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The Labyrinth and the Wasteland

The Spatial Coordinates of the German Image in Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature

Volume I

Trinity College Dublin

Ph.D. Thesis

Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies

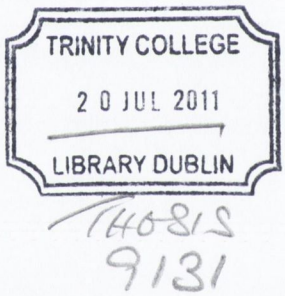
2011

Joshua S. Walker

Declaration

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Summary

Subject: An Imagological analysis of the construction of *russkii* spatiality in relation to the *nemets* in 19th-century Russian literature.

Subject in non-specialist language: An analysis of the literary stereotypes of Germans in 19th-century Russian literature with specific attention to how these images describe Russia in spatial terms and construct Russian identity.

Keywords: Literary Stereotypes, Postcolonial Studies, Ethnicities of the Russian Empire, Russian Identity, Russia and the West, 19th-Century Russian Literature, Imagology.

Considering the prevalence of German literary characters in the works of Aleksandr Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Anton Chekhov, the scarcity of scholarly literature on the topic is striking. Many of these characters present a puzzle, because their "Germanness" does not appear to bear upon the action of the story, especially in the work of Chekhov and Turgenev. According to one of the few scholars to take on the problem, the presence of these characters

> ...was usually meant to provide comic relief (as in Pushkin's 'The Undertaker' or Gogol's 'Nevsky Prospect'), supply fodder for parody (cf. Hermann in Pushkin's *Queen of Spades*), or give impetus to moralistic diatribes (as is often the case in Gogol).[1]

My thesis challenges this received assumption with an analysis of the deep structures of the interaction between the Russian and German characters. I aim to demonstrate that the role of the Germans in Russian literature goes beyond what the above scholar implies, because the depiction of Germans constructs and modifies the Self Image of Russian identity. This is effected by casting the Russian as open, free, unpredictable, vital, simple, youthful, abstract, spiritual, and disorderly, as opposed to the German, who is constricted, restricted, rational, dull, condescending, elderly, explicit, material, and orderly. Given the hybrid and synthetic nature of the Russian-German interaction through history, and considering the prevalence of Germans within the Russian Empire, I argue that the literary German can function both as an external foreign Other, and also as an internal aspect of Russianness. Two competing visions of Russia and Russianness vis-à-vis the German thus emerged in the mid-19th century – as Mutually Exclusive and as Synthetic. The depiction of Germans in Russian literature thus depends upon which of these two lenses a given writer chooses to deploy.

---

[1] Diment, *Goncharov's Oblomov*, p. 29.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is indebted to the support, encouragement, and guidance from the staff of the Department of Russian and Slavonic Studies at Trinity College. I would like to thank Sarah Smyth for her tireless help and motivation with this project, from its earliest stages to its final form. She provided assistance and insights from the smallest issues of style to the most seemingly insurmountable problems of structure and substance. She was everything one could hope for in a thesis adviser.

The project benefited greatly from talks I gave at Trinity College in my department and also the Department of German Studies. Clemens Ruthner provided much needed encouragement, along with helpful theoretical material.

I also benefited greatly from a personal correspondence with the *russkii-nemets* writer, Hugo Wormsbecher, who provided valuable insights on the political and social situation of the *nemtsy* in the USSR. I am also indebted to Guido Hausmann for locating and supplying me with vast amounts of German-language scholarship that relate to the topic.

Two professors from my undergraduate institution, Wesleyan University, also helped me in numerous ways. Priscilla Meyer provided valuable references, in addition to chapters from her recent publications. Susanne Fusso provided guidance and support at the beginning of the project, and supplied me with extensive Gogolian scholarship.

Anna Bloxham provided her linguistic skills for the German-language material, and also shared her insights into the sometimes daunting differences between American and British-Hibernian academic prose. She also provided me with motivation each time it seemed I had hit a dead end, and helped me more than I can express in the semi-formal genre confines of the thesis Acknowledgements.

Finally, this project, and the ten years of academic study that went into producing it, would not have been possible without the love and support of my family.

Бирон силится сделать его дворцом - и он смотрит кордегардией. Ужас царствует вокруг этого жилища; сад и в праздниках и в будни молчалив; не нужно отгонять от него палкою, - и без нее его убегают, как лабиринта, куда попавшись, попадешься к Минотавру.

Ivan Lazhechnikov

Русь!... Открыто-пустынно и ровно все в тебе; как точки, как значки, неприметно торчат среди равнин невысокие твои города; ничто не обольстит и не очарует взора. Но какая же непостижимая, тайная сила влечет к тебе?

Nikolai Gogol



ГЕРМАНИЯ

Федеративная Республика Германия
Территория: 357 000 кв. км
Население: 81,2 млн
Государственное устройство: республика
Религия: 90% населения — протестанты-католики
Столица: Берлин (3 500 000)
Денежная единица: марка ФРГ



Стем, что в футболе, как в зеркале, отражается национальный характер играющего в него народа, спорить трудно. Во всяком случае, когда речь идет о немцах. Рациональную, до тошноты правильную, подчиненную математической логике и атлетизму вместо вдохновения игру германской сборной даже в лучшие ее годы мало кто назвал бы симпатичной. Против немцев болели всегда — и в 1974-м, когда в финале чемпионата мира они играли с голландцами, и в 1982-м, когда в полуфинале вырвали победу у очаровавших всех французов, и в 1990-м, когда вымучивали золото у аргентинцев. Но, нравится это остальным или нет, именно Германия — самая титулованная команда в Европе, что, вероятно, больше всего Европу и раздражает. Патологическая страсть к порядку, конформизм, законопослушание, умение слушать каждый пфеннинг и частенько полиэтиленовый немцев тоже могут раздражать русских, итальянцев или французов. Но немцам до их эмоций дела нет: если бы всего этого не было, Германия, потерпев в XX веке сокрушительные поражения в двух мировых войнах, вряд ли сумела бы превратиться в одну из самых процветающих стран в мире.

САМЫЙ ЗНАМЕНИТЫЙ НЕМЕЦ

История человечества знала немало выдающихся мыслителей, но мало кто оказал на нее такое влияние, как Карл МАРКС (1818—1883). Самый известный его последователь, Владимир Ленин, с присущей ему безапелляционностью заявил, что «учение Маркса всесильно, потому что оно верно», — и ошибся, поскольку, как показала жизнь, ни тем, ни другим оно не было. Как, впрочем, и любое другое учение из всех, что в разные времена рождались в умах, искавших оптимальный путь развития человеческого общества. Сейчас, когда седобородый основоположник марксизма перестал быть объектом культа, можно спокойно, со всеми плюсами и минусами по достоинству оценить его вклад в философскую, экономическую, историческую науки.

НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ БЛЮДО

Немецкая кухня изобилует блюдами, приготовленными по традиционным рецептам. Одно из первых мест, бесспорно, занимает сауэркраут — кислая капуста. Но если мы привыкли в основном закусывать квашеной капустой горячительные напитки, то у немцев этот продукт служит полуфабрикатом для горячих кушаний. Вареная кислая капуста — отличный гарнир к мясным блюдам: свинине, грудинке или сосискам. Украшение любого немецкого стола — айсбайн. Вываренные с пряностями и ягодами можжевельника свиные рульки слегка запекают и в румяном виде подают на подушке из дымящегося сауэркраута.

НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ НАПИТОК

Немецкий рислинг прочно удерживает титул короля белых вин. Специалисты высоко ценят универсальность рислинга, утверждая, что этот искрящийся напиток служит отличным аперитивом, прекрасно дополняет большинство блюд и даже десертов. Ценители отдают предпочтение сладковатым сортам рислинга, букет которых не подавляет вкус еды, но призывают не путать их с экспортируемыми по всему миру суррогатами, которые называют не иначе как «сахарная вода».

Germany Profile for the 2000 European Football Championship. From *Sport Ekspress* (June 2000), p. 46.

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Note on Transliterations, Translations, and Referencing

I use the Library of Congress (I-System) of transliteration, rendering the vowels: я-ia ю-iu е-e и-i ы-y; consonants: щ-shch ц-ts ш-sh ч-ch х-kh; signs ь-' ъ-".

