and in the numerous later variations of the tale, the bears are named after their family status — the old Papa Bear, the Mama Bear and the little boy Bear, or according to their size — Huge, Middle-sized and Little. In the Routledge edition of 1867 they are "Rough Bruin", "Mrs Bruin" (sometimes "Mammy Muff") and "Tiny". In Tolstoy's tale we find Mikhail Ivanych (or Ivanovich), Nastasya Petrovna and Mishutka. Mikhail, or rather its familiar variants Misha and Mishka, is the traditional name for a bear in Russian folk tales, and the little bear in Tolstoy's text is indeed Mikhail Mikhailovich, thus carrying a double Russian bear identity. The name of one of his grandfathers is Ivan, a name traditionally denoting the Russian everyman, and the names connected with the tiny bear's mother — Nastasya and Pyotr — also suggest pure Russian ancestry. When talking about the head of the family, Tolstoy switches between Mikhail and Mikhailo, another way of stressing the bear's folksy character. In the Russian animal tale "The Cat and the Fox" ("Kot i lisa") there is a bear named Mikhailo Ivanych, and in the memoirs of Tolstoy's eldest son, Sergey, it is said that a tame bear with that name "performed" at the courtyard of their manor house, Yasnaya Polyana, presumably around 1870 [Толстой 1956: 18]. Moreover, Tolstoy's Papa Bear shares his name with Mikhailo Ivanovich Potyk, a well-known hero, a *bogatyr*, from a Russian folk epos.

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[15] The English tale is not to be found in Russian children's magazines and anthologies of Tolstoy's time.

[16] How much importance Tolstoy attached to the device can be seen from his instructions for *The New ABC Book* to N. M. Nagornov. In a letter of March 8, 1875, Tolstoy writes: "In the tale 'Tri medvedya', which absolutely has to be included, that which has been written with big, medium and small letters, should be set using different types. The biggest — just like it is on the first leaf of paper, only darker, and the smallest with *petit*" [Толстой 1958: 157].

Similarly, Tolstoy also nationalized the food. His bears are not eating 'sup', that is, soup in general, but 'pokhliopka'. The word 'sup' came to Russia from abroad along with foreign cooks who were invited to rich Russian houses, while 'pokhliopka' is a genuinely Russian word. "The 'pokhliopkas' are typically domestic, you can say strictly family <uzkosemeynye>, homely <pridvornye> soups in the best meaning of the word", says V. Pokhlebkin [Похлебкин: 299]. The Tolstoyan bears thus enjoy a purely national Russian dish, a connotation that Tolstoy added to his tale with one single detail.

The transition process continued when illustrations were added to "The Three Bears" in Soviet time. Tolstoy did not consider illustrations necessary as he suspected they would draw too much attention away from the text, and it was only after his death when his tale started to appear in separate editions that illustrations become an indispensable part of the work.

Two great artists, Yuri Vasnetsov and Vladimir Lebedev, drew the classic illustrations for Tolstoy's tale: Vasnetsov three times, in 1935, 1944 and 1952, and Lebedev in 1948. Both sensed the essence and the spirit of Tolstoy's version of the tales, extending its Russification. The natural surrounding, the house and the furniture are given distinct national traits. Everything is pictured in a rustic, domestic style. This is also true of Marina Uspenskaya's illustrations for a 1973 edition. Uspenskaya also changed Vasnetsov's and Lebedev's spruces to birches, a tree with even stronger Russian connotations. Even the illustrations for the book *The Three Bears,* published in the USA in 1948 in the famous serial *A Little Golden Book* have a Russian flavour. The text is the standard English version, not Tolstoy's, but the setting is clearly Russian. The anomaly is explained by the fact that the artist Fyodor Rojankovsky was a Russian émigré, who naturally saw the tale as part of his native culture.

While the three bears were given a national identity by Tolstoy, the girl has no name and no background. Not even the original epithet "Silverlocks" of the 1867 London original was accepted by the Russian author. The girl was to remain an anonymous, featureless protagonist, and from the bears' perspective it remains unclear where she comes from and where she flees to at the end of the tale. For them it is an open question what her mission and real intentions are. In the meeting with the foreign, "the unknown other", the girl in essence differs from the forest dwellers. As she trespasses into their sphere, disturbing their peaceful life, she becomes a threat to their way of life, to the whole existence of the Russian bears. In Tolstoy's tale the reactions of the bears are more violent than in the original. The tiny bear Mishutka, who suffered more than the others from the impudence of the foreigner, even wants to bite the girl. There is no hint of possible compromises or a reconciliation, as the girl is driven away by the angry house owners. Goodhearted and peaceful by nature, they turn aggressive when their territorial rights are threatened. Just like in another work by Tolstoy, *War and Peace,* the intruder, who ravaged Russian property and desecrated its sacred places, must be chased away. And just like the panic-stricken Napoleon of Tolstoy's novel, the girl runs for her life without looking back.

There is another explanation for the bears' violent reactions. Whereas the girl is a human being, the bears themselves are wild animals who have only adopted human behaviour with difficulty. These primitive beasts are living a pseudo-human life which is foreign to their true nature. They are dressed in clothes, sit on chairs, eat cooked food on plates and sleep in beds. They protect themselves from the sun with umbrellas, as shown in Vasnetsov's illustration from 1935. Not content with the traditional bear name Mishka, they are hiding their true background with other human names.

The arrival of a human being ruthlessly reveals the falseness of the bear family's life. The thin layer of civilization, or to use a Russian expression — the Potemkin village, falls away, and the bears stand there, symbolically naked, mercilessly exposed, now that their true collective animal identity has been

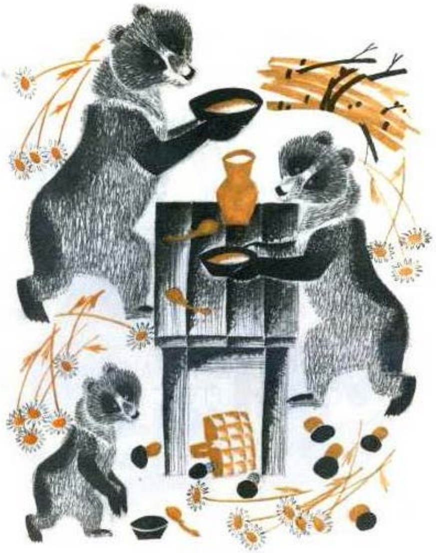

Illustration 1

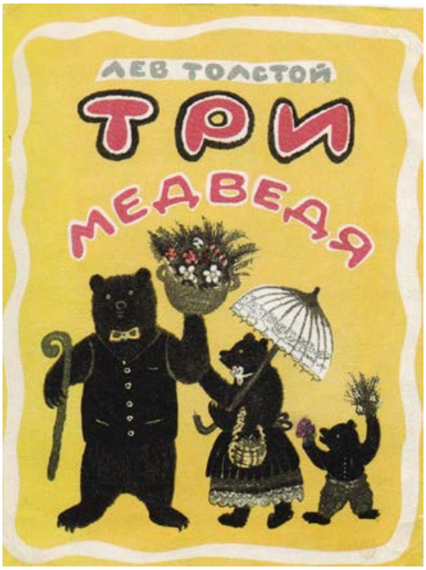
ЛЕВ ТОЛСТОЙ
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Illustration 2

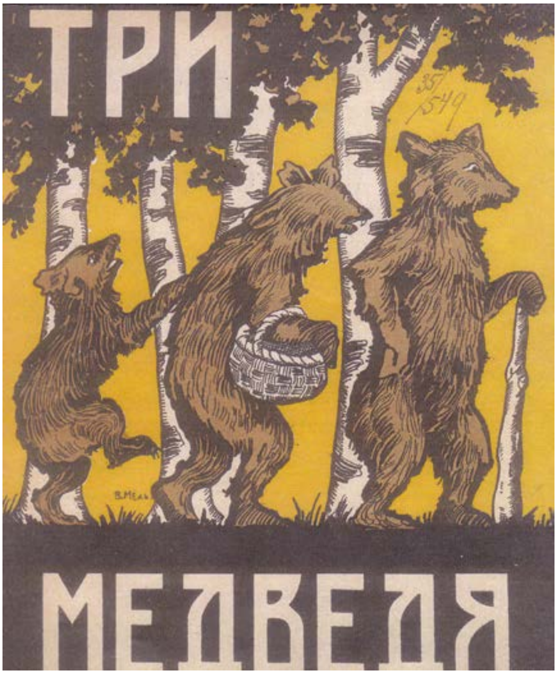
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Illustration 3

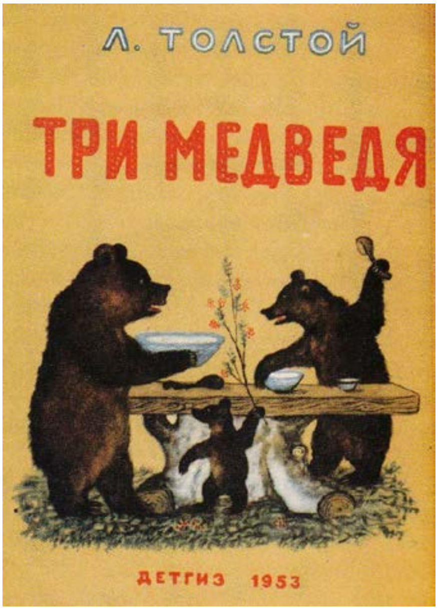

Л. ТОЛСТОЙ
ТРИ МЕДВЕДЯ
ДЕТГИЗ 1953

Illustration 4

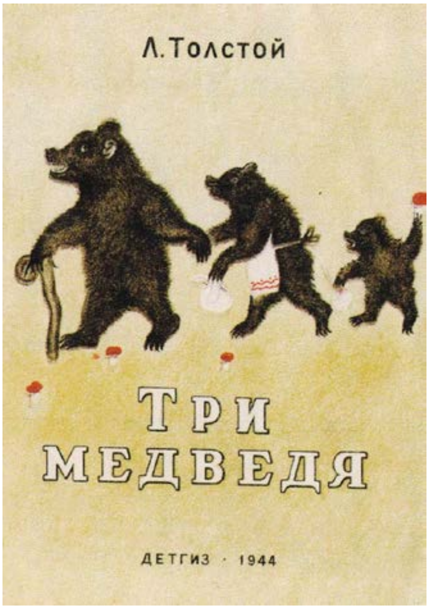
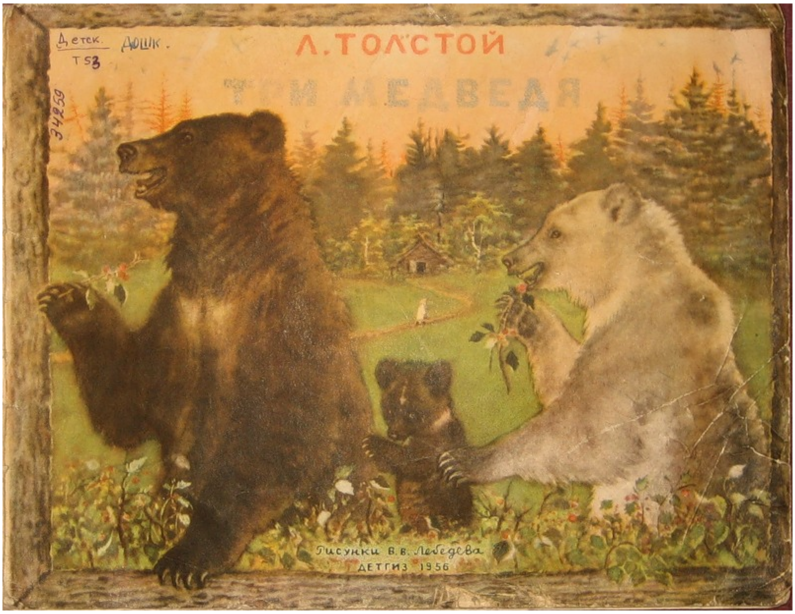

Л. Толстой
Три медведя
ДЕТГИЗ · 1944

Illustration 5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ТРИ МЕДВЕДЯ
Рисунки В.В. Лебедева
ДЕТГИЗ 1956

Illustration 6

revealed. Read as part of the national identity discourse, the interpretation presents itself thus: Russia is trying to adopt the Western pattern of development, simultaneously suppressing all feelings of inferiority. However, the situation is fragile, and the risk of identity collapse is imminent. What the girl unintentionally does is expose the falseness of the Russian choice, the artificiality of their Western pretensions.

Looking at the illustrations we find an interesting development. When striving to visualize the bear tale, illustrators also involuntarily reflected the ongoing changes in the national self-image. One of the first illustrated Soviet edition is from 1925, a book printed in Odessa. The first years of the Soviet state with wars, famine and destruction are accurately reflected in the appearance of the illustrator V. Mel's three bears (Illustration 3). The very cover of the book creates a tension: can these emaciated and shaggy representatives of Russia mobilize the necessary strength to chase away an intruder?

In Vasnetsov's illustrations from the thirties, a decade of attempted stabilization and return to traditional values, the bears are dressed up with the male bears in waistcoats and Mama Bear in a national costume (Illustration 2). The art critic Erast Kuznetsov accurately comments: "They look like peaceful city folk, posing for a provincial photographer" [Кузнецов: 104]. However, in Lebedev's post-war and Uspenskaya's (Illustration 1) more recent illustrations the bears have refused to participate in this humiliating masquerade. After a victorious World War II, after having chased away yet another intruder, a new national pride and self respect arose in the Soviet Union, an acceptance of what was seen as a true Russian identity. Tolstoy's bears reject the role of mannequins for a Western public and throw off the now odious clothes. Vasnetsov follows this pattern: in his 1935 publication all the bears are dressed up, but in 1944 the only clothing is Mama Bear's apron (Illustration 4) and, finally, in 1953, the year of Stalin's death, even this piece of cloth is thrown away, and all the three appear as nature intended (Illustration 5).

Another peculiar feature of the illustrations is the tendency to marginalize the girl. Vasnetsov left her out from his 1935 cover illustration, and Uspenskaya followed his example. During the Cold War Lebedev turned her into a hardly noticeable white spot in the background. In the foreground we see the three bears as a border patrol, no longer just symbolic, watching out for possible threats from the outside (Illustration 6). Compare this, the Soviet tradition, with the cover for the American *A Little Golden Book* publication. The artist Rojankovsky is a Russian, but he has definitely been Americanized. On the cover we see the dramatic *peripeteia* of the tale, the scene where the uninvited guest is found in Tiny Bear's bed, but the bears are completely deprived of all signs of menace. Rojanovsky's bears have the look of cuddly teddy bears, dressed in doll's clothes, and this in 1948, when the Soviet illustrators removed the last stitch of clothing from Tolstoy's bears.

This Soviet line of development can be seen as reflecting the xenophobia which was especially strong during Stalin's last years. Children's literature taught children to watch out for the strangers and foreigners as possible infiltrators and spies. The ideal was a homogenous national collective, untouched by impulses from the outside world. Only after the fall of the Soviet Union did the picture change. In post-Soviet illustrations the bear family is again wearing clothes, often Russian folk dresses, and they willingly pose with the girl. The new search for national identity is mixed with a wish to appear in a more attractive, civilized form in the eyes of other nations. Even conciliation between the *own* and the *foreign* becomes possible.

It is possible that Tolstoy saw "The Three Bears" as a counterpart to *A Prisoner in the Caucasus* (*Кавказский пленник*), the longest story in his *Russian Readers. A Prisoner in the Caucasus* is Tolstoy's best juvenile story with an exciting plot of imprisonment and escape. A Russian officer is taken prisoner by the Muslim Caucasians but manages to flee and save his life, incidentally aided by a little local girl[17]. In the same way, the girl of "The Three Bears" goes astray during her journey, ends up in a totally foreign milieu, the home of exotic strangers, and it is only due to her presence of mind and quick reactions that she manages to escape the impending dangers. This is probably what Tolstoy saw in the English tale and what attracted him, something which naturally does not exclude other explanations and meanings of his own "The Three Bears". The Russification of the bears and their living milieu came to start a transformation process which ultimately touched upon national myths and the Russian self-image.

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[17] We will not go into Pushkin pretext of Tolstoy's story because it is not so important in this context.

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ACTA SLAVICA ESTONICA VI.
Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia XIV.
Russian National Myth in Transition.
Tartu, 2014

THE ARTIST IN N. S. LESKOV'S NATIONAL MYTH

LEA PILD

In this article, we will discuss N. S. Leskov's *The Mountain* ["Gora"], the subtitle of which is "An Egyptian Tale" (the original heading read "Zeno the Goldsmith"), which was based on the Old Russian *Prolog* ("Words on a Goldsmith Where Prayer Moved a Mountain into the Nile River")[1] and was written in 1887–1888[2]. It is the only work by Leskov where the protagonist is an artist (in the literal, high art sense), and not a craftsman — the 'artist' of whatever he does — with a marginal position in relation to the world of art. These are Leskov's "toupee artists", such as the protagonist of the story by the same name from 1888, the gunsmith Lefty ("Lefty", 1882), the tailor ("The Tailor", 1882), the icon painter Sebastian in "The Sealed Angel", (1873) and other characters that demonstrate Leskov's idea of art based on the medieval principle of the artist as the master of a craft.

Research indicates that when Leskov was establishing his "backdrop myths", which were taken from the *Prolog,* he made rather dramatic changes to the original text[3], introducing allusions to contemporary life and including references to his own writing [Волынский]. Nonetheless, neither the intertextual level of "The Mountain", nor its semantic layer, which is related to contemporary life, have been analyzed by Leskov researchers. Our objective here is to shed a modicum of light on Leskov's allusions to contemporary artists (writers) and, where possible, to reconstruct his ideas on the role of the contemporary artist in his rendering of the national myth[4].

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[1] For more on the *Prolog* as a source for *The Mountain* see [Минеева].

[2] The story was first published in the magazine *Zhivopisnoe obozrenie* in 1890 (№ 1–12).

[3] See, for instance [Волынский]. Also: "In the very first stages of working on 'The Mountain', Leskov invests the Old Russian *Slovo* with new meaning. Unlike its source, the meaning of the story's narrative is deployed in episodes, where the intensity of the 'goldsmith's' faith is fully demonstrated: as with the scene of the temptation of a 'certain woman' and the miracle of 'moving the mountain'. What most impressed Leskov about the 'forger' is the strength of his spirit" [Минеева: 15].

O. E. Mayorova writes that "Leskov created a world fundamentally removed from the reader that nonetheless does not preclude his identification with the protagonist. In the context of the psychological prose of the time, cannot be read as anything but a daring gesture on his part, a decisive rejection of the artistic language of his era" [Майорова 1994: 61]. It seems that in his only story about an artist, as in several other works, Leskov moves away from the pattern described above.

The fact that Leskov, who believed that Russian literature of the 1880s to be devoid of ideals, was anchoring his story's protagonist in the contemporary artistic and religious situation, can be seen in his letter written to I. E. Repin on February 18, 1889:

> Painters are now more capable of giving proper due to ideals than we are, and it is your duty to do so. Paint your "Zaporozhian", but alongside them, show something like someone interfering with executions. <...> We have our own "Zenos" [Лесков XI: 415].

In his letter to the editor of *Russkie vedomosti* of January 10, 1889, however, Leskov, rather in the spirit of his never-ending obfuscations, writes that:

> "Zeno" is about 3rd century Christianity in Egypt. It might be described as a 'period piece'. Its narrative is taken from apocryphal scripture, which has long since been considered *fabled.* The story's historical background and setting were developed using the research of Ebers and Maspero[5], as well as other Egyptologists. There is nothing in it that reflects any kind of contemporary events neither in Russia, in Europe, nor anywhere else in the world. It's just a story with an interesting historical narrative. Zeno, the protagonist, is an artist from Alexandria, and the female protagonist, Nefera, is a wealthy widow from Antioch who falls in love with him that he then converts to Christianity. All of the events take place either in the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century in Alexandria itself, or in Ader, near one of the gorges of the Nile [Ibid.: 241].

Leskov began working on the story in 1887[6]. In the April of the same year, he met Lev Tolstoy, who, in his eyes was, if not the ideal artist, then the closest possible thing. It is well known that Leskov's work of the 1880s has many intersections with Tolstoyan ethics and ideas about Christianity[7]. A good many of Leskov's "backdrop myths" are artistic expressions of Tolstoy's teachings about passive resistance to evil and "simplification"; these were appraised highly by Tolstoy himself and published by Tolstoy's publishing house 'for the people', *Posrednik* ["the middle man"]. Despite all this, when Tolstoy read "The Mountain", his reaction, in accord with his already-formed negative opinion of Leskov's style, was less than glowing. On January 1, 1889, Tolstoy wrote in his diary:

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[4] On the characteristics of the artistic expression of the national myth in Leskov, see [Майорова 1997: 25–45; Майорова 1998].

[5] Georg Moritz Ebers (1837–1898), a German Egyptologist, researcher, and writer; Gaston Camille Charles Maspero (1846 – June 30, 1916), a French Egyptologist.

[6] The story wasn't published until 1890 because the censors saw parallels between the image of Christian Patriarch and Metropolitan Philaret Drozdov. See [Батюто: 605].

> I started reading Leskov's "The Goldsmith" in the company of some society young ladies: Mamonova, Samarina. They make only aesthetic judgments, only considering these elements important. I thought, let the combined force of fine arts come together, as strong as I can imagine it, and express the moral truth of life that makes people responsible instead of the kind that you can only look at or listen; the kind that judges contemporary life and demands change. But if there is a work of art this powerful, it will still not move the Mamonovas, Samarinas, or any their kind. Aren't they bored? Why they don't all end up hanging themselves, I can't understand (quoted from [Опульская: 144]).

Tolstoys' remarks are evidence that what he found unsatisfactory in the listeners' reactions are emphatically the "aesthetic" elements of Leskov's work, and that he doesn't see depth and literary innovation in the hypertrophied "aestheticism" of Leskov's story.

Leskov himself stressed the difficulty of the composition process for this story, pointing at the somewhat secondary role played by the text's source, the *Prolog:*

> This piece <...> is *difficult,* it can only be read by those who understand what it was like to conceive, collect, and compose all of these elements to create something that isn't just decorative, but also ideological and at least partially artistic [Лесков XI: 414–415].

As we've said, the *Prolog* narrative where the goldsmith proves the strength of his Christian faith and turns a certain lost woman on to the true path is transformed by Leskov. The story becomes overgrown with a wealth of details absent from the original that are projected onto the works of the writer himself and his renowned contemporaries.

The image of the protagonist, Zeno the goldsmith, is that of an artist living the early Christian era (a critically important historical moment for Leskov, who had left the contemporary church), whose purpose was making art and serving

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[7] See, for instance [Туниманов].

Christ the Teacher. Zeno also stands out as religiously tolerant, and is, overall, modeled on Lev Tolstoy on the one hand, and on the other — on Leskov himself.

The connection with the real Tolstoy allows us to say that Zeno's general 'ideology', as expressed in his religious convictions, refers to specific texts by Tolstoy — from "The Confessions" (1883–1884), to the tracts "Wherein Lies My Faith?"[8] and "On Life" (although the latter was still being written at the same time as the story[9], Leskov was evidently already familiar with its positions; he was also familiar with Tolstoy's thoughts that became the basis of the "Kreutzer Sonata", which the author started working on in 1887). Thus, a line of Zeno's thinking goes back to the well-known fragment of Scripture so important for Tolstoy[10]:

> Then Zeno, fearful of escalating the tension, briefly said to those standing closest to him that it was his custom to pray in reverent silence, but that he did not judge those who preferred to raise their eyes and arms to the sky, so that the hands of the ones that pray may be pure from self-interest, and their souls free of evil and would rise to the sky full of thoughts of eternity. *Then the fear of the loss of the brief earthly existence passes* and the mountain begins to move… <...> — This is what we need today, *for there to be no fear,* until the mountain moves [Лесков VIII: 378].

We see references to the same source in Tolstoy's thought and in the thoughts of his characters about the fear of death and overcoming it through the realization of the idea of good ("Notes of a Madman", "The Death of Ivan Illych", "On Life", and others)[11]. For Leskov, as for Tolstoy, the most important thing is that the idea of good must be strived for with the *intellect* and not intuition, by means of *faith.* This complex position is also important for Zeno, who preaches to Nefora, the beautiful woman in love with him:

> "I don't want to listen to anyone's thoughts when I don't need to". "*It's impossible to live without reasoning*". "But why?" "You wouldn't understand". "No, I've understood everything… You're in love with another woman". "You're wrong: I don't love anyone in the way you want me to love you". "So you're a fool!" "No, I'm a Christian" [Ibid.: 320].

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[8] This tract was printed in Moscow in 1884 in a separate edition, but never saw the light of day, forbidden by the censors.

[9] Tolstoy's "On Life" was printed in 1888 by Mamontov's typographical studio, but forbidden and destroyed by the censors.

[10] See: "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear; for fear has torment, and he that fears has not been made perfect in love" (John 4: 18).

[11] On the theme of the 'fear of life' in Tolstoy's work see our article [Pild].

These quotations demonstrate that in this story, Leskov emphasizes a *common source* (common to him and Tolstoy) for his ideas on external religious expression (reducing it to a minimum), and the development of religious feeling in the soul (reason and not feeling must rule). The common source is *Protestant doctrine,* which Leskov was drawn to beginning in the 1870s[12].

The identification of Leskov himself with the artist is evidenced not only by Zeno's ideology, but also his behavior and lifestyle, which are clearly juxtaposed with the life strategy of Tolstoy and his relationship to aesthetics. Leskov and Zeno are united, first of all, in their position in art, which is especially marked by the compositional structure of the story (in the beginning, Leskov writes that Zeno is a goldsmith, and it is not until the fourth section that the reader finds out that the protagonist is also an architect and a sculptor [Лесков VIII: 308]). This is normal for the era the story is set in, the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. As in the 19th century, in the story, 'craft' is considered 'lower' than 'great' or 'high' art, from which Leskov himself was excluded by contemporary literary critics, in part because of his dedication to literary 'trinkets' and the 'limitations' of his aesthetic capabilities ("the only thing he can write are descriptions of everyday life"). According to B. M. Eikhenbaum,

> Leskov <...> is a subtle master, a clever literary 'icon painter'. It's better to not even call him a 'master' (this word is rather ruined by aestheticism), but an 'artful' craftsman — like his characters Lefty, or Leputan the tailor, or Sebastian the icon painter in "The Sealed Angel", or the 'connoisseur' Ivan Severyanich from "The Charmed Wanderer". It's no accident that all of these characters are described with unwavering attention and love. He is the lonely craftsman immersed in his literary craft, wise to all of the secrets of the mosaic of wordsmithing. Here are the origins of his pride, and how wounded he is, confronted with ideologues. The pose of a wounded but proud writer was not something he was forced into, but rather, it was chosen by him and characteristic of his nature. With it, he safeguarded his right to make art on his own terms [Эйхенбаум: 346].

An example of autobiographical projections (or a background of allusions to the author's own life) possibly includes the comparison of Zeno to an actor and of his prayer to a spectacle ([Лесков VIII: 348]; this is what Nefora and some others among the citizens of Alexandria believe, but not the narrator).

The descriptions of Leskov as a play actor, "in costume" were introduced into critical literature by Dostoevsky (see his piece in the *A Writer's Diary* from 1873, "The Costumed Man" [Достоевский 1994: 93–107])[13].

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[12] See, for instance [Muckle].

[13] On the literary relationship between Dostoevsky and Leskov see [Пульхритудова].

Finally, adapting the smith or the goldsmith from the *Prolog* is important for Leskov because it presents the opportunity to make a connection to Lefty, another one of his characters. The obvious link between Lefty and folk demonology was written about by A. M. Panchenko, who pointed out a number of elements of Lefty's physical description — from his left-handedness to his cross-eyes — that fit the bill. From the perspective of the so-called mass consciousness, the scholar demonstrated that Levsha belongs not only to the earthly but also to the *other* world [Панченко]. The gunsmith and the goldsmith both *forge metals,* which, according to folk tradition, is potentially related to sorcery and the demonic world (see [Ibid.]). Zeno blinds himself, poking one of his eyes out when Nefora attempts to seduce him, thereby coming to physically resemble Levsha with his anomalous vision. In the opinion of the narrator and characters unaware of the reasons behind Zeno's blinding, they believe he has 'gone crooked' [*okrivel*]: "It was forgotten how, for some unknown reason and out of the blue, the artist and goldsmith Zeno, a handsome man well-known in Alexandria, had 'gone crooked', losing one of his eyes" [Лесков VIII: 324].

The obvious allusion to "Lefty" appears while the author is sarcastically 'teetering' between two points of view without revealing his unequivocal position. If we take into account that Zeno is genetically related to the texts of Tolstoy, the hint at the possibility of Zeno's demonic nature correspond with the juxtaposition of the author of *Anna Karenina* with demonic characters which began appearing in literature as early as the 1880s[14].

Lefty and Zeno are also tied by their preoccupations with "inherently valuable" art, despite the apparent religiousness of both characters. We recall that in "Lefty", the steel flea stops dancing when they shoe it in Tula armor (thus, it becomes "useless" and Lefty's craftsmanship futile, at least from the perspective of outsiders). In "The Mountain", Zeno is surrounded by a world of beautiful things he has created himself. He creates them not in order to make money (for that, he fills custom orders), but simply in order to be surrounded by beauty. His studio is beautiful, and he also has a wonderful garden:

> It was a very large and high-ceilinged square room without windows. Soft light flowed into it through violet mica, which made everything seem like it was swirling in an ethereal gauze. In the middle room, a bronze ibis adorned a polished porphyry stone, a stream of fresh water flowing out of its beak. The walls were bracketed by columns and evenly painted a reddish brown, which stood in sharp contrast to the white marble and stucco figures of people and animals [Ibid.: 308]; Zeno, like the majority of the artists of that distant era, knew more than just how to be

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[14] See our article [Пильд].

> a goldsmith. <...> Zeno was also an architect, a founder, a plasterer, a sculptor, and in all of these, he was a master and an expert, a lover of all elegant things, which it was easy to tell from his house, where Nefora now stood, exhaling its freshness and sweet fragrance, which emanated from brightly enameled tubs where golden musk bloomed, permeating the air with its scent. Among all these works of art filling the sanctuary stood the artist himself [Лесков VIII: 308].

This emphasis on the aesthetic component in the text may be obliquely directed at Tolstoy (it's not for nothing that the story inspired an outburst of displeasure) and maximally affiliates the author and his protagonist. The author's relationship to Zeno is made even more clear in the finale, when, upon performing his feat, Zeno tells the Christian patriarch that:

> I remembered the words of Amasis: the bowstring is weak until you lay an arrow against it and draw it back. When you need it tense, it will tense and strike hard; but if you pull at it, holding it in constant tension, it will grow thin and weakens. I am afraid of wasting what was granted to me by the heavens [Ibid.: 389].

Zeno's words addressed at the Christian patriarch and the central metaphor of this passage (the bowstring in a state of constant tension) may contain a hidden reproach directed at Tolstoy. The author of the story believes that a constant onslaught, Tolstoy's ceaseless offensive on literature, society, the Church, and his teaching on simplification and nonresistance will, in the end, weaken the position of the writer:

> I was tormented by his position on "nonresistance to evil". Scoundrels find this to their advantage and fools lament, seeing in this the "destruction of the meaning of life" (Their preoccupation flares up defiantly). But for a long time, I didn't understand this myself: what is this about? How, really? So if a drunken soldier rapes an underage girl (which happened in a botanic garden in Kiev) I'm supposed to stand by and watch, "not resisting evil", instead of pulling away the victim and throwing off the rapist? (From a letter to Suvorin, October 8, 1886, [Лесков XI: 323])[15].

Finally, with Zeno, Leskov places a special emphasis on the importance of religious tolerance, with the character's rejection of the exclusive significance of belonging to any specific faith[16], which, in combination with other aspects of Zeno's worldview, allow us to speak about the autobiographical projection of the artists on the author of the story.