Proper names are transliterated according to this system, with the exception of commonly accepted spellings. Thus: Lenskii and Khomiakov, but Dostoevsky and Herzen.

I generally use the terms "*nemets*" and "*russkii*" for "German" and "Russian." For more on this usage, see the "List of Terms." As opposed to conventional norms, I render *nemets* literary characters in transliterated form rather than in their German-language equivalent. Thus: Shiller (instead of Schiller), Shtol'ts (instead of Stolz), and Germann (instead of Hermann).

References in bracketed parentheses in the main body of the text refer to Appendix. The letter refers to the text, and the number refers to the page number. The reference "[17^{F}]," for example, would refer to Text F, page 17. The pagination restarts in the Appendix to facilitate internal referencing.

The first reference to a text is presented along with the Russian language equivalent and publication date in parentheses. Subsequent appearances use only the English language equivalent.

The quotes embedded in the text are in English translation, with Russian provided in the Appendix (for longer quotations), footnotes (for shorter quotations), and in parentheses (for quotations consisting of a few words).

I have made individual decisions regarding the form of Russian language material in the body of the text: words and phrases and that are of interest to specialists appear in Cyrillic, while words and phrases that I wish to be accessible to non-specialist readers appear in transliteration.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

List of Additional Terms[2]

Akkuratnost' (аккуратность) – Neatness, thoroughness, punctuality, orderliness.

Antithesis – The element in the Hegelian dialectic that acts in dialogic relationship with the Thesis to produce Synthesis.

antithesis – "Opposite."

Byronism – Late Romanticism that features the Byronic hero, with a focus upon themes of social alienation and romantic conquest.

Chistoe pole (чистое поле) – "Open field"; the term *chistyi* also denoted "cleanliness," "tidiness," and "purity" (in the spiritual and non-spiritual senses). Colloquially, *chistyi* means "absolute" or "utter."

Chinovnik/chinovniki (чиновник) – A governmental bureaucrat; related to Peter the Great's table of ranks (*chin*).

Chukhon (чухон) – Finnic (refers to Finnish and Estonian peoples).

Commonplace – A common discursive occurrence.

Domestic – An element of an In Group, or part of an Imagined Community.

East/Eastern – The imaginary space of the Orient in European literature, often coinciding with the geographical area south of Russia.

Foreign – An outsider or a member of an Out Group, often defined in terms of a *narod.*

French – A conflated term referring to people from France or the culture therein; because this thesis does not investigate the French image, I use this term instead of *frantsuzskii.*

German – Refers to the language, literature, or state; see *Nemets.*

Hetero Image – An image that one group constructs regarding another.

Imagined Community – Benedict Anderson's formulation for how individuals imagine themselves to be a part of a unified group.

Implied Reader – An implied character of the novel to whom the narrator reports the story; used according to Seymour Chatman's narratological structure.

Meta Image – How one group imagines that a second group views the first group.

Muzhik/muzhiki (мужик) – A *russkii* peasant.

Narrator – Used according to Seymour Chatman's narratological diagram as a character in the novel.

Narod (народ) – The "people."

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[2] See Beller and Leerssen, *Imagology*; Chatman, *Story and Discourse*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*

Narodnost' (народность) – Often translated as "Nationality"; the term is the abstract noun form of *narod.*

Nattsiia (нация) – "nation."

"Natural" – Something that appears unproblematic or a matter of "common sense" in its given context.

Nemets/nemtsy – Deployed in the discursive context, relating to the category of "Germans"; used as a noun and also as an adjective. I do not decline the adjectival form: following English language convention, I use the term "*nemets*" to modify singular and plural, masculine and feminine. Thus: the *nemets*, *nemets* space, *nemets muzhiki, nemets* people, but German language, German literature, German State.

Nemka – A female *nemets*.

Neob"iatnost' (необъятность) – "Unembraceableness," "unboundedness."

Other – A representative of the Foreign; opposite of the Self.

Romanticism – The European literary and cultural movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries that entered Russia in the 1820s.

Russian: Refers to the language, literature, or state; see *Russkii.*

Russkii/russkie: Used in the discursive context, relating to the category of "Russians." Not used for political or linguistic groupings. Thus: the *russkii*, *russkii* space, *russkii* people, *russkii* discourse, but Russian language, Russian literature, Russian Empire.

Self – A representation of the Domestic in literature; opposite of the Other.

Self Image – The image that a group constructs for itself.

South/Southern – The imagined space of the Caucasus in Russian literature.

Synthesis – The element in the Hegelian dialectic that acts as the dialogic result of the Thesis and Antithesis.

Thesis – The element in the Hegelian dialectic that acts in dialogic relationship with the Antithesis to produce Synthesis.

Troika (тройка) – A *russkii* carriage pulled by three horses.

West/Western – The imaged space of Germanic and Latin Europe in Russian literature.

Introduction: The Hidden Fantastic in Siniavskii's *Fantastic Tales*

> *Я сапожник, имя мое Готлиб Шульц, и живу от вас через улицу, в этом домике, что против ваших окошек. Завтра праздную мою серебряную свадьбу, и я прошу вас и ваших дочек отобедать у меня по-приятельски.*
>
> - Aleksandr Pushkin[3]

I begin the Introduction to my thesis on 19th-century Russian literature in an unlikely place: the scene of a curious dinner party in a short story from the middle of the 20th century.

The party ostensibly celebrates a Silver Wedding Anniversary in postwar Moscow [2A]. Genrikh Ivanovich Graube and his wife Vera invite four of Genrikh's work colleagues to their celebration, including Nikolai Vasilevich, the protagonist. It appears to be a normal party scene: the guests eat, drink, and toast their guests; they feast upon duck, mushrooms, sturgeon, biscuits, and fruit sweets; the table is laid with a multitude of bottles. Nikolai, however, cannot indulge in the merry-making, because he is convinced that the whole event is a charade that has been engineered to compromise him politically. The rattling of cutlery seems to him a form of Morse Code, while party banter belies secret signals. And the wives present, he is sure, are actually men in drag, who are likely wearing ladies' underwear in case he tries a more active form of flirtation. For Nikolai, the apartment is an elaborate set piece, and he is the main focus of attention.

But there is another reason altogether to be suspicious of this dinner party and its host, Graube: in the 1950s, no Germans (hereafter: *nemtsy,* sing. *nemets*) were to be found in Russian (hereafter: *russkii*, pl. *russkie*) cities west of the Urals or north of the Kazakh border, because an estimated 1.5 million *nemtsy* had been deported at the beginning of the Second World War.[4] Having been condemned as traitors to the state by Stalin in 1941, any Soviet citizen with a *nemets* name had been relocated to Siberia or had died in transit; even those Soviet citizens who had survived the Leningrad blockade but

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[3] A. S. Pushkin, "The Undertaker," see <http://ilibrary.ru/text/89/p.4/index.html>, site accessed 30 May 2010.

[4] Robert Conquest, *The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of Nationalities* (New York, 1970), pp. 12, 64-65, 100, 108, 180-183. While many nationalities were allowed back to their lands by 1955/1956 following Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev did not exonerate the *nemtsy* in the XX Party Congress Speech, and resettlement remained difficult for the *nemtsy*. See Isabelle Kreindler, "The Soviet Deported Nationalities: A Summary and an Update," in *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3. (July, 1986), pp. 387-405, esp. pp. 388, 391-394.

were found to have *nemets* ancestry were deported once the blockade was lifted.[5] As late as the mid 1950s, many Soviet *nemtsy* were still serving in Siberian labour camps, the трудовая армия.[6] By the late 1950s, the time of Siniavskii's story, the only options for most ethnic *nemtsy* were to remain in Siberian exile or to move to Central Asian cities such as Bukhara, Alma-Ata, or Tashkent, where it was possible to obtain a living permit.[7]

Hugo Wormsbecher, a Moscow-based writer and the former chairman of the USSR *nemtsy*, was one of these *nemtsy*, and his life story provides an example of the challenges faced by this ethnic minority in the post-war period [3[B]].[8] Having been deported to Siberia in 1941, he was only allowed to visit Moscow in 1965 as part of an official delegation. In 1970, he and four other *nemtsy* received permission to move to Moscow to edit the German-language newspaper *New Life* ("Нойес лебен").

I first encountered the party scene in Andrei Siniavskii's 1959 short story "Ты и я" ("You and I," 1959; published in *Fantastic Tales* [*Фантастические повести*, 1966]) as an undergraduate at Wesleyan University in Priscilla Meyer's 20th-century Russian literature class, and a second time at Stanford University in Grigory Freidin's 20th-century Russian culture seminar. The first time I read the story, Graube appeared no more out of place in the Moscow apartment than his wife or the other *russkie*, Polianskii and Lobzikov. On my second encounter with the story, after studying the topic of *nemtsy* in Russian literature, I stumbled upon the riddle that would eventually motivate the research for this thesis: why should there be a clearly impossible *nemets* in this story at all? And, since there is one, what does he do for the story? Before engaging with such labyrinthine questions, I sought to explain Graube away – but I failed because I could not come up with a simple, convincing answer that accounted for all facets of the dilemma. Graube's

---

[5] See James Critchlow, in the *Helsinki Watch* volume "'Punished Peoples' of the Soviet Union: The Continuing Legacy of Stalin's Deportations" (New York and Washington D. C., 1991), pp. 11-19, esp. pp. 11-13. For treatment of the Volga *nemets* deportation, see Ingeborg Fleischhauer and Benjamin Pinkus, *The Soviet Germans* (London, 1986), pp. 87, 104. For the deportation of the ethnic *nemtsy* by the Red Army on the western front, see Samuel D. Sinner, *The Open Wound* (Fargo, 2000), esp. p. 81. For an account of the deportation of *russkie nemtsy* who survived the Leningrad blockage in 1942, see Ann Sheehy, *The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and Meskhetians: Soviet Treatment of some National Minorities* (London, 1973), p. 24 (also see pp. 10, 31 for deportation statistics), and Isabelle Kreindler, pp. 387-405, esp. pp. 391, 393, where Kreindler contextualises Sheehy's data. For treatment of the deportation, see also Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia and the Americas from 1763 to the Present* (University Park, Penn., 1977), pp. 273-293.

[6] See the series of interviews in Joshua S. Walker, *Anna Marie and Other Tales of the Germans from Russia* (Lincoln, 2008), particularly the chapter "Anna Marie."

[7] See Kreindler, p. 396, for the *nemtsy* who remained among the "Asiatic" populations. See also p. 400 for a discussion of how the *nemtsy* turned their attention to emigration in the 1970s.

[8] In addition to Wormsbecher's account, see Aleksandr Fitts (Fitz), *Bol' v nasledstvo* (Tashkent, 1990), pp. 42-27. Fitz marks 1974 as the year when it was possible for the *nemtsy* to return to their former locations of residence.

appearance cannot be an authorial mistake, because Siniavskii lived in Moscow in the 1950s and understood the social milieu. Siniavskii's choices of character names are also deliberate: "Nikolai Vasilevich" references Gogol, and "Ippolit" references Dostoevsky.[9] It could not be an arbitrary choice, because the other stories in the *Fantastic Tales* cycle are also permeated with *nemets* names.[10] Finally, the *nemets* aspect does not appear to motivate the plot, because Graube's "Germanness" does not advance the storyline; that is, his inclusion would make sense if he were unmasked as a *nemets* spy, or as a foreign infiltrator, but nothing like this materialises in the story. The riddle thus deepened for me: Graube's status as a *nemets*, while impossible, does not seem to be consequential.

The final explanation I considered was that the *nemets* indicates the story's genealogy, because it acknowledges the story's connection to Romantic writers such as Hoffmann and Schiller.[11] But this explanation is also ultimately unsatisfactory, because the genealogy is clear without the inclusion of Genrikh Ivanovich. For one, the

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[9] For commentary regarding "Nikolai Vasilevich" Gogol, see Walter F. Kolonosky, *Literary Insinuations: Sorting Out Sinyavsky's Irreverence* (Lanham and Oxford, 2003), pp. 93, 187, and Catherine Theimer Nepomnyashchy, *Abram Tertz and the Poetics of Crime* (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 107; for the link between the name "Ippolit" and Dostoevsky's *Idiot*, see Nepomnyashchy, *Tertz,* pp. 94-96.

[10] The following page numbers refer to Abram Tertz (Andrei Siniavskii), *Fantastic Stories,* trans. Max Hayward et al. (New York, 1963). The story "The Icicle" ("Гололедица") references Nietzsche (100), and includes a woman named Greta (116), a Lutheran priest named Zinovii Shvarts, and a ballerina whose aluminium leg was built in Berlin (64). The story "Tenants" ("Квартиранты") includes a water nymph named Sof'ia Frantsevna Vinter who performs Heine in German (131), and references the Brothers Grimm (139). The name "Frants," from Sof'ia's patronymic, was Russian slang for generic Germans during WWII, as demonstrated in Andrei Tarkovsky's 1962 film *Ivan's Childhood* (*Иваново детство*: *My Name is Ivan* USA title [dir. Andrei Tarkovsky, dist. Mosfilm, 1962]). "Graphomaniacs" ("Графоманы") includes a second lieutenant Greben (177), while "Pkhents" ("Пхенц") references a Leopol'd Sergeevich (487). For a discussion of the "alien" in the collection, see Kolonosky, "Inherent and Ulterior Design in Sinjavskij's 'Pxenc," in *The Slavic and East European Journal,* Vol. 26, No. 3 (Autumn, 1982), pp. 329-337, esp. p. 331. For a discussion of how the inclusion of German words produces "comic incongruity," see Deming Brown, "The Art of Andrei Siniavsky," in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 1970), pp. 663-681, esp. p. 674.

[11] The genealogy can be interpreted as follows: E.T.A. Hoffmann (the fantastic) to Nikolai Gogol (the absurdist tone, madness, Gogol's name) to Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Double* (*Двойник*, 1846) (the doubled personality, the *russkii* tradition of the lyrical monologue, the persecution by *nemtsy*) to Daniil Kharms (the absurdist word-play, the disappearance of the body) to Iurii Olesha (the updated lyrical monologue, the theme of paranoia). The patronymic "Ivanovich" – which is shared by Graube and his wife – forges this link: Dostoevsky's Goliadkin is persecuted (or believes he is being persecuted) both by the evil *nemka* Karolina Ivanovna and also by the other evil *nemets* of the story, the diabolical doctor, Krest'ian Ivanovich. Lourie reads the story's allusions thus: "Like many of Siniavskii's other stories, 'You and I' deliberately echoes the classics of Russian literature. The influence of Gogol's 'Notes of a Madman,' which portrays a mind gradually crumbling into madness, can be felt here, and the theme of the flight from women, the subject of Gogol's play *The Marriage* [*Женитьба,* 1833], is one more instance of Siniavsky's conscious extension of Russian literary traditions.... The theme of schizophrenia, as opposed to paranoia, works poorly, draws too much from literature (Dostoevsky's *The Double*), and remains a trick of the narrative." See Richard Lourie, in *Letters to the Future; An Approach to Sinyavsky-Tertz* (Ithaca and London, 1975), pp. 138-139. Neil Cornwell has formulated the genealogy of the story in similar terms: "('You and I') is a tale of paranoia and entrapment, leading to schizophrenia and an original twist in the presentation of the phenomenon (Gogolian, Dostoevskian and Hoffmannesque) of the double." See Neil Cornwell, Literary Encyclopaedia entry on "Siniavsky," (24 June 2004), at <http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=5760>, site accessed March 20 2008.

protagonist shares his name with Gogol, as I have mentioned. Secondly, the title of the collection, *Fantastic Tales*, aligns Siniavskii's stories with the fantastic literary genre, one inseparable from Hoffmann.[12] Finally, the devices of the literary double, madness, and paranoia also invoke such characters as the diabolical Nathaniel from "The Sandman" ("Der Sandmann," 1816), and the obsessive goldsmith Cardillac from "Mademoiselle de Scudéry" (1816). But, beyond this, the appearance of Graube does not add anything on the intertextual level; there is nothing about his character that "gains a coherent reading that projects [the text's argument] into a new meaningfulness," as Priscilla Meyer identifies the productivity of the literary subtext.[13]