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[15] See also Leskov's 1886 article, "О рожне. Увет сынам противления": "You cannot make too many demands on everyone that can only be satisfied with perfect love" [О литературе].

[16] "This was happening at the time when, in Alexandria, many people of different faiths lived side by side, all tightly intertwined and closely associated in business, each of them meanwhile believing his faith to be the most correct and the best, not respecting and disparaging the faiths of others" [Лесков VIII: 303]; See also Zeno's speech to Nefora, "You love people indiscriminately, regardless of their religion or origins; you are always ready to serve them. You and I are kindred spirits, you

The image of the heroine, the beauty Nefora, who, like Pushkin's Cleopatra, assays to sell her love, (the connection between this story and Pushkin's "Egyptian Nights" is apparent from the epigraph, "This is an entirely ancient anecdote. In our day, this story would be as impossible as the construction of the pyramids, or the Roman spectacles — the games with gladiators and animals")[17], is directed simultaneously toward a dialogue with Tolstoy (Tolstoy's criticism of sensual love can be found in many of his works, beginning with *Anna Karenina,* which Leskov regarded highly overall), Dostoevsky, and with Leskov's own works, especially the ones with female protagonists possessed by passion. These include, first and foremost, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* (1864), *The Life of a Peasant Woman* (1863), and *The Amazon* (1866). In all of these, passion is an emotional state that rouses the heroines from spiritual stagnation and pushes them toward more brilliant, full-blooded existences (it may be that "full-bloodedness" is expressed in destructive acts, as in *Lady Macbeth,* but it is also manifested in altruism toward a beloved person or finding the feeling of the sublime in oneself, as in *The Amazon* and *The Life.*)

In "The Mountain", the heroine's passion for the artist leads not only to the enlightenment of her feelings and their transformation into Christian ("higher") love toward Zeno, but to Zeno's own Christian feat. Pagans inimical to the Christian faith demand that Christians move a mountain as proof of their faith (if the mountain moves, then the Nile will overrun its banks and water the fields devastated by a long drought). The enemies of the new religion believe that the protracted drought and diseases that have descended on the population have been caused by the Christians. The ruler forces the Christians to pray in order to defile their religion, and all of the citizens of Alexandria, regardless of their religion, were convinced that the mountain would not move. The mountain does indeed end up moving, but the reasons behind this are believed to be twofold: the miracle could have happened as a result of Zeno's prayer, but it could have also happened that it was just the time for the rains to come. The important result of the Christian artist's appeal to God, the firmness of his spirit and faith in Christ, is the pagan Nefora's conversion to Christ's teaching, which she promises to follow even if Zeno is sent to the quarries. The heroine's passion develops into a deep and multifaceted feeling that corresponds with Chris-

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are my sister, my friend…" [Лесков VIII: 381]. By the 1870s, Leskov had already begun to support the idea of uniting the churches. For more on this see [Майорова 1998].

[17] On Pushkin context in "The Mountain" see [Федотова].

tian teaching but at the same time does not cease to be *passion.* What didn't happen in Dostoevsky's *The Idiot* happens here. While Prince Myshkin was unable to reconcile his worldly feelings for Aglaya and his love-pity for Nastasia Fillipovna, Zeno accomplished this (although he is in love with one woman and not two). Thus, Leskov is entering a dialogue not only with Tolstoy, but also with Dostoevsky. One of the central episodes of the tale, when Zeno blinds himself, alludes to *The Idiot:*

> Rogozhin's eyes started sparkling and a crazed smile contorted his features. His right arm rose into the air and *something flashed in it*; it didn't occur to the Prince to get in its way. He only remembered that he screamed something like, "Parfyon, I don't believe you!" <…> then it was as though the skies opened in front of him and his soul was filled with an incredible *inner* light [Достоевский 1989: 236].

Compare with:

> Zeno felt as though the sea was crashing in his ears, and *as though* a flame *had flashed* in front of his eyes. He was being drawn into her embrace like reeds are drawn down under the breath of storm winds, but suddenly, it was as though the helmsman appeared on the stern among the waves and storm. Zeno saw him, pushed away Nefora's passionate hands, charged at the table, and now Nefora *saw something seemingly flash* between herself and Zeno <…> *something like a knife* and a bloody flame, and there Zeno was, standing with his hands behind him holding onto the table, swaying on his feet. Blood was running down his face and the hilt of a knife sticking out of his eye socket [Лесков VIII: 321].

It's no accident that this 'dialogue' with two literary authorities of his day appears in Leskov's tale. Leskov believe that his *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk,* published in 1864 in Dostoevsky's journal *Epoch,* had created a literary trend where female heroines were endowed with a certain Shakespearean psychological profile ("crude" passions). Among contemporary popular fiction writers, Leskov paid special attention to the heirs of this fabula-psychological line (he saw, for instance, A. S. Suvorin as being among them) and his imitators:

> <...> Boborykin's *By the Stove* is a remake of *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensky District.* Really! Do me a favor and skim this *Stove* and you'll see that this is *my fabula,* even if it is significantly distorted. They didn't *recognize* this at the *Vestnik Evropy* and Burenin didn't, either. Can this really be permitted? I think that you, Stasyulevich, would be very surprised to learn that you've published a "trend follower" and "preferred the copy to the original" (from a letter to Suvorin dated April 15, 1888 [Лесков XI: 378]).

The structure of the fabula in "The Mountain" is also tied to Leskov's art and contemporary literary world. When characterizing Leskov's plots, critics of his time pointed to the lack of fabula as such, writing that Leskov "stitched together" discrete fragments ("anecdotes") that were not linked by any logical connection[18]. In order to counter this mostly justified accusation and respond to another criticism, which was more relevant to him in the 1880s[19], Leskov created a dynamic narrative that moves through the work from start to finish.

The fabula of "The Mountain" is a successive realization of the tale's conclusion (the anecdote or 'incident', as it says in the epigraph, is the story of Nefora's "deal" that leads to Zeno blinding himself). It develops, growing to its climax (Nefora consenting to believe in Zeno's Teacher and to live in accordance to Christian law) and has a happy ending: Nefora and Zeno become husband and wife. The close relationship between this late work and his early texts is demonstrated by Leskov through similarities with events that occur in his earlier pieces. An example is the drought (or some other natural disaster) irrevocably leading to an epidemic and/or unexplained disappearances (which may not be real), rumors ('legends' or 'inventions' in Leskov's terminology) based on folk superstitions, and the vengeance (i. e. crimes) of superstitious characters. Instances of such a chain of events can be found in "The Nonfatal Golovan" (1880), "The Bogeyman" (1885), and later, "The Vale of Tears" (1892), among others. Constructing the fabula on this framework, Leskov strives to show the unity and coherence of his art over the course of decades and thus to deflect the accusations of imitating Tolstoy, drawing attention to the originality of his prose. For this same reason, as we see it, he includes allusions to *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District.*

On the one hand, the writer is marking the works that are particularly valuable to him and which he believes have most widely influenced the contemporary literary process (*Lady Macbeth*), and at the same time, he is highlighting an important feature of his poetics: framing the process of the creation of folk art in the contemporary context. As N. L. Sukhachev and V. A. Tunimanov demonstrated in their "The Development of Legends in Leskov", the writer did not reproduce folkloric or other text sources related to folklore in his stories, and neither did he stylize them; instead, he reconstructed the process of the formation of folk art in modernity [Сухачев, Туниманов]. According to Leskov, the adaptation and reinterpretation of "folk invention", redirecting it toward ethical "ideals", created the possibility of changing mass consciousness. Leskov would contrapose his texts against, for instance, the "literary recycling" of the untalented writers that sided with "folk mythology" and pandered to "folk passions" in order to gain popularity. Thus, in a review of a story by the "soldier writer" Andrey Fomich Pogossky, published in the November 1877 issue of *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie,* Leskov writes that:

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[18] See: "His organic genre, the writing most typical of him, is the chronicle, constructed by stitching together a series of adventures and events that the hero himself relates to curious listeners ("The Enchanted Wanderer", "Laughter and Grief", "The Rabbit Warren", and others). It's reminiscent of old adventure novels, which lack narratives that run through them. The central element of this genre is the anecdote (particularly the verbal anecdote), which is a kind of atom in the universe of Leskov's art" [Эйхенбаум: 445].

[19] Most literary criticism devoted to Leskov in the 1880s and 1890s points to the ideological and thematic disjunction (the lack of unity) between his early and late works.

> This literature, which our soldier was *directed* to write as soon as he was made literate, has no power to do anything but replicate his lowest passions and avert his gaze from the works that would lead him in a different direction. This *aversion* from good reading, we daresay with woe, is practically the reason why this terrible direction found support even from places where it least befitted to expect it… [Лесков XI: 242].

With all of the literariness of "The Mountain"[20], like other stories by Leskov — including "Lefty", "The Enchanted Wanderer", "The Sealed Angel", — it features the perspective of an 'educated' narrator alongside the perspective of the 'masses'[21].

Thus, the conceptual basis and allusions in the story both speak to the fact that the image of the artist in "The Mountain" has a complicated relationship to the contemporary literary world and the image of Leskov himself. As Leskov sees it, the artist Zeno is 'half-stranger'-'half familiar' to the people he shares his faith with (the Christians), while also being misunderstood by the majority ('the masses'), who are fairly unanimous in the belief that the artist really has performed a miracle and moved a mountain. The majority have no idea why Zeno ended up missing one eye and the narrator seems to hint at his possible ties to the demonic world. Only a small portion of the works that Zeno creates find any use (the jewelry he makes on custom order), and his inner world is only witnessed by Nefora, the only person who truly loves him.

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[20] Writing about "Pamphalon the Minstrel", another story from the same period that is also set in Egypt, in a letter to A. S. Suvorin from March 14, 1887, Leskov discusses its typological similarity with the style of Flaubert's *The Temptation of St. Anthony.* "I read over my Pantolon <sic!> and compared it to the corresponding scenes from the ancient world. None of it is written in the contemporary, living idiom. I am not talking about the quality of the language, but really, the structure of the rhetoric. It is *antiquitized* in the same way in *The Temptation of St. Anthony,* and in *Agrippia,* as well as in your *Medea.* You may not like it, but different language, such as in Tolstoy's *The Prisoner of the Caucasus,* would have been inappropriate" [Лесков VIII: 585]. However, by then, Turgenev's "The Song of Triumphant Love", in part influenced by Flaubert's stylizations, had already been published. This story had an inarguable effect on the stylistics of Leskov's tale, which is bound to be of interest to its future scholars.

[21] Above, we already discussed that the verb used to describe Zeno's self-blinding — *okrivet'* — clearly does not belong to the narrator reflecting instead the perspective of the 'collective consciousness'.

On an intertextual level, the story that we have been analyzing and which depicts (albeit piecemeal) the most important constants of the artistic world that the author lives in, is testament to the fact that Leskov's journey (as well as Tolstoy's), is, in many ways, the same as the path followed by Zeno. The masses don't understand him and neither do his colleagues, and this position leads him to the 'ends of the Earth'. According to Leskov, an artist never fully belongs to his nation nor the human community at large. He merely "carves out" an idea without ultimately reaching it himself, and thus is always on the boundary between two spaces — 'his own' and that of 'others'. In "Lefty", this kind of liminal existence was attributed to the Russian master Lefty and his state of slavery, in contrast with the English gunsmiths (masters), who, unlike him, had relative freedom. In "The Mountain", the artist's mythology is unfettered from a strict national framework and becomes extra-national. The most important property of the artist who highly values the rarified beauty of the earthly realm is his capacity to perform a Christian feat while demonstrating utmost tolerance for other faiths.

In the 1860s, in constructing his national myth, Leskov places spiritual order[22] in the center of the national and religious edifice, as property that is the most internally liberated, independent, and coherent in its worldview. In the 1880s, this central role is given to religious freedom[23], independence, and religious tolerance, which he believes that, first and foremost, *artists* must defend before their contemporaries (including writers), whose image of the world is characterized by narrower social, religious, and aesthetic views.

Translated by Bela Shayevich

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[22] See [Майорова 1997].

[23] Leskov characters who resemble Zeno in this include the protagonists of other stories with Egyptian themes written in the 1880s including the minstrel Pamphalon in the eponymous 1887 story and Aza ("Beautiful Aza", 1888).

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ACTA SLAVICA ESTONICA VI.
Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia XIV.
Russian National Myth in Transition.
Tartu, 2014

COMRADE LESKOV: HOW A RUSSIAN WRITER WAS INTEGRATED INTO THE SOVIET NATIONAL MYTH[1]

MAYA KUCHERSKAYA

1.

> 21/VI–35, Stalinogorsk
> To Com. Leskov
> My fervent greetings to you and your "Toupee Artist", which made a powerful impression on me despite its scant number of pages. As a Soviet writer, you have mastered the art, telling a tale that isn't just about workers of the theater, but which presents the history of the harsh, corrupt oppression of serfdom, which hung as a yoke over the necks of the masses for many centuries. As the centuries passed, like a black vortex, our Rus' was sucked down and swamped by all the creatures that defaced the Earth with their disease. It's painful to look at the tortured faces of cultural works, to see their "toupee-ness" in the Revolution (the main revolutionary forces were not the peasants, but the working 'proletariat') [Отзывы: Л. 15][2].

This was how Sergei Ogurtsov, an 18-year-old electrician from Stalinogorsk, in the Moskovsky Oblast'[3], wrote to Leskov in 1935, in response to his story "The

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[2] This is the original version of the text: "21/VI–35, г. Сталиногорск
Тов. Лескову.
Я горячо приветствую Вас и Ваш образ "Тупейный художник", который произвел серьезное впечатление несмотря на малое число страниц, Вы, как Советский писатель овладели искусством, дали не историю театральных работников, а историю тяжелого, гноившего крепостнова (права) ига, висевшее ярмом на широких массах, многие века. И шли века, подобно черному вихрю; наша Русь затягивалась, заболачивалась всеми породами, которые разрушали своею болезнию облик земли. Больно смотреть на истерзанные лица работников искусства, на ихнюю "тупейность" в революции (Главные революционные силы не являются крестьянское население, а рабочий "пролетариат")". I have preserved the original orthography and punctuation of the author. Here and henceforth, brackets take the place of struck out words and phrases.

[3] Today, the city of Novomoskovsk of the Tula Oblast', Russian Federation.

Toupee Artist". At the end of his letter, electrician Ogurtsov apologizes for his 'awkward language' and explains that he is writing from his whole heart, which had been 'boiling over with rage' while he was reading, confessing that his "quill has tilled many a page". This half-literate epistle, whose author didn't harbor a single doubt that Leskov was his contemporary, a Soviet writer, passionately denouncing serfdom, really does bear the stamp of a certain savage literariness.

Sergei Ogurtsov's confusion can mostly be accounted for by the influence of Soviet propaganda. By 1935, the process of transforming N. S. Leskov into a Soviet writer advocating for the system of values relevant in the country where the proletariat revolution had triumphed was in full gear. Having culled a handful of suitable stories from N. S. Leskov's enormous oeuvre, beginning in the 1920s, Soviet publishers were using them as material for creating the new Russian — or, to be precise, the Soviet — national myth. In the post-Revolutionary era, this myth was highly mutable and underwent constant corrections in response to emerging ideological objectives. Various texts by N. S. Leskov were chosen at various times, in accordance with what fit whatever current needs. In cases where not everything in them could be integrated into a given ideological matrix, stories themselves became subject to correction, up to and including the attribution of meanings opposite of what the author intended. This article is devoted to key episodes of Leskov's incorporation into the paradigm of the self-representation of the Soviet people and the Soviet national myth.

2.

A catastrophic blow to N. S. Leskov's literary and social reputation was dealt by a the so-called 'fire article' in the May 30, 1862 issue of *Severnaya Pchela* [Лесков 1998: 245–248], which demanded that the police investigate the rumors about the arsonists. In democratic circles, it was seen as a political denouncement; after the publication of the 'anti-nihilist' *Nowhere* and *On the Knives,* the schism between Leskov and this important contingent of the literary community became like a chronic illness. Only partially rehabilitated toward the end of his life, Leskov could barely have been considered in line with the ideological heirs of Pisarev[4] and Chernyshevsky. In Soviet times, he was predictably labeled a 'reactionary', 'bourgeois', and 'controversial' author who 'didn't understand' many things[5]. Actually, readers had forgotten about Leskov long before 1917. According to S. N. Durylin, by 1912, "no one said or wrote anything about Leskov", and his 36-volume collected works, published in 1902–1903 as a supplement to the journal *Niva* [Лесков 1902–1903], didn't have a readership and sold at the market "for a lot less than 11 skinny little books by Kuprin" [Резниченко 2010: 474].

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[4] See Pisarev on Leskov (Stebnitsky) in 1865, "1. Would a single journal in Russia other than the *Russkij vestnik* dare to publish anything from the pen of Stebnitsky and signed with his name? 2. Would a single honest writer be so careless and indifferent toward his reputation as to agree to work with a journal decorated with the tales and novels of Stebnitsky?" [Писарев 1981: 275].

We will point out that Leskov's being pushed to the outskirts of readers' and publishers' attention between 1900 and 1910 did not eliminate the interest in his work from individual critics, first among them A. Volynsky and A. Izmailov [Котельников 2011], as well as a number of writers such as Dmitry Merezhkovsky, Andrei Bely, Alexey Remizov, Mikhail Kuzmin, and later, the Serapion Brothers' group, as has been written about by many scholars [Эйхенбаум 1924; Данилевский 1985: 28–34; Лавров, Тименчик 1990: 4; Пильд 2000][6]. Maksim Gorky also held Leskov in high esteem; none of this made an impact on the big picture. In Soviet Russia, until the very beginning of the 1940s, Leskov remained a third-rate writer, marginalized and half-forgotten. This is evidenced by the meager mentions of Leskov in the press and the lack of publication of his work.

One of the most widespread mechanisms of Soviet propaganda which allowed for the restatement of key positions of the national myth was the anniversary commemoration of a historic event or figure. For a quarter century, however, all pretexts to celebrate Leskov in Soviet print were more or less ignored. In 1921, the 90th anniversary of his birth, only one article about Leskov was published [Варнеке 1921] in Odessa, a city distant from the literary life of the capital, in an almanac called *Posev*. The essay, written by literary and theater historian B. V. Varneke, is about a lost Leskov story and doesn't even mention the anniversary.

Not long before the next notable date, the 30-year-anniversary of Leskov's death, the writer's son, Andrei Nikolaevich Leskov, complains in a letter to

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[5] "Leskov completely misunderstood the mighty liberation movement of revolutionary democracy in his time and became its enemy. This is especially apparent in his novels *Nowhere* (1864) and *On the Knives* (1870–1871), in which he disparages the progressive movement of the 1860s. <...> Although Leskov was, in many ways, critical toward popery, he nonetheless sought out religion. Thus, Leskov's general views were indubitably reactionary" [Клевленский 1936: 4–5]. "Out of all the writers who, in accordance with traditional terminology, are called the 'classics', Leskov is perhaps the most controversial, and, according to pre-Revolutionary liberal criticism, undeserving of this title" [Цырлин 1937: VII]. Also see the article in the encyclopedia of literature on the bourgeois nature of Leskov's work [Калецкий 1932].

[6] To this we can add that in 1913–1916 there was the almanach of "intuitiv criticism and poetry" which called "The Enchanted Wanderer"(Ocharovannyi strannik) [Альманах 1913].

B. M. Eikhenbaum (from November 29th, 1924), "21/II/25 marks the 30th anniversary of Leskov's death. Evidently, it will pass by in silence. If not for the office grind, that feeds me not editorially, but quickly and hurriedly, what spiritual joy I would take in preparing even a small commemorative event! But I have neither the time nor the resources nor any supporters. This name continues to be under the spell of the bad luck that so affected it in life. That's fate. A bitter feeling" [Письма Эйхенбауму: Л. 6]. Andrei Nikolaevich was almost right, although the 'silence' was broken, if only once, in the illustrated journal *Krasnaya panorama*, which did end up printing an item in honor of Leskov [Боцяновский 1925]. The silence surrounding the hundred-year anniversary of the writer's birth, in 1931, was disrupted by the appearance of a collection of Leskov's stories, which also contained the first comprehensive article on the poetics of Leskov's prose in Soviet literary history, by B. M. Eikhenbaum [Эйхенбаум 1931], in which it is explicitly indicated that the article is dedicated to the commemoration of Leskov's 100th birthday. Eikhenbaum's article, however, is preceded by an article by L. Tsyrlin, which gives a detailed account of the "scandalous reputation" of the "controversial" classic, neither discussing the anniversary nor Leskov's artistic innovations [Цырлин 1931]. No other statements about Leskov appeared in Soviet publication that year, while in the émigré press, the anniversary was celebrated rather widely [Столярова: 9–10]. The same silence accompanied the 110th anniversary, in 1941, broken only by an article from A. N. Leskov in the Oryol literary almanac [Лесков А. 1941]. In 1928, N. S. Leskov did make a handful of appearances in public discourse in the role of a contemporary and interlocutor of Lev Tolstoy, whose 100th anniversary was celebrated that year in grand style [Гудзий 1928: 95–128; Шестериков 1928: 60–189; Столярова 2003: 8].

The number of anthologies of Leskov's collected works published between 1917 and the beginning of the 1940s can be counted on one hand. The most widely circulated of these was prepared by Academia publishers [Лесков 1931a; Лесков 1937a]; the same publishing house put out The Enchanted Wanderer [Лесков 1932][7]. Unlike the majority of other Soviet publishers, who tasked themselves with fulfilling ideological rather than aesthetic objectives, Leskov's stylistically mannered stories were a good fit with the rest of Academia's list.

Still, other Soviet publishers made exceptions for a few of Leskov's stories which were chosen from 30 volumes of his works. The stories "The Toupee Artist", "The Man on the Clock", and "Lefty" were published multiple times in the 1920s and 30s, in massive print runs, both in editions for adults and for children [Лесков 1918; Лесков 1922; Лесков 1923a; Лесков 1926b; Лесков 1926c; Лесков 1927; Лесков 1928; Лесков 1928c; Лесков 1931b; Лесков 1934; Лесков 1937b; Лесков 1938a; Лесков 1938b; Лесков 1939]. The story "The Wild Beast" came out twice [Лесков 1926c; Лесков 1931c]. This selection of stories can be easily accounted for: they are the works by Leskov that can most easily be turned into "arms for building the new world", as it was put in the resolution of the first All-Russian Conference of Cultural and Educational Organizations in 1918. This resolution, proposed by A. A. Bogdanov and ratified unanimously by the conference participants, provided exceptionally clear instructions for how "treasures of old art" should be treated. Subsequent practice shows that it was indeed put into action for many years forward:

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[7] See also two other anthologies published in the same time: [Лесков 1926a; Лесков 1943].

> The treasures of old art should not be accepted passively, as they would then educate the working class in the same spirit as the old ruling classes and in the same spirit of submission as the way of life that created them. The proletariat should view the treasures of old art through a critical lens, in light of their new interpretation, which reveals their hidden collective foundations and organizing principles. Thus, they will become a precious inheritance for the proletariat, weapons for fighting that same old world that created them as well as arms for building the new world. The transfer of this artistic heritage shall be performed by proletarian criticism [Литературное движение 1986: 27].

"The critical lens" and "new interpretation" as methods for treating old art were fully applied to the legacy of N. S. Leskov.

3.

Publishers (and others, as we can see from Ogurtsov the electrician's letter) considered the Leskov story best-suited to becoming a "weapon" was "The Toupee Artist", which is about the doomed love between two serfs belonging to Earl Kamensky, an actress in his theater and a hairdresser. For the first twenty years of the Soviet regime, it was published more often than any other work by Leskov. Between 1922 and 1929, for instance, "The Toupee Artist" came out in a separate edition seven times [Аннинский 1986: 282], and even after this, it was published more than once, as well as being a constant feature in the author's collected works. Publishers were clearly attracted to the "anti-serfdom" pathos of this story. In order to make it all the clearer to readers, one of the publications of "The Toupee Artist", intended, we will note, for an adult readership, included with a list of special discussion questions ("How were the serfs' lives under Earl Kamensky? What did the priest that Arkady and Lyubov Onisimovna ran to do when they asked him to marry them?") and others, with explications such as:

> The peasant worked with the landowner's livestock. Involuntary labor can only be maintained through cruelty, by the whip. Only the whip can perpetuate cruelty. Sometimes, very rarely, there were landowners who treated individual serfs well, especially at court. Their affection, however, was like the affection toward a pet dog [Лесков 1928b: 46].

Its critical relationship to serfdom provided for a rather rich destiny for "The Toupee Artist". This story was adapted for the stage a number of times, and once for film. In 1923, opera director A. V. Ivanovsky directed a film called *The Comedienne* based on it; in 1929, the Bolshoi Theater premiered the opera *The Toupee Artist* by I. P. Shishov. In 1934, the repertory committee proposed a dramatic adaptation of the story written by an E. E. Karpova to theaters [Карпова 1934; Бухштаб 1958: 538; Аннинский 1986: 289–292], and in 1936, the same script was used for the drama *The Serfs (To Freedom!)* [Ульянинский 1936].

The tragic love story between the serf actress Lyubov Onisimovna and hairdresser Arkady was subject to significant revisions: in plays intended for Soviet audiences, the serfs could never come to terms with their lot. In *The Comedienne,* they set Kamensky's estate on fire, which killed the Earl. Shishov's opera also ends in their uprising. In Karpova's play, the serfs, sent after the fleeing Arkady and Lubov, do not return them to Earl Kamensky as it happens in the story, resolving instead to run away with them, as far as they can get from their hateful master. Ulyaninsky has Arkady being incredibly bold, "grabbing the Earl by the throat and shaking him", demanding he hand over Lyubov [Ibid.: 21], but, just as in the original, he still ends up murdered, although not by the groundskeeper — the Soviet stage could not bear for a fellow serf to murder his brother — but by Kamensky's butler. Lyubov Onisimovna, learning of the horrifying news, loses her mind rather melodramatically. In both interpretations of "The Toupee Artist", Leskov's text plays second fiddle to the addition of the uprising of Earl Kamensky's serfs.

Fitting a foundational text to the necessary end was not unusual in Soviet film. Another story by Leskov, "The Wild Beast", was also subject to serious editing whenever it was adapted. In an adaptation by N. Zhbankovsky, this Christmas story lost its Christmas theme and its priest with his Christmas sermon. The protagonist's brutish uncle loses his chance at redemption and, in the finale of the new and improved story, he remains where he was in the beginning, while his serf Ferapont escapes to freedom (echoing the motif of uprising and, at the same time, rhyming with Turgenev's "Mumu"). A somewhat more faithful edition preserves a bit of the uncle's humanity: as in the original, he offers Ferapont his freedom, but with that, the story ends abruptly, and the uncle never does turn into a merciful Dickensian character in the Sovietized version. The storyline about Christmas and Father Alexey is also taken out entirely [Лесков 1926c: 47; Лесков 1931c: 47]. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was important to reaffirm revolutionary ideals, justifications of the Revolution, and focus on the battle with the "exploitative classes", which is why the second Leskov story that saw regular publication in this time period was "The Man on the Clock", for its supposedly anti-monarchist bent.

The creators of the opera *Katerina Izmailova*, proceeded down the same path trodden by the publishers. Its 1934 premiere was accompanied by an excellent publication of the libretto written by Dmitry Shostakovich and Alexander Preis. The libretto was illustrated with photographs of the production of the V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko Moscow Musical Theater and included two articles by A. Ostretsky along with testimonies from D. D. Shostakovich, the director, and the actors. In the first introductory article by A. Ostretsky, "Russia in the 1840s", the author provides a concise and maximally partisan historical overview of the domestic political situation in Russia in the 1840s which is, in essence, a political briefing:

> The Byzantine despotism of the sovereign running the government and the bureaucratic lawlessness of the governors and police chiefs in municipal government, the gendarme hold of Dubelts and Benkendorffs over national manufacturing, and the police surveillance over "unreliable elements" in the aristocracy (after December 14th), the censors' terror and the punitive expeditions in serf settlements — these were the inexorable attributes of the bureaucratic absolutism of the 1840s [Острецкий 1934a: 5].

Leskov is presented here as an "enemy of revolutionary thought and progress, which he countered with ideas of moral self-improvement of society in the spirit of Russian Orthodox teaching". For this reason, Shostakovich was faced with the "noble task of doing that which Leskov himself could not — revealing and illustrating the social themes in the tragic story of Katerian Izmailova" [Ibid.: 7]. Ostretsky gives a detailed formulation of Shostakovich's idea in the second article, this one focusing on the opera itself. "The theme of Dmitry Shostakovich's opera is slavery and the oppression of the kulak-merchant order of the 1840s, particularly the position of women in a state of half-slavery half-serfdom" [Ibid.: 8]. Further, the composer himself repeats these sentiments from the propagandistic articles, explaining that his role "as a Soviet composer consists of preserving the full force of Leskov's story while approaching it critically and providing an account for the events that unfold within it from our, Soviet perspective". In order to achieve this, Shostakovich alters Leskov's plot and turns Katerina Izmailova into a "positive character", "an intelligent woman, talented and interesting" who is placed in "terrible, nightmarish circumstances" and forced to commit a crime against the "greedy, petty merchant milieu". Because of this, the murder of the boy Fedya Lyamin, which cannot be justified in this manner, is absent from the libretto entirely [Шостакович 1934: 11].

The two successive introductory articles, the composer's confession, re-evaluating the story of the bourgeois wife from a class-conscious perspective add up to an insistent wish on the part of the opera's creators to convince the party leadership of the production's ideological correctness, its perfect fulfillment of the objectives of Soviet art. As we know, these attempts were only successful for a time. For two seasons (1934–1935), the opera simultaneously ran at two theaters, the V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko Moscow Musical Theater and Leningrad's Maly Opera Theater (conductor S. A. Samosud), to great accolades[8]. On December 26, 1935, it was premiered in the Bolshoi Theater, but then, the January 26, 1936 show at the Bolshoi was attended by I. V. Stalin, V. M. Molotov, A. A. Zhdanov, and A. I. Mikoyan. Two days after the appearance of the important visitors, the issue of *Pravda* from January 28, 1936 published a denunciatory editorial called "A Mess Instead of Music" [*Sumbur vmesto muzyki*], accusing the opera of 'leftist deformity' and petit-bourgeois 'innovation,' that leads to 'a rupture with true art', and 'the crudest naturalism'. The incipient war on formalism cut short the staging history of *Katerina Izmailova* for many years. A second production of the opera only premiered at the V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theater on December 26, 1962.

The hardships that befell the opera were hard to foresee. In writing the libretto, Shostakovich had approached the original text according to the logic of the time: he used it as an occasion to talk about the truth, which was, in many ways, the opposite of what the author had intended, but correct for the era. It's interesting that the two-year-long successful run of *Lady Macbeth* had no real influence on the publishing fate of this piece. In the 1930s and '40s, after the famous 1930 edition with illustrations by B. Kustodiev [Лесков 1930] that had presumably served as the inspiration for Shostakovich, *Lady Macbeth* was not published on its own until the 1950s, appearing only in editions of Leskov's collected works [Лесков 1937a; Лесков 1949]. It's possible that the opera, which, in the end, did not even tell Leskov's story and had nothing to do with his tale, really was taken as its own, separate work.