Turning to Western Siniavskii scholars – Deming Brown, Richard Lourie, Catherine Nepomnyashchy, and Walter Kolonsky[14] – only deepened the problem. For one, Graube does not seem to fit into the schema of Siniavskii's literary world that is identified by Lourie and D. Brown; they argue that the success of Siniavskii's art lies in his juxtaposition of the realities of Soviet life with the sudden and unexpected addition of the fantastic dimension.[15] This places Graube in an awkward position, because he represents a fantastical element and also part of what should be the everyday Soviet fabric of life – and he thus exists simultaneously in what should be two separate, delineated spaces. Far more significantly for my own interests is the fact that none of these scholars engage with Graube, let alone point out his historical impossibility. Kolonosky argues that the party is encoded with Siniavskii's own personal encounter with the KGB, and he interprets the scene as a genuine set-up as opposed to a product of paranoia, going so far as to label Graube "the head of this KGB operation."[16] This, however, does not make sense in the historical context, because a *nemets* agent would only arouse more suspicion in 1950s Moscow, and thus jeopardise his own function. But this represents the most that

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[12] The fantastic is linked to the title of Hoffmann's 1814-1815 collection of previously published works, *Phantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (*Fantastic Pieces in the Manner of Callot*). Lourie argues that *Fantastic Tales* also references Dostoevsky's short story, "The Dream of a Ridiculous Man: A Fantastic Tale" ("Сон смешного человека: фантастический рассказ," 1877); pp. 129-130.

[13] Priscilla Meyer, *How the Russians Read the French: Lermontov, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy* (Madison, 2008), p. 7. Meyer's "subtext" is analogous to my use of "intertext."

[14] Brown, "The Art of Andrei Siniavsky" (1970); Lourie, *Letters to the Future* (1975); Catherine Theimer Nepomnyashchy, *Abram Tertz* (1995), and "Andrei Donatovich Sinyavsky (1925-1997)," in *The Slavic and East European Journal,* Vol. 42, No. 3 (1998), p. 367; Walter F. Kolonosky, *Sinyavsky's Irreverance* (2003), and "Sinjavskij's 'Pxenc'" (1982); see also Andrew R. Durkin, "Narrator, Metaphor, and Theme in Sinjavskij's *Fantastic Tales*," in *The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol.* 24, No. 2 (Summer, 1990), pp. 133-144.

[15] For Lourie, "the realities of Soviet life are never lost sight of" (131), and for Brown, "All of Siniavsky's fiction has contemporary Russian settings. Soviet mores and linguistics peculiarities, Soviet institutions, mental habits, and attitudes are essential to its fabric" (665-666).

[16] Kolonosky, *Sinyavsky's Irreverence*, p. 94.

is mentioned of Graube in the scholarly material: his place at the party appears to be naturalised to the point of evading the scholarly radar. A look at the scholarship, then, intensifies the stakes of the original riddle because it adds a second: why does there exist this lacuna?

From this material, I turned to other works of 20th-century Russian literature, reasoning that clues to elucidate the *nemtsy* might be found there. But here, as well, I came across a number of other unaccountable *nemtsy*, and the problem continued to expand. Why, for example, did Isaac Babel elect to locate two stories that describe the effects of the Russian Civil War, "The Concert in Katharinenstadt" ("Концерт в Катериненштадте," 1918) and "Ivan-da-Maria" ("Иван–да–Марья," 1932), on the Volga River among the Volga *nemtsy*? What did he see in the potential of this *nemets* space to characterise that particular moment in history for a non-*nemets* readership that lived in Moscow and Leningrad? This is a significant choice when we consider that Babel tended to deal with either urban or warfront landscapes; so his Volga stories represent a dislocation from the more typical literary environment of Cossack cavalry and Jewish gangsters.[17] This is an even more significant choice when we consider that Babel chose to revisit the theme in 1932, 14 years after the fact. For me, there was no clear reason why Babel's retrospective of this pivotal moment of Russian history should feature a community of *nemtsy* – who emerge in as much of a fantastical capacity as Siniavskii's Graube.[18]

Secondly, there is the *nemets* element in Iurii Olesha's *Envy* (*Зависть,* 1927). Why did Olesha choose to include, during a moment of crisis for the protagonist, a football match between the Soviets and the German national team? Why select, of all other nations, Germany? And why name the *nemets* captain "Getske," which possibly derives from "*götze*," meaning "idol, false deity"?[19] Olesha could have chosen, after all,

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[17] While this question has yet to receive scholarly attention, I discussed it in my paper "Babel's Fanciful Germans," delivered at the "Международный конгресс 'Русская словесность в мировом культурном контексте'" ("Russian Literary Production in the Context of World Culture" International Conference) held by the "Фонд Достоевского" (Dostoevsky Fund) in Moscow, December 2004.

[18] The overall effect is a feeling of blissful isolation, a place moving in its own time. As the tavern girls go to milk the cows, the narrator asserts, "It was as if there had never been war on earth. And yet the Ural Cossack front was only twenty versts away from Baronsk." See Isaak Babel' (Babel), *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*, Vol. II (Moscow, 1990), p. 209. The Volga *nemtsy*, however, were anything but unaware of their surroundings, or unaffected by the devastations of 1910s Russia. See Koch, pp. 239-246, and James W. Long, *From Privileged to Dispossessed: The Volga Germans, 1860-1917* (Lincoln, 1988), pp. 222-230.

[19] Ronald D. LeBlanc focuses upon the match in his article "The Soccer Match in Envy," in *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1. (Spring, 1988), pp. 55-71, esp. p. 68 (n. 9). LeBlanc quotes Andrew Barratt with the attention to the *nemets* captain's name: "Goetzke's individualism," Barratt notes, "is precisely the 'false deity' to which Kavalerov has pledged his faith" (35). From Andrew Barratt, *Yuri*

to portray a football match between two rival Moscow clubs, or two teams playing for the Soviet championship. This could have underscored a prominent theme in the novel: old *russkii* values versus new Soviet life. He could even have not portrayed the match at all. But Olesha did elect to portray the match, and to raise it to the status of international importance. But why make it the *nemtsy*?

Thirdly, why does the devil in Bulgakov's novel *Master and Margarita* (*Мастер и Маргарита*, written in the 1930s, published in the Soviet Union in 1966) have a Germanic name, Woland? Complicating this act of naming, the literary editor Berlioz first assumes that the devil – a "smooth-shaven" foreigner with "a slightly-crooked mouth" – is a *nemets*.[20] We can connect this character to Goethe's *Faust*, but, as with the connection to Hoffmann in "You and I," this intertext is already clear without the additional problems of introducing a *nemets*. Further, are we content to conclude that the name "Woland" refers to Faust but has no other role in the novel at all? The more I tried to account for Siniavskii in his own century, the further back in *russkii* cultural history I found myself searching; my failure to grasp the *nemtsy* in 1959 demonstrated to me the need to provide an extensive account of the *nemets* in the 19th century, and to examine the historical development of this image.

This thesis is the product of an investigation of 19th century literature to address the puzzles that appear in the 20th. Part I consists of three Chapters, and it provides the literature review and methodological framework for my topic. Chapter One investigates previous scholarly approaches to the material, and here I am interested in three topics. First, why is the question of the Foreign in literature a problem in the first place? While I have argued in this Introduction that the works of Siniavskii, Babel, Olesha, and Bulgakov contain problematic *nemtsy*, it is still necessary to establish the link between these specific examples and the general question of the Foreign in literature. Secondly, I address my questions regarding Graube with an examination of how scholars have explained the *nemtsy:* is there a model that can explain Graube's seemingly inconsequential "Germanness"? Thirdly, I address another question that arises in this Introduction: why do the *nemtsy* not appear as problematic on some scholarly radars? These concerns prompt me to adopt a wide analytical lens: I am interested both in how scholars have addressed the question and how they have avoided addressing it. As such, I

Olesha's "Envy": Birmingham Slavonic Monographs, 12 (Birmingham, UK, 1981).

[20] Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita,* trans. D. Burgin and K. O'Connor (New York, 1996), pp. 6, 12, 34, 340. See also M. A. Bulgakov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 8 (Ann Arbor, 1988), p. 20, and <http://lib.ru/BULGAKOW/master.txt>, site accessed 15 September 2010.

analyse works whose main theme is the *nemtsy*, and also general histories of Russian literature and literary biographies where the *nemtsy* are only a tangential or parenthetic concern.

Chapter One introduces my source material, and it allows me to register my concerns with other scholarly approaches to the literary stereotype. It thus represents a continuation of the discussion in this Introduction, and also a failure to answer the questions I have raised thus far. Chapters Two and Three explore ways of reformulating these questions, and they develop how my own approach differs from the scholarly material I discuss in Chapter One. Chapter Two, which investigates the role of spatiality, also grows out of my concerns with Siniavskii. Graube's party links to the Pushkinian intertext through the *nemets* Silver Wedding Anniversary, introduced as an epigraph to this Introduction. Therefore, the encounter between Graube and Nikolai does not just represent an encounter between the protagonist and a group of possible KGB agents: it also takes place in dialogue with the discourse of *nemets* space in Russian literature. In order to address the significance of this dimension, it is necessary to examine the literary genealogy of comparative spatial imagery.

This thesis addresses the spatial aspect of the *nemets* image in relation to the *russkii* for three additional reasons to the elucidation of Siniavskii's *nemets* apartment. First, as is the case in "You and I," *nemets* space emerges as a marker of the relationship between *russkii* and *nemets*, particularly in descriptions of the how *nemets* space influences the *russkii* body. Secondly, spatiality provides a set of concrete traits that can be compared and contrasted between authors; this means that Karamzin's depiction of *nemets* space at the end of the 18th century can be compared in like terms to that of Shklovskii in the early 20th century. Thirdly, there exists a close link between spatiality and national identity, because spatial descriptions can stand in as metaphors for the character of the people that inhabit the space.

Chapter Three is the second Chapter that explains my divergence from previous scholarship, and it introduces my methodological approach: the Image Studies (Imagological) school of criticism. While Chapter Three fits the required schema of a thesis – where the Introduction and literature review are followed by an account of the methodological framework – it also represents my own process of thinking about this topic. I encountered Image Studies after puzzling over Siniavskii, which led me to search Siniavskii scholars for information regarding Graube. This lacuna left me scouring other scholarship for general theories regarding the *nemtsy*, but I found these conclusions

problematic. For me, Image Studies presented an effective method for isolating and comparing the images of foreigners in literature, because it interprets these images as constructs that reveal more information about the creators of the image than about their supposed referents. In Chapter Three, I elaborate upon the theoretical basis for the methodology, and I also apply it to the *nemtsy* in the *russkii* cultural context.

Between Chapters Three and Four, I include an Interlude to supplement the methodological discussion. The aim here is to account not just for the appearance of the *nemtsy*, but also for their literary roles. This Interlude also provides a preliminary conclusion regarding the structure of the *nemets* image before I begin the historical survey.

With my concerns regarding previous scholarship noted and my methodology motivated, I turn to Part II of my thesis, which consists of original research and analyses. Chapter Four begins with the question of whether Russia's tortured relationship with the West represents a consistent situation or a recent development. This is a critical question to address, because I argue that the tortured nature of the relationship was a relatively recent development, emerging in recognisable form only in the mid 1830s. I also argue that the relationship between *nemets* and *russkii* space before this period was one of Complementarity, while Chaadaev's "First Philosophical Letter" (*Lettres philosophiques adressées à une dame*, 1836) – a work that asserted that Russia had no history because it was only a clumsy imitator that was neither of the East nor of the West – undermined this descriptive lens. Chapter Four explores this historical transformation, and it discusses how, before the 1830s, Russia was imagined as containing essential Western elements, which were instilled by the Varangian origin myth, Petrine reforms, and Russia's assumed geographical position as part Western and part Eastern. This Chapter is crucial to my argument because it provides a "pre-history" of the *nemets* image, and it provides an illustration for how literary images are dynamic structures that are modified by shifts in discursive paradigms.

Chapter Five examines one of the currents of the *nemets* image that emerged from Chaadaev's 1836 letter: that of Mutual Exclusivity, where the *nemets* image constructs and modifies *russkii* identity in terms of polar opposites. This strategy flipped Chaadaev's disjunction of Russia from Western time and space upside-down, because it posited the *russkii* as already superior to the *nemets* on its own terms. This process follows a pattern familiar to Imagological scholars: in order to stabilise the positive *russkii* trait X, the negative *nemets* trait –X is introduced, and the two constructs exist in

an opposed – yet symbiotic – relationship. This process was utilised by the Slavophiles in the 1840s – and their discursive and ideological decedents in the 1850s and 1860s – to advance a positive picture of the *russkii narod.* Mutual Exclusivity provides fertile ground for Image Studies, because the shape of the *nemets* generates the desired image of the Self. The primary text I discuss is Gogol's *Dead Souls* (*Мертвые души,* 1842), which is constitutive of this lens. I use the conclusions I reach from this analysis to elucidate the football match in Olesha's *Envy.*

As I argue in Chapter Four, though, the relationship between *nemets* and *russkii* cannot be construed as entirely based upon a Self-Other relationship. Certain historical factors, such as the proximity of the *nemets* lands and the preponderance of *nemtsy* in the Russian Empire, in addition to cultural factors, such as the importation of *nemets* literary aesthetics, created the possibility for the *nemets* to refer not just to the outside of *russkii* culture, but also to the inside. Chapter Six examines a second current that emerges from the debate surrounding Chaadaev's letter: the relationship between *russkii* and *nemets* as one based upon Synthesis. Rather than positing the *nemets* as an irreconcilable influence, the *nemets* is imagined as a different, but not incompatible, force that can act in a dialectic relationship with the *russkii.* This Chapter provides a reading of Lermontov and Turgenev, and also of the second central text of this thesis, Goncharov's novel *Oblomov* (1859). I argue that this novel deploys Synthesis and Mutual Exclusivity from competing perspectives to characterise the *nemtsy* and Andrei Shtol'ts. I also return to the question of why Babel set his 1932 retrospective on the Civil War on the Volga among the *nemtsy*, and I argue, as I do with Goncharov, Turgenev, and Lermontov, that Babel utilises the discursive currency of the Foreign to examine the Self.

The end returns to the beginning: in the Conclusion, I address the party scene in Siniavskii's "You and I," and I attempt to make sense of the two riddles that initiated and motivated this investigation. I conclude that the lenses of Synthesis and Mutual Exclusivity compete in their depiction of the *nemets* from Goncharov's 1859 Petersburg to Siniavskii's 1959 Moscow, and beyond.

Chapter One: *Nemtsy* in Russian Literature: The Stakes and Four Approaches

Herz, mein Herz, warum so traurig?
Was bekümmert dich so sehr?
S'ist ja schön im fremden Lande —
Herz, mein Herz, — was willst du mehr?

- Ivan Turgenev[21]

...с ранних пор привыкли верить мы,
Что нам без немцев нет спасенья!

- Aleksandr Griboedov[22]

1.1. Introduction and Chapter Aims

In 1929, the Soviet linguist Iurii Tynianov warned that the act of naming in a literary work was neither accidental nor incidental: "in a work of art, there are no unfamiliar names. All names speak."[23] If true, a *nemets* must have a different set of stakes than a *russkii* in Russian literature from the very emergence of their non-*russkii* name. While this Chapter functions as a review of previous scholarship regarding the *nemtsy* in Russian literature, its secondary aim is to follow the lines of investigation developed in the Introduction to engage with Tynianov's claim. I begin with the question: why is the topic of the Foreign an issue at all? It is important to address this, because the opposing position – that a foreigner in a work of literature is a *natural* phenomenon because such inclusions appear unavoidable and therefore unproblematic – is easy to imagine. In Section 1.2, I examine the problematic nature of the Foreign in literature to argue that even innocuous *nemets* names "speak" in the *russkii* cultural context. Section 1.3 provides three illustrations of this problem in Russian literature: a scholar's rejection of the historical veracity of *nemets* stereotypes, Chekhov's Sharlotta from *Cherry Orchard* (*Вишневый сад*, 1903), and Pushkin's Germann from *Queen of Spades* (*Пиковая дама*, 1834). This Section also serves to show the depth of the problem by arguing that *nemtsy* from the 20th century – those of Siniavskii, Olesha, Babel, and Bulgakov – were just as puzzling as the *nemtsy* in the 19th century.