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[8] In 1935, A. Dikiy directed the Moscow Art Theater's production of *Lady Macbeth.* He had previously (in 1924–1925) directed Leskov's *The Spendthrift.*

The war on formalism was not the only reason for the hatchet piece on Shostakovich's opera in *Pravda.* The shift in the Party's ideological paradigm likely played a role, as well. It was the shift from the image of a Russia that was "always being beaten"[9] to the idea of it being a mighty, victorious empire that conquers all. We will point to a fact that have never before been mentioned in the discussion of the production history of *Katerina Izmailova.* Exactly one day before the ruinous article "A Mess Instead of Music" was published in *Pravda,* on January 27, 1936, *Izvestia* published an official report, "From the Council of the People's Commissars of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. On the State of History as a Discipline and in Education", accusing the hitherto untouched historical "school of Pokrovsky" of error in its views. The history of Russia, which had previously been analyzed exclusively from the point of view of class war, was now being reconceptualized as the battle for creating a powerful state [Геллер, Некрич 1995: 283]. Denunciations of Russian imperialism, colonialism, and autocrats would no longer fit in with the new mythological model. Without justifying Tsarism or completely rejecting the thesis that "Russia is the prison of the nations", the colonial policies of Tsarist Russia were now put forth as the "lesser evil" [Бранденбергер 2011: 363], and soon, as "absolute good" [Геллер, Некрич 1995: 283]. The Soviet Union — in history textbooks, films, and literature — began to be depicted as the heir of the Russian Empire [Зубок 2011: 19; Бранденбергер 2011: 336; Бранденбергер 2009]; Alexander Nevsky and Peter the Great returned to the pantheon of Russian leader and heroes. The markedly dark portrait of the petit-bourgeois milieu and everyday life as it was presented in Shostakovich's, a narrative that corresponded with the school of M. N. Pokrovsky, exposing the horrors of the "bureaucratic absolutism of the 1840s", now ran counter to the new party line.

The Russian myth was also subject to analogous revision: the myth about the triumph of the Proletarian revolution was no longer in demand, the state was no longer interested in the people as a nation rising up against imperialism, but in Russian patriotism and nationalism. The second World War led to an abrupt intensification in the significance of the two latter values. Their return also meant the return of a readership for Leskov.

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[9] "The history of the old Russia consisted entirely of its constantly being beaten for being backwards. The Mongolian hordes defeated it. Then, the Turkish beks. The Swedish feudals. The Polish and Lithuanian pans. The French and English capitalists. The Japanese barons. Everyone beat Russia for being backwards" [Сталин 1947: 13].

4.

The war with Germany landed Party ideologues and historians in a state of schizophrenia, ultimately breaking them up into two camps: adherents to the idea of internationalism, which had been developing until the latter half of the 1930s, countered by supporters of nationalist propaganda, who soon got the upper hand. During the war, propaganda publications were taken over by Russo-centric rhetoric and panegyrics in honor of "the great Russian people" [Бранденбергер 2011: 353–354].

In this atmosphere, the writer's son A. N. Leskov rescued N. S. Leskov's story "The Iron Will" from oblivion. This story, which mocks a clumsy and stubborn German engineer named Hugo Karlovich Pectoralis, was first published in 1876 in the journal *Krugozor*. Following this first publication, the author himself never published it again; nor did he include it in his collected works [Лесков 1889–1896]. In 1942, on the initiative of A. N. Leskov, the story was published in the magazine *Zvezda* [Лесков 1942: 112–152] in a section called "Classics of Russian Literature on Germans". Leskov's story was preceded by Mayakovsky's signature on anti-German caricatures from 1914. Now, during the war with the Germans, the story had been imbued with a relevant and nearly symbolic ring to it. Although Andrei Nikolaevich himself only pointed to the documentary character of this story in his introductory note, not referencing its connection to the "present moment", even without such hints, the text readily reads as anti-German.

Soon after, "The Iron Will" was included in the slim 1943 volume of Leskov's selected works [Лесков 1943]. It's likely that had this story not surfaced during wartime, this collection by a half-forgotten author may have never seen the light of day. From 1945 to 1946, "The Iron Will" was published five more times, all in separate editions [Аннинский 1986: 209–211]. Clearly, in the days when the end of the war was a foregone conclusion, and especially after the victory of the Soviet army, the words of the story's protagonist, Fedor Afanasievich Vochnev, about the superiority of Russians over Germans ("It's time for us to stop relying on this filth, and learning to do the work is simple; I am not praising my countrymen, and I'm not judging them, either. All I'm saying is that they will stand up for themselves <…>" [Лесков 1957: 5]) appeared to be a fulfilled prophecy. "Leskov 'truly pronounces the 'oracular word' on the German's attempted incursions on Russian soil", Leonid Grossman wrote of the story in a commemorative article about the author [Гроссман 1945b].

We can venture to say that "The Iron Will" played a decisive role in Leskov's Soviet comeback. In any case, three months before the end of the war, in March 1945, the Soviet press unleashed a real avalanche of articles about Leskov on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his death. If previous Leskov anniversaries were passed over in silence or commemorated by a handful of articles, now, central and provincial newspapers and magazines alike rushed to acknowledge Leskov the "wonderful Russian writer" [Бахметьев 1945: 11; Белецкий 1945: 3; Бухштаб 1945: 28; Вальбе 1945: 3; Гебель 1945b: 2; Гроссман 1945b: 4; Гроссман 1945c: 200–203; Гроссман 1945d: 3; Дурылин 1945: 3; Тимофеев 1945; Храбровицкий 1945: 2; Эйхенбаум 1945: 134–136]. The vast majority of these articles were built according to a single framework, as though their authors had written them looking over one another's shoulders. It's not beyond the realm of possibilities that the template for many of them was the first article by V. A. Gebel in *The Moscow Bolshevik* [Гебель 1945b: 2]. However, the more likely explanation for their similarity is that the authors were all-too-familiar with the rules of the game, its limits, and the permitted format.

Almost all of the commemorative texts opened with a quote from Gorky, almost always the same fragment from his 1923 article "N. S. Leskov"[10] in which Gorky places Leskov alongside the acknowledged Russian classics. "As a wordsmith, N. S. Leskov is worthy of a place alongside such masters of Russian literature as L. Tolstoy, Gogol, Turgenev, and Goncharov" [Горький 1953: 235]. Following the quote from the authority that legitimizes the until-recently dubious author, the articles continued with an ironclad list of Leskov's positive characteristics, which were his "excellent understanding of his country and its ways, its art, and its language" [Гроссман 1945c: 200][11]. This would be followed by a quote from an earlier piece by Gorky [Белецкий 1945: 3] about how Leskov wrote "not about a man, or a nihilist, or a landowner, but always about a Russian, a person from this country" [Горький 1932: 276]. A brief episode in Leskov's life, his three-year long service in the company of Scott which allowed the writer to visit many parts of Russia, was given a lofty significance:

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[10] This article was first published as an introduction to [Лесков 1923b].

[11] See: "A wealth of landscapes and depictions of everyday life distinguish the work of Leskov. The author had an outstanding knowledge of Russian history, art, icon painting, and so on. His expertise on the country is Leskov's chief literary legacy" [Вальбе 1945: 3] and [Лесков А. 1945b].

> During his years of service, Leskov traveled often. For this reason, we see the middle of Russia, Ukraine, the Volga, Valaam, and Riga in his works. Leskov used his travels to familiarize himself with many different Russian characters. The wealth of the landscapes and depictions of everyday life distinguish Leskov's work. Leskov had an outstanding knowledge of Russian history, art, icon painting, and so on. His expertise on the country is Leskov's chief literary legacy" [Вальбе 1945: 3].

Leskov's "outstanding knowledge" extended to an expertise on the Russian people and his love of them[12]:

> Leskov's love for the Russian people and his homeland made him fix his sharp, intent gaze on the Russian man on all the paths, trails, and crossroads of life and work [Дурылин 1945: 3];
>
> In the unforgettable images of Russian hero Ivan Severyanich from "The Enchanted Wanderer", Lefty, and the legendary Golovan the Deathless (in the eponymous story), who sacrificed himself in order to put an end to a grand misfortune, Leskov reveals and attests to the positive qualities of Russians that make up the central elements of the national character [Гебель 1945b: 2].

The love for Russians is indivisible from an attention to and understanding of the Russian language. Leskov's "mastery of the language" [Гебель 1945] was infallibly noted by all authors lauding him, always with the same expressive praise:

> From here, this utterly close relationship with the people, Leskov extracted the endless treasures of folk Russian language that so impressed L. Tolstoy and Chekhov. Out of all of the Russian writers, Leskov has the most complex and rich vocabulary, incorporating a multitude of the streams and tributaries of the national linguistic wealth [Дурылин 1945: 3].

In the same triumphant — for Russia and for Leskov's legacy — year of 1945, his son, A. N. Leskov published several biographical articles about his father [Лесков А. 1945a; Лесков А. 1945b; Лесков А. 1945c; Лесков А. 1945d]; a brochure about his life and art appeared [Евнин 1945]; and finally, two monographs on Leskov — by L. P. Grossman and V. A. Gebel' came out at the same time [Гроссман 1945a; Гебель 1945a]. Considering the difficult economic conditions in the USSR at this time, the publication of two books of literary criticism about an until recently half-forgotten author seems like a conscious ideological gesture acknowledging not only N. S. Leskov's rehabilitation, but transforming him into a very direct participant in the construction of the Soviet national myth. Leskov the patriot, the lover of the Russian language and people, was now presented as a classic, representing the nation, fully supported by the declaration of A. M. Gorky, in the ranks of L. Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gogol, and Saltykov-Schedrin. In the post-war years, Leskov was published widely and regularly, in large print runs, both by central and provincial publishing houses [Лесков 1946a; Лесков 1946b; Лесков 1947a; Лесков 1947b; Лесков 1950; Лесков 1951; Лесков 1954], although, as a rule, the volumes were slim.

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[12] See also a later article: "Despite all of the author's mistakes and vacillations, he was always buoyed by his faith in the people, in the beauty and mighty spiritual strength of the Russian man" [Степанов 1954: 4].

5.

When the Cold War and the war on cosmopolitanism was reaching a fever pitch, the appropriation of Leskov by the Soviet ideological machine reached its apex of absurdity. In the 1950s, the composer of one of the versions of the anthem of the USSR (which did not end up making the cut), and a laureate of the Stalin Prize, B. A. Alexandrov, wrote a ballet based on "Lefty" ("The Skilled Hands"); the libretto was written by P. F. Abolimov. The first edition was approved by the Committee on Artistic Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, but afterwards, the text of the libretto was edited again, and in May 1952, B. A. Alexandrov himself submitted it for approval to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, M. A. Suslov [Отдел].

In the ballet's libretto, Leskov's novella is distorted beyond recognition. Now there are mass scenes with the entire Russian people, and new characters: a Russian serf girl, the lace-maker Dunyasha, who loves and helps Lefty, and a conniving "high-placed foreigner", Lefty's enemy, who has taken the blueprints for the new machine invented by ingenuous Russians out of the country. The flea, fitted for shoes by Lefty and the other Russian masters, maintains its ability to leap, and, frightening the foreigners, it frolics, dancing all over the stage.

Lefty manages to get the blueprint snatched off by the "high-placed foreigner" back to Russia, resist the attempts to be hypnotized or undergo more traditional modes of convincing; he is not seduced by the foreigner's beautiful mistresses; instead, he returns alive and unharmed to Dunyasha, who has long been awaiting him in Tula. In the final scene of the production, "a general Russian dance begins, which turns into a mass demonstration":

> The people, led by Lefty and the gunsmiths, tighten their ranks, and in this solid formation, advance, illuminated by the rays of the rising sun. Before this monolith of the masses, the merchants, landowners, factory owner, sheriff and constable, and other representatives of the ruling classes of old Russia all appear pathetic.

> The music accompanying the mass demonstration transitions into the national anthem [Отдел: Л. 107].

As we can see, the adapted libretto of the "The Tale of Cross-Eyed Lefty from Tula and the Steel Flea" takes on a moral that's the direct opposite of the author's intention (the flea keeps leaping and Lefty stays alive)[13], but without these distortions, it would probably be difficult for the creators to get approval for the key "theme of the ballet", which is the demonstration of the "talent, gumption, and patriotism of the Russian people" [Ibid.: Л. 78]. Lefty himself, as it is indicated in the libretto's afterword, was the "embodiment of the high moral qualities of the Russian man": "The purity of his love, his devotion to Dunyasha, his comrades, and his people all speak to the nobility of the Russian soul" [Ibid.: Л. 108].

This attempt to illustrate the ideological maxims propagandized by the government was not met with much success. M. A. Suslov sent the libretto to his assistants — the director of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation V. A. Kruzhkov and the deputy director of the Department of Science and Culture P. A. Tarasov, who proceeded to forward it to a professional expert, music historian and professor of the Moscow Conservatory B. M. Yarustovsky. Yarustovsky responded to the libretto with great reserve, criticizing it for its connecting scenes not being "sufficiently developed", or scenic, saying that they were impossible to "illustrate in dance". "Leskov's central theme, the patriotism of the Russian people and his acrid satire on the cosmopolitan characters is by and large expressed in the ballet's libretto, that is, outside of the choreography, and not by means of dance" [Ibid.: Л. 76]. Kruzhkov and Tarasov wrote a letter to Suslov where they agree with these arguments and repeat them, while also saying that as far as they know, the composer has already written music for this libretto:

> Because of this, it would be best to recommend that the composer and the Committee on Artistic Affairs organize a public discussion on the music and ballet libretto and, contingent on the results of this discussion, decide on whether to stage it in one of the theaters of Moscow or Leningrad [Ibid.: Л. 74] .

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[13] The ballet's libretto has much in common with E. Zamyatin's "folk comedy" "The Flea", which was based on Leskov's story and staged by A. Dikij at the Moscow Art Theater on February 11, 1935, and premiered at the Bolshoi Dramatic Theater on November 25, 1926. In these adaptations, Lefty is similarly granted a female companion, the Chaldean Masha, and he also keeps his life; the populous and brilliant market scene in the ballet is also reminiscent of the Bacchanalian atmosphere of the folk holiday created by Zamyatin (see [Keenan 1980]).

Apparently the public discussion never did occur and in the end, the ballet appeared neither in Moscow nor Leningrad in the 1950s, although it was staged in 1954 at the Sverdlovsky Opera and Ballet Theater, then only in 1976 at Leningrad's Kirov Opera and Ballet Theater.

6.

The disappointing production history the ballet version of "Lefty" did not interfere with the canonization of N. S. Leskov. In order to firmly establish the status of the confirmed classic, however, there needed to be clearer signs than the regular re-publication of the still rather limited selection of texts by the author. These signs came in the middle of the 1950s.

At the end of 1954[14], State Publishing House Khudozhestvennaya Literatura published a biography of Leskov written by his son Andrei Nikolaevich (1866–1953), entitled *The Life of Nikolai Leskov, According to his Personal, Family and Other Writings and Memoirs.* The biography was unusually thick (47 authors' sheets) and the history of its publication was, by then, almost two decades long[15]. Its author didn't live to see the release of his *long-suffering* book[16]. Almost immediately after the publication of the biography, which brought readers significantly closer to Leskov the man, the editorial board for classic literature of the same publisher prepared an 8-volume edition of Leskov's collected works, which included dozens of his tales and stories not previously published in the Soviet era. While working on this collection, in the course of editorial discussions[17], the 8-volume set grew to 11 volumes [Лесков 1956], in part because of the decision to include the novel *Nowhere.*

The new attention to Leskov was a result of the general cultural policy of the Soviet Union on prerevolutionary Russian art, wherein many prerevolutionary scholars, writers, artists, and composers "were raised up onto the Russified Soviet Olympus" [Бранденбергер 2009], which was also the strategy of the Soviet film industry. At the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s, major publishers began actively printing large runs of the collected works of the Russian classics (Gogol, Nekrasov, Ostrovsky, Turgenev, Goncharov, L. Tolstoy, Chernyshevsky, V. Korolenko)[18] alongside established Soviet writers (Gorky, A. Tolstoy, Fedin, Gladkov, Furmanov, Leonov) [Справка: Л. 2, 13, 19]. The great country needed great literature, and for the first time, Leskov was called to demonstrate the Soviet Union's literary might. Previously represented by only a small portion of his legacy, the author was now included amongst the literary generals and with this, he won the right to much broader representation. All doubts about the legitimacy of elevating yesterday's reactionary into the pantheon of classics were erased by the bright red of the covers of the 11 volume set, visible proof that Leskov would henceforth be a Soviet writer, a title that had, not so long before his official acknowledgement, already been bestowed on him by an ardent electrician from Stalinogorsk.

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[14] The book was approved for publication on October 25, 1954.

[15] The history of the publication of this book is detailed at length in the letter from A. N. Leskov to S. N. Durylin from May 24, 1946 [Письма Дурылину: Л. 1].

[16] See the letter from A. N. Leskov's (1866–1953) wife Anna Ivanovna Leskova to A. Fadeev from March 1, 1955, accompanying a package with the book: "I am fulfilling the request of our long-suffering friend, who worried over the fate of his labor until the last day of his life and was so desperate to see it in print. I implore you to accept this posthumous gift from him" [Лескова: Л. 1].

[17] See the transcripts of these editorial meetings, where the prospectus and plan for the publication of the collected works of N. S. Leskov is under discussion [Авторское дело: Л. 2–53].

Translated by Bela Shayevich

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[18] See for instance: *Некрасов Н.* А. Полн. собр. соч. и писем: В 12 т. М., 1948–1952; *Гончаров И. А.* Собр. соч.: В 8 т. М., 1952–1955; *Островский А. Н.* Полн. собр. соч.: В 16 т. М., 1949–1953; *Короленко В. Г.* Собр. соч.: В 10 т. М., 1953–1956; *Тургенев И. С.* Собр. соч.: В 12 т. М., 1953–1958; *Чернышевский Н. Г.* Полн. собр. соч.: В 15 т. М., 1949–1950; *Мамин-Сибиряк Д. Н.* Собр. соч.: В 8 т. М., 1953–1955.

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"PITY" AS A NATIONAL-HISTORICAL CATEGORY IN TSVETAEVA'S POETRY

MARIA BOROVIKOVA

In 1923, Tsvetaeva's collection *The Craft* ("Ремесло") was published in Berlin. Its appearance was greeted by a series of on the whole positive reviews, among which was also a critical article by Georgy Ivanov. Ivanov is not Tsvetaeva's most benevolent critic. Thus, in this article he writes the following about her: "Tsvetaeva's poems have a thousand defects — they are verbose, rambling, and often meaningless" [Цветаева в критике: 119]. Nonetheless, he also finds in this collection traces of genuine poetry: "Among her countless half-poems, half-sobbings, and whisperings, are many excellent stanzas. Fully realized poems are far fewer. But these few are beautiful (p. 24, for example)" [Ibid.].

What was the poem that so charmed the exigent critic? On p. 24, which is indicated in the Ivanov's review, between the cycle "Marina" and the poem "To the Memory of T. Skryabina", appears a text without a title — "How they flare up — with what brushwood…":

Как разгораются — каким валежником!
На площадях ночных — святыни кровные!
Пред самозванческим указом Нежности —
Что наши доблести и родословные!

С какой торжественною постепенностью
Спадают выспренные обветшалости!
О наши прадедовы драгоценности
Под самозванческим ударом Жалости!

А проще: лоб склонивши в глубь ладонную,
В сознаньи низости и неизбежности —
Вниз по отлогому — по неуклонному —
Неумолимому наклону Нежности...

Май 1921 [Цветаева: II, 23–24]

We will attempt to reconstruct later what it was about this particular poem, out of the whole many-page collection, that attracted G. Ivanov. What draws our attention in it is first and foremost the singular use of two graphically emphasized concepts that are central to the poem — "Tenderness" (*nezhnost'*) and "Pity" (*zhalost'*).

"Tenderness" and "pity" represent a sufficiently stable pairing in Russian poetry — thanks to their phonetic similarity and to their belonging to the same semantic field in the language, connected first and foremost with the expression of feelings of love. This context is also close to the subject matter of the text by Tsvetaeva that we are examining here, although the theme of love is only one part of the elaborate metaphor that is unfolded in this poem. Its second part is represented by a conquering, military rhetoric, the use of which in a love-related discourse is likewise quite traditional[1] (it is represented here not directly but periphrastically — the burning of sacred objects in city squares, the rejection of pedigrees, the loss of "great-grandfathers' treasures"). In this text, however, what draws our attention is the specificity of the historical parallels — not customary for such metaphors — as we are presented not with an abstract act of military aggression, but with a reference to the history of the Time of Troubles.

This period in Russian history occupies a special place in Tsvetaeva's poetic historiography, and by 1921 Tsvetaeva had already turned to it several times, using it to mythologize the image of her poetic persona (the motivation for the historical parallel arose from the coincidence of Tsvetaeva's name with that of Marina Mnishek, see for example: [Рудик: 123–131]). However, the present text unfolds this theme in a new manner, while "tenderness" and "pity" acquire a new symbolic meaning in it, becoming promoted into what might be called laws of historical development.

Let us attempt to trace the origins of the use of these words in Tsvetaeva's poetry.

This poem from the collection *The Craft* was written in May 1921, when Tsvetaeva was occupied with the problem of publishing another one of her collection, *Milestones I,* which contained poems written in 1916[2]. It is on the pages of this book that the theme of pity first appears in Tsvetaeva's poetry in a somewhat different sense from its common usage (although the lexeme itself had been used by her earlier). This happens for the first time in a poem dated March 4, 1916 and dedicated to Tikhon Churilin:

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[1] Compare, for example, Tsvetaeva's own poem from 1914: "What was this? — Whose victory? — // Who was defeated?" [Цветаева: I, 217].

[2] After its publication was denied at the end of 1919, Tsvetaeva kept the manuscript until she was able to send it to Gosizdat, which published it only in 1922. This collection is the subject of a dissertation by I. Rudik [Рудик]. Consequently, by 1921, all of these text together constituted for Tsvetaeva an as yet unfinished subject.

> Не сегодня-завтра растает снег
> Ты лежишь один под огромной шубой.
> Пожалеть тебя, у тебя навек пересохли губы [Цветаева: I, 256].

The theme of pity in this poem appears quite organic when it is applied to the lyrical subject whose image arises from the creatively transformed facts of Churilin's biography, the main themes of his poetry, and his symbolic portrait. Anastasia Tsvetaeva described him later in her memoirs in the following way: "Black-haired and not dark, but burnt. His [eyes] inside the rings of his dark swollen eyelids..." [Цветаева А.: 256]. All of this together becomes transfigured into a kind of "myth of Churilin", at the center of which arises an almost ideal object of pity. The image of the "burnt" man, which Anastasia Tsvetaeva reproduces in her memoirs, also appears in her sister's poem, quoted above. His eyes are "Two charred rings from last summer", and the importance of this theme is additionally sustained by a literary allusion, namely, an echo of A. Blok's poem "How difficult it is to walk among people / And to pretend to be not dead", which has an epigraph from Fet ("There a man burned")—compare Tsvetaeva's: "You tread heavily and drink with difficulty / And the passer-by hurries from you".

In this way, the theme of pity appears in this text as a (pseudo-)natural reaction to a certain deficiency in the lyrical subject (cf. in the next poem that Tsvetaeva dedicated to Churilin, the latter is called "pitiful", in other words, the characteristics of the lyrical subject of Churilin's own poetry are projected onto him), but by all appearances it is also supported by a phonetic assonance: "*zhech'*"/"*zhalost'*" (to burn/pity) or "*zhalkiy*"/"*zharkiy*" (pitiful/hot) — Tsvetaeva plays with the latter assonance explicitly in the next text dedicated to Churilin: "my pitiful [*zhalobniy*] raven-chick... Rigid [*zhestkaya*], greedy [*zhadnaya*], hot [*zharkaya*] hue" ("Doves sailing onwards, silvery, bewildered..." [Цветаева: I, 256]).

This is the first semantically loaded mention of "pity" in Tsvetaeva's poems, and although thus far the word remains quite within the bounds of common usage, we should note this Fet-Blok context, on the one hand, and the conjunction of pity and burning, on the other, as important points for our later discussion.

The meaning-forming impulse, produced by the mythologization of the image of her contemporary poet, turned out to be stronger than Tsvetaeva's interest in the poet himself. And the next few months witness an expansion of this theme beyond the bounds of the nominal corpus of "Churilin" texts and the love-and-illness narrative. The theme systematically comes to encompass martial subject matter and acquires a historical resonance. This happens in the poem "White sun and low, low clouds..." (July 3, 1916), about which A. A. Saakyants already noted that it constitutes a kind of "retort" to Blok's poem "The Petrograd sky grew turbid with rain..." [Саакянц].

Blok's poem was written as a response to the beginning of the First World War, first published in the newspaper *Russkoye slovo* in 1914, and reprinted in 1915 in the collection *War in Russian Poetry*. It got sympathetic reviews from critics, who unanimously saw poem's central meaning in its final lines. One of them, for example, quoting the ending of the poem in his article, wrote the following:

> A mystic of Romanticism and individualism, a direct descendant of Novalis, this poet has spoken the most beautiful, valuable, and sincere word about the present day, a word that will endure forever. This word is his poem "To War". And it is sincere, valuable, beautiful because he alone took a true position, separated himself from ongoing events, did not aspire to the role of prophet, accuser, or leader. As a man with an aristocratic intimate soul, he simply understood that even now he must be alone, on the mountaintop, and he said in lyrical contemplation, seeing off those who are going there:
>
> Нет, нам не было грустно, нам не было жаль,
> Несмотря на дождливую даль.
> Это — ясная, твердая, верная сталь,
> И нужна ли ей наша печаль?
>
> Here, there is no pity, no resolution, no summons — here, there is only contemplation, born in the soul of a poet whenever the distant waves of events rush by him — it matters not whether the events be great or small... [Левидов: 803].

While quite precisely reproducing the thematic structure of Blok's poem (the rainy landscape, the train departing for the front, the singing soldiers on it, and a lyrical subject who keenly feels the scene he observes and contemplates war as a whole), Tsvetaeva treats the topic of the poet's compassion for what is taking place — and more broadly, of the poet's relation to reality — in the opposite manner:

Нет, умереть! Никогда не родиться бы лучше,
Чем этот жалобный, жалостный, каторжный вой
О чернобровых красавицах. — Ох, и поют же
Нынче солдаты! О, Господи, Боже ты мой! [Цветаева: I, 310].

The author of the review quoted above, Mikhail Levidov, in our view quite precisely connects the "pitiless" position of the observer in the war poem "Petersburg sky...” with the author’s entire creative vision. In the same year, Blok’s poem “Artist” (1914) was published in the almanac *Sirin* [Сирин]; in this poem, the idea about the insurmountability of the borders between the world of the artist and reality is expressed with programmatic clarity:

В жаркое лето и в зиму метельную,
В дни ваших свадеб, торжеств, похорон,
Жду, чтоб спугнул мою скуку смертельную
Легкий, доселе не слышанный звон. <...>

Длятся часы, мировое несущие.
Ширятся звуки, движенье и свет.
Прошлое страстно глядится в грядущее.
Нет настоящего. Жалкого — нет.

И, наконец, у предела зачатия
Новой души, неизведанных сил, —
Душу сражает, как громом, проклятие:
Творческий разум осилил — убил.

И замыкаю я в клетку холодную
Легкую, добрую птицу свободную,
Птицу, хотевшую смерть унести,
Птицу, летевшую душу спасти. <...> [Блок: III, 101–102].

In this text, the theme of “absence of pity”, detachment, appears once more, this time unequivocally associated with the creative act—it signals that the poet is approaching the state of being “at the threshold of conception”, behind which lies the idea of the irreconcilability of art and life.

This is a programmatic text of Blok’s, and its key ideas were likewise formulated by the poet in two articles, which were widely discussed in the press. Among those who responded to it was D. Merezhkovsky, contrasting Blok’s position with a religious one[3].

We will not venture to specify how well Tsvetaeva was acquainted with the details of this discussion, but the problems touched on by her in “White sun and low, low clouds...” were not yet exhausted and demanded further development. Less than a month later, she returned to this topic once again, in a poem which subsequently entered into the cycle “Insomnia”:

Сегодня ночью я одна в ночи —
Бессонная, бездомная черница! —

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[3] See the notes to the third volume of A. Blok’s collected works for more detail [Блок: III, 802–805].

Сегодня ночью у меня ключи
От всех ворот единственной столицы!

Бессонница меня толкнула в путь.
— О, как же ты прекрасен, тусклый Кремль мой! —
Сегодня ночью я целую в грудь
Всю круглую воюющую землю!

Вздымаются не волосы — а мех,
И душный ветер прямо в душу дует.
Сегодня ночью я жалею всех, —
Кого жалеют и кого целуют.

1 августа 1916 [Цветаева: I, 284].

In this text, the historical background of war is also present ("Tonight I kiss on the chest / The whole round warring earth!"), but it has shifted to the periphery, and what remains in the center is the symbolic description of the creative process. It is evoked by traditional metaphors for inspiration — night, insomnia, and keys[4] — but the center of Tsvetaeva's auto-metadescription of creative tension becomes "pity." It is undoubtedly connected with the *Theotokos* myth, which Tsvetaeva systematically developed in the poems of 1916 (above all, the "Poems on Moscow"), and in which in the Russian Orthodox tradition the themes of intercession and mercy occupy a central place[5].

However, we must point out another subtext of importance to us in this poem, which is contained in its first stanza:

Сегодня ночью я одна в ночи —
Бессонная, бездомная черница! —
Сегодня ночью у меня ключи
От всех ворот единственной столицы!

Among Tsvetaeva's poems from 1916, a separate lyrical subject is constituted by texts addressed to Osip Mandelstam. In these, in their turn, a special place is occupied by the theme of the Time of Troubles — it is specifically in these poems that Tsvetaeva, playing on the coincidence of her name with the name of Marina Mnishek, first develops the historical analogy into a full-fledged lyrical subject, which will subsequently be taken up by Mandelstam as well. The first poem on this topic was written by her on March 30, 1916. In it, Marina Mnishek appears as a sorceress or practitioner of black magic who has the key to a "black casket":

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[4] See our article on Tsvetaeva's cycle "Insomnia" [Боровикова] for more detail.

[5] Undoubtedly, such an ideological construction (compassion as the foundation of creativity) was to a certain extent determined by the development of philosophical and religious thought during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (the problems of compassion and pity lay at the center of the ethical conceptions of Schopenhauer, Vladimir Solovyov, Nikolai Berdyaev, and others), and by the Symbolists' reception of these ideas. However, the question of the concrete connections between Tsvetaeva's views and contemporary ethical conceptions must be the subject of a separate study.

Крест золотой скинула,
Черный ларец сдвинула,
Маслом святым ключ
Масленный — легко движется.
Черную свою книжищу
Вынула чернокнижница.

Знать, уже делать нечего,
Отошел от ее от плечика
Ангел, — пошел несть
Господу злую весть:

— Злые, Господи, вести!
Загубил ее вор — прелестник! [Цветаева: I, 267]

Note, too, that the image of Marina Mnishek here does not function in isolation: the cause of her "doom" (that is, her turn to black magic) is an impostor, a "thief-charming". We would venture to suppose that the image of the "black sorceress" with the keys "to all the gates of the only capital" in "Tonight I am alone in the night..." (a poem written only four months later) represents a blending of the sorcerer and "invader" of the capital, the "thief" Dmitry, and the black sorceress Marina, while the historical parallel with the Time of Troubles becomes the code, as it were, of a higher creative transformation.

It is precisely this topic that will subsequently be developed in the poem "How they flare up...", which was discussed at the beginning of this article. Let us examine certain factors that may have influenced the development of this topic.

On April 26, 1921, Tsvetaeva wrote a letter to Anna Akhmatova in which she thanked her for "another happiness in my life" [Цветаева: VI, 200] — the collection *Plantain* [*Podorozhnik*]. Tsvetaeva quotes several poems included in the book, and among these she places special emphasis on the poem "You — apostate..." ("Ты — отступник"): "And this sudden — wildly arising — *visually* wild 'Yaroslavets'. — What *Rus'*!" [Ibid.: 201].

Ты — отступник: за остров зеленый
Отдал, отдал родную страну,
Наши песни, и наши иконы,
И над озером тихим сосну.

Для чего ты, лихой ярославец,
Коль еще не лишился ума,
Загляделся на рыжих красавиц
И на пышные эти дома?

Так теперь и кощунствуй, и чванься,
Православную душу губи,
В королевской столице останься
И свободу свою полюби.