After motivating the problematic nature of the Foreign in literature – and of the *nemets* in the *russkii* context – I identify four approaches to the *nemtsy* in the past century

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[21] See "Diary of a Superfluous Man" ("Дневник лишнего человека"), from <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Дневник_лишнего_человека_(Тургенев)>, site accessed 30 May 2010.
[22] A. S. Griboedov, *Woe from Wit* (*Горе от ума*), I:7, from <http://az.lib.ru/g/griboedow_a_s/text_0010.shtml>, site accessed 31 May 2010.
[23] "...в художественном произведении нет незнакомых имен. Все имена говорят." Iurii Tynianov, *Arkhaisty i novatory* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 27.

of scholarship (Section 1.3): the Essentialist (1.3.2), where national character is assumed to be a stable and consistent phenomenon; the Historicist (1.3.3), where the *nemtsy* reflect *objective historical reality*; the Biographical (1.3.4), where literary characters emerge as extensions of an author's personal life; and the Stereotype-Analysis (1.3.5), which isolates a single author's oeuvre and compares it to prevalent cultural stereotypes. These analyses address the second guiding question from the Introduction: how have previous scholars accounted for the inclusion of *nemtsy* in Russian literature? This Section represents an endorsement of Tynianov's assertion that names "speak," but also a failure to answer *why* they do – and this enables me to develop an Imagological model that accounts for the role of the *nemtsy* vis-à-vis the *russkie*.

In addition to motivating the *nemets* puzzles and investigating their possible solutions, this Chapter has a polemical aim that addresses the third guiding question from the Introduction: why do the *nemtsy* sometimes not appear on the critical radar at all? I investigate this by challenging the position that the *nemtsy* have a narrow or unproblematic role in Russian literature – an assumption that has been expressed by Galya Diment (1998) and Sidney Monas (1991). Diment summarises *nemtsy* in the first half of 19th-century Russian literature as follows:

> Germans, and in particular German tradesmen, had appeared as characters in nineteenth-century fiction before Goncharov as well. Their presence, however, was usually meant to provide comic relief (as in Pushkin's "The Undertaker" or Gogol's "Nevsky Prospect"), supply fodder for parody (cf. Hermann in Pushkin's *Queen of Spades*), or give impetus to moralistic diatribes (as is often the case in Gogol). Lermontov may have given his readers a rare exception when in *A Hero of Our Times* (1842) he bestowed a German name on a doctor who is almost Pechorin's intellectual equal, yet he also felt compelled to state that, despite his name, Werner was Russian.[24]

According to Diment, there existed three functions for the *nemtsy* in the first half of the 19th century: as the butt of jokes ("comic relief"), as intertextual opportunities ("fodder for parody"), or as manifestations of foreign immorality ("impetus for moralistic diatribes"). Monas depicts the *nemtsy* in similar terms, and he characterises them as generally comic and negative. He makes a generalisation based upon the entirety of Russian literature, and so he works within a wider timeframe than Diment:

> Germans fared little better [than French characters]. Gogol's are burgherly artisans or shopkeepers, figures of fun. Pushkin's Germann in "Queen of Spades," a

[24] Galya Diment, in *Goncharov's Oblomov: A Critical Companion*, ed. Galya Diment (Evanston, 1998), p. 29; she adds the following note (n79): "It was under Peter the Great that Germans, together with other foreigners, began arriving in Russia looking for good business opportunities."

> Russianized German of considerable vividness if of dubious morality, is a rare exception. Turgenev and Tolstoy have an occasional sympathetic, melancholy German music master lurking in the background, brooding on the harsh facts of exile, but in *War and Peace* the Germans are predominantly those who believe in "military science," which Tolstoy means to disparage. There is, of course, Shtolts in Goncharov's *Oblomov,* who is half German. He represents European competence and efficacy in contrast to Oblomovian sloth. His real distinction, however, consists in his tacit recognition of Oblomov's spiritual superiority and his determination (ultimately unsuccessful) to get Oblomov moving and out of bed.[25]

Diment and Monas allot the *nemtsy* a narrow role as bit players in Russian literature, while they qualify this depiction by citing a "rare" exception or two. These represent the primary assumptions that this thesis attempts to revise: I argue the role of the *nemtsy* is to establish *russkii* identity, because this character emerges as an Other to the *russkii* and also as an internal quality of the *russkii* Self. From this perspective, the *nemtsy* are inconsequential only if we consider the study of *russkii* identity to be a closed investigation.

1.2. The Foreign in Russian Literature and History: The Lay of the Problem

1.2.1. Introduction

Before moving to an investigation of the specific approaches to the *nemtsy*, I address the general question of the Foreign in literature. Is it possible for these characters to remain *neutral* (i.e. "not speak"), or mostly inconsequential (as with Diment and Monas)? I begin my investigation on the general linguistic level: is it reasonable to assume that language, when describing people unlike the speaker and his/her group, can be objective? If not, the assumption that foreigners are a *natural* inclusion in any literary space is untenable, because the prerequisite for *neutral* discourse is undermined. An examination of how the Foreign automatically conveys denotations and infers connotations thus represents the first step towards endorsing Tynianov's proposition.

1.2.2. From the Name Itself: The Problems of Labelling an Outsider

Language that refers to the Foreign not only lacks *neutrality*, it also serves to justify the superiority and normalcy of the group that produces and deploys that language. In Ancient Greek, the term *barbaros* originally denoted anyone who could not speak Greek, meaning the Germanics, Italics, Persians, Thracians, Egyptians, and others surrounding Greece; the word is onomatopoeic, suggestive of a "bar-bar-bar" kind of

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[25] Sidney Monas, "'Self' and Other in Russian Literature," in *The Search for Self-Definition in Russian Literature,* ed. Ewa M. Thompson (Houston, 1991), pp. 76-91, esp. p. 84.

unintelligible mumble.[26] This particular word then passed to other languages, English and Russian included (barbarian; *varvar*/варвар), and preserved the pejorative connotation of the uncivilised foreigner. The inability of foreigners to speak in a meaningful manner (that is, non-Greeks around Greece, non-Slavs around the Slavs) also became conflated with their supposed savage and rude ways of life.[27] The word used for "a stranger" in many languages represents another loaded term, because it is often, as Corbey and Leerssen argue, "synonymous with that for *enemy*, *slave* or *one who blabs gibberish*," such as in the Latin *hostis* (enemy, foreigner, guest) and the Old English *Wealh* (slave, foreigner).[28]

Language that relates to a Domestic Other can also be constructed to maintain social and political power structures. The Romans encoded their language regarding the city and city-life as positive, as opposed to the countryside and women – those whose natural position was assumed to be one of subservience and inferiority.[29] The effects of this alignment can be seen in modern English: derivatives of the Latin word for "city" are positive traits (*civis*: civil, civilisation, civility, civilisable).[30] On the other hand, words such as "pagan" and "heathen" derive from the Latin *pagus* (village) and English *heath*, where both negative terms are etymologically tied to the countryside. Further, as Irene Cieraad argues, the negative connotations of the countryside in European spatial discourse reflect the image of urban superiority in the Old Testament, and also the glorification of Rome as the centre of Roman imperial authority.[31] Power and authority

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[26] J. D. Sadler characterises the initial meaning as "stuttering" in "Onomatopoeia," *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Dec., 1971 – Jan., 1972), pp. 174-177, esp. p. 175.

[27] For contextualisation on the historian Sergei Solov'ev's reference to the Golden Horde as "Steppe barbarians," see Serhy Yekelchyk, "The Grand Narrative and Its Discontents," in *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600-1945,* ed. A. Kappeler et al. (Edmonton & Toronto, 2003), 229-255, esp. p. 239, where he cites S. M. Solov'ev, *Uchebnaia kniga russkoi istorii*, 9th ed. (Moscow, 1887), p. 41.

[28] See the introduction by Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen in *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship,* ed. R. Corbey and J. Leerssen (Amsterdam & Atlanta, 1991), pp. vi-vii. On the etymological examples: for *Wealh* as "a foreigner," "a Welshman," and "a slave," see Bryan Ward-Perkins, "Why Did the Anglo-Saxons Not Become More British?" in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 462 (Jun., 2000), pp. 513-533, esp. pp. 530-531; for *barbaros,* see the *Oxford Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (Oxford, 1968), p. 306; for *hostis,* see *Cassell's Latin Dictionary*, ed. D. P. Simpson (New York and London, 1987; 1963), p. 280.

[29] Corbey and Leerssen, pp. vi-vii.

[30] Corbey and Leerssen, p. vii.

[31] See Irene Cieraad, "Traditional Folk, Industrial Masses," in *Alterity, Identity, Image,* pp. 17-36, esp. pp. 18-19. Cieraad's argument revolves around the changing status of the "folk" in Western culture and argues that, in the Old Testament, "Shepherds and fishermen, who play such a prominent role in the New Testament, are held in contempt.... This Jewish notion of space has its repercussions in a notion of time. Concentrating on the city as a sacred centre, and on the temple, and on the Holiest of Holies as the most sacral centre within the temple, entails a notion of time where none besides the Jewish people can share in that sacred history in which they are the Chosen People" (19). For Cieraad, an exclusionary political act

may also be encoded in language because, as Leerssen and Corbey argue, "leadership structures within most societies stipulate certain requirements (age, sex, descent) to which a given individual must conform before being given a position of authority; so that here, too, human dignity is distributed unequally between an elite and its Others."[32] The term "civic virtue," derived from the Latin for urban (*civis*) manliness (*virtus*), reminds us of these relationships.[33]

Rebecca Saunders has examined the etymology of these words and distilled the stakes of the linguistic relationships:

> Derived from a Latin term meaning "outsider" (*foras),* the word "foreign" designates a quality or an entity conceived relatively: the foreign is always relative to the inside, the domestic, the familiar, a boundary... Symptomatic of the relative nature of the foreign is the necessity of defining the foreign negatively, a symptom exhibited by virtually any dictionary: to be foreign is *not* belonging to a group, *not* speaking a given language, *not* having the same customs; it is to be *un*familiar, *un*canny, *un*natural, *un*authorized, *in*comprehensible, *in*appropriate, *im*proper. This final connotation is crucial: the English word "foreign," like French *étranger*, Spanish, *extranjero* and Greek *xenos* carries the telling connotation of "improper" and can be used as a synonym for "inappropriate."[34] (Emphasis in original)

Saunders argues that the Foreign is suggestive of unnaturalness and impropriety, and that this enforces a given culture's sense of its own normalcy and correctness. In other words, cultures have defined the Foreign as strange and deficient in order to conceive of the Domestic as normal and capable. The extreme relativity found in these terms, in that being linguistically "at home" in one place makes you Foreign in another, is compounded by the terms' capacity to be assumed or imposed by anyone. Even if an individual prefers to be a member of an In Group, this status is ultimately conferred upon one by others.[35] A Soviet-era joke illustrates how the Other and the Self represent subjective constructs. When many Jews left the Soviet Union under Brezhnev for Israel, they were disappointed

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left its linguistic and associative traces in Western culture in the form of disdain for the heathens outside the understood urban centre.

[32] Corbey and Leerssen, pp. vi-vii.

[33] Corbey and Leerssen, p. vii.

[34] Rebecca Saunders, "The Agony and the Allegory: The Concept of the Foreign, the Language of Apartheid, and the Fiction of J. M. Coetzee," in *Cultural Critique* Vol. 47 (Winter, 2001), pp. 215-264, esp. p. 218.

[35] This relativity of foreignness is dramatised in American literature in Nella Larsen's novel *Passing* (1929), where the black heroine's ability to "pass" in white society depends upon members of that group conferring membership status. For an account of how the novel deploys irony to engage with "the passing-for-white plot that had already been well established in African-American fiction," see Jonathan Little, "Nella Larsen's Passing: Irony and the Critics" in *African American Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Women Writers Issue (Spring, 1992), pp. 173-182, esp. p. 173.

to find that jobs were scarce and prices were high.[36] Many also felt much more like newcomers and outsiders than they had expected, and instead of being Jews in Russia they were Russians in Israel:

> After a few years in Israel, some Russian Jews placed an ad in a Moscow newspaper: "Soviet Jews, come to Israel! Only here will your long-cherished dream of becoming Russians be realized."[37]

These two factors – the impropriety of the foreign along with its relativity – demonstrate, for Saunders, "the conceptual instability of foreignness."[38]

1.2.3.1. The History of the Foreign in the Russian Language

From general issues of the linguistic Foreign, I move to the specific situation in *russkii* discourse, where terms denoting the Foreign are no less problematic than those found in Latin, Greek, and modern English. As Anthony Cross has noted, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Mongols were generally referred to as "barbarians" (*varvarine* or *varvary*), terms that held similar connotations of a rude, uncivilised way of life.[39] One seventeenth-century source even maintained that these barbarians hailed from "*Varvariia*, the land of the Tartars," which can be translated roughly as "Barbarianland."[40] This term was also used in early sources in reference to any non-Christian neighbouring tribes, reinforcing the status of the Slavonic peoples as civilised, and as not inferior to their Orthodox Byzantine teachers.[41] The main standard for defining the Other until the 18th century was religious, and common terms for foreigners in general were *inostranets, inostrannik, inozemets* meaning "from another land," which, according to Cross, "carried the connotation of different faith (seen literally in the form *inoverets*)."[42]

The most popular term used to refer to Western Europeans, though, from *The Primary Chronicle* (*Повесть временных лет*) through the seventeenth century, was the term "*nemets*" (немец), or "unable to speak." Differing from the Greek *barbaros* that

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[36] For historical contextualisation of this joke, see Bruce Adams, *Tiny Revolutions in Russia: Twentieth Century Soviet and Russian History in Anecdotes* (Abingdon & New York, 2005), p. 139.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Saunders, "The Agony and Allegory," p. 223.
[39] See Anthony Cross, "'Them': Russians on Foreigners," in *National Identity in Russian Culture: An Introduction*, ed. Emma Widdis and Simon Franklin (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 74-92, esp. p. 75.
[40] Cross, pp. 74-77. For more on foreigners in Muscovy, see Lindsey Hughes, "Attitudes Towards Foreigners in Early Modern Russia," in *Russian and the Wider World in Historical Perspective: Essays for Paul Dukes,* ed. Cathryn Brennan and Murray Frame (New York & London, 2000), pp 1-23.
[41] Cross, p. 75. For the relationship between *Rus'* Christianity and Byzantine culture, see Simon Franklin, "Identity and Religion" in *National Identity in Russian Culture,* pp. 95-115, esp. pp. 98-99.
[42] Cross, p. 75.

denotes babbling, *nemets* indicates muteness. An example of the *nemtsy* standing in for general Western foreigners appears in *The Primary Chronicle* in the year 6494 (986 CE), where the term refers to the emissaries from the Pope in Rome: "Vladimir told the *nemtsy,* 'Go back from whence you came [i. e. Rome], for our fathers never accepted such a thing [i.e. Roman Christianity].'"[43] Southern-European Catholics, commonly referred to as the "Latins" in early medieval literature,[44] were still conflated under the term "*nemets*" as far as the seventeenth century.[45] The following geographical note of the time illustrates this aspect: "Italy is the Latin country located near Rome, and in it live the wise *nemtsy.*"[46] In order to evidence the conflation inherent in the term, Cross cites two additional pre-18th-century passages: "...her father was a *nemets* of the Scottish people, and he held the *nemets* faith..." and "...arriving *nemtsy* of various nationalities..."[47]

Just as in the East there was *Varvariia,* in the West there existed another theoretical land, *Nemetchina*, meaning literally "Land of the Dumb," but figuratively and practically referring to the "foreign lands to the West."[48] The term "*nemets*" also applied to Western Europeans living within the *russkii* borders. When unbaptised foreigners (i.e. non-Orthodox) were removed by royal edict from their Moscow homes in October 1652, they were moved to a self-contained suburb on the north-eastern edge of the city known as the *Novo-nemetskaia sloboda,* later known as the *Nemetskaia sloboda,* or "*Nemets* Quarter."[49] Finally, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the term

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[43] D. M. Likhachev's translation for the passage reads: "Сказал же Владимир немцам: 'Идите, откуда пришли, ибо отцы наши не приняли этого'." See Likhachev's translation of *Povest' vremennykh let,* at <http://lib.ru/HISTORY/RUSSIA/povest.txt>, site accessed 3 June 2010. The Old Church Slavonic form of the word was нѣмьць, referring to "a person who spoke unclearly or unintelligibly" (человек, говорящий неясно, непонятно) or "any foreigner" (любой иностранец); see the "*Nemets*" entry in the Maks Fasmer etymological dictionary, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka Maksa Fasmera* (1950), at <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/vasmer/43975/немец>, site accessed 3 June 2010.