Для чего ж ты приходишь и стонешь
Под высоким окошком моим?
Знаешь сам, ты и в море не тонешь,
И в смертельном бою невредим.

Да, не страшны ни море, ни битвы
Тем, кто сам потерял благодать.
Оттого-то во время молитвы
Попросил ты тебя вспоминать [Ахматова: 316].

This poem has a real-life addressee — Boris Anrep, who had been send for work to England — but we do not know whether Tsvetaeva knew this (it may be supposed that she did not). Outside of this biographical subtext, the poem acquires a duality and may be easily read within the framework of the impostor topos: the subject is an apostate, who has "given up his native country" for a "kingdom" with "opulent houses" and "red-haired beauties" (which simultaneously suggests the beauty Marina Mnishek and the color of Otrepyev's hair). As proof of our hypothesis that *Plantain* served as an inspiration for the development of Tsvetaeva's "impostor" topos, we should note the fact that on the day after writing the letter to Akhmatova, April 27 (Old Style), Tsvetaeva began a cycle dedicated to Marina Mnishek ("Marina"). The cycle contains four poems — four "scenarios" on the historical subject, in each of which the heroine appears in a new role with respect to the impostor. Tsvetaeva's notebooks from this period contain the following comment about her work on the cycle:

> Another question: what was Marina Mnishek looking for?.. Power, undoubtedly, but what kind? Legitimate or illegitimate? If the former, then she owes her fame to a misunderstanding and is not worthy of her fabulous fate. It would have been easier for her to have been born a crown princess or a boyar's daughter and to have wed some Russian czar. With sorrow I think that she was looking for the former, but if I were writing it... [Цветаева 1997: 27].

The cycle "Marina" in fact constitutes an inventory of the various possible motives that might have guided Marina Mnishek.

The poem "How they flare up..." was written immediately after this cycle, but evidently it went beyond the bounds of a "fantasia on a historical topic", touching on more universal problems, and apparently for this reason it was not included in the cycle by Tsvetaeva. By contrast with the poems included in the cycle, it is full of references to her own earlier poetry. All of them refer predominantly to three texts, which were written almost at the same time as the "Churilin" poems (in which the theme of "pity" began to take shape), but which had a different addressee — Osip Mandelstam. These were mainly the texts "You throw back your head...", "Whence such tenderness...", and "Past night towers..." They are echoed — literally — by almost every word of this poem. Without attempting to list them all, I will demonstrate the density of these echoes.

"Brushwood" is a lexeme used only twice in Tsvetaeva's poetry outside the text being analyzed here — in the poem "You throw back your head" ("And through what thorny brushwood / Your laurel verst..."); "flare up"— this lexeme also appears in Tsvetaeva's poetry only one other time, in another text of the "Mandelstam corpus"— "Past night towers…": "My mouth is flammable". The same poem contains city squares in the night ("Past night towers / City squares rush us. / Oh, how fearful in the night / Is the roar of young soldiers!"), and fires on these squares, in which "blood ties and sacred objects" burn, which are echoed in the next strophe by "great-grandfathers' treasures": "Iverskaya burns 'like a little casket'" (in this line the Iverskaya chapel appears simultaneously as a sacred object and as a treasure). "Ceremonial gradualness" calls to mind the "ceremonial foreigners", who "slowly release smoke" ("You throw back your head..."). The heightened intertextuality additionally complicates the structure of the poem, but the central meaning of the dialogue becomes the question of the loss of *grace,* which was posed in Akhmatova's poem. Such is the cost of the ability to resist the "sea" and "battles", and to "remain unharmed in mortal combat". However, by contrast with Akhmatova, who places in the center the question of God's grace, Tsvetaeva takes the theme outside the religious framework, replacing the higher power to which one must submit with a nature that historically opposes the present.

Tsvetaeva remained true to this position in later years as well. These same problems were be addressed by her in the essay "Art in the Light of Conscience" (1932), in which she, discussing moral law in art, wrote: "Find me a poet without a Pugachev! without an impostor! without a Corsican! — inside. A poet might only not have enough strength (resources) for a Pugachev" [Цветаева: V, 367].

Translated by Ilya Bernstein

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"NOT BACK TO PUSHKIN, BUT FORWARDS AWAY FROM HIM": ON THE RUSSIANNESS OF RUSSIAN IMAGINISM

TOMI HUTTUNEN

The headline quotation, which is taken from an Imaginist manifesto "Almost a declaration" (*Pochti deklaratsiya*, 1923), is easy to read as a reminder of both the Futurist manifesto "Slap in the face of public taste" (1912) and Aleksei Kruchenykh's earlier definition of his famous and thoroughly studied trans-rational poem "Dyr bul shchyl" (1912). In this poem, according to the poet, there was "more of national Russian than in all of Pushkin's poetry" [Бродский et al. 1929: 80]. On the other hand, his poem was written in its "own language" or, as was suggested by his colleague poet and painter David Burlyuk, with "unknown words" [Харджиев: 390]. The combination of 'Russianness' and 'unknown' thus appears as a proper recipe for an early Russian avant-garde text and as material for new, unpredictable poetic language. Russianness in Kruchenykh's text was emphasized even later by the author himself when he discussed Ilya Ehrenburg's attempts to translate it into French: "Ehrenburg <…> is trying to translate 'dyr bul shchyl' into French but is 40 years too late, and it does not work for him <…> I tried to give a phonetic extract of Russian language with all its dissonances <…> of course, if Dahl had heard my opus, he would probably have sworn, but he could not tell whether we are dealing with Italian or French phonetics" (cit. [Богомолов 2005: 174])[1].

This article does not, however, deal with Kruchenykh or his trans-rational poetry, but with the next phase of historical Russian avant-garde literature, the representatives of the group of Imaginists (1918–1928). Their self-definition of *Russianness* relates to their first declarations and also to the name of their group, though the name "Imazhinisty" would not seem to suggest anything essentially

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[1] All the translations are made by the author of the article.

Russian. Like the Futurists with Marinetti, what they did do is represent their "poetic school" as self-emergent, meaning that it had nothing to do with the Anglo-American Imagists. Today we know, however, that Sergei Esenin confessed in a letter that they had read Zinaida Vengerova's interview with Ezra Pound from of 1915 (in the Futurist anthology *Strelets*), and from that interview they took the name for their poetic group [Есенин 1995–2002: VI, 126].

The Imaginists emphasized their Russianness with the publication of their own journal *Gostinitsa dlya puteshestvuyushchikh v prekrasnom* (The Inn for Travellers in the Beautiful), which went through four issues between 1922 and 1924. Vadim Shershenevich wrote in his memoirs about the journal:

> There were four issues published on fine paper, with lots of poems and some articles. Esenin was abroad, and we published his poems sent from Europe or America, his letters as well as letters sent to him. Mariengof was the editor, but I do not recollect that he had any conflicts with any of us about the journal [Шершеневич 1990: 592].

Gostinitsa was severely criticized for its belated aestheticism; the pages being designed and decorated in the spirit of decadent Symbolism of the fin-de-siècle, à la Aubrey Beardsley. Mariengof and his colleagues also tried to anticipate criticism by their enemies, which was typical in avant-garde spheres of the time. However, the texts in the journal contained a surprising nationalistic tendency, which Shershenevich did not like:

> In the journal you can sense, for example, the emphasized ultra-national characteristics of Imaginism. But we were never nationalists. On the contrary, we were always against the way the Futurists tried to promote both their own vulgar internationalism and Khlebnikov, a "Futurist without a doubt," who was obviously not only a nationalist, but a chauvinist [Ibid.: 593].

The first and the second issue (from 1922 and 1923) had a subtitle "Russian Journal" (*Russkii zhurnal*). The first issue had an editorial titled "Non-editorial" (*Ne peredovitsa*) with the following declaration of Imaginist Russianness:

> We Russians are restless people. Is it even possible for Russians to be peaceful? Our fatherland is enormous, we have many relatives. Each of us (even though we hide this in the need to be fashionable) loves the black body of the land and the grey eyes of our neighbours. Thus we cannot constantly worry about the destinies of those who have reached a constant place in our hearts and memories.
>
> This has been the main reason for us to be travellers ever since. Naturally, we do not mean this literally. But even if we did talk literally, it would not be false. Nomads were our ancestors [Мариенгоф 2013: 668].

One of the significant contexts of the new Imaginist journal in 1922 was the feeling of timelessness: a sense of frustration that many writers experienced as the end of the Revolution as well as the end of the multiple privileges that this poetic group had received from the Bolsheviks. The Imaginists were a pro-Bolshevik avant-garde poetic group, considering that Ryurik Ivnev served as the personal secretary to Anatoly Lunacharsky, while Sergei Esenin was in constant close contact with Yakov Blumkin, the Bolshevik terrorist and killer of Wilhelm Graf von Mirbach-Harff. Their frustrations can clearly be seen in the poems published in the journal *Gostinitsa.* The Bolsheviks' privileges were transformed in their poetry into "fame" (*slava*) and attention from the general public, and the end of all this is juxtaposed in their poetry with the end of youth, with images of the new times, about "other youngsters singing other songs" [Мариенгоф 2005: 321].

On the other hand, judging from the public activity of the Imaginists during the years 1922–1924 this would appear to be a time of new notions and new key words, such as ”the academy" (*akademiya*), "the big theme" (*bol'shaya tema*), ”the canon" (*kanon*), "monumental art" (*monumental'noe iskusstvo*), ”classicism" (*klassicism*), ”Slavonic" (*slavyanskoe*) and ”Russian" (*russkoe*). All these notions are, at first glance, somewhat paradoxical for a group of avant-gardist experimental poetry. They are also very different from the former Imaginist declarative "slogans" that were typical during the years 1918–1920, such as "the differentiation of the arts", "the separation of art and the state", "the dictatorship of Imaginism", which all represent typical avant-garde anarchistic departures from the existing cultural tradition and declarations of something new and not yet existing. The new notions would seem to suggest the idea of searching for the historical roots of Imaginism on the one hand, and of defining the existing movement as something historical on the other. In this sense, these notions appear in the context of what has been called the synthetic avant-garde [Hansen-Löve 1987].

"The academy"

One of the most peculiar new concepts in the Imaginists' new vocabulary was "the academy", which suddenly seemed to appear everywhere in editor Mariengof's texts:

> We understand the principle of the academy as complete control not over the separate elements of the material, but the form as a totality.

> Only academic virtuosity opens the way for the moment of discovery in art. Innovative art is always *academic*. Because we understand innovation not as a standard stunt, but the way art is moving ahead [Мариенгоф 1922].

Mariengof further emphasizes how contemporary art is supposed to include the earlier phases, i. e. to annex the cultural tradition. This is obviously something else than "A slap in the face of public taste" or "throw Pushkin overboard from the Ship of Modernity". There the notion of "the academy" was interpreted, along with Pushkin, as something "less intelligible than hieroglyphics". In Imaginism we can see rather symptoms of the synthetic avant-garde with its orientation towards the "conjunctive" principle, meaning the avant-garde's attempts to revive the connection with the past, which was aggressively excluded in the "analytic" period of the avant-garde (the early 1910s). The new art, defined by the Imaginist as "academic", is equipped with more experience and knowledge in comparison with the old and previous. Therefore "the new" means moving forward "from Pushkin" rather than throwing him out. However, it is important to notice that there is a moment of avant-gardist non-belonging in this academic Imaginism as Mariengof pointed out: "Academic art is standing outside the wide success among the audience, since the virtuosity and perfect artistic taste anticipate needlessly décolleté formal wear" [Мариенгоф 2013: 646].

In a document from his personal archive Mariengof develops theses related to the notion of "the academy" by listing them in a catalogue. His basic idea is that both Imaginism and contemporary Russia need a new worldview. Art should be understood through its political function, against aestheticism, which seems paradoxical in the context of *Gostinitsa*. However, the attack against the analytic avant-garde is obvious:

> 12. Cultural tradition.
> 13. The desolate do not know ancestors /Pushkin/, <but we do>.
> 14. We do not destruct, we consummate.
> 15. We create an academy — an executive committee of muses.
> 16. Down with subjectivism — *mahnovshchina* — long live the ACADEMY.
> 17. DOWN WITH ACADEMISM. <…>
> 19. Have to create canons. <…>
> 22. Contemporary, but not the present. It is time to create a revolutionary academy [Мариенгоф 1922: 1].

Mariengof also declares that "academy is not aestheticism of the 'top 10,000', but a national ideology" [Ibid.: 2]. One relevant context for the notion of "the academy" in the Imaginist jargon in 1922 is, apart from the earlier Cosmist

Alexander Chizhevsky's *Academy of Poetry* (1918), the organization of the Russian Academy of Art Sciences (since 1925 known as the State Academy of Art Sciences). It was organized by Anatoly Lunacharsky in October 1921. The Academy was indeed close to the Imaginists, since their friend and participant in their performance events, philosopher Gustav Shpet, was the vice-president of the Academy. As Galin Tihanov has noticed, Shpet was apparently sympathetic towards Sergei Esenin's and Mariengof's oeuvre. By this time Lunacharsky, who had earlier been in favour of the Imaginists, started to become more hostile towards their activity. The Imaginists organised in June 1921 in Moscow a happening with a title "General Mobilisation" (*Vseobshchaya mobilizatsiya*), and in August Esenin with Mariengof and others were arrested by the State Security (Emergency Commission "Cheka"), after which this dispute took place.

In September 1921 Lunacharsky [Луначарский 1921: 6] called the Imaginists "charlatans who want to offend the public" and defined them as a dishonest group that should not be supported by the government. The Imaginists were offended by Lunacharsky's critical article about their activities and publications, and they wrote a reply, a letter to the journal *Pechat' i revolyutsiya*. In this letter they invited Lunacharsky to a public dispute about Imaginism with invited competent judges: "Taken that the above-mentioned critic and People's Commissar has already found it necessary to throw these unfounded words against us on several occasions, the Central Committee of the Imaginists is obliged to declare: 1) the People's Commissar Lunacharsky should either stop this light-minded haunting of a whole group of poet innovators, or, if his wordings are not just phrases, but a conviction, he should banish us from Soviet Russia, since our existence here as charlatans is offensive and unnecessary and may be even harmful to the state; 2) to the critic Lunacharsky we suggest a public dispute on Imaginism (with the participation of G. Shpet, P. Sakulin and others). The Masters of the Central Committee of the Imaginists Esenin. Mariengof. Shershenevich" [Есенин, Мариенгоф, Шершеневич 1921: 249].

In the same issue of *Pechat' i revolyutsiya* Lunacharsky replied by saying that he has all the right to make statements about poets or poetic groups and that he is not willing to participate in any of the Imaginists' public discussions, since "he knows that the poets would turn such discussion into advertisements for themselves. The People's Commissar Lunacharsky, on the one hand, does not have the right to banish poets from Russia, and, moreover, he would not use such a right even if he had it" [Луначарский 1921: 249]. Lunacharsky was sure that the audience would soon understand the nature of "the Imaginist noise of clowns and charlatans" and that the real talents among them would soon leave the poetic group. By this he seems to have meant Esenin. It is obvious that the

Imaginists wanted to remain Bolshevik poets with a new agenda, trying to follow and accompany Lunacharsky's attempts to organize a new Bolshevik culture in the framework of the Academy. But the criticism towards them became more severe.

The first President of the Russian Academy of Art Sciences was the critic and literary historian Petr Kogan, one of the main enemies of the Imaginists: "Their tragedy is that there is no talent among them to convince us that their theories definitely mean the beginning of a new era, that they have really brought an end to the previous art tendencies. The Imaginists are replacing this deficiency with noisy advertisements, happenings, and for some time they did reach their goal. They managed to gain the attention of the stale bourgeois. The Imaginist fame is the sister of scandal" [Коган 1921]. Kogan quotes Mariengof's poem *Magdalina,* which was a scandalous, blasphemous depiction of violent love during the October Revolution, and he concludes that even this text has ceased to shock the bourgeoisie, since the audience has lost its interest in them. Their desperate scandals and happenings have led to a situation where their café is visited only by women searching for adventure. It is worth remembering that Kogan was one of the victims of such scandalous happenings, being convicted in an acted trial in which the poetic group attacked the literary critics.

In the above-mentioned trial Mariengof gave a speech against Kogan, and it is obvious that the notion of "the academy" is originally Mariengof's invention, an unsuccessful attempt to once again coincide with the Bolshevik Lunacharsky's cultural politics, and, at the same time, an attempt to build some kind of a poetic academy, a new poetic school of its own. Esenin was travelling abroad, Shershenevich was busy in organizing his "Experimental Heroic Theatre" together with Boris Ferdinandov. *Gostinitsa* and "the academy" were Mariengof's attempts towards what he suggested as the new direction after Imaginism.

"Big Theme"

History shows us that the Marxist utilitarian tendency of the Left Front of the Arts that was so much criticised on the pages of *Gostinitsa,* became increasingly necessary for the Bolsheviks — these ex-Futurists were treated as the proper representatives of Soviet Russian literature of the 1920s. It even seems that from Lunacharsky's point of view the Imaginists had been a convenient counterbalance to the Futurists during the transition period of 1918–1920. In his defence of the Imaginists on the pages of *Gostinitsa* Mariengof accused the Futurists and the Constructivists, especially Meyerhold, Tatlin and Mayakovsky, for "technicism in art". His answer to the utilitarian tendencies was radical aestheticism, reflected in the journal's title and several articles. Another answer, somewhat inconsistent with aestheticism, was what he surprisingly called the "Big Theme". Mariengof's archive documents of the time tell us that this notion is closely related to the idea of "the academy", and also to such anti-analytic and conservative-minded concepts, as "the canon" and "monumental art". Mariengof explicitly denies the analytic avant-garde art:

> 8. No to analyticism or facture research, but theme as the ground for monumental art.
> 9. Aestheticism, as a product of cabinet philosophy / subjectivism / against.
> 10. Monumental art as *sobornost'* [Мариенгоф 1922: 1].

In 1922 Imaginism was no longer a formal school of poetry, but a "nationalistic worldview, which emerges from the deep Slavonic understanding of the dead and live nature of the motherland" [Мариенгоф 2013: 645]. This nationalistic worldview appears to be the "Big Theme", which was now so necessary to the Imaginist poets rather than the previous radical Formalist role that they had emphasized in their 1919 declaration. But now the "Big Theme" has become inevitable. It was essentially Russian in character.

In 1921 Esenin and Mariengof lived together in Moscow and wrote a joint declaration that was left unpublished and thus relatively unknown for the history of literature: "Once again we suggest the meaning of the form, which in itself is the beautiful content and organic expression of the artist <…> After emerging from the motherland of its language without artificial irrigation of the Westernizing attempts <…> We reject categorically the formal achievements of the West, and not only do we resist its hegemony, we also prepare a massive attack on the old culture of Europe. Therefore, our first enemies in the motherland are homemade Verlaines (Bryusov, Bely, Blok and others), Marinettis (Khlebnikov, Kruchenykh, Mayakovsky), Verhaerens (proletarian poets — their name is legion). We are the violent beginners of the Russian poetic independence. Only through us is Russian art reaching its age of awareness" [Есенин, Мариенгоф 2013: 667–668]. Vadim Shershenevich, who was an Anglophile and polyglot, apparently could not sign this declaration and thus it remained outside of the Imaginists' collective manifestos. It was supposed to be published in a book entitled "The Era of Esenin and Mariengof", but it never appeared.

In the first *Gostinitsa* the pathos surrounding the unpublished manifesto was continued, as Mariengof wrote that "what is beautiful in the culture is always national in its essence" and defined Russianness in art through Russian architecture: "Saint Basil's Cathedral was built by the Russian masters Barma and Postnik, a magnificent pinnacle of Russian architecture. St Petersburg's 'Isaac' and 'Kazan Cathedral' were merely good copies" [Мариенгоф 2013: 648].

In 1922 Mariengof was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Gostinitsa,* so it was definitely his enterprise. The manifestos and editorials of the journal were written by him, although this was not explicitly stated in the issues themselves. The ideology behind these texts and behind the new plans for the Imaginist group also belongs to him. He was looking for a new approach to the literary movement, which had significantly originated in Mariengof's and Shershenevich's interest in Anglo-American literature (Ezra Pound, T. E. Hulme, Oscar Wilde, Aubrey Beardsley) and the Russian Symbolists. The new approach had to be against the Futurists, which was always the case with the Imaginists — they were principally against Futurism. The Futurists, after all, were now declaring Internationalism, after having their nationalist experiments already during the First World War. The new approach of the Imaginists was coloured with anti-Western ultra-nationalistic pathos in the search for a common language with Lunacharsky and the Bolsheviks. This also explains their increasing talk of political essence in literature. "The academy" was supposed to be some kind of structure for the new "monumental art" dedicated to the October Revolution. The "Big Theme" was the basis of this new art, showing that the Formalist tendency of Imaginism had almost ceased to exist. They were moving towards conservative contents, essentially nationalistic in character.

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ETHNICITY AND HISTORY IN BORIS PASTERNAK'S *DOCTOR ZHIVAGO*[1]

KONSTANTIN POLIVANOV

The events of Russian history and society in the first half of the 20th century were often viewed by both contemporaries and historiographers from the perspective of Russia's position between West and East, or in relation to Russia's internal problems arising from ethnic and religious differences. After the revolution, Soviet authorities declared the equality of all nationalities populating the Russian Empire and the abolishment of any discrimination on the basis of ethnicity. These declarations were repeated throughout the Soviet Union's 74-year history, despite the deportation of entire peoples in the 1940s and the deployment of the state's anti-Semitic campaign at the end of the 1940s, which dragged on in various forms until the end of the 1980s. Correspondingly, in *Doctor Zhivago*, problems related to the "ethnic question" both define the novel's historical context (1945–1955) and become a subject of discussion and reflection for the characters.

The revolutionary movement in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century is shown in Pasternak's novel not only through the prism of the political parties, worker's unions (the railroad strike), and youth ("young men shoot"), but also in "ethnic colors". Thus, the wife of a terrorist serving hard labor and mother of one of Zhivago's friends, Innokenty Dudorov, is "a Georgian princess of the Eristov family, a spoiled and beautiful woman, still young and always infatuated with <…> rebellions, rebels, extremist theories" [DZ: 18]. According to her son, in summer 1903 she "was having a lovely time in Petersburg with the students shooting at the police". Another example of revolutionary spirit with a distinctively "Polish" hue is found in Komarovsky's acquaintance, Ruffina

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[1] This article is an output of a research project implemented as part of the Basic Research Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE).

Onissimovna Voit-Voitkovksy, lawyer and wife of a “political emigrant”, in whose apartment he settles Lara after she shoots at the Sventintsky family’s Christmas party:

> Ruffina Onissimovna was a woman of advanced views, entirely unprejudiced, and well disposed toward everything that she called “positive and vital”.
>
> On top of her chest of drawers she kept a copy of the Erfurt Program with a dedication by the author. One of the photographs on the wall showed her husband, “her good Voit”, in a popular park in Switzerland, together with Plekhanov, both in alpaca jackets and panama hats [DZ: 92–93].

However, it is of note that in Pasternak’s novel, the characters’ Polish roots are not necessarily connected to an obvious revolutionary spirit. Neither the musician Fadei Kazimirovich Tyshkevich, who became the reason for Yura and Lara’s first meeting, nor the Sventitskys themselves, though the wife bears a most likely Polish name, Feliciata, are in any way connected with the revolutionary movement.

In addition to Georgian and Polish participation in the revolutionary movement, the novel also mentions participation by Jews, though, naturally, the Jewish theme cannot be boiled down to a primitive attribution to Jews of a dominant role in or responsibility for the revolution.

Through the arguments of both central and peripheral characters, Pasternak conveys an attitude towards the Jewish question, the historical fate of the Jewish people, and the particular circumstances of the Jewish population of the Russian Empire that is typical of Russian society at the beginning of the 20th century. The present position of Jews in Russia and the attitudes of Russian society toward them is the subject of a large body of literature; see the works of modern historians [Слёзкин; Миллер; Будницкий; Гольдин; Гительман].

In Pasternak’s novel, the Krestovozdvizhensk (a town controlled by Kolchak, in the chapter entitled “The Highway”) shopkeeper Galuzina directly considers Jewish participation in the revolution. She falls to musing as she walks past an old, settling “on four sides, like an old coach” two-story house, where the tailor Shmulevich and the pharmacist Zalkind live and the photographer’s assistant, Magidson, works — here Pasternak chooses recognizably Jewish surnames, and underscores the dilapidation, crowdedness, and poverty of the house[2]:

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[2] See Yu. Slezkine’s book about Jewish stereotypes in the Russian empire based “on actual differences in economic roles and cultural values”: “From the opposite perspective <…> intellect, moderation, rationalism, and devotion to family <…> can seem like slyness, cowardice, chicanery, unmanliness, tribalism, and greed <…>” [Слёзкин: 146].

> <…> downstairs were Zalkind's pharmacy on the right and a notary's office on the left. Above the pharmacist lived old Shmulevich, a ladies' tailor, with his big family. The flat across the landing from Shmulevich, and above the notary, was crammed with lodgers whose trades and professions were stated on cards and signs covering the whole of the door. Here watches were mended and shoes cobbled; here Kaminsky, the engraver, had his workroom and two photographers, Zhuk and Shtrodakh, worked in partnership. As the first-floor premises were overcrowded, the photographers' young assistants, Blazhein, a student, and Magidson, who retouched the photographs, had fixed up a darkroom at one end of the large woodshed in the yard [DZ: 311–312].

Galuzina is not prepared to see Jews as a cause of revolution and civil war, as does her husband, the "anti-Semite" Vlas Pakhomovich, supposing that they are too insignificant to have a defining influence on the fate of the country. The reason for the "collapse", in her opinion, is in the cities, education, and everything traditionally associated with the influence of Western Europe:

> "There they all are in a pack, the whole Kehillah", thought Galuzina as she passed the grey house. "It's a den of filthy beggars". And yet, she reflected at once, her husband carried his Jew-hating too far. After all, these people were not important enough to affect Russia's destinies. Though, if you asked old Shmulevich why he thought the country was in such turmoil and disorder, he would twist and turn and contort his ugly face into a grin and say: "That's Leibochka up to his tricks"[3].
>
> Oh, but what nonsense was she wasting her time thinking about? Did they matter? Were they Russia's misfortune? Her misfortune was the towns. Not that the country stood or fell by the towns. But the towns were educated, and the country people had their heads turned, they envied the education of the towns and tried to copy their ways and could not catch up with them, so now they were neither one thing nor the other.
>
> Or perhaps it was the other way around, perhaps ignorance was the trouble? An educated man can see through walls, he knows everything in advance, while the rest of us are like people in a dark wood. We only miss our hats when our heads have been chopped off. Not that the educated people were having an easy time now. Look at the way the famine was driving them out of the towns! How confusing all this was! Even the devil couldn't make head or tail of it! [DZ: 312].

Notably, the circumstances of the plot here seem to partly contradict Galuzina's thoughts – in the darkroom of the photographer's assistants "illegal meetings" are taking place, with lectures by the Bolshevik propagandist "comrade Lidochka" [DZ: 316].

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[3] This is the only mention in the novel of L. D. Trotsky, connecting an ironic context with the widespread impression of Trotsky as the symbolic embodiment of the "Jewish" beginning of the Russian Revolution.

Lara also talks about Jewish involvement in the revolution when she assesses the historical mission of the Jewish nation and their role in modern history, all while noting the painful paradox of their inability to free themselves from themselves:

> It's so strange that these people who once liberated mankind from the yoke of idolatry, and so many of whom now devote themselves to its liberation from injustice, should be incapable of liberating themselves from their loyalty to an obsolete, antediluvian identity that has lost all meaning, that they should not rise above themselves and dissolve among all the rest whose religion they have founded and who would be so close to them, if they knew them better.
>
> Of course it's true that persecution forces them into this futile and disastrous attitude, this shamefaced, self-denying isolation that brings them nothing but misfortune. But I think some of it also comes from a kind of inner senility, a historical centuries-long weariness. I don't like their ironical whistling in the dark, their prosaic, limited outlook, the timidity of their imagination. It's as irritating as old men talking of old age or sick people about sickness. Don't you think so? [DZ: 300].

Lara's words express an evaluation of the role of Russian Jews in the revolution that is free of Galuzina's rude primitiveness, yet at the same time views Jews as outsiders, in the manner of the "intelligentsia", a perspective S. Goldin calls the "racial" view in public discourse [Гольдин: 378]. Jewish manners of behavior, speech, and self-presentation are clearly unpleasant to the novel's heroine. At the same time, Lara's words about the Jewish nation's role in "the victory over idolatry" (similar to Vedenyapin's discussion of "history" beginning at the advent of Christ) essentially reproduce the views espoused in well-known texts of the early 20th century (which were undoubtedly known to Pasternak)[4]. At the very least, recall what Vl. S. Solovyov wrote in 1890, quoting B. Chicherin's letter:

> "In my opinion", Boris Nikolaevich Chicherin writes to me, "there is no other people in the world to whom humanity owes more thanksgiving than the Jews. Suffice it to say that Christianity arose from among them, revolutionizing World History. No matter what one's opinion of religion, there is no doubt that the book which serves as the ultimate spiritual food for many millions of people belonging to a higher order of Humanity, the Bible, is of Jewish origin. The Greeks gave us secular education, but the Greeks disappeared, while the Jews, despite untold persecutions and scatterings across the Earth, have preserved inviolable their nationality and their faith <…>" [Соловьев: 299].

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[4] See further [Гольдин: 382–383].

Lara's words about Jewish participation in the revolution also recall the opinions of many of Pasternak's contemporaries. For example, consider N. A. Berdyaev's article "Christianity and Antisemitism", published in 1938:

> <…> Jews, of course, played no small part in the revolution and its preparation. The oppressed will always play a big role in revolutions, oppressed nationalities and oppressed classes. The proletariat has always actively participated in revolutions. It is to the Jews' credit that they participated in the fight for a more just social order [Бердяев: 327].

In answer to Lara's words, Zhivago remembers his friend: "I haven't thought about it much. I have a friend, Misha Gordon, who thinks as you do" [DZ: 300].

Of all the novel's characters, it is Gordon who considers most deeply the position of Jews in the modern world as a whole and in Russia in particular. In the first chapter, "The Five-O'Clock Express", this character, still a youth, reflects on the incomprehensible and unnatural isolation of Jews, for whom "a higher sense of an ultimate freedom from care" and "the feeling that all human lives were interrelated" are inaccessible, unable to bring a sense of happiness based on the belief that "all events took place not only on earth, in which the dead are buried, but also in some other region which some call the Kingdom of God, others history, and still others by some other name" [DZ: 13][5].

Misha felt himself to be an "unhappy, bitter exception" to this world. At that (compare to Lara's reflections), he sees in himself ethnic features inherited from his elders: "A feeling of care remained his ultimate mainspring <…> He knew this hereditary trait in himself and watched with an alert diffidence for symptoms of it in himself" [DZ: 13]. He sees this very trait in his own father, upon whom, it seems to him, other passengers look with disapproval after the suicide of Andrey Zhivago:

> Now, for instance, no one had the courage to say that his father should not have run after that madman when he had rushed out onto the platform, and should not have stopped the train when, pushing Grigory Osipovich aside, and flinging open the

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[5] Note how closely the words Pasternak puts in Gordon's mouth on Christianity as a path to unity, harmony, and freedom mirror O. Mandelstam's 1915 work, "Skryabin and Christianity", in which Mandelstam juxtaposes Judeo-Christian and ancient cultures: "Christianity did not fear music. With a smile, the Christian world said to Dionysus, 'Well then, try, lead your maenad to break me: I am all integrity, all identity, all welded unity!' The new music had such strength in this confidence in the final triumph of the individual, whole and intact. This confidence in personal salvation, I would say, is a part of Christian music <…>" [Мандельштам: 38]. The provisions of this article are similar to the ideas about the connections between Christianity, freedom, and art in Pasternak's novel. M. L. Gasparov associates the reasoning in this article with Mandelstam's contrasting of Christianity and Judaism [Гаспаров: 195].

> door, he had thrown himself head first out of the express like a diver from a springboard into a swimming pool.
>
> But since it was his father who had pulled the emergency release, it looked as if the train had stopped for such an inexplicably long time because of them [DZ: 13–14].

It is as if Gordon admits the right of those around him to dislike Jews and, at the same time, can't understand why they do so:

> For as long as he could remember, he had never ceased to wonder why, having arms and legs like everyone else, and a language and way of life common to all, one could be different from the others, liked only by a few and, moreover, loved by no one. He could not understand a situation in which if you were worse than other people you could not make an effort to improve yourself. What did it mean to be a Jew? What was the purpose of it? What was the reward or the justification of this impotent challenge, which brought nothing but grief?
>
> When Misha took the problem to his father he was told that his premises were absurd, and that such reasonings were wrong, but he was offered no solution deep enough to attract him or to make him bow silently to the inevitable [DZ: 13].

The boy firmly decides that in the future, these questions will be "straightened out".

It is significant in *Doctor Zhivago* that Gordon wants to overcome his isolation from the Christian world, which is happy in its "freedom from care", since for those that belong to that world death is merely a transition to the Kingdom of God (eternal life) or, put another way, to history. In almost the same words, again in "The Five-O'Clock Express", Nikolay Nikolaevich Vedenyapin, Yura's uncle, explains the meaning of life for the modern man, which consists in overcoming death. This requires, in his words, "spiritual equipment", represented by the Gospel, which carries in itself the "still extraordinarily new" ideas of love of one's neighbor as the highest form of "life energy," and of "free personality" and "life as sacrifice":

> It was not until after the coming of Christ that time and man could breathe freely. It was not until after Him that men began to live toward the future. Man does not die in a ditch like a dog — but at home in history, while the work toward the conquest of death is in full swing; he dies sharing in this work [DZ: 10].

It is unsurprising that Misha Gordon becomes an ardent follower of Nikolay Nikolaevich in Moscow, passionate about the ideas in his new books, produced in Lausanne "in Russian and in translations", in which he developed "his old view of history as another universe, made by man with the help of time and memory in answer to the challenge of death. These works were inspired by a new interpretation of Christianity, and led directly to a new conception of art" [DZ: 66]. Under the influence of these ideas, Gordon chooses "to register at the Faculty of Philosophy. He attended lectures on theology, and even considered transferring later to the theological academy" [DZ: 66][6].

However, in Zhivago's opinion, these hobbies and activities reveal Gordon's ethnic identity, which, as before, does not allow him to be free of what seem to Yura to be "extravagant ideas" (he is deprived of what Misha himself in childhood called "freedom from care"):

> Yura advanced and became freer under the influence of his uncle's theories, but Misha was fettered by them. Yura realized that his friend's enthusiasms were partly *accounted for by his origin*. Being tactful and discreet, he made no attempt to talk him out of his extravagant ideas. But he often wished that Misha were a realist, more down-to-earth [Ibid., italics added].

Zhivago and Gordon finally have a reason to talk about this after they witness a terrible scene of abuse of an elderly Jew by a Cossack near the front:

> In one village they saw a young Cossack surrounded by a crowd laughing boisterously, as the Cossack tossed a copper coin into the air, forcing an old Jew with a gray beard and a long caftan to catch it. The old man missed every time. The coin flew past his pitifully spread-out hands and dropped into the mud. When the old man bent to pick it up, the Cossack slapped his bottom, and the onlookers held their sides, groaning with laughter: this was the point of the entertainment. For the moment it was harmless enough, but no one could say for certain that it would not take a more serious turn. Every now and then, the old man's wife ran out of the house across the road, screaming and stretching her arms out to him, and ran back again in terror. Two little girls were watching their grandfather out of the window and crying.
>
> The driver, who found all this extremely comical, slowed down so that the passengers could enjoy the spectacle. But Zhivago called the Cossack, bawled him out, and ordered him to stop baiting the old man.
>
> "Yes, sir", he said readily. "We meant no harm, we were only doing it for fun" [DZ: 118–119].

Fyodor Stepun describes almost the same picture of abuse of Jews on the front to the joyous approval of onlookers. Unlike Pasternak, Stepun was a direct participant in military operations. Stepun's book *From the Letters of an Artillery Ensign*, quoted below, was known to Pasternak[7]:

> Galicia in spring, perfect weather. A lousy sled rushed at a gallop along the rocky mountain road. In the sled sat a young Cossack, a brash curl blown out from under his hat. Upon the skinny nag harnessed to the sled, whose ribs stuck out like broken

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[6] These words lead the reader to understand that Gordon has converted to Christianity.

[7] He mentions it in a letter to Stepun dated May 30, 1958 [Пастернак: 328].

> mattress springs, trembled a ragged old Yid with gray side curls and a face petrified with terror. With a long whip, the Cossack lashed the Yid upon the back, and the Yid passed the blow to the horse.
>
> To the uproarious laughter of a group of soldiers and most of the officers, this pogrom ghost disappeared beyond a bend in the road.
>
> I saw this myself, this is an eyewitness account. On the highway, crisscrossed by abandoned Austrian trenches, a Cossack and a soldier met. Stopping, the soldier complained to the Cossack that he had no boots and none were to be found. The Cossack's first suggestion was to look in the trenches to see whether there were any on the corpses (the trenches were reliable warehouses, and the corpses the only honest commissaries). Just then a Yid with shoes appeared on the highway. The Cossack instantly thought to magnanimously give the soldier the "Yiddish" boots. Said and done. The Yid attempted to protest. The Cossack was outraged, and his "ethnic sense of humor" suggested the following joke to him: "pull down your pants", he said to the soldier. Understanding his comrade's idea, the soldier quickly followed the order. "Kiss his ass and thank us for leaving you alive", the Cossack shouted at the Yid, brandishing his fist at him. Utterly dumbfounded, the Yid unquestioningly did as he was told, after which all three went their separate ways.
>
> It is terrible that all this could happen. It is more terrible that an officer could be a witness to it. But most terrible of all is that the tale was a huge success with the narrator's audience as he placidly related it over brandy [Степун: 76–77].

It is of note that the parallel episode in Pasternak's novel uses the main character's words to give an accurate historical account explaining why, in 1914–1917, the residents of the Pale, across which the front line continually moved, where subjected to even greater hardship than before[8]:

> You can't imagine what the wretched Jewish population is going through in this war. The fighting happens to be in their Pale. And as if punitive taxation, the destruction of their property, and all their other sufferings were not enough, they are subjected to pogroms, insults, and accusations that they lack patriotism[9]. And why

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[8] "World war brought multiple disasters to the Jewish population of the Pale. In addition to the hardships of war that were common to all residents of the western suburbs, Jews suffered from the extremely hostile attitude of the military authorities. On a mass scale they were forcibly evicted from the war zone" [Миллер: 143]. "Around 250,000 people were deported; another 350,000 fled to the hinterland" [Будницкий: 334].

[9] Regarding this, see "<…> in the first months of the war <…> Jews were accused of disloyalty and it was announced that they would be evicted from the cities in the war zone and the surrounding area. Jewish hostages were taken and held responsible for the actions of all Jews. Jews <…> were called to fight for Russia, and at the same time were accused of disloyalty to her" [Гительман: 81]. Cf. Yu. Slezkine: "Over the course of the war more than a million residents of the Russian Empire were — by reason of their citizenship, ethnicity, or religion — expelled from their homes and subjected to, among other things, deportation, internment, police surveillance, and confiscation of property. The vast majority of these were Germans and Jews, who were seen as potential

> should they be patriotic? Under enemy rule, they enjoy equal rights, and we do nothing but persecute them. This hatred of them, the basis of it, is irrational. It is stimulated by the very things that should arouse sympathy — their poverty, their overcrowding, their weakness, and this inability to fight back. I can't understand it. It's like an inescapable fate [DZ: 119].

Like Lara, Zhivago thus speaks of the reasons for anti-Semitism, seeing them, paradoxically, in the features of the Jews themselves.

Accordingly, on the one hand, the world and civil war in *Doctor Zhivago* occasion the even more painful rise of old inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts. On the other hand, due to the partial destruction of the habitual framework of the social hierarchy, fundamental changes in social roles became possible at this time.

In its depiction of the events of 1905, the novel describes railway workshop foreman Piotr Khudoleiev's abuse of a young apprentice, the son of Gimazetdin, a janitor in Moscow. Khudoleiev's abuse has a distinctly "ethnic" undertone:

> "Is that the way to hold a file, you *Asiatic*?" bellowed Khudoleiev, dragging Yusupka by the hair and pummeling the back of his neck. "Is that the way to strip down a casting, you *slit-eyed Tartar*?" [DZ: 30, italics added].

In 1914 the "locksmith's student"

> on getting his commission, he had found himself, against his will and for no reason that he knew of, in a soft job in a small-town garrison behind the lines. There he commanded a troop of semi-invalids whom instructors as decrepit as themselves took every morning through the drill they had forgotten [DZ: 113][10].

However, the lieutenant's "carefree life" ends when

> <…> among the replacements consisting of older reservists sent from Moscow and put under his orders, there turned up the all too familiar figure of Piotr Khudoleiev <…>
>
> It was impossible that this should be the end of it. The very first time the lieutenant caught the private in a fault at drill he bawled him out, and when it seemed to him that his subordinate was not looking him straight in the eye but somehow sideways, he hit him in the jaw and put him on bread and water in the guardhouse for two days.

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traitors due to their family ties to subjects of the enemy states" [Слёзкин: 220]. William Fuller writes about the spread among the public of the belief in the "rampant" espionage of the Jewish population during World War I [Фуллер].

[10] This description recalls A. S. Pushkin's depiction of the training of the "invalid" soldiers at the Belogorskaya fortress in *The Captain's Daughter* (see [Смирнов: 324]).

> From now on every move of Galiullin's smacked of revenge. But this game, in their respective positions and with rules enforced by the stick, struck Galiullin as unsporting and mean. What was to be done? Both of them could not be in the same place <…> Giving the boredom and uselessness of garrison duty as his reasons, he asked to be sent to the front. This earned him a good mark, and when, at the first engagement, he showed his other qualities it turned out that he had the makings of an excellent officer and he was quickly promoted to first lieutenant [DZ: 113–114].

In 1918 he becomes commander of the troops of the Constituent Assembly. Strelnikov speaks first about the vicissitudes of Galiullin's and his own destinies, created by the circumstances of the civil war:

> It all seems more like playing at war than serious business, because they are as Russian as we are, only stuffed with nonsense — they won't give up, so we have to beat it out of them. Their commander was my friend. His origin is even more proletarian than mine. We grew up in the same house. He has done a great deal for me in my life and I am deeply indebted to him. And here I am rejoicing that we have thrown them back beyond the river and perhaps even farther [DZ: 249].

In describing to Yurii Andreevich how many people she helped with the help of an "old friend" (Galiullin), Lara also speaks about the way in which destinies can unexpectedly intertwine ("It's only in mediocre books that people are divided into two camps and have nothing to do with each other. In real life everything gets mixed up!" [DZ: 298]):

> You can't think how many people I managed to save, thanks to him, how many I hid. In all fairness, he behaved perfectly, chivalrously, not like all those small fry — little Cossack captains, policemen, and what not. Unfortunately, it was the small fry who set the tone, not the decent people. Galiullin helped me a lot, bless him. We are old friends, you know. When I was a little girl I often went to the house where he grew up. Most of the tenants were railway workers. I saw a lot of poverty as a child. That's why my attitude to the revolution is different from yours. It's closer to me. There's a lot of it I understand from the inside. But that Galiullin, that the son of a janitor should become a White Colonel — perhaps even a General! There aren't any soldiers in my family, I don't know much about army ranks [DZ: 297].

Lara's efforts are inspired, in part, by the "harassment and beatings of the Jews" [DZ: 300] by the Whites, which is also the reason for her reflections, quoted above. Jewish people, in her judgment, make up a significant part of the cities' intelligentsia ("if you do intellectual work of any kind and live in a town, as we do, half of your friends are bound to be Jews")[11]. Like Zhivago and Gordon, Lara believes that even with all the repulsiveness of the pogroms[12], sympathy for their victims can't help but mix with a feeling of alienation[13], the cause of which young Misha sought in his contemplations at the beginning of the novel and which he aspired to overcome at any cost.

As noted above, Zhivago sees an "inescapable fate" in this, while Gordon, in discussing with his friend the Cossack's abuse of the old Jew, formulates in detail the cause of the alienation. He asserts that the only path to the unity of humanity is not in the equality of peoples (as the Soviet authorities will declare):

> When the Gospel says that in the Kingdom of God there are neither Jews nor Gentiles, does it merely mean that all are equal in the sight of God? No — the Gospel wasn't needed for that — the Greek philosophers, the Roman moralists, and the Hebrew prophets had known this long before [DZ: 122].

The hoped-for unity of humanity presupposes a rejection of the very idea of belonging to a nation as something already passed:

> And now I'll tell you what I think about that incident we saw today. That Cossack tormenting the poor patriarch — and there are thousands of incidents like it — of course it's an ignominy — but there's no point in philosophizing, you just hit out. But the Jewish question as a whole — there philosophy does come in — and then we discover something unexpected. Not that I'm going to tell you anything new — we both got our ideas from your uncle.
>
> You were saying, what is a nation?.. And who does more for a nation — the one who makes a fuss about it or the one who, without thinking of it, raises it to universality by the beauty and greatness of his actions, and gives it fame and immortality? <…> And what are the nations now, in the Christian era? They aren't just nations, but converted, transformed nations, and what matters is this transformation, not loyalty to ancient principles. And what does the Gospel say on this subject? To begin with, it does not make assertions: "It's like this and that". It is a proposal, naïve and timid: "Do you want to live in a completely new way? Do you want spiritual happiness?" And everybody accepted, they were carried away by it for thousands of years [DZ: 121–122].

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[11] Cf.: "The Jews who had fled their homes not only became students, artists, and professionals; they — including the majority of students, artists, and professionals — became "intelligentsia" [Слёзкин: 186], cf.: [Ibid.: 284].

[12] Cf.: "For the Whites, among whom Russian nationalists and sovereign revenge-seekers dominated, Jews personified everything that had previously been called 'German' <…> and, of course, Bolshevism" [Слёзкин: 228].

[13] "Yet in times when there are pogroms, when all these terrible, despicable things are done, we don't only feel sorry and indignant and ashamed, we feel wretchedly divided, as if our sympathy came more from the head than from the heart and had an aftertaste of insincerity" [DZ: 300].

Gordon emphasizes that his reasoning builds directly on the ideas of Nikolay Nikolaevich Vedenyapin[14] ("Not that I'm going to tell you anything new — we both got our ideas from your uncle"); he is convinced that the Gospel opens a new world to humanity:

> "But it said: In that new way of living and new form of society, which is born of the heart, and which is called the Kingdom of Heaven, there are no nations, there are only individuals" [DZ: 122].

In this precise moment, the thoughts of the young Misha are repeated again — "all events took place <…> in some other region which some called the Kingdom of God, others history <…>" [DZ: 13]. Gordon sees the Jews' problem precisely in their attachment to feeling like a people:

> Their national idea has forced them, century after century, to be a nation and nothing but a nation — and they have been chained to this deadening task all through the centuries when all the rest of the world was being delivered from it by a new force which had come out of their own midst! Isn't that extraordinary? How can you account for it? Just think! This glorious holiday, this liberation from the curse of mediocrity, this soaring flight above the dullness of a humdrum existence, was first achieved in their land, proclaimed in their language, and belonged to their race! And they actually saw and heard it and let it go! How could they allow a spirit of such overwhelming power and beauty to leave them, how could they think that after it triumphed and established its reign, they would remain as the empty husk of that miracle they had repudiated? What use is it to anyone, this voluntary martyrdom? Whom does it profit? For what purpose are these innocent old men and women and children, all these subtle, kind, humane people, mocked and beaten up throughout the centuries? And why is it that all these literary friends of 'the people' of all nations are always so untalented? Why didn't the intellectual leaders of the Jewish people ever go beyond facile *Weltschmerz* and ironical wisdom? Why have they not — even at the risk of bursting like boilers with the pressure of their duty — disbanded this army which keeps on fighting and being massacred nobody knows for what? Why don't they say to them: "Come to your senses, stop. Don't hold on to your identity. Don't stick together, disperse. Be with all the rest. You are the first and best Christians in the world. You are the very thing against which you have been turned by the worst and weakest among you" [DZ: 122–123].

Symbolically, Pasternak formulated all these arguments for his characters at a time when the state ideology of "internationalism" was still preserved in words, but in reality was being supplanted by ideas of a specifically interpreted "nationality" (this process began as early as the second half of the 1930s), which, in part, transformed into a new anti-Semitism, renamed the “fight against rootless cosmopolitanism”. Pasternak wrote a novel in which the “best” characters speak both of the shamefulness of anti-Semitism, and of the fact that genuine, rather than official, “internationalism” is achieved not through social revolution, not through ideological propaganda, nor even through the abolition of the Pale and other such administrative and legal restrictions in the Russian Empire, but only through liberation from the idea of nation (ethnicity), achieved through “faith in Christ” and faith in the idea of “free personality”.

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[14] L. Katsis connects the origin of Gordon's and Vedenyapin's ideas with the statements of G. Kogen and his Muscovite students [Кацис].

In the epilogue, it is Gordon who, having clearly felt from the very beginning of the novel a lack of freedom arising from national isolation, in reading a notebook of Zhivago’s poems, feels that they contain the “portents of freedom” that alone “defined [the] historical significance” of the postwar period [DZ: 519]. This is a reference to that long-lasting historical period in which it seemed to so many Russian intellectuals (and not without reason) that the new nationalism of the Soviet state took on an unassailable form.

Zhivago’s poems bring a sense of freedom to two characters that appeared in the first part of the book, Gordon and Dudorov:

> To the two old friends, as they sat by the window, it seemed that this freedom of the soul was already there, as if that very evening the future had tangibly moved into the streets below them, that they themselves had entered it and were now part of it. Thinking of this holy city and of the entire earth, of the still-living protagonists of this story, and their children, they were filled with tenderness and peace, and they were enveloped by the unheard music of happiness that flowed all about them and into the distance. And the book they held seemed to confirm and encourage their feeling [DZ: 519].

It turns out that just as Gordon’s thoughts about the fate of Jews are generated by Nikolay Nikolaevich Vedenyapin’s ideas about the free personality, a new Christianity, and a new conception of art (in many ways connected to the views of Vl. S. Solovyov, N. A. Berdyaev[15], and, in part, of O. Mandelstam), it is Gordon who receives the feeling of freedom from his friend’s poetry. The poems of Yurii Zhivago thus complete the “work” about which Misha dreamed in his childhood.

Translated by Allison Rockwell

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[15] A. V. Lavrov wrote about the possible contiguity of “sources” for the philosophies of N. N. Vedenyapin and Vl. S. Solovyov and N. Berdyaev [Лавров: 329–332].

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HARMONISTS IN THE CAMP OF THE RUSSIAN WARRIORS: ONCE MORE ON THE HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE NATIONAL LITERARY CANON

ROMAN LEIBOV

A literary (or another other cultural) canon can be presented not only as a *list of texts*, but also as a *system*: that is, a collection of cultural/social functions relevant to myriad historically varying series and supplying "strong" texts (meaning those that are replicated, through various means, more broadly than others[1]). This approach is most obviously applicable to national literary canons, which in new European cultures are oriented toward filling the thematic and genre lacunae of classical models ("our Aeneid", "our Shakespeare", "our Baudelaire").

In the elementary-school pedagogical canon, the greatest significance will be attached to typical narratives and descriptions tied to didactic aims: teaching the child about "proper" behavior, how to structure his/her environment, and about calendar time. In the "popular song" series, "strong texts" will serve as representations of typical lyrical emotions cultivated by the environment of the song tradition and presenting a socially acceptable model of behavior and emotional reaction. When viewing the history of the canon in this way, it is these functions that are primary (and specific to each series); the texts that serve these functions, however, are replaced depending on the historical dynamics of various series (development of a national language, educational practices, ideological stances, musical tastes and trends, etc.).

In one way or another, hierarchies of texts become explicit in many cultural and institutional spheres (in the form of standard lists of names/titles in literary-historical or critical compositions, in the practice of mass-produced reprints of old texts, in re-screening old films; for works of music, in standard repertoires and school music programs). Here the task lies in constantly replacing "outdated" (in the linguistic, ideological or real-historical sense) texts with "substitute texts" that fill the space of the no-longer-relevant text in the overall cultural hierarchy.

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[1] In greater detail, see [Лейбов 2011].

Of course, this replacement does not always imply total expulsion. The "substitute texts" fulfill a dual function in relation to the canon as a *sum of texts*: in refurbishing it, suggesting modern versions of classical texts, they simultaneously stand in for the older texts and confirm their classical status. The supplanted texts gradually depart from the school reading program, disappear from the repertoires of popular singers, but become further consolidated in literary-historical anthologies and can be heard at chamber-music concerts: in this way, the quantitative narrowing of the old text's field of replication can be accompanied by a qualitative "reinforcement", a consolidation of the work in the "cultural core" of a national tradition, its transition into the ranks of the "classics".

The combination of the stability of a structure transmitted through time and the variability of the concrete filler of this structure resembles the transmission of genetic information (this analogy is a commonplace of contemporary literary evolutionism[2]); it also recalls the transformations of folklore existing within a tradition that preserves its structural identity not despite but thanks to its plasticity and openness to transformations[3].

Of course, the mechanisms of transmission will vary quite widely in various cases. A "strong" text can, as we have seen, both co-exist with its descendents and be completely supplanted by them. Texts can take part in peculiar interferences. Thus, Tolstoy's story about Vanya tempted by a plum can be supplemented (but not supplanted) in the Soviet school program by Zoshchenko's story about little Lenin breaking his aunt's pitcher (this story is in turn a retelling of a fragment from the memoirs by V. I. Ulyanov [Lenin]'s sister Anna Ilyinichna, which were widely published during the Soviet period). Both the structural similarity of these two children's narratives (which often got mixed up in the memory of people who experienced the canon of Soviet children's reading) and their differences are striking. Vanya is compelled to admit his sin by the fear of death (hardly an unexpected plot for Tolstoy), while little Volodya is moved exclusively by his conscience (we can also note the absence of the father in the story about Lenin — a crucially important figure in Tolstoy's narrative).

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[2] Among recent works in the field I would name a paper by three Americans, given at a conference in Lausanne: [Sack, Wu, Zusman].

[3] However, folklore has to do with essentially anonymous processes, while in the literary tradition at every point of development we are dealing not with anonymous shifts, but more or less conscious choices on the part of authors whose bodies of work in and of themselves have a certain internal coherence; their work with the preceding tradition is subject to more or less cognizant rules. An investigation of these literary mutations must therefore necessarily include a discussion of auto-context and authorial positions.

The "ancestor text" can be reflected more or less completely in the "successor texts". Sometimes the former's features appear in diluted form in a whole group of texts (the "strength" of the text is dispersed), but sometimes a new "strong" text appears that supplants its "ancestor". In the 20th century, this supplanting is often connected to extraliterary series: the social-historical and the political-ideological[4]. Often the success of the "successor text" will be determined less by the degree of its resemblance to the "ancestor" and more by the felicity of the "mutations" that impart new features to the text, which are unexpected from the point of view of the old literary system.

Meanwhile, the signals of texts' structural non-resemblance can nearly completely overshadow their resemblance; understanding the new text need not in any way depend on the reader's recognition of its "ancestor" — even quite the opposite. As Yuri Lotman pointed out repeatedly, new meanings in culture emerge explosively at the borders of heterogeneous semiotic systems, at places where adequate translation is unequivocally impossible. In our view, the evolution of a cultural canon — i. e. a series that is by definition conservative and oriented toward transmitting existing hierarchies rather than innovations — can be directly linked to the mechanisms of cross-genre contacts, of peculiar cultural "interbreeding".

The question naturally arises: when the author gives no explicit indications as to the link between the "successor text" and the "ancestor text", to what extent are these weak signals relevant to a description of literary evolution? Are they not an exaggeration on the researcher's part? One would think that accentuating the description of the structure of canonical series and its transformations would allow researchers of intertextuality to do away with the eternal question of intentionality: if two texts demonstrate intersections at various structural levels and simultaneously can be described as isomorphic with regard to the functions they serve within extraliterary series, they should attract the attention of the history of transformations of the cultural canon, and can be examined within that canon as realizations of a single invariant.

It would seem that precisely these ties (often hidden, overshadowed by new generic aims of "successor texts") to the "rather distant" ancestor could explain the success of many canonical texts of the Soviet era, which were discreetly replicating 19th-century standard reading materials.

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[4] For a discussion of one example of this kind of substitution see [Лейбов 2013].

An example of such a “strong” classic text with close ties to the extraliterary series is Zhukovsky’s “The Bard in the Camp of the Russian Warriors” (1812, henceforth: BCRW). As is well known, Zhukovsky’s paean gave rise to numerous synchronous and more remote imitations, parodies and rehashings[5], which is typical for certain types of “strong” texts. The popularity of these replications lies to a large degree in the melodic-syntactical originality of the text and the presence of a more or less distinctly expressed epic component. In this sense, by all means, this is one of the strongest corpuses (in Zhukovsky’s case, the role of the absent epic narrative is, of course, provided by historical context). As a model poetic text of the Patriotic War, the BCRW was consolidated in the school canon as well, successfully maintaining its place there all the way until the Soviet period[6].

Let us note the antinomy embedded in Zhukovsky’s text between the metaphorical “singing” deployed in the old-time conventional poetic world of the paean (with its “arrows” and “armor” and “swords”) and the text’s real intonational orientation on melodiousness. The conventional song-activity at the conventional feast before the battle, which unites the lyric element with the text’s entirely epic monumentality, did not assume that the BCRW would be transposed into amateur vocal genres; but naturally neither did it prevent the creation of various musical compositions using Zhukovsky’s poem by Bortniansky (1813), Verstovsky (1827) and A. Varlamov (1832) (on the latter two see [Глумов: 83, 85]). This musicality (which is connected to the general aims of the “school of harmonious precision”) is wonderfully described by Tynianov in his novel *Pushkin*. In the novel, the evaluation of BCRW’s melodic form is given by a poet of an older poetic school — Derzhavin. Characteristically, he describes the effect of the paean on the public as “musical contagion”, while drawing a parallel between Zhukovsky’s text and popular, frivolous songs and dances: “His song on 1812 is suspicious: everything uses the motif of a romance and forces the protagonists to waltz” [Тынянов: 427].

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[5] O. A. Proskurin demonstrated how Zhukovsky’s intonational and melodic pattern becomes the dominant in texts by authors whose goals are far from both parody and pure imitation: “The very fact of the travesty of Zhukovsky’s ‘Singer’ *consolidates* the text’s canonical status, confirms its right to universal renown < … >” [Проскурин 2000: 174].

[6] It can be found in anthologies of 19th-century poetry for the duration of the entire century. The poem first appeared in 1815 in a German anthology (*Severin, J.* Russisches Lesebuch mit einem Russisch-Deutschen und Deutsch-Russischen Wörterbuche und einer Abhandlung über die Vorzüge der Russischen Sprache von Dr. Johann Severin Vater. Leipzig; Petersburg, 1815), then was publishing in the anthologies of Peninsky, Galakhov and Filonov. According to a database compiled by A. V. Vdovin [Вдовин], Zhukovsky’s text or excerpts from it have appeared sixteen times throughout the 19th century (compare Pushkin’s “The Commander” at three times, Lermontov’s “Borodino” at twenty-one times). On ties between Zhukovsky’s text and the context of 1812 see [Лотман 1963].

One more feature of BCRW important for our further considerations is its dialogic structure, in which the nameless Singer (for historical readers, of course, the protagonist of Zhukovsky, who was in the active army) leads a solo, caught up by the “chorus” of Warriors[7].

We believe we can examine a classic poem by M. Isakovsky as a “secret descendent” of Zhukovsky’s paean. Below is the text as it was printed in Isakovsky’s collections:

В прифронтовом лесу

Лиде

С берез, неслышен, невесом,
Слетает желтый лист.
Старинный вальс “Осенний сон”
Играет гармонист.
Вздыхают, жалуясь, басы,
И, словно в забытьи,
Сидят и слушают бойцы —
Товарищи мои.

Под этот вальс весенним днем
Ходили мы на круг,
Под этот вальс в краю родном
Любили мы подруг,

Под этот вальс ловили мы
Очей любимых свет,
Под этот вальс грустили мы,
Когда подруги нет.

И вот он снова прозвучал
В лесу прифронтовом,
И каждый слушал и молчал
О чем-то дорогом;

И каждый думал о своей,
Припомнив ту весну,

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[7] Denis Davydov appears as a double for the Singer in the poem; Zhukovsky dedicates a separate quatrain to Davydov that connects the two aspects of the hero (and lyric subject) through rhyme: “Давыдов, пламенный боец, / Он вихрем в бой кровавый; / Он в мире счастливый певец / Вина, любви и славы”.

И каждый знал — дорога к ней
Ведет через войну...

Так что ж, друзья, коль наш черед, —
Да будет сталь крепка!
Пусть наше сердце не замрет,
Не задрожит рука;

Пусть свет и радость прежних встреч
Нам светят в трудный час,
А коль придется в землю лечь,
Так это ж только раз.

Но пусть и смерть — в огне, в дыму —
Бойца не устрашит,
И что положено кому —
Пусть каждый совершит.

Настал черед, пришла пора, —
Идем, друзья, идем!
За все, чем жили мы вчера,
За все что завтра ждем;

За тех, что вянут, словно лист,
За весь родимый край…
Сыграй другую, гаромонист,
Походную сыграй [Исаковский: 229–230].

First published in “Pravda” on 21 September 1942, at the height of the German army’s advance on Stalingrad, the poem “In the Battlefront Wood” (henceforth: IBW) was written during the evacuation in Chistopol in early September [Исаковский 1982: 257]. During the war, two songs appeared based on Isakovsky’s poem: one canonical one by Matvei Blanter, and a second by Leonid Bakalov. Both versions were published in 1944; we do not have a precise date for the creation of the music or the chronology of its performances. According to the notes to the Biblioteka Poeta edition published during Isakovsky’s lifetime, the song with Blanter’s music alone was published 42 times before 1965 [Исаковский: 471].

The title of the text (in reproductions, line 18 is often substituted as “In the woods on the battlefront”) describes a lyric situation that immediately recalls Zhukovsky’s BCRW. This comparison might seem like a stretch: war-era Soviet songs often refer to a standard situation of “resting in the gap between battles”, and the music/song theme also appears frequently and can be explained without reference to Zhukovsky (the song genre generally assumes the introduction of the singing theme, underscoring the performative aspect of the lyric utterance)[8].

The canonization of the “accordionist at rest” lyric plot also dates from 1942 — we have in mind Part Two of Alexander Tvardovsky’s “Vasily Terkin”, “The Accordion”, which was published in “Krasnoarmeyskaya Pravda” 10 September 1942, but written in 1940 and published in “Krasnaya Zvezda” (№ 261, 6 November) in a shorter version [Твардовский: 491, 438]. Let us note that the accordion in Tvardovsky’s poem turns out to be metonymically connected to its dead owner, the tank man, and develops the theme of the song (and military) relay-race (subsequently the accordion appears in the poem as a significant attribute of the protagonist).

Two lyric songs featuring this same musical instrument seem to be the closest to Isakovsky[9]. The first song’s text was written by A. Surkov (“The fire beating in the narrow little stove…”, a song entitled “In the earthen hut” or “The earthen hut”, 1941, dedicated “to Sofya Krevs”[10] and put to music by K. Listov in early 1942). The second was written in 1942 by A. Fatyanov (“On the sunny field…”, composed by V. Solovev-Sedoi). The invariant in the plots of these three songs can be described as: *the accordion at rest reminds the warrior of his distant love, giving him strength.* For our purposes, however, this invariant (which is universal for the military lyric song of the modern era) is not as essential as the variations that give form to the three different song worlds. Let us now attempt to describe through contrast the different parameters of these texts, focusing attention on IBW and accentuating those features of Isakovsky's song that are, in our view, inherited from Zhukovsky.

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[8] On the Soviet song as a single field of meaning see the monograph by [Чередниченко].

[9] According to data from the Russian language National Corpus, the accordion or harmonium [гармонь] was “assimilated” by poetry in several stages. The word *garmonika* is attested sporadically in the late 18th century, when this musical instrument had still not been assimilated by democratic culture (Nikolev, the poem “Sensations while listening to the *garmonika*” [Чувствование при слушании гармоники] (1795) — it is not clear from the text which instrument exactly he is talking about, but probably it was Franklin’s glass concertina, which was in fashion during the second half of the century in Europe). But by the 1860s the *garmonika* (in today’s sense of the word) in poetry became an attribute of folk culture — first of lower-class urban folk culture (or more broadly — tavern culture), and only later — village folk culture. Cf.: *До тошноты мне гадок был народ: / Фабричные с гармониками, пьяный / Их смех, яйцом пасхальным полный рот* <…> (Merezhkovsky, “Old-fashioned octaves” [Старинные октавы], late 1890s), *В деревне, чуть заря вечерняя займется, / Играет молодежь, сплетаясь в хоровод, / Звучит гармоника, и песня раздается / Такая грустная, что за сердце берет* (Drozhzhin, “Summer evening in the village” [Летний вечер в деревне], 1906). The lexemes *garmon’* and *garmoshka* appear in Russian poetry simultaneously in the early 20th century (the first example of *garmon’* is in N. Kluev, 1908, and *garmoshka* in Bely, 1907). The first is evidently an antidote to the “bourgeois” aura around *garmonika,* and the second is its intensification. The “harmonization of the *garmon’*” can be seen in the introduction of the word *talianka* (in Kluev, Esenin, 1914), though the diminutive form *talianochka* appears in Esenin even earlier — in 1912. Slightly later we find the word “accordionist” [*garmonist*] (1915, also simultaneously in Esenin and Kluev).

[10] This text was published 25 March 1942 in “Komsomol Pravda”, but in Chistopol it became known by late 1941 (at least, to Surkov’s wife).

Meter and stanzaic form, without a doubt, act as an extremely significant constructive factor in the song texts. In this regard we can immediately note the three authors' orientation on different branches of the literary song tradition. Surkov is oriented toward the romance. The anapestic trimeter with alternating rhyme and all masculine endings was canonized by Fet ("Do not wake her at the dawn…" [На заре ты ее не буди...], 1844), and is encountered regularly in the modern era in Blok and Gumilev (cf: *О тебе, о тебе, о тебе, / Ничего, ничего обо мне!*). The romance intonations are easily recognizable in Surkov. Fatyanov chooses a more democratic and less marked model of meter and stanzaic form — a stylized *folksong*: iambic trimeter with alternating rhyme, with alternating dactylic and masculine endings. First tried out in the early 19th century and immediately giving birth to a strong tradition (Merzlyakov's "Among the even valley…" [Среди долины ровныя…], 1810), in Fatyanov this form preserves a lively and recognizable orientation on the song tradition. The circumstance of place in the beginning is worth noting for its nearly emblematic reference to the similar stanzaic form of the quasifolkloric song "Along the Murom road…" [По Муромский дороге…], which could be found in professional repertoires in the years leading up to the war[11]). The stanzaic form of IBW almost directly replicates the "waltzing" meter of BCRW (Zhukovsky's paean has iambic trimeter and tetrameter with alternating masculine and feminine endings; Isakovsky has the same but with all masculine clausula). In any event, the meter of IBW — a ballad meter — refers to Zhukovsky[12]. It is noteworthy that Zhukovsky had tried out this meter in one of his translations of Uhland ("Harald", 1816) — the combination of the motifs of war, of tempting and magical love, death and enchanted *sleep* (though in the ballad this sleep turns out to be fatal[13]): *Но только жажду утолил: / Вдруг обессилел он; / На камень сел, поник главой / И погрузился в сон.* The same motifs can be found in other ballad-tinted texts of the first half of the 19th century. Cf. no love motif, but the song motif: *Хотя певец земли родной / Не раз уж пел об нем, / Но песнь — все*

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[11] Cf. the same stanzaic form in the exotic genre (Lermontov's "Tryst" [Свидание]) and the "urban romance" (Myatlev's "Lanterns" [Фонарики], 1841; Polonsky's "The Hermitess" [Затворница], 1846).

[12] On the BCRW poem in broad context see [Шапир].

[13] Zhukovsky would use the same stanzaic form later in his "Fisherman". For more detail see [Немзер: 98–100].

песнь; а жизнь — все жизнь! / Он спит последним сном (Lermontov, “The fighter’s grave [Могила бойца]”, 1830). Particularly indicative of the interaction with the themes and lexicon of BCRW: *Кругом весь лагерь в тишине, / Объят глубоким сном; / А на сердце так тяжко мне, / Так много грусти в нем. / Я на груди у ней мечтал / Когда-то в тихом сне, / Очаг радушно так пылал, / И было сладко мне. / А здесь, где пламень роковой / Сверкает на мечах, / Я грустен, одинок душой / И слезы на глазах. / Но есть еще надежда мне — / Мне скоро в бой идти, / И я забудусь в вечном сне, / Мой милый друг, прости* (Ogaryov, “Presentiment of War” [Предчувствие войны], 1842). We should note that Soviet poetry had already attempted to unite the intonations and motifs of BCRW that we find in Isakovsky: cf. Ya. Smelyakov’s “Death of the brigadeer” [Смерть бригадира] (1932) and particularly Tvardovsky’s “In the downed tank” [В подбитом танке] (1940) with its opening: *Застиг и нас тяжелый час, / Пришел и* ***наш черед****. / В подбитом танке трое нас, — / Все ясно наперед.*

The joining of the motifs of death, love, song and heroic fatalism, which are at the forefront in Isakovsky, doubtless hark back to BCRW rather than to “Harald”. We cannot fail to notice the direct quotation of a key fragment of Blanter’s song and the ninth rejoinder of Zhukovsky’s Singer (on the place of this fragment in the composition of BCRW see [Немзер: 58–60]):

Пусть свет и радость прежних встреч
Нам светит в трудный час.
А коль придется в землю лечь,
Так это только раз!
Но пусть и смерть в огне, в дыму
Бойца не устрашит,
И что положено кому,
Пусть каждый совершит.

Так что ж, друзья, коль наш черед,
Да будет сталь крепка!
Пусть наше сердце не замрет,
Не задрожит рука.
Настал черед, пришла пора,
Идем, друзья, вперед!
За все, чем жили мы вчера,
За все, что завтра ждет!

Друзья! блаженнейшая часть:
Любезных быть спасеньем.
Когда ж предел наш в битве пасть —
Погибнем с наслажденьем;
Святое имя призовем
В минуты смертной муки;
Кем мы дышали в мире сем,
С той нет и там разлуки:
Туда душа перенесет
Любовь и образ милой…
О други, смерть не все возьмет;
Есть жизнь и за могилой.
[Жуковский: 239]

The text of the song quoted above departs from Isakovsky’s poem. Without stopping for a detailed discussion of the transformations undergone by Isakovsky’s poem in Blanter and Bakalov’s songs (and afterwards — in actual performance), we will describe them summarily. In Bakalov's version lines 9–17 (third and fourth stanzas) are dropped, evidently because they seemed too elegiac and far from the heroic theme. The transformations that the text underwent in Blanter's version are more radical, and also have to do with composition. We can point in particular to the rejected final stanza of Isakovsky's text; this stanza gives the circular repetition of the elegiac topos of "leaves falling" in its metaphoric variation[14]. The lost simile (perhaps the composer found it to be an excessively outdated poeticism), along with the final change-over from the "waltz" to the "military march", appear to be an obvious and significant piece of "evidence" tying Isakovsky's text to Zhukovsky's BCRW. However, the emotional, intonational and motif interchanges between these texts from two different Patriotic Wars are quite substantial (particularly when contrasted with Surkov's and Fatyanov's songs using the poem). Let us now turn to the other layers of the texts.

The ***lyric plot*** in Surkov's song is developed as a transition from the theme of music, which expresses the feelings of the lyric subject on display (the addressee of the lyric monologue in the accordion's "song" is presented through symbolic details: *про улыбку твою и глаза*), to introspection, which replaces music (as the symbolic language of love) with the language of nature (*про тебя мне шептали кусты*). The unchanging/*unquenchable* love plot[15] edges out the musical motifs, which return only in the finale. In Fatyanov, the plot is given as a narrative. The protagonist *plays* [sings] *of love,* and this same theme is developed in the narration (cf. the verb "to tell [рассказывать]" in the refrain") of the feat that allows the male protagonist to affirm his place in the heart of the female protagonist.

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[14] Isakovsky himself never accepted the loss of the final stanza; when printing IBW, he always kept to the first version. Recalling this in a 22 August 1962 letter to L. F. Ilyichev, Isakovsky wrote: "Although I understand that the composer could not act otherwise, I am still sorry that he abbreviated the poem <...>. Furthermore, he moved several stanzas. I repeat, I understand why it was done this way, but nevertheless <...> the poem is to a significant extent crippled [Исаковский 1982: 257]. Indeed, the text of the song may be seen as a free-standing work, authorized against its will. The circular construction of the poetic "original" is compensated for in Blanter's song by a direct repetition of the first two stanzas in the finale and a rearrangement of Isakovsky's stanzas. In the song, the stanzas are doubled into eight-line couplets and arranged in the following order (the number of the stanza in the original text is given): I (1–2), II (3–4), III (5–6), IV (8–9), V (7–10), VI (1–2). Couplets III and V (the intrusion of the elegiac reminiscence into the marching present and the call to march, which compensate for the final lines of the text) are rendered in a major key, the rest are in minor. In many performances, including early renderings by Efrem Flaks, we find truncated versions of the song, which was too long for a work in this genre — we would like to see in this too generic reflections of the ancestor-text.

[15] In Surkov's text this is the love of the lyric subject. The original text, where the final line reads "from my unquenchable love", is reproduced precisely in most of the songbooks [*Our songs, Favorite songs, Russian Soviet songs*], but also presented in a transformed mode consolidated by tradition [*Soviet songs*]: "from your unquenchable love".

The ***lexical/stylistic and lexical/semantic*** levels of the three texts also demand attention. Surkov uses the prefabricated language of the "high-style" Soviet love lyric, as evident in, for instance, the work of K. Simonov. The lexicon here is devoid of social or temporal markers; it includes the frequently encountered lexemes of 19th – 20th century poetic language in quite trivial combinations (though this does not make them any less effective in the song). The metaphors of "singing" and "burning" that organize the text are hard to see as original, as are the similes with tar and tears (cf. Benediktov in 1857: *И смола слезой, слезой / Каплет с бедной елки*). Fatyanov's song, on the contrary, features a lexicon obtrusively marked with features of the "folksong"; the text is equipped with diminutives (for which the author was reproached by stern Soviet critics[16]) and designations of realia. The latter are also shifted toward the conventional "songlike" quality of the bourgeois romance (*ночи жаркие, полушалки*[17]) and a moderate *elevated-folk* tendency to the picturesque (*ворог*).

In light of this lexical and semantic "purity" of the parallel texts, Isakovsky's poem seems like a remarkable attempt to graft the classical rose of the "school of harmonious precision" onto the wilding of the "folksy" Soviet song. The number of poeticisms here is small but notable ("*очей любимых свет,*" cf. Surkov's "про улыбку твою и *глаза*"). One more example: the metonym "that the *steel* be strong [да будет *сталь* крепка]" (note the parallel here with Zhukovsky's conventionally poetic battle metonyms). We should mention that for the Isakovsky-Blanter text, the *syntactic* poeticisms are much more important than the lexical ones. Such are the anaphoric repetitions in lines 9–16 and 21–24, as well as the above-cited "motivational" fragment of the song.

Marked as social-historical, the realia are reduced to a minimum and linked to the theme of music. The only expression that can really be examined as a socially marked detail is "we'd go out reveling" [*ходили мы на круг*], referring to the phraseology of the Russian village. A significant bit of cultural and musical realia introduced in the opening is the Archibald Joyce waltz, "Songe d'Automne" or "Autumn Dream", written in 1908. In the poem, the waltz is called "old-fashioned" (it would seem that by 1941 this collocation was already rather stable), which seems to discreetly correspond to the profoundly archaic quality of the genre and plot of IBW. Isakovsky also introduces a reminiscence into the opening of his text, taken from the beginning of the Russian text of "Autumn Dream" (the Lebedev-Kumach version, which was performed by L. Ruslanova: *Ветер осенний листья срывает, / Вся природа грусти полна. Только надежда не унывает, / Сердце знает — придет весна*). Early recordings of Blanter's performance of the song open with a musical citation from Joyce's waltz.

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[16] Cf: "Alongside the beautiful, vivid folk expressions <…> we are distressed to find invented, emaciated images and a love for diminutive suffixes that come in many cases from songs of bourgeois rather than folk origin, and which lend a certain false and lisping "intimacy" rather than a hint of love and closeness" [Бочаров: 145].

[17] It would seem nearly indisputable that the lines "Про то, как ночи жаркие / С подружкой проводил, / Какие полушалки ей / Красивые дарил", with their symbolism of erotic exchange, point to two canonical source texts: Nekrasov's "Peddlers" and Blok's "The Twelve".

The ***pronominal, nominal*** and ***communicative*** schema of these songs are built contrastively, as are their ***temporal*** and ***spatial*** models. We can contrast the explicit first-person quality of Surkov's text to the third-person narration of Fatyanov; in his song the protagonists are distinguished by special denominations ("little guy" [парнишка], "girlfriend" [подружка], "girl" [дивчина], "black-eyed" [черноглазая]). The "first-person" pole of the text is represented by the chorus, with its rhetorical address to the "*talianochka*" (cf. Surkov's "sing, accordion" [пой, гармошка]). In our estimation, the fundamental fact is that Isakovsky's text features the significant (and, we presume, tracing directly back to Zhukovsky's classic text) situation of the "singer in the camp" of warriors. The lyric "I" is expressed weakly but significantly, it is dissolved into the "we" ("the warriors are my comrades"). The accordion player, who is depicted by Fatyanov but entirely absent in Surkov (it is clear that someone is playing the accordion, but this is not expressed in the text at all), in Isakovsky's text is the protagonist appearing in the opening and finale, the equivalent to Zhukovsky's Singer.

There is another key element: in Isakovsky the theme of music and/or singing is supplemented by the theme of dance, and the music played is given a concrete title — this is the *old-fashioned waltz, "Autumn Dream"*. This mention incorporates the musical reminiscence into the song, which in turn becomes an emotional emblem of the otherwise abandoned elegiac world of love[18], and leads us once again to Zhukovsky, where the "song" was put into quotations and identified through the Singer's remarks in direct speech (caught up by the chorus of warriors).

The *Singer* and his *song* are the true protagonists of BCRW. They are transformed by a mid-20th century poet into a nameless accordion-player and a waltz — wordless, yet heard by all — which symbolically intrudes into ordinary military life and reminds everyone of those simultaneously intimate and lofty values for whose sake warriors go to war.

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[18] Cf. the introduction of the theme of parting in the description of the world of the past: *Под этот вальс грустили мы, / Когда подруги нет.* The music of the waltz is directly connected with the elegiac theme of parting.

Zhukovsky's seemingly hopelessly outdated poem becomes a "waltz" in the non-metaphorical sense (cf. the old man's grumbling of Tynianov's Derzhavin) and transmits the basic emotional impulse of BCRW through the text of a poet of a new era and in a new genre. The weak reflections of the classical text that can be found in the Soviet song are not mere accident, nor are they an homage to the author's early poetic education "featuring Muses, Phoebuses, etc." [Исаковский 1963: 9]. The transmission of the formal features of Zhukovsky's paean is necessary for the fulfillment of a generic task: creating a new kind of song that would model the emotions of people in 1942, just as Zhukovsky's paean had modeled the emotions of Russian society during the "Tarutino period" of the War of 1812[19]. In this connection, a seemingly external feature of Isakovsky's poem is worth noting, as well as its volume. Too long to be a lyric song, the poem was shortened by both composers, and in actual performances was often reduced to three eight-line fragments (the opening, the major chorus and a repetition of the opening).

This is a rather interesting feature of IBW, particularly noticeable against the background of Surkov's poem. "In the earthen hut" is a short lyric monologue (cf. the metonym "my living voice"), organized around a classic topos of overcoming distance. Hence the extreme popularity of Listov's song among professional and — still more importantly — amateur performers.

The amateur musical genre of the masses in which IBW dissolves is brought out by Isakovsky's text itself — it is a dance. Just as Isakovsky's poem "renews" BCRW, so Blanter's melody "supplants" Joyce's "old-fashioned waltz". "In the battlefront woods" does not turn into a drinking song[20]; Blanter's composition is a song for listeners rather than performers.

Translated by Ainsley Morse

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[19] Isakovsky would turn again to the same stanzaic and intonational schema in a way directly connected to the genre of paean — a 1943 congratulatory toast is in significant dialogue with IBW: *И не в обиде будет он, / Коль встретим так, как есть, / Как нам велит войны закон / И наша с вами честь. // Мы встретим в грохоте боев, / Взметающих снега, / И чашу смерти до краев / Наполним для врага* [Исаковский: 251]. With regard to the genesis of IBW we can also suggest a hypothesis on the influence of another text (written using nearly the same pattern of mixed iambs). This is the popular song "The Boer and his sons" (1899), based on a song by G. Galina. Cf. the opening, which replicated the beginning of IBW: *Под деревом развесистым / Задумчив бур сидел,* and also: *Но он нахмурясь отвечал: / "Отец, пойду и я! / Пускай, я слаб, пускай, я мал, /* ***Крепка рука*** *моя!" // Да,* ***час настал, тяжелый час*** */ Для родины моей. / Молитесь, женщины, за нас, / За наших сыновей.* In his memoirs, Isakovsky recalls having particularly loved this song in his childhood [Исаковский 1978: 55–56].

[20] On the reduction of popular songs in everyday practices of Russian parties cf. [Николаев].

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THE HAPPINESS AND DESTINY OF A RUSSIAN POET: THE STORY OF DAVID SAMOILOV[1]

ANDREI NEMZER

The poem "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" (1981) was first published in the book *Voices Beyond the Hills,* where it concluded a mini-cycle of four octets: "Год рождения не выбирают…" (1978), "Я слышал то, что слышать мог…" (1981), "Да, мне повезло в этом мире…" (1982), and "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" [Самойлов 1985: 69–71]; cf. [Самойлов 2006: 256, 305, 311, 301]. Although Samoilov did not give an overall title to these texts as a group, they undoubtedly form a conceptual unity. In addition to the texts' common themes (a summarization of life events), confessional tones, and equal lengths (the octet is the most common form in *Voices Beyond the Hills*: 36 out of 131 poems, about 27.5%), their graphical treatment is of note.

In *Voices Beyond the Hills,* the poet highlights just three actual cycles — "Весна", "Птицы", and "Из стихов о царе Иване". The texts included in the cycles are numbered and printed one after another [Самойлов 1985: 24–25, 26–27, 148–154], which places them in contrast to almost all the remaining poems (with a few exceptions which require special interpretation): even quatrains are printed one per page. This does not mean, however, that the poet intended each poem to be self-contained. In the complex organization of the book, the poems are grouped more or less thematically, rather than by title. The four octets of interest here form just such a "tremulous" unity.

Without thoroughly detailing the structure of *Voices Beyond the Hills,* I will mention here its most important features, which reflect Samoilov's poetic changes and publication strategies "beyond the third pass" — at the beginning of a new decade, both by the calendar (the 1980s), and personally (the poet turned 60 on June 1, 1980). One such feature is sharp antithesis, appearing both at the level of text and of super-textual unities (which are not always presented directly to the reader), a constant comparison and contrast of "the old" (that which is familiar to readers) with the "new," the "foreign" with the "familiar", the "intimate" with the "public". Also of note is the interplay of understatement and aphorism, irony and pathos. Of no less importance is Samoilov's concurrent emphasis on both the significance of the conceptual whole[2] and on the spontaneity (and even the alleged "unreliability") of any given utterance.

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The poems which comprise *Voices Beyond the Hills* must be read in three contexts. The most immediate context is particularly perceptible when a minicycle is denoted via title or, as in this case, relatively simple textual clues. The second context is literary. Here we must distinguish between the "unexpected" conceptual echos between texts greatly separated from one another in the book's organization, and the difficult-to-perceive overall conceptual contour of Samoilov's "seventh book". The third context is authorial, the various ways in which these poems recall and interact with Samoilov's earlier verse, from the widely known to the obscure; this context is perceptible to only a very small fraction of his audience. Samoilov intentionally places his poetry of the early 1980s (and that which was written a little earlier, but resembles the poetics of *Voices*) in the supposedly stable and familiar poetic world of his previous six books, in order to decisively deform and present it in a new light, implying an inclination to conflict.

Having received the proofs of "Избранное" [Самойлов 1980], on February 27 the poet penned a bitter question in his diary: "Is this really all I am?" [Самойлов 2002: II, 140]. Roughly a month and a half later, he wrote to L. K. Chukovskaya: "After reading through my 'Избранное' all at once, I felt something like hostility toward myself" [Самойлов, Чуковская: 137]. It was impossible to overcome this "hostility" through an "improved" edition of his previous poems, although such a project was planned, as noted in a diary entry on August 21, 1983: "Vitya F[ogelson]. With the idea to do my collection *From Six Books*"[3] [Самойлов 2002: II, 178]. *Six Books* attained otherness in the "seventh book", naturally titled "in sequence", in which the idea of "the perfect culmination" (the sacred nature of the number seven) clashes painfully with the idea of misfortune (associated by Samoilov with numerical "oddness")[4]. In this risky experiment, a key role was played by the poem "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…".

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[2] Cf. "the plot" of the book *Beatrice*, written mostly during the summer of 1985, that is, immediately after completing *Voices*.

[3] Viktor Sergeevich Fogelson (1932–1994) was Samoilov's in-law (from his first wife) and friend; he was editor of several significant books of poetry issued by the publisher Советский писатель, including all of Samoilov's books.

While noting that "personal contextuality" is structurally foundational in *Voices Beyond the Hills,* two other powerful tendencies must not be overlooked. First is the "separateness" of its individual poems (their self-containment), as noted above; second is the book's place in a great national tradition.

The first tendency affects the composition of the mini-cycle, which deviates slightly from the chronology of both the artistic and the publishing processes. Of the four poems that comprise the conceptual unity, three were published before *Voices Beyond the Hills.* The "optimistic" poems (which chronologically amend "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…", but appear first in print order) "Я слышал то, что слышать мог…", and "Да, мне повезло в этом мире…" were published in the almanacs *Day of Poetry* (1982) and *Poetry* (1983, № 35). "Год рождения не выбирают…" has a "pessimistic" beginning, echoed by the coda; it appeared in the journal *Tallin* (1985, № 4) just before *Voices* was released (the book was sent to press on July 23, 1985). Thus, "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" was the only *new* poem — even to his most dedicated readers — in the cycle; this, combined with its position as the final poem in the cycle, increases its conceptual importance. The second tendency — inclusion in a national literary tradition — is teasingly declared in the very first line: "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом".

At first it seems that other voices are louder in this line than that echoing from Samoilov's earlier works. The line evokes three well-known poetic utterances that seem to have torn themselves from their authorial contexts and entered the national mythology. The first is from "На дне преисподней", the requiem to Blok, who perished from "lack of air", and to Gumilev, killed by the

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[4] Cf. the self-commentary to the final (even-numbered!) XVI "Пярнуской элегии", which opens with the question "Even or odd?" [Самойлов 2006: 242]. Samoilov told his future biographer that the elegy refers to Schubert's Seventh Symphony, and when asked why in the poem it's called the eighth, answered "For euphony" [Ким: 247]. It is easy to see that euphony has nothing to do with it. The poet chooses between life (even) and death (odd); the subtext contains the creative history of Schubert's composition: the Seventh Symphony (1821) remained incomplete, which is why the Eighth (the celebrated Unfinished Symphony, 1822) is sometimes called the "seventh." Previously, Samoilov had never used subheadings with numerals, and a numerical title appeared only once, in "Второй перевал" (1963). The close connection between the book summarizing the author's life at 40 and the one doing the same at 60, is manifest in the list of verses: "Сорок лет. Жизнь пошла за второй перевал…" (1960–61), in which one of the books discussed here is named, as well as *Over the Pass* ("Я уже за третьим перевалом…", 1980), which, in another book, occupied the second position (right after the title play, *Voices Beyond the Hills*).

Bolsheviks: “Темен жребий русского поэта” [Волошин: 280]. This line (and the following verse, which develops it) is usually better remembered than the opening lines of the poem (“С каждым днем всё диче и всё глуше / Мертвенная цепенеет ночь”), but Samoilov likely intended to co-opt Voloshin’s entire text. The quotation from “На дне преисподней” seems natural, considering Samoilov’s long-standing (and stronger than ever at the beginning of the 1980s) interest in the Time of Troubles — one of the central themes of Voloshin’s book *The Burning Bush: Poems about War and Revolution*.

In those lines from “На дне преисподней” addressed to the “child-killer” Rus — “Но твоей Голгофы не покину, / От твоих могил не отрекусь” — one can discern not so much a subtext as a naively transformed specimen of Samoilov’s obscure poetry, apparently instigated by some kind of ideological shout (“Не отрывайся, — мне сказали…”, 1961): “Нет, не сады, не вертограды / Благословили наш союз. / Но от кладбищенской ограды / Не оторвусь, не оторвусь <…> Пусть будут злобствовать мещане, / Пусть трижды отречется трус, / Пусть будут рвать меня клещами — / Не оторвусь! Не оторвусь!”. In this poem, love toward Russia is connected at first to Russia’s natural (vegetative) world (“И конопля, и повилика / Нас приторочили вовек”); however, later in the text this attitude is withdrawn: the poet is “held” by the grave of his recently deceased father and the “jargon…that congested [him]” (“наречье”, “что переполнило меня”) (the motif of military service is also quietly introduced: “Ложатся на мое оплечье / Скрещенья твоего ремня”) [Самойлов 2006: 472–473]. The array of strangely combined but generally simple motifs (the natural world, blood relations, poetry as speech), between which inexplicably arise arguments either with themselves, or with some kind of opponent (but not on the level of ideological overseers) suggests that, while working on the poem, Samoilov recalled not only “На дне преисподней,” but also another requiem, recalled twenty years after being written, which grew and developed the motif straight from Voloshin of the “child-killer” (or the poet killer).

That poem is G. B. Plisetsky’s “Памяти Пастернака” (June 4, 1960), which was widely circulated in *samizdat*, sometimes attributed to more “prominent” writers, and officially published only during Perestroika[5]: “Поэты, побочные дети России! / Вас с черного хода всегда выносили <…> Теснились родные жалкою горсткой / В Тарханах, как в тридцать седьмом в Святогорском <…> Я плачу, я слез не стыжусь и не прячу, / хотя от стыда за страну свою плачу. // Какое нам дело, что скажут потомки? / Поэзию в землю зарыли подонки <…> Лишь сосны с поэзией честно поступят: / корнями схватив, никому не уступят" [Плисецкий: 50]. Leaving aside the polemical overtones of Samoilov's poetry in 1961, "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" is written in the same meter that Plisetsky used in "Памяти Пастернака" — amphibrachic tetrameter[6], using only couplets and only feminine rhymes.

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[5] One of the poem’s appearances (it seems, not its first) was in the journal *Literature Review* (1990, № 2), in an issue dedicated entirely to Pasternak and published in conjunction with his 100th birthday.

The third parallel — a very well known line, which opens Y. A. Yevtushenko's "Молитву перед поэмой" ("Братская ГЭС", 1965): "Поэт в России — больше, чем поэт" with an almost as memorable concretization of the thesis: "В ней суждено поэтами рождаться / лишь тем, в ком бродит гордый дух гражданства, / кому уюта нет, покоя нет" [Евтушенко: 69]. Samoilov viewed the collusion of "the poet and the citizen" in a different way, quite clearly reflected in the poem of the same title; however, in "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" (within the context of the cycle) the motifs of "citizenship" and even "government" are quite distinctly heard.

In the very first line of the poem the "foreign" word is not rejected at all, but also is not supplied as the only possibility (as evidenced by the "tripling" of the subtext) — the "familiar" shines through it. This is found in the meter, in the manner of introducing the key motif (the fate of the Russian poet) and in his "evaluation".

Before "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…" Samoilov had never written an entire poem in the rare amphibrachic tetrameter (Am4) with only feminine couplet rhymes; however, first, the poet had used similar meters several times, and second, this meter appears in his polymetric texts. In the free amphibrachs of "Элегии" ("Дни становятся все сероватей…", 1948) — becoming anapestic or accentual verse (*дольник*) at points of connotative repetition — the four-foot lines dominate, while the rhymes are feminine couplets (which form a chain of several links); Am4 with feminine couplets forms the metrical basis of the text: "— Садитесь, прочту вам роман с эпилогом. / — Валяйте! — садятся в молчании строгом. / И слушают. / Он расстается с невестой. / (Соседка довольна. Отрывок прелестный.) / Невеста не ждет его. Он погибает. / И зло торжествует. (Соседка зевает.) / Сосед заявляет, что так не бывает, / Нарушены, дескать, моральные нормы / И полный разрыв содержанья и формы" [Самойлов 2006: 76].

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[6] In Plisetsky, amphibrach twice slips into accentual verse: "Крестились неграмотные крестьяне", and "Теснились родные жалкою горсткой".

This meter is prevalent in the passionate, secret response to the anti-Semitic company (“В каком нас горниле не плавило…”, 1951); here the beginnings of the first two “periods” (octave and nine-line stanzas) are written in amphibrachic trimeter (Am3) with dactylic couplets, followed by Am4 with feminine couplets (crossing lines and within lines; cf. “Элегию”): “В каком нас горниле ни плавило — / Мы всё — исключенье из правила. / Клинком ли мы были, врага ли рубили — / Почета и славы себе не добыли. / Трубой ли мы были, к походу сзывали — / О нас позабыли на первом привале. / Хотят, чтоб сидели бы мы торгашами, / Чтоб всё колдовали в ночи над грошами / В убогом подвале…”. This same meter is found in the four lines of the third stanza; after the “feminine” couplet in Am4 follows the same in Am3, and then Am4/3/4/4 with alternating feminine rhymes: “О, люди, взираю без злобы и мести, / На то, как вы жить не умеете вместе, / На вас несчастливых, тщеславных, / И суетных, и своенравных. / Пусть нам никому не сносить головы! / За это никто не в ответе. / И что же, когда нас не будет на свете / Намного ль счастливее станете вы?” [Самойлов 2006: 456–457].

A chain of whimsically alternating feminine rhymes organizes an antinomic *credo* (1961): “Готовьте себя к небывалым задачам, / Но также готовьте себя к неудачам <…> Готовьте себя к небывалым задачам, / Без этих задач ничего мы не значим, / Без этих задач мы немного стоим <…> Но только не путайте уголь с алмазом, / Служенье — со службой и долг с одолженьем” [Самойлов 2006: 114–115]; the rhyme scheme is ***A***ABCB***A***ADEDFGFG (bold italics indicate the rhyme of repeated lines).

The quatrain with continuous feminine rhymes (their wailing monotone supported by repetition and internal rhyme) reveals yet another secret confession (the three subsequent stanzas in ABAB with alternating masculine and feminine rhymes): “Хотел бы я жить, как люблю и умею, / Но жить не хочу я и жить не умею. / Когда-то имел я простую идею. / А нету идеи — и я холодею <…> О Боже, о Боже, кто может помочь! / Какой собутыльник приникнет к стакану? / О, как ты желанна мне, вечная ночь, / В которую кану! В которую кану!” [Самойлов 2006: 503]. The connection of this poem (1970) with the mini-cycle *Voices Beyond the Hills* is obvious, but earlier its first stanza was transformed (divided by caesura) into the amphibrachic dimeter in stanza IX of “Пярнуская элегия” (1977): “Любить не умею, / Любить не желаю. / Я глохну, немею / И зренье теряю. / И жизнью своею / Уже не играю. / Любить не умею — / И я умираю” [Самойлов 2006: 240–241].

Samoilov includes Am4 with continuous feminine rhymes in several poems — always extremely emotional ones, either knowingly “impassable” for print (in 1948 he couldn't have dreamed of publishing "Элегии", a confession combined with a poetic manifesto), or balanced on the edge of impassibility ("Готовьте себя к небывалым задачам..." was published in issue № 4 of the journal *Москва* in 1963, but did not appear in any book during Samoilov's lifetime). Samoilov rarely uses more common variants of Am4, and also in those cases, with one exception, in confessional-prophetic texts: "Извечно покорны слепому труду..." (1946)[7], "Презренье" (1956)[8], "Ночная гроза" (1962)[9], and in the programmatic "Залив" (1977)[10]. The variation in clauses and types of rhyme scheme do not negate the overall markedness of Am4 — a meter connected in Samoilov's work with the interacting genres of confession, (self) invective, and poetic and/or civic manifesto. It is as if the poet is testing the meter's potential to hold meaning, in order to fully realize that potential in his later tragic confessions, which are thus associated (at least, for the author and his inner circle) with his earlier uses of Am4.

A similar dialectic of "foreign" and "familiar" (*чужой* and *свой*) is found at the level of grammar and semantics. Samoilov doesn't use Voloshin's word "жребий" (*fate, lot*), but he does use the verb usually associated with that noun — "выпадать" (*to befall*). The "happiness of being a Russian poet" ("Счастье быть русским поэтом") is the very lot that has befallen the lyrical I. This lot, according to Voloshin, is "dark" (*темен*); accordingly, Samoilov's line acquires a double meaning: the happiness befell me is inseparable from unhappiness. In the light of Samoilov's Jewish ethnicity, common knowledge to all his readers, his use of Voloshin's definition of "Russian" (and the rest of the line with it) acquires an additional meaning: the happiness of being a Russian poet, a "dark lot", has befallen a Jew and becomes a "Jewish happiness" (the meaning of this subtextual phrase is well known). Thus an ironic minor note arises in the very opening line of the octave, dampening slightly the major key that is produced in large part by strong self-reminiscence.

Grammatically, "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом..." is a two-member sentence, but its semantics do not correspond directly to the grammar. “Happiness befell” (*счастье*[11] *выпало*) the person reciting the monologue not of its own accord, but as a result of an unnamed higher power (the verb’s neuter form, required by its use with the noun “счастье,” unwittingly takes on an “impersonal” shade). This situation had been conveyed by Samoilov earlier in exactly the same grammatical-semantic construction: “Какое *привалило счастье*” (“Дай выстрадать стихотворенье…”, 1967; italics added) [Самойлов 2006: 168]. The happiness which has been “poured down” (*привалившее*) (“befallen,” as an inherited gift) is creativity — his life as a poet.

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[7] A poem comprised of couplets with continuous masculine rhymes in the meter of Zhukovsky's "short" ballads; regarding these, see [Вахтель].

[8] A sharp self-invective not published in Samoilov's lifetime, comprised of an aBaB alternating rhyme scheme.

[9] A poem comprised of quatrains with alternating rhyme, in the first two stanzas the rhymes are dactylic and feminine, in the third stanza and beyond, only feminine; this is the only instance of Samoilov's use of this meter in "pastoral-love" lyric.

[10] This poem contains two lines of Am4 with masculine couplets and two lines of Am3 with feminine couplets; it is vaguely reminiscent of the metric-strophic pattern of "Песни о вещем Олеге".

Without yet addressing other references in this text (and mini-cycle) to “Дай выстрадать стихотворенье…”, I will note two very important points. First, in Samoilov’s early instances of self-reflection, happiness, or creativity, is thought of as absolute (it is not subjected to doubt; unlike the hero, it is unaffected by irony). Second, it assumes involvement in history (the desired “poem” in the first stanza is transformed into the “long story of a generation”). This connection was made six years earlier in Samoilov’s programmatic verse, where the author’s current poetic existence (not called “happiness” outright) is derived from experiences that never “befell” him. In the text, verbs are rhymed that have the same root and are in the same conditionally impersonal form (past tense, neuter gender): “Как это было! Как *совпало* — / Война, беда, мечта и юность! / И это все в меня *запало* / И лишь потом во мне очнулось” (1961). At the same time as “Сороковые”, “Слава Богу! Слава Богу!” was written, where the repeating verb “было” (*was*, in neuter form) guides the theme of destiny (the author’s, the addressee’s, and their generation’s), as distinctly manifest in the finale: “Хорошо, что *случилось* с нами, / А не с теми, кто помоложе” [Самойлов 2006: 111, my italics].

In the new edition of *Слава Богу! Слава Богу!* the most optimistic poem of the cycle was “Да, мне повезло в этом мире…”[12]: the “impersonal” form of the verb, semantically, is undeniably positive, as is the “cheerful” revision of three-foot amphibrachs; cf. [Гаспаров: 121–124]. Together, “Сороковые” and “Дай выстрадать стихотворенье…” paint a picture of the meaning of “Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…”. The notional rhyme of “совпало / запало” (*coincided / ignited*) gives a lofty ring to the verb “выпало”, advancing the “dark” connotations of the first lines and governing the transition to the second line — “Мне выпала честь прикасаться к победам”.

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[11] As do the later appearing words “честь” (honor), “горе” (woe), and “все” (all).

[12] Cf.: “Не по крови и не по гною / Я судил о нашей эпохе…” and “А злобы и хитросплетений / Почти что и не замечать” [Самойлов 2006: 111, 311].

The syntactic parallels of the two first lines — a first-person pronoun in dative case, verb, and noun combined with an infinitive clause — do not negate their antithetical natures. “Счастье быть русским поэтом” is personal, while “честь прикасаться к победам” is public (generational). Against the backdrop of consonant harmony (despite the opposition of the initial consonants — [sch’:as’т’jь] and [ch’es’t’] — obvious to the Muscovite Samoilov) the contrast of the accented vowels [a] and [e] is clearly felt. However, alliteration and self-allusion overcome and almost remove the antithesis: “honor” (*честь*) enters the notional field of “happiness” (*счастье*), which is contrasted with “woe” (*горе*) in the second couplet.

The anaphora is preserved, but the syntactic construction is modified: the antithesis of the lines replaces the antithesis of the couplets, which is emphasized by the phonetic coherence of the third and fourth lines (achieved with repetition, internal rhyme, and alliteration): “Мне выпало горе ро*д*и*тьс*я в *д*ва*дц*а*т*ом, / В *проклятом* го*д*у и в с*т*оле*т*ье *проклятом*”. The contrast of the accented vowels in the key words of the first two distychs (“сч*а*стье” and “г*о*ре”) is, paradoxically, supported by the identical accented vowels of “сч*а*стье” and the rhyming pair “двадц*а*том – прокл*я*том”. The phonetic coherence of the second couplet is inseparable from its deep significance, which should, however, surprise the reader: while it’s understandable why the twentieth century is “cursed”, of what offence is the twentieth year guilty?

The answer is in the subtext, in the poetry of Slutsky, Samoilov’s peer, friend, and constant opponent: “Девятнадцатый год рожденья — / Двадцать два в сорок первом году — / Принимаю без возраженья, / Как планиду и как звезду. / Выхожу двадцатидвухлетний / И совсем некрасивый собой, / В свой решительный и последний, / И предсказанный песней бой[13]” (“Сон”, 1956); “В девятнадцатом я родился, / но не веке — просто году. / А учился и утвердился, / через счастье прошел и беду / все в двадцатом, конечно, веке / (а в году я был слишком мал). / В этом веке все мои вехи, / все, что выстроил я и сломал <…> Век двадцатый! Моя деревня! / За околицу — не перейду. / Лес, в котором мы все деревья, / с ним я буду мыкать беду” (“Двадцатый век”, 1967) [Слуцкий: I, 97, 260; II, 128]. Slutsky, in ironically playing with the date of his birth, takes on the century as a whole; Samoilov does not differentiate the identically “cursed” years (1920 as bad as 1919 and any other year).

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[13] Juxtaposed with the quotations from “Интернационал”, the ironic recollection of the performance of “Облака в штанах” conveys the theme of the “death of the poet”, cf. the quotation of these same lines in the poem, where the death of the poet is equated to sleep: “Ты спал, постлав постель на сплетне, / Спал и, оттрепетав, был тих, — / Красивый, двадцатидвухлетний, / Как предсказал твой тетраптих” [Пастернак: 64]; cf. [Маяковский: 179].

But Samoilov undoubtedly remembers yet another of Slutsky’s attestations of the outgoing century (“Ведь он еще не кончился, / Двадцатый страшный век” from “Еврейским хилым детям…”, late 1950s) and his characterization of one period of time: “Конец сороковых годов — / сорок восьмой, сорок девятый — / был весь какой-то смутный, смятый. / Его я вспомнить не готов. // Не отличался год от года, / как гунн от гунна, гот от гота / во вшивой сумрачной орде. / Не вспомню, ЧТО, КОГДА и ГДЕ. // В том веке я не помню вех, / но вся эпоха в слове “плохо”. / Чертополох переполоха / проткнул забвенья белый снег. // Года, и месяцы, и дни / в плохой период слиплись, сбились, / стеснились, скучились, слепились / в комок. И в том комке — они” (late 1960s) [Слуцкий: I, 297; II, 322]. While invoking Slutsky’s poetry, Samoilov refutes him, expanding the post-Stalin “age” to include the entire century and recalling Slutsky’s utterance of the epithet “terrible”.

Samoilov’s argument with his friend reflects the argument he has with himself, which is the organizing factor in the cycle as a whole. The couplet about woe should be read against the backdrop of the lines which open the cycle: “Год рождения не выбирают…”. The parallel which suggests itself — “Времена не выбирают, / В них живут и умирают” (1978) [Кушнер: 162] — likely is not at work here: more than a decade and a half before Kushner, Samoilov wrote: “А кто недоволен веком, / А кто недоволен эпохой — / Пускай себе выбирают / Какую-нибудь другую — Какую-нибудь... любую!” (“Деревья в двадцатом веке…”, 1960?) [Самойлов 2006: 106][14]. Samoilov and Slutsky share the theme of being doomed to one’s time — unable to leave it — but each poet’s evaluation of the “age” and its movements and their personal attitudes toward the times are not set in stone, but volatile and tragically conflicted.

In the poem “Двадцатые годы, когда все были…” (early 1960s), Slutsky lays out the history of the century as a succession of motley decades. In the 1950s — the best years of the century, from the poet’s perspective — survivors didn’t appreciate their happiness: “Мы сравнивали это <pre-war and wartime past. — *A. N.*> с новизною, / Ища в старине доходы и льготы. / Не зная, что в будущем, как в засаде, / Нас ждут в нетерпении и досаде / Грозные шестидесятые годы” [Слуцкий: I, 464]. Samoilov responds to this conception in “Свободный стих” (“Я рос соответственно времени…”, 1979?):

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[14] This poem appeared in print only once (“Знамя”. 1962, № 8), and was not included in any books during Samoilov’s lifetime. The question of whether A. S. Kushner was familiar with it remains unresolved.

“…в тридцатые годы / я любил тридцатые годы <…> А когда по естественному закону / время стало означать / схождение под склон, / я его не возненавидел, / а стал понимать. // В шестидесятые годы / я понимал шестидесятые годы. / И теперь понимаю, / что происходит / и что произойдет / из того, что происходит. / И знаю, что будет со мной, / когда придет не мое время. / И не страшусь” [Самойлов 2006: 264–265].

Although “Свободный стих” was published in *Залив* (*Bay*) — [Самойлов 1981: 16], the poet also included it as the fourth poem in *Voices Beyond the Hills* [Самойлов 1985: 8], in which the argument with Slutsky about time “coming down the hill” and the results of their parallel destinies is undeniable. The inter-oriented poems “Год рождения не выбирают…” (with its theme of “naturally” occurring death, caused by “fatigue” — “легче выбрать свой последний год”) and “Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…” frame the concluding cycle, and correct the polemical notes of “Свободный стих”: though one need not fear that it “is not my time” (and therefore death), time and death are impossible to ignore.

The beginning of the third couplet of “Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом...” repeats the two preceding it, but the syntax again changes: in contrast to “happiness”, “honor”, and “woe”, the generalized pronoun “all” (*всё*) needs no deciphering. “All” is “all”. “All” negates the earlier antithesis, as it can only be followed by “nothing” (*ничто*). And thus it goes: “Мне выпало всё. И при этом я выпал…”. Here the period, having replaced any definitions, separates the poet’s former life from the expectation (or presence already) of death. In this fifth repetition of the verb *выпасть,* the private-impersonal form (“мне выпало”) is replaced with a decidedly personal form: “я выпал” (as if he himself befell). This grammatical play, however, merely strengthens the passivity of the action, and the previous double entendre of the verb turns sinister. Now the verb *выпасть* is associated with a consonant (and morphologically similar) verb, which is used in genitive case (and with “impersonal” semantics) in Samoilov’s poem about peers who had died in the war: “Они шумели буйным лесом, / В них были вера и доверье. / А их *повыбило* железом, / И леса нет — одни деревья” (“Перебирая наши даты…”, 1961) [Самойлов 2006: 113]. This associative group also includes lines from Slutsky’s memorial poems: “Писатели *вышли* в писатели. / А ты никуда *не вышел,* / хотя в земле, в печати ли / ты всех нас лучше и выше. / А ты никуда *не вышел.* / Ты просто пророс травою, / и я, как собака, вою / над бедной твоей головою” (“Просьбы”; published 1964, refers to M. V. Kulchitsky); “Павел Коган, это имя / *уложилось* в две стопы хорея. / Больше ни во что *не уложилось* <…> До сих пор мне неизвестно, / удалось ему поупражняться / в формулах военного допроса / или же без видимого толка / Павла Когана *убило* <…> Перезябшая телефонистка / раза три устало сообщала: / 'Ваши номера не отвечают', / а потом какой-то номер / вдруг ответил строчкой из Багрицкого: / 'Когана *убило*'" ("Воспоминание о Павле Когане", 1966? [Слуцкий: II, 104, 203, 205], italics added).

The poet to whom "everything befell" turns out to be just as "redundant", "going nowhere", and slain by a faceless power as his contemporaries — remaining forever young, never managing to speak their piece, but freed by death from the burdens of life, the era, and old age[15]. The long-over war did not end even in "peaceful times". As early as 1964, Samoilov glimpsed a future war — a war not his own, strangely reminiscent of the dwindling and loss of that previous heroic enthusiasm, but not of the perpetual evil of war — a war that is imperceptible and ruthless to the former soldier: "Та война, что когда-нибудь будет, — / Не моя это будет война. / Не мою она душу загубит / И не мне принесет ордена <…> А меня уже пуля не ранит, / А, настигнув, убьет наповал. // Но скорей не дождусь я и пули, / Потому что не нужен врагу. / Просто в том оглушающем гуле / Я, наверное, жить не смогу <…> Та война, что меня уничтожит, / Осторожно и тихо идет. / Все сначала она подытожит, / А потом потихоньку убьет" [Самойлов 2006: 143]. The "bullet" (*пуля*), having chosen us at the appropriate time, appears in "Год рождения не выбирают…"; the unbearable "hum" (*гул*) in "Я слышал то, что слышать мог…", and the projection of a great war onto "peaceful times" (*мирное время*) in the frosty finale of "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…".

"Мне выпало всё. И при этом я выпал, / Как пьяный из фуры в походе великом. // Как валенок мерзлый, валяюсь в кювете". Neither the nerve-grating physiological concreteness of these lines, nor their historical weightiness (with reference to Samoilov's experience as a soldier) overrides the extreme self-reminiscence — this is the serious version of a playful poem about a half-legendary ancestor: "Впереди гремят тамбуры, / Трубачи глядят сурово. / Позади плетутся фуры / Маркитанта полкового <…> Русский дух, зима ли, Бог ли / Бонапарта покарали. / На обломанной оглобле / Фердинанд сидит в печали. // Вьюга пляшет круговую. / Снег валит в пустую фуру. / Ах, порой в себе я чую / Фердинандову натуру. // Я не склонен к аксельбантам, / Не мечтаю о геройстве. / Я б хотел быть маркитантом / При огромном свежем войске" [Самойлов 2006: 221]. The lexical and plot convergences are obvious, but even more important is the remembrance of Samoilov's programmatic nature of "Маркитант" (1974).

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[15] The optimistic version of this story is presented in "Я слышал то, что слышать мог…", written in the "courageous" iambic tetrameter with consistently masculine rhymes. The motif of the forest is transferred here from "Перебирая наши даты" having endured a substantial transformation: the forest is identified not with the heroes (both fallen and living), but with their path, era, and exploits ("Мы шли, ломая бурелом…"). This mutation of the motif is probably related to the equivalent metrics of the text in the poem "Мцыри". Cf. the later (1985) poem "Итог": "Что значит наше поколенье? / Война нас споловинила. / Повергло время на колени. / Из нас Победу выбило" [Самойлов 2006: 530].

The hero of "Маркитант" is the descendant of a wild adventurer who wants to be a sutler for all the "green soldiers" (to sell wine, appease the heroes, and organize feasts), who has exchanged a comfortable commercial life for transient uncertainty — this, to be sure, is not an army of conquerors, but the unpredictable and terribly cheerful history of Russia. Ferdinand lucked out after all — things did not end with the sadness of retreat, the descendants of the "prodigal son of a jeweler" settled in Russia so that a new "sutler" could arise here — to be, if needed, a soldier, but always first a toastmaster (cf. "Да, мне повезло в этом мире..."), a wit, a master of turning life and poetry into a carefree, liberating game. The descendent did not manage to exactly play the role of his ancestor: even playful poetry in Russia is fatally dangerous, even cheerful drunkenness (in every sense of the word, including the literal) relegates the participant from the "great campaign" to "frozen boots".

On September 2, 1979, Samoilov concisely related in his diary a conversation with his very ill friend: "Slutsky: 'The only book I've read to the end was *Весть*[16]. The best poem is "Маркитант". And I don't know why "Hannibal" was written'" [Самойлов 2002: II, 132]. This praise of "Маркитант" was an ironic admission of the relative rightness of the "frivolous" Samoilov, who is unsuited by tragic themes. Slutsky's disdain for the poem "Сон о Ганнибале" stems from the intimate story which unfolds in historic scenery that is, for Slutsky, as fictitious and "unnecessary" as the story of Pushkin's ancestor and the entourage of the 18th century. In "Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом..." Samoilov bitterly agrees with Slutsky; once again admitting himself to be a frivolous "sutler" (a comedic drunk), he declares the oneness of destiny facing the two poets going now to meet nothingness, despite differences in their personalities, life circumstances, or literary and civil standards. This oneness is further highlighted by another "wintery" poem from *Voices Beyond the Hills*, addressed and dedicated to Slutsky: "Я все время ждал морозов, / Ты же оттепели ждал. / Я люблю мороз — он розов, / Чист и звонок, как металл. // Оттепели, ералаши, / Разоренные пути... / Я люблю морозы наши. / Только шубу запасти" (1978) [Самойлов 2006: 250]. For Samoilov, Slutsky's trust in "thaws" is inseparable from his position of compromise, both external and internal. The final line introduces a sad, self-reflective note into their old argument. Skepticism toward power and the era comes at the cost of magnanimity, for it also requires compromise — a decent private life during a political freeze requires a "coat," which, first, won't "provide itself" (*запасется*), and second, might very well turn out to be insufficient for the weather. This thought is consistent with the line about "frozen boots" (*валенке мерзлом*): they're bad not only for the "commissar", but also for the "sutler".

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[16] This collection was published in the summer of 1978; Slutsky stopped reading in 1977 after the beginning of the malaise which afflicted him after the death of his wife.

However, they're bad in different ways. Samoilov's "playful" beginning is stronger than the freeze. His "Ferdinand-like nature" allows him to laugh at spiteful reality. Fallen "drunk" from the wagon, he is akin to the hero of that long-ago (implied) poem — "a fool, a clown, God knows who," to whom "befell" the "happiness [of being a Russian poet]". The initial theme of happiness is accented not only by the context of the mini-cycle and self-references, but also by the internal contradictions of the "concluding" octave. The mockingly multidimensional final line works on this very topic: "Добро на Руси ничего не имети". What is this about? The illusory nature of all earthly blessings? But, first, the poem makes no mention of "material riches"; second, "everything" befell the hero (not only happiness and honor, but also woe); and third, a variation on Ecclesiastes does not imply the national (Russian) voice conveyed in the first and last lines. Is it saying that it's better not to be a poet? But, that the hero was overtaken by a destiny of "frozen boots" in no way negates the happiness that befell him, and his "preferences" (such as they are) cannot influence what has already befallen. Is it saying that it's especially hard for a poet in Russia? Yes, but the very first line, with all its implications, counters this influential, but not absolute, myth. There is no direct answer to this question, although the line evokes two distant but inevitable associations, reminding the reader of two quite popular, markedly Russian, and traditionally interconnected sayings.

The first is Prince Vladimir's answer to Islamic missionaries: "Drinking is the joy of the Rus, we cannot exist without that pleasure" ("Руси есть веселие питье, не можемъ бес того быти") [ПЛДР: 98]. The second is a line from a folk song: "To live in woe — be jovial" ("А в горе жить — некручинну быть"). Although this song (like many other folkloric and written texts of the 17th century) certainly does not glorify drinking, but identifies it with self-will that dooms the characters to hopeless woe, it paints an ambivalent picture (like many such related opuses): "Нагому ходить — не стыдитися, / А и денег нету — перед деньгами, / Появилась гривна — перед злыми дни" [Кирша Данилов: 198]. Commitment to the "joy of Rus" helped the prince, a future Equal to the Apostles, choose the true faith. The fine fellows who are driven in the end to "the monastic ranks" by woe provoke not only compassion, but also affection. Joy is turned around by misfortune, but by some strange method is preserved in the face of woe.

In Russian mythology, the drunkard is likened to a wanderer, a holy fool, or a buffoon, free (although in different ways) from the usual behavioral norms. Behind the line "Добро на Руси ничего не имети" lies a confession: the autobiographical hero needs nothing except what has already befallen him. Wallowing in the ditch (of the great campaign), equated to a base thing that has become useless, he yet remains a cheerful Russian poet. The five-times-repeated "выпало/выпал" is consonant with the unspoken but implied "выпил". This connection is strengthened by the convivial octave "Да, мне повезло в этом мире…"[17]. "The happiness of being a Russian poet" implies the misfortune of the jester, the outcast, the pariah, the outsider, and the loser just as much as the lofty share of the soldier, the victor, the man of his generation and of history.

Such a reading of the last lines and the entire octave is supported by two poems written shortly thereafter. One of them is metrically identical, according to my analysis (although the constant feminine endings are arranged in a different rhyme scheme), while the other slightly varies the rare meter (preserving, except in the finale, feminine couplet rhymes). Both poems were included in *Voices Beyond the Hills*.

The first is "Скоморохи" (1982): "Идут скоморохи по тусклым дорогам — / По главному шляху, по малой дороге, / Отвержены церковью, признаны Богом, / По *русским* дорогам идут скоморохи <…> Пусть к злобе и мести взывают пророки, / Пускай кулаки воздвигают над веком, / Народу надежду внушат скоморохи / И смехом его напитают, как млеком. // Воспрянут старуха с козой на аркане, / Торговые люди, стрельцы, лесорубы, / И даже вельможа в брусничном кафтане. / И ангелы грянут в небесные трубы" [Самойлов 2006: 320, italics added]. In *Voices Beyond the Hills,* this long-worn credo[18], receiving here a forced Russian hue, follows two folkloric stylizations ("Про охотника" and "Про Ванюшку") and anticipates the cycle

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[17] Cf in the poem "Вероятно" (1970) the conjunction of the themes of a receding war, bygone banquets, and acquired poetic speech: "Я, вероятно, не поэт войны, / Но, вероятно, я войной испытан, / И — черта с два — погибнуть под копытом, / Когда уже дожил до седины. // Я, вероятно, дьявольски силен, / Поскольку выпил две цистерны спирта. / Как это хорошо было распито, / Как был прекрасен пьяный Вавилон <…> Я, вероятно, не могу развлечь, / Развеселить, расплакать и растрогать, / Но, вероятно, есть какой-то коготь, / Что вас царапает, / как эта речь" [Самойлов 2006: 502].

[18] Cf. in the poem "Последние каникулы": "И Вит воскликнул: — Днесь / Я возглашаю здесь, / Что радость мне желанна / И что искусство — смесь / Небес и балагана" [Самойлов 2005: 85].

“Из стихов о царе Иване”, including the plays “Убиение углицкое” and “Самозванец” both written in the tone of “Скоморохи”. These are followed by the final book *Ode*, (1982), written in accentual verse (*дольник*) and reminiscent of its origin in amphibrachic tetrameter [Самойлов 1985: 142–155].

In this solemn text (demonstratively breaking with the metrical tradition of the genre) the key motifs of “Скоморохи” are repeated: “России нужны слова о России, / Поскольку пути у нее не простые. // России нужны слова о правде, / Поскольку живет она правды ради <…> Но ей не нужны слова о мести, / Поскольку хочет славы и чести. // Но ей не нужны слова о злобе, / Поскольку низвергнуты злобные боги. // А ей нужны слова о дороге, / Где новые вехи и новые сроки”. The final transformation of a country that lives, perhaps, “not in heaven” (“не на небе”) (and therefore requires bread grown from words about bread), “but perhaps in heaven, / Since her shores are so wide” (“а может быть — в небе, / Поскольку так широки ее бреги”) depends on as-yet-unspoken words. Their proposed prototype is reminiscent not only of a buffoon’s merrymaking, but of the metamorphosis of the hero in “Мне выпало счастье быть русским поэтом…”, whose jubilant victory ends in a fall from great history, and whose dark and fatal destiny implies an impending resurrection alongside a country defeated in darkness. But in the pathetic (even against the backdrop of the previous text) finale of *Ode*, Samoilov can’t get by without buffoonery: “России нужны слова о великом, / Поскольку она велика и обильна. / Чтоб перед ее таинственным ликом / Они прозвучали свободно и сильно” [Самойлов 2006: 316–317]. This line cites not only the in itself ironic sounding fragment from the chronicle about the calling of the Vikings (“Земля наша велика и обилна” — with the memorable continuation “а наряда в ней нетъ” [ПЛДР: 36]), but also the inescapable refrain, borrowed by A. K. Tolstoy from Nestor, “Истории государства Российского от Гостомысла до Тимашева”.

Translated by Allison Rockwell

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VENE RAHVUSMÜÜT TEMA ARENGUS

Eessõna

Ljubov Kisseljova (Tartu)

Lugeja hoiab käes kollektiivset monograafiat, mille autorid pärinevad erinevatest maadest (Eesti, Soome, Venemaa, Ukraina, Saksamaa, Kanada), kuid moodustavad ühtse teaduskoosluse, mida ühendab Tartu Lotmani koolkonna traditsioon. Raamatus käsitletud teemasid on arendatud mitmete aastate vältel ja need on olnud arutluse all kohtumistel erinevates linnades, muuhulgas Helsingi-Tartu teadusseminaril, mis toimus Tartus 28.–30. juuni 2013. Selle seminari traditsioon ulatub aastasse 1987, algatajaiks olid Pekka Pesonen, Ben Hellman, Juri Lotman, Zara Mints ja Sergei Issakov. Seminaride töö tulemused avaldatakse aastast 1989 ilmuvas kogumikuseerias "Studia Russica Helsingiensia et Tartuensia" ning just seetõttu ilmub ka käesolev monograafia selles seerias.

Monograafia avab rahvusmüüdi mõiste tema arenguloos vene kultuuri mitmekesise materjali näitel, alates hilisest keskajast kuni nõukogude ajani. Uurimuse põhiosa on pühendatud impeeriumiajastule, mil tekib rahvuse mõiste kui niisugune. Kuid ettekujutused "endast"/ "omast" ja "teisest"/ "võõrast" vormuvad sajandite jooksul, valmistades ette pinnast nii rahvuse mõiste kui ka rahvusmüütide tekkimisele, kinnistudes kultuurilises teadvuses iseloomulike rahvusajalooliste kategooriate, stereotüüpide, eelarvamuste jms näol.

Rahvusmüüdi all mõistame nii rahvuskultuuri siseselt kui ka sellest väljaspool (vaated Venemaale ning venelastele seestpoolt ja kõrvalt nende koosmõjus) loodavat ideoloogilist konstrukti. Täpsem oleks rääkida mitte müüdist, vaid müütidest, kuna ei ole olemas ei ühtset konstrukti, mis kirjeldaks ühiskondlik-poliitilist ja kultuurilist reaalsust, ega ka ühtset narratiivi iga antud ajaloolise perioodi või isegi ideoloogilise suunitluse sees. Terminit "rahvusmüüt" (ainsuses) kasutatakse siin seega kui üldmõistet, mis fikseerib rahvuse mõistega seotud konstruktide olemasolu. Tegemist on virtuaalse ja "autoriülese" konstruktiga, mida keegi pole kunagi fikseerinud ja mis ei ole leitav ühe autori kirjutatud tekstis.

Käesolev uurimus kuulub ajaloolise semantika valdkonda. Analüüsides rahvusideoloogia konstrueerimise mehhanisme, rõhutavad autorid eriti kirjanduse ja kunsti olulisust rahvusidentiteedi ülesehitusel: ajakirjanduse, teatri, kirjanike rolli nende sõltuvuses ajaloolisest olustikust ja poliitilisest konjunktuurist. Kuid rahvuskaanoni (millesse kuulub ka rahvusmüüt) loomisel osalevad mitte ainult erineva "astme" kirjanikud ja memuaristid, mitte ainult ajakirjandus, vaid ka teised mittefiktsionaalsed žanrid — nagu näiteks kooliõpikud, krestomaatiad, rahvalugemikud jmt, mille rolli ei tohiks alahinnata. Mitte vähem oluline ei ole poeetiliste võtete (ja laiemalt — kunstikeele) kasutus ideoloogilise diskursuse loomisel.

Nagu monograafias näidatakse, on vene rahvusmüüdi konstrueerimisel kasutatud võtteid, mis on iseloomulikud kogu euroopa XVIII–XX sajandi kultuuritraditsioonile:

- ajalooliste sündmuste mütologiseerimine ja rahvuskangelaste otsing, kes vastaksid ettekujutusele rahvuslikust karakterist;
- rahvusliku identiteedi konstrueerimine ("venelikkus", "vene idee");
- eneseesitus, mis tõukub teistes kultuurides tekkinud venelase stereotüüpidest;
- rahvusliku karakteroloogia vormimine (millega kaasneb vene karakteri võrdlus ja vastandamine teiste rahvustega, kaasa arvatud naaberrahvused).

"Vene pakane" kui Venemaa müüdi osa XV–XIX sajandi eurooplaste ettekujutuses

Roman Voitehhovitš (Tartu)

Artiklis kirjeldatakse, kuidas stereotüüpne arusaam Venemaast kui "põhjamaast" mõjutab vene pakase kirjeldamise retoorikat selle tugevuses (hüperboolid ja oksüümoronid), mõjus elavale loodusele ja inimesele (skemaatilisus). Loodus osutub külmale vastuvõtlikuks, aga inimene paneb vastu (kummalgi juhul ei sobitu faktid sellesse skeemi).

Järkjärgulise lahtiütlemisega skematismist loodusreaaliate kujutamisel kaasneb XIX sajandil "vene pakase" teema nihkumine poliitilise metafoorika tasandile (Ancelot, Mickiéwicz, Michelet, Leontjev), mis omakorda toob kaasa skeptilise reaktsiooni ja katse luua "vene pakase" positiivne kuvand (Gautier).

Kuidas luua vene impeeriumlikku ikonostaasi: Ivan Zarudnõi instruktsioonide ja poliitika vahel

Jelena Pogosjan (Edmonton, Kanada)

Peeter I aegsed Peterburi ikonostaasid erinevad selgelt vene XVII sajandi lõpu ja XVIII sajandi alguse ikonostaasidest. Kui neist esimeste juures võis veel näha sarnasust Moskva "flaami" ikonostaasidega, siis juba alates 1717. aastast, kui esimene Ivan Zarudnõi ikonostaas paigutati Andrejevski kirikusse Kotlini saarel, näeme juba täiesti uut tüüpi ikonostaase. Tõstatub loomulik küsimus: kuidas nende ikonostaaside autorid julgesid läbi viia nii radikaalseid uuendusi? Millest nad juhindusid, kui koostasid nende ebatavaliste ikonostaaside kavu? Kas nende selja taga seisis keegi kõrgematest kirikutegelastest?

1707. aastal määras Peeter I Ivan Zarudnõi super-intendandiks, kelle ülesandeks oli teostada järelevalvet ikoonimaalijate töö üle. Seda, et ikoone apostlite ja kirikuisade õpetuste järgi maalitaks, pidi jälgima Rjazani ja Muromi metropoliit Stefan Javorski. Artiklis uuritakse tsaari antud juhiseid Zarudnõile ning Stefan Javorski ja Dmitri Rostovski ikooniteemalisi kirjutisi. Veel on vaatluse all ikoonimaali kohta käivad ukaasid, mis avaldati pärast Püha Sinodi poolset kinnitust ja tsaari arvamust, mis peegeldub Sinodi istungite protokollis.

Võimutu/võimukas rahvas: monarhia, mäss ja tragöödia algus Venemaal

Kirill Ospovat (Berliin)

Artiklis vaadeldakse vene tragöödia kui poliitilise žanri tekkimist XVIII sajandi keskel. Klassitsistliku draamateooria, vene ja euroopa näidendite ning õukonnaajaloo episoodide võrdlev analüüs toob välja sarnasuse tragöödia teatraalsete efektide ja isevalitsusliku võimu kultuurimehhanismide vahel. Valitseja karisma ja selle tunnistamine alamate poolt tugines poliitilise rolli esitamise kvaasiteatraalsetele mudelitele. Kuigi selline ettekujutus võimust oli vastuolus ametliku retoorikaga, leidis see kajastamist õukonnas etendatavates draamades, kus väljamõeldud süžeede varjus kujutati monarhia ja tema alamate keerulist vastastiksõltuvust.

1808.–1809. aasta Soome sõja retoorika ja mütoloogia Baratõnski poeemis "Eda"

Alina Bodrova (Moskva – Sankt-Peterburg)

Artikkel on pühendatud 1808.–1809. aasta Vene-Rootsi (Soome) sõja ideoloogilise narratiivi kujunemise varasele etapile. Kommenteerides Jevgeni Baratõnski poeemi "Eda" (1824–1825) kirjelduse ja tõlgenduse eripära, näitab autor Vene-Rootsi sõja ideoloogilise kajastuse spetsiifikat 1800.–1810. aastate perioodikas, tuues välja selle kajastuse "jäljed" Baratõnski tekstis. Sellel foonil demonstreeritakse, mil moel uued romantilised "rahva vaimu" ja "rahvasõja" kontseptid toimisid koostöös vanade retooriliste skeemidega.

Artiklis rekonstrueeritakse biograafilised ja kirjanduslikud asjaolud, mis sundisid Baratõnskit pöörduma sõjateema poole poeemi finaalis ja epiloogis. Ilmselt on need tihedalt seotud Baratõnski viibimisega Soome kindralkuberneri Arseni Zakrevski staabi juures. Koos tüpoloogiliste paralleelidega "Epiloogile" 1808.–1810. aasta vähetuntud luule- ja proosatekstide seas, on välja toodud ka üks olulisim temaatilistest "Epiloogi" eeltekstidest — fragment Denis Davõdovi ülestähendustest "1808. aasta kampaania. Soome", mis avaldati almanahhis "Mnemozina" 1824. aastal.

Vene sõdur *rendez-vous*'l (Baratõnski soome poeemi allikad ja retseptsioon)

Inna Bulkina (Kiiev)

Artikkel käsitleb Jevgeni Baratõnski poeemi "Eda" ajaloolist ja kirjanduslikku tausta ning žanrilisi ja süžeelisi iseärasusi. Analüüsitakse "soome poeemi" põhiallikaid — Batjuškovi "skandinaavia" eleegiaid, Denis Davõdovi "Märkmeid" jt —, samuti vaadeldakse "Eda" erinevusi vene traditsioonilisest romantilisest poeemist.

Vene sõduri (Husaari) ja soome neiu armastuse lugu rullub lahti "tsivilisatsiooninarratiivis". "Koloniaalsete" süžeede jaoks iseloomulik valgustusajastu opositsioon "loodus vs tsivilisatsioon" on Batjuškovil lahendatud mitmetähenduslikult: soomlasi näidatakse haritud euroopa rahvusena, neid samastatakse "germaani provintside elanikega". See eristab neid põhimõtteliselt "ossianlike eleegiate" "metsikutest soomlastest" ja arhailistest nõidadest, nagu neid kujutati eelromantismi ja romantismi kirjanduses, aga samuti hilisemates "soome jutustustes".

Nagu artiklis näidatud, mõjutas Baratõnski poeemi originaalsus ka selle vastuvõttu: hilisemad "soome poeemi" temaatikaga seotud katsetused pigem tõukuvad sellest (Fjodor Glinka "Kareelia metsade neidis"). "Soome poeemist" on teatud sõltuvuses ka Tarass Ševtšenko ja Grigori Kvitko-Osnovjanenko ("Katerina", "Südamlik Oksana") ukraina "jutustused", mis pöörduvad Baratõnski mõjuväljast tagasi karamzinliku mudeli ("Vaene Liisa") juurde. "Loodusliku olevuse" koha hilisemates romantilistes poeemides võtab endale nn "rahvalik teadvus", etnograafilised ebausud ja fantastika saavad romantilise eksootika hädavajalikeks tingimusteks.

"Soomlaste suhtumine venelastesse": rahvuslik narratiiv, impeeriumi poliitika ja allumatu ääremaa valitsemismehhanism (1907–1910)

Timur Guzairov (Tartu)

Artikkel on pühendatud ametliku impeeriuminarratiivi struktuuri ja rolli uurimisele Venemaa poliitikas Soome Suurvürstiriigi suhtes. "Soome" küsimuse arutlemisel massiteabevahendites aktualiseerisid erinevad autorid laia publiku jaoks teadlikult venelaste solvamise teemat.

"Solvangu" narratiiv sisaldas endas tekste soomlastepoolsest imperaatori, õigeusu, vaimulikkonna, riigilipu, sõdurite, vene rahvuse solvamisest. Kolme aasta jooksul (1907–1910) avaldas venekeelne "Soome ajaleht" pidevalt sellekohaseid artikleid ja teateid. "Solvangu" narratiiv oli üles ehitatud kombinatsioonile "välist" ohtu rõhutavast konspiroloogilisest ettekujutusest ja mobiliseerivast rahvuslikust ideest uute territooriumite lõppematu vallutamise kohta.

Vaenlase kuju konstrueerimist, "rahvusliku solvumise" retoorikat ja tiitelrahvuse kaitsmise poliitikat kasutas valitsev ideoloogia ära allumatu ääremaa valitsemismehhanismina. Ametlikus praktikas demonstreeris "solvangu" narratiiv soomlaste rahvuspõhist vaenulikkust, konstrueeris konflikti metropoli ja ääremaa vahel ning koos sellega legitimiseeris moraalselt Soome Suurvürstiriigi konstitutsiooniliste õiguste kärpimist aastal 1910.

Tekstid "solvangute" kohta ei olnud seejuures kutsutud lõhkuma vene rahvusmüüti — see eripära võimaldab kirjeldada situatsiooni Soome Suurvürstiriigis unikaalse ja paradoksaalsena. Avaldatud tekstid ja teated "solvangutest" said "võiduka" narratiivi osaks ning andsid tunnistust ametliku ideoloogia ja poliitika kehtestumisest Vene impeeriumi loodealadel.

"Vene idee" vormumine: vene kirjanikud ja patriotismi "natsionaliseerimine" Krimmi sõja ajal (Maikov, Gontšarov, Pisemski)

Alexey Vdovin (Moskva)

Artiklis vaadeldakse rahvusliku identiteedi ("venesuse") ideoloogilisi konstrukte, mis on leitavad vene kirjanike Apollon Maikovi, Ivan Gontšarovi ja Aleksei Pisemski Krimmi sõja (1854–1856) ajal kirjutatud tekstides. Autor küsib, mil moel ja missugusele "Teisele" (Ida, Lääs) vastandudes seda "venesust" määratleti.

Kolme kirjaniku mõttevahetus "vene tsivilisatsiooni" ja "vene idee" üle sai alguse Maikovi följetonist "Kiri Pisemskile" ajalehes "Sankt-Peterburi teated" ja tema 1854. aasta luulekogumikust. Arutledes Türgi, Suurbritannia ja Prantsusmaa võimaliku agressiooni teemadel, kuulutab Maikov välja idee vene ühiskonna sisemisest konsolideerumisest seisustevahelise, ideoloogiavälise ja rahvustevahelise integratsiooni baasil. Artikli keskmes on mõisted "venelane" ja "Püha Venemaa", mis viitavad seostele Žukovski, Vjazemski ja Pogodini ideedega.

Esimeseks vastuseks Maikovi artiklile oli Ivan Gontšarovi olukirjeldus "Irkutskist" ("Fregatt Pallada" osa), milles kirjeldatakse Siberi hõivamist. Gontšarov esitab idüllilise pildi jakuutide täielikust assimileerimisest ja kogu Kaug-Ida muutumisest "vene tsivilisatsiooniks". Kuid oma erakirjades Jakutskist on Gontšarov tõsiselt mures, et venelased muutuvad üha rohkem oma identiteeti säilitada püüdvate jakuutide sarnasteks.

Kolmas poleemika osaline, Pisemski, polemiseeris Maikovi artikliga oma "Reiskirjades" ("Tatarlased", "Kalmõkid", "Astrahani armeenlased"). Siin viib "mittevenelaste", keda autor jälgis oma "kirjandusliku ekspeditsiooni" jooksul Astrahani, kontrastne kirjeldus järeldusele vene tsiviliseeriva missiooni täielikust läbikukkumisest Idas.

Artikli autor väidab kokkuvõttes, et kolme kirjaniku dialoog mõjutab Dostojevskit, kes just 1855.–1856. aastal kasutab kirjavahetuses Maikoviga esmakordselt mõistet "vene idee".

Vene rahvusmüüt ekspordiks: Pjotr Vjazemski "Lettres d'un vétéran russe de l'année 1812 sur la question d'Orient"

Tatjana Stepaništševa (Tartu)

Analüüsi objektiks on Pjotr Vjazemski Krimmi sõda käsitlevad artiklid, millest osa trükiti ära kaasaegsetes Euroopa ajalehtedes. Autori venemeelne hoiak pani publitseerimisele piiri ja seetõttu ilmusid "1812. aasta vene veterani kirjad Ida küsimuse kohta" eraldi raamatuna 1855. aastal Lausanne'is. Pärast sõda oli raamat Venemaal pea unustatud kuni 1881. aastani, mil ta ilmus koos venekeelse tõlkega Vjazemski kogutud teostes. Unustamise põhjuseks oli ühiskondliku ja poliitilise õhkkonna kiire muutumine pärast Nikolai I valitsemisaja lõppu. Vjazemski, kellel oli liberaali kuulsus, esines neis kirjades kui Venemaa ametliku poliitika kaitsja Euroopa avalikkuse ees.

Vjazemski jaoks oli "Kirjade" peaeesmärgiks kummutada Euroopa ajakirjanduse eelarvamuslik ja vale ettekujutus Venemaa kohta. Seetõttu oli tema tähelepanu keskpunktis "vene müüt", ettekujutuste kompleks maast ja selle elanikest. "1812. aasta vene veteran" esitab oma variandi sellest müüdist, mis põhineb justkui erapooletul pilgul "seestpoolt".

Venemaa ja Euroopa vastandus oli Vjazemskil seotud tema jaoks olulise kirjandusliku vastandusega ajakirjanduse ja historiograafia vahel. Vjazemski poolt väga kõrgelt hinnatud Karamzini "Vene riigi ajalugu" tõendas, nii sellesse lülitatud ajaloolise materjali kui ka oma olemasolu endaga, et Venemaale on ette määratud võita igas konfliktis. Ajaloo korduvuse motiiv saab "Kirjades" põhiliseks ja sellel põhinevad kõik argumendid Venemaa kasuks. Vastasele (eelkõige Prantsusmaale) omistab Vjazemski "unustamise", mis ongi liitlaste vältimatu kaotuse põhjuseks. Aeg, ajalugu, jumalik ettehooldus esinevad "Kirjades" sünonüümidena ja kaitsevad Venemaad välisvaenlase eest, ilma et vene rahvas ise peaks selleks pingutama. Võib öelda, et "vene veteran" lausa soovitab kaasmaalastele olla passiivsed, sest tormakas tegutsemine võib häirida asjade loomulikku kulgu.

Venemaa ja venelased varustab Vjazemski providentsiaalse ideega ühendada Ida ja Lääs. Selle tarbeks loob ta "Kirjades" impeerialiku müüdi ühtsest rahvast, kes on ustav troonile ja kirikule.

"Sõjadiskursus" kui rahvusmüüdi konstrueerimise instrument (Krimmi sõda revolutsioonieelses koolis ja rahva lugemisvaras)

Ljubov Kisseljova (Tartu)

Vaatluse all on "sõjadiskursuse" roll vene rahvusmüüdi kujunemisel. Krimmi sõja näitel osundatakse mõnedele müüdi alusmoodustajatele: heroiseerimine ja sündmuste "võidukas" tõlgendus, humaansus ja ohvrimeelsus kui rahvusliku karakteri alus. Venemaa poolt kaotatud sõja kirjeldamise mudel võetakse võiduka 1812. aasta Isamaasõja kirjeldustest, mis sai igasuguse Venemaa osalusel peetud sõja narratiivseks mudeliks, sõltumata sõja tulemusest.

Analüüsi materjaliks olid tekstid, mis on suunatud müüdile kõige vastuvõtlikumale auditooriumile — õpilased ja lihtrahvas (sõdurid ja talupojad). Krimmi sõja tõlgendamine kooliõpikutes, rahvalugemikes ja lubokipiltidel XIX sajandi teises pooles – XX sajandi alguses oli suunatud isamaa-armastuse ja kehtiva korra toetamise kujundamisele. "Krimmi narratiivi" keskmes oli alati Sevastoopoli kaitsmine ja selle kangelased alates admiralidest (Kornilov, Nahhimov, Istomin) kuni halastajaõe Daša ja madrus Koškani. Artiklis analüüsitakse autorite kasutatud faktide transformeerimise mooduseid; valitsuse poliitika mahavaikimise, õigustamise figuure; "rahva sõja" kujundi loomise viise. Samas näidatakse, et müüt ei tähendanud reaalsuse täielikku ignoreerimist, vaid sellesse lülitati ka jutustused ebaõnnestumistest, riigi raha riisumisest, ülemuste üleolevast suhtumisest Sevastoopoli lihtsatesse kaitsjatesse jms.

Kõrvuti Krimmi sõda käsitlevate vene allikatega on vaatluse all ka eestikeelne Friedrich Nikolai Russowi brošüüriseeria "Tallinna koddaniku ramat omma söbbradele male".

Lev Tolstoi "Kolm karu": inglise muinasjutu transformatsioon vene rahvusmüüdiks

Ben Hellman (Helsinki)

"Kolm karu" on Lev Tolstoi kõige tuntum lastele kirjutatud teos. Artiklis näidatakse, et tegemist on inglise muinasjutu "Kuldkihar ja kolm karu" tõlkega, ning otsitakse vastust küsimusele, missugune inglise väljaanne oli Tolstoi tõlke aluseks ja missuguseid muutusi ta teksti sisse viis.

Inglise originaali russifikatsioon, millele aitasid kaasa Juri Vasnetsovi ja Vladimir Lebedevi illustratsioonid nõukogude perioodil, võimaldab meil lugeda muinasjuttu "Kolm karu" kui rahvusliku diskursuse osa, kus karu kui Venemaa metafoor mängis olulist rolli juba alates XVIII sajandist.

Kunstniku kontseptsioon Nikolai Leskovi rahvusmüüdis

Lea Pild (Tartu)

Artiklis vaadeldakse Nikolai Leskovi jutustust "Mägi", alapealkirjaga "Egiptuse jutustus", mis on kirjutatud 1887.–1888. aastal. Tegemist on ainukese teosega kirjaniku loomingus, milles peategelaseks osutub kunstnik (selle sõna otseses, ülevas tähenduses), aga mitte meister, käsitööline, oma ala "artist", kelle positsioon suure kunsti suhtes on marginaalne.

Kunstniku olulisimaks omaduseks Leskovi 1880. aastate loomingus kujuneb võime kõrgelt hinnata maise maailma rafineeritud ilu, nõustuda meelelise armastusega, kui see ei osutu ebatolerantseks, kitsalt egoistlikuks, ning ka võime kristlikuks kangelasteoks, olles seejuures avatud kõigile konfessioonidele.

Nagu demonstreeritakse artiklis, konstrueerides oma rahvusmüüti 1860. aastatel, seab Leskov rahvuslik-religioosse ülesehituse keskmesse vaimuliku seisuse kui seesmiselt kõige avatuma, sõltumatu ning tervikliku oma maailmamõistmises. Seevastu aga 1880. aastatel näeb Leskov sõltumatust, mõttevabadust ja usutolerantsi eeskätt "kunsti inimestes", vastandades need oma kaasaegsetele (sh kirjanikele), kelle maailmakäsitusele on omane ideoloogiliste, sotsiaalsete, religioossete või esteetiliste vaadete piiratus.

Seltsimees Leskov: kuidas sobitada vene kirjanik nõukogude rahvusmüüti

Maia Kutšerskaja (Moskva)

Artiklis vaadeldakse Nikolai Leskovi nõukogudeaegse kanonisatsiooni võtmeepisoode. Ajavahemikul 1918. aastast kuni 1940ndate alguseni avaldati Leskovi proosat väga vähe. Erandiks olid vaid mõned tekstid: nii näiteks oli 1920ndatel proletaarse revolutsiooni võidu järgselt populaarne Leskovi jutustus "Soengukunstnik", mis jutustab loo kahe pärisorja traagilisest saatusest. Jutustust trükiti korduvalt erinevates väljaannetes ja esitati ka laval. Seejuures enamikus lavastustes oli originaali traagiline lõpp asendatud pärisorjade ülestõusuga.

Dmitri Šostakovitši Leskovi ainetel kirjutatud ooperi "Katerina Izmailova" hukkamõist ajalehes "Pravda" 1936. aasta jaanuaris tähistas nõukogude rahvusmüüdi sisulist muutust: nüüdsest muutus nõutuks mitte võiduka revolutsiooni müüt, vaid vene natsionalism ja patriotism. Järk-järgult oli nii üks kui teine leitav Leskovi pärandis. Murdepunktiks sai Leskovi "saksavastase" jutustuse "Raudne tahe" avaldamine ajalehes "Zvezda" 1942. aastal. Siit algas Leskovi kanoniseerimine. 1945. aasta märtsis tähistas nõukogude ajakirjandus tormiliselt 50 aasta möödumist kirjaniku surmast, samal aastal avaldati Leskovile pühendatud teadusmonograafiad, autoriteks Leonid Grossman ja Valentina Gebel. 1954. aastal ilmus Leskovi poja sulest kirjaniku elulugu ja 1956–1958 ilmusid esimest korda Nõukogude Liidus Leskovi kogutud teosed üheteistkümnes köites. Sellega oli kirjaniku lülitamine vene klassikute panteoni lõpule viidud.

"Haletsus" kui Tsvetajeva luule rahvuslik-ajalooline kategooria

Maria Borovikova (Tartu)

Artiklis analüüsitakse Marina Tsvetajeva tekste, mis käsitlevad "haletsust" ("жалость")kui universaalset loomingu kategooriat. Jälgitakse selle motiivi arengut Tsvetajeva varases luules, näidates, kuidas üldkeeleline tähendus rikastub järkjärgult uute konnotatsioonidega, mis on otseselt seotud sümbolistlike poeetide poolt omaks võetud ja akmeistide loomingus ümbermõtestatud ajalooliste sündmuste ja filosoofilis-religioossete ideedega. Eraldi rõhutatakse ajalooliste analoogiate rolli tsvetajevalikus arusaamas loomingust.

Näidatakse, kuidas Segaduste aja ajalooline süžee — ümbermõtestatud isiklikus, biograafilises mõõtmes — omandab universaalse metafoorilise tähenduse, seostudes loomingulise aktiivsusega. Eristatud tekstikorpust vaadeldakse Tsvetajevale kaasaegse luule — Tihhon Tšurilin, Osip Mandelštam, Aleksander Blok, Anna Ahmatova — kontekstis.

"Mitte tagasi Puškini juurde, vaid temast edasi": vene "imažinismi" "venesusest"

Tomi Huttunen (Helsinki)

Artikkel on pühendatud vene imažinistide tegevusele ajakirja "Võõrastemaja kauniduses reisijate jaoks" (mille toimetaja oli Anatoli Mariengof) ilmumise algusaastatel. Vaadeldakse mõningaid võtmemõisteid, nagu "venesus", "akadeemia" ja "suur teema", mis kerkivad üles ajakirja esimestes numbrites aastatel 1921–1922 ning on seotud ultranatsionalismi ja avangardistliku süntetismi esilekerkimisega imažinistide deklaratsioonides.

Rahvusküsimus ja ajalugu Boris Pasternaki romaanis "Doktor Živago"

Konstantin Polivanov (Moskva – Tartu)

"Rahvusküsimus" on olulisel kohal Boris Pasternaki raamatus "Doktor Živago" — romaan, mis jutustab XX sajandi esimese kolmandiku sündmustest ja mis on kirjutatud 1940ndate lõpus – 1950ndate alguses.

Religioosse ja etnilise kuuluvuse probleemid mängisid Vene impeeriumi lõpuaastate ühiskondlikus elus olulist rolli. Eriti teravnesid need esimese vene revolutsiooni, Esimese maailmasõja ja kodusõja ajal (mille kohta on põhjalikult kirjutanud kaasaegsed ajaloolased Oleg Budnitski, Aleksei Miller, Yuri Slezkine, Zvi Gitelman, William C. Fuller jt). Teisalt oli Pasternaki romaan kirjutatud Nõukogude Liidus kulgeva antisemiitliku kampaania (seda nimetati "võitluseks juurteta kosmopolitismi ja Lääne ees lömitamise vastu") tippajal.

Rahvusküsimusega seoses ilmnevad selgelt "Doktor Živago" jaoks tüüpilised seaduspärad pöördumises dokumentaalsete allikate poole ja autori historiosoofia teostamise viisid. Nii näiteks kasutab Pasternak Živago ja Gordoni rindekohtumise episoodis Esimese maailmasõja osalise Fjodor Stepuni "Suurtükiväe praporštšiku kirjade" fragmente, milles kirjeldatakse juutide mõnitamist rindega piirduval alal. Vaid selles episoodis ongi "Doktor Živagos" kirjeldatud reaalset sõjaolu ja just seoses selle episoodiga kuuleme Gordoni suu läbi mõtteid vajadusest üldse loobuda rahvuse mõistest kristlikus maailmas.

Artiklis vaadeldakse ka, mil moel on tegelaste väljaütlemised "rahvusküsimuse" kohta seotud sajandivahetuse ja XX sajandi alguse filosoofide ja kirjanike — Hermann Coheni ja Vladimir Solovjovi, Andrei Belõi, Nikolai Berdjajevi, Fjodor Stepuni jt — ettekujutustega.

Lõõtspillimängijad vene sõdalaste laagris: veel kord rahvusliku kirjanduskaanoni ajaloolistest transformatsioonidest

Roman Leibov (Tartu)

Vaatluse all on kirjandusliku kaanoni uuenemise kultuurilise mehhanismi töö üksiknäide. Seejuures tekstid, mis on “tugevate” (mida kultuur sageli ja pealesundivalt transleerib) rollis, võivad käibest saada välja tõrjutud kirjandusesisese evolutsiooni ja/või süsteemi väliste transformatsioonide survel. Meie arvates võib mälestus taolistest “tekst-mälestusmärkidest” säilida aktuaalsetes “tekst-järeltulijates”, seejuures ka neis, mis asetsevad piisavalt kaugel (nii stilistilises kui žanrilises mõttes) “tekst-eelkäijast”.

Artiklis on vaatluse all üks taoline hüpoteetiline žanriülese pärimise juhtum: Vassili Žukovski lüürilise hümni “Laulja vene vägede laagris” (1812) oluliste joonte säilimine populaarses nõukogude laulus Mihhail Issakovski sõnadele “Rindeäärses metsas” (1942). Issakovski luuletust võrreldakse tema kaasaegse sõjaluulega, analüüsitakse erinevatel tasanditel, jälgitakse ka poeetilise teksti transformatsioone laulutraditsioonis.

Vene poeedi õnn/saatus: David Samoilovi versioon

Andrei Nemzer (Moskva)

Artikkel on pühendatud David Samoilovi luuletusele “Mulle sai osaks õnn olla vene poeet...” (1981). Põhjalikult iseloomustatakse lühikese (kaheksa rida) teksti meetrilis-riimilisi, grammatilisi ja leksikaalseid iseärasusi. Fikseeritakse vene kirjanduslooliste (alates “Jutustusest möödunud aegadest” kuni XX sajandi luuleni) reministsentside ja autoreministsentside (nii laialt tuntud kui ka Samoilovi enda salajaste luuletuste) tähenduslikud põrkumised.

Tuuakse välja neli antud luuletuse jaoks aktuaalset konteksti: neljast kaheksarealisest luuletusest koosnev minitsükkel, raamat “Hääl küngaste taga” (1985), Samoilovi poeetiline süsteem ning rahvuslik luule kui tervik, mis eeldab püsivat müüti poeedi saatusest Venemaal.

Jäädes truuks sellele müüdile, esitab Samoilov oma versiooni: luuleanne on õnn, mida ei saa muuta ei ajaloo tragism, eluraskused ega poeedi isiksuse koomilised (narrilikud) iseloomujooned.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Roman Voitekhovich, PhD in Russian Literature, Lecturer of Russian Literature, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian poetry of the 20th century, antique traditions in Russian literature, creativity of M. Tsvetaeva, image of Russia in European sources.

Jelena Pogosjan received her MA (1992) and PhD (1997) from the University of Tartu. She taught at the University of Tartu from 1990 to 2002, and, from 2002, she has taught at the University of Alberta (Edmonton, Canada). Her research areas include: the history of Russian religious art (17th and 18th centuries); the official culture of the Russian Empire in the 18th century; the history of the Russian Imperial calendar; and the major themes and poetics of Russian odes. She also supervises PhD students in the areas of symbolic geographies and themes of Russian Orthodoxy in contemporary Russian literature.

Kirill Ospovat is a Research Associate at the ERC-funded project "Early Modern European Drama and the Cultural Net" at the Freie Universität Berlin. Since defending his PhD thesis in 2005, he has written on 18th-century Russian literary and cultural history, as well as on 19th-century poetry and Russian formalism. His forthcoming book, *Terror and Pity: Aleksandr Sumarokov and the Theater of Power in Elizabethan Russia*, illuminates the beginnings of Russian literary drama as an institution of power that has to be interpreted in a pan-European comparative and interdisciplinary perspective.

Alina Bodrova is a senior lecturer at the Department of Philology of National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow; research fellow at the Institute of Russian Literature (Pushkin House) in St. Petersburg. Since defending her PhD thesis in 2010, she has been participating in the academic editions of Russian classical poetry (collected edition of the works of Alexander Pushkin, Evgeny Baratynsky, Mikhail Lermontov). Field of research: Russian poetry of the 19th century, textology of Russian literature, history of ideology and censorship in the Russian Empire, creativity of A. Pushkin, E. Baratynsky, M. Lermontov.

Inna Bulkina, PhD in Russian Literature, Research fellow, Ukrainian Center for Cultural Studies, Kyiv, Ukraine. Field of research: Kiev text in Russian romanticism, Russian poetry of the 19th century, creativity of Pushkin, Baratynsky, History of collections of poetry.

Timur Guzairov, PhD in Russian Literature, Research fellow, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian literature and cultural history of the late 18th – early 19th centuries, Russian literature and ideology, historical narratives and national discourses; Russian culture in Estonia.

Alexey Vdovin, PhD in Russian Literature, Associate Professor at the Department of Philology of National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow. His field of expertise comprises the history of 19th century Russian literary criticism, comparative history of Russian aesthetics, models of Russianness in Russian fiction of the 1840–1860s. He is currently writing a book on Russian literary ethnography of the 1850s (Naval Ministry "literary expeditions").

Tatiana Stepanischeva, PhD in Russian Literature, Lecturer of Russian Literature, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian poetry of the 19th century, Russian culture in Estonia, creativity of Pushkin, V. Zhukovsky, P. Viazemsky.

Ljubov Kisseljova, PhD in Russian Literature, Professor of Russian Literature, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian literature and culture of the 18th and 19th centuries, Russian culture in Estonia, various aspects of imperial and nationalistic discourse.

Ben Hellman, PhD in Russian Literature, Lecturer of Russian Literature, Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. Field of research: Leo Tolstoy, Russian Modernism, Russian children's literature, Finnish-Russian cultural contacts.

Lea Pild, PhD in Russian Literature, Associate Professor of Russian Literature, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian literature of the 19th and 20th centuries, creativity of Fet, Turgenev, Blok, literary poetics, translation theory and practice, Russian culture in Estonia.

Maya Kucherskaya, PhD in Russian Literature, Associate Professor of Russian Literature, Department of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow. Her dissertation on the myth of the Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich Romanov (1779–1831) in Russian Mentality, has been reworked into a book (*Konstantin Pavlovich,* Moscow, 2005; 2013, second edition). The scope of her interests includes Russian popular literature of the 19th century and contemporary Russian literature. In the last few years she has explored the biography of Nikolai Leskov, his poetics, literary views and the history of his literary canonization.

Maria Borovikova, PhD in Russian Literature, Research fellow, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian poetry of the 20th century, issues of the film adaptations of Russian literature, Russian culture in Estonia, creativity of M. Tsvetaeva.

Tomi Huttunen, PhD in Russian Literature, Professor in Russian Literature and Culture, Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. Fields of research: Russian avant-garde literature, Russian Imaginism (esp. Anatolii Mariengof), montage in Russian culture, Russian Postmodernism, Russian rock poetry and culture.

Konstantin Polivanov, Associate Professor of the Department of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow, PhD student of the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Field of research: Russian literature and culture of the 20th century, creativity of Pasternak and Akhmatova; relations of Russian literature and social history in the 20th century.

Roman Leibov, PhD in Russian Literature, Associate Professor of Russian Literature, Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, University of Tartu. Main research interests: Tiutchev's poetry, the Russian literature canon, digital humanities and new media.

Andrei Nemzer, PhD in Russian Literature, Tenured Professor, Department of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow. The author of 11 books. Field of research: Russian literature of the 19th – 21st centuries, poetics, creativity of V. A. Zhukovsky, A. K. Tolstoy, A. I. Solzhenicyn, D. S. Samoilov.

ИЗДАНИЯ СЕРИИ “ACTA SLAVICA ESTONICA”

Acta Slavica Estonica I

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