[44] Franklin, pp. 98-99.

[45] Swetlana Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert – Deutschland und die Deutschen in den Augen der Russen im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Unsere Russen Unsere Deutschen – Bilder vom Anderen 1800 bis 2000* (Berlin, 2007), pp. 46-63, esp. p. 47.

[46] "Италия – страна латинска, близ Рима, а живут в ней мудрии немцы." Cross, p. 75, cites *Slovar' russkogo iazyka XI-XVII veka* (Moscow, 1975), I, p. 73; II, pp. 17-18; VI (1979), pp. 243-245; XI (1986), pp. 178-179.

[47] "...отец был шотских немец, держал веру немецкую..." and "...приезжие немцы розных государств..." Cross, p. 75.

[48] This example from "The Sounds of Silence – German Style," Michele A. Berdy's linguistic column "The Word's Worth," in *The Moscow Times,* (October 27, 2006), p. 8, and at <http://www.moscowtimes.ru/stories/2006/10/27/007.html>, site accessed 24 March 2008. The *Bol'shoi tolkovo-frazeologicheskii slovar' Mikhel'sona* (St. Petersburg, 1896-1912) provides the following definition and example: "Немечина (Неметчина): (*иноск.*) — иностранное, не русское (о земле, нравах). *Ср.* В тебе русской жилки нет совсем... И это потому, что тебя по *Неметчине* слишком долго таскали; — вот что.... *Маркевич. Забытый вопрос. 2, 27. См.* немчура. *См. жилка.*" From <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/michelson_new/6451/немечина>, site accessed 31 May 2010.

[49] See Berdy, "German Style," and L. Hughes, "Attitudes towards Foreigners," p. 6.

"*nemets*" came to be applied primarily to the Germanic peoples – though ambiguities remained, because the term applied to Austrians, the Dutch, the Swiss, Nordic peoples, and even the English (referred to as the *angliiskie nemtsy*).[50] The history of the term's connotations demonstrates how the conflated nature of the *nemets* reinforces the homogenous image of Western space, and how heterogeneous and disparate groups can be subsumed under a single, negatively valued label.

1.2.3.2. What is a *Nemets*?

According to some accounts, while the *nemets* originated as an overgeneralisation of the "West," its referent became more specific (from Westerner, to Protestant, to Northern European, to Germanic, to German) between the 11th and 18th centuries.[51] Hans-Joachim Torke endorses this model, asserting that *nemets* came to refer to "Protestant foreigners" around the 17th century.[52] This story, however, undervalues the fact that the term never lost the conflations inherent in the term, as pointed out by Cross, Hughes, and Wilfried Pothoff.[53] In the 19th century, when the term had theoretically come to refer only to the "Germans," Nikolai Gogol includes the following footnote in his 1832 story, "The Night Before Christmas" ("Ночь перед роджеством"): "The term '*nemets*' is used by us for anyone who is from a foreign land, be he French, Caesarish [*tsesarets*], or Swedish – they are all *nemtsy*."[54] Considering the imprecision of the term's history and modern usage, the *nemets* therefore represents a conflation of a conflation.

This links to Saunders's argument that, "what we currently take to be the 'literal' or 'proper' meaning of the foreign – one who is from another country, one who is not a native or a citizen – is already a figurative meaning."[55] That is, the figurative step is a common occurrence in words for foreigners such as *Fremd* in German or Spanish *extranjero*. *Nemets* falls into this category, because the term does not mean a foreigner literally, but implies one through a figurative step – just as *Nemetchina* is not the literal name of a country. Saunders concludes that, "rather than elucidate an abstract concept by reference to a concrete object, this figure articulates the materiality of foreignness through

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[50] Cross, pp. 74-77; for the "*angliiskie nemtsy*" example, see p. 77.
[51] Hans-Joachim Torke "Moscow and Its West: On the 'Ruthenization' of Russian Culture in the Seventeenth Century" in *Culture, Nation, and Identity,* pp 87-107.
[52] Torke, p. 97.
[53] Cross, "Them," pp. 74-92; Hughes, "Attitudes towards Foreigners," pp. 1-23. Wilfried Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland in der russischen Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Deutschland und Russland - Aspekte kultureller und wissenschaftlicher Beziehungen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Dittmar Dahlmann and Wilfried Potthoff (Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 143-168, esp. p. 150.
[54] "Немцем называют у нас всякого, кто только из чужой земли, хоть будь он француз, или цесарец, или швед — все немец." See Nikolai Gogol' (Gogol), *Povesti i p'esy* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 98.
[55] Saunders, p. 219.

the abstract notion of strangeness."[56] The term "*nemets*" illustrates this: it does not bring the referent into sharper focus because it is itself a sign that denotes an unknown quality. *Nemets* thus links to "impropriety" on two levels. First, this foreigner is unable to speak while the Slavs are masters of language. The etymology of the word "Slav" emphasises this point, because the word most likely derives from the word *slovo* (word; слово), and this process encodes the In Group as that which posseses language, reason and knowledge.[57] This term not only reduces the West to a state of linguistic powerlessness, it also raises the Slav by virtue of the diametric opposition of "speech" versus "speechlessness." Secondly, the term "*nemets*" renders an individual from that Out Group as a figure of mystery, and the term falls "outside of proper meaning" because one abstract sign refers to one abstract quality.[58] The instability and abstract nature of the *nemets* also produce the illusion that the categories "Slav" and "*russkii*" are stable and meaningful by contrast.

Thus far, I have provided an historical account of the term's negative connotations and its conflated nature; but what does this have to do with its modern denotations? In addition to the general dilemmas inherent in referring to the "Germans" in any language (because the modern German state only unified in 1871 and because there has existed a large "German" population outside that state),[59] the *russkii* cultural context presents two additional problems. First, as I have mentioned, the term "*nemets*" represents a conflation of a conflation because it refers to a number of different national, ethnic and linguistic groups: those from "Germanic" countries. Secondly, the term can also be applied to citizens of the Russian Empire, further problematising the capacity to represent a political entity. This problem becomes politically relevant when we consider that 1.8

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[56] Saunders, "The Agony, and the Irony," p. 219.

[57] See J. Dyneley Prince, "Slav and Celt," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Vol. 59, No. 3 (1920), pp. 184-193, esp. p.185. Prince argues here that the etymological tie of Slav to the word *slava* (glory) is unimportant, because *slava* is most likely itself a derivation of the *slav-slov*-root "To speak." See also Martin Votruba's page on Slavic etymology at the University of Pittsburgh, at <http://www.pitt.edu/~votruba/qsonhist/slavicslovak.html>, site accessed 12 May 2010.

[58] Saunders, "Agony and Irony," p. 219.

[59] These two examples are part of general German Studies problematics: even if we exclude the Dutch, Swiss, and Austrians from the term "*nemets*", it is important to note that until the 1870s there was no unified German state, meaning the term "German" (in any language) applied to the idea of a people rather than one bound by a political body. The *nemets* represents a conflation similar to equivalents in other languages, such as "German," "*Deutscher,*" or "*allemand*". Further, even when we consider post-unification Germany, it does not follow that every inhabitant of that Germany is a *nemets/Deutscher/allemand.* This raises the following question: does "German" refer to anyone who lives in Germany, or does it only refer to a kind of imagined community, bound by a shared body of cultural mythology? Is the standard for identification physical presence and citizenship, or is it cultural identity? These two meanings are commonly conflated in everyday usage and prove unstable once we begin to discuss a (hypothetical) person of Turkish ancestry who was born in Germany but does not possess German citizenship.

million "ethnic *nemtsy*" (i.e. those whose *natsional'nost'* was *nemets*) lived in the Russian Empire in 1897.[60] Subsequently labelled *nemtsy* from the Soviet social and political perspective, they were considered *Russen* in Germany (recalling Saunders's argument that identity is never chosen but rather conferred), and they became functionally homeless at the outbreak of the Second World War.[61] The term "*nemets*" is thus problematic in terms of its conflating nature, its negative connotations, and also its imprecise denotations.

Nemets, as applied to "Germans" in Russia to this day, is still a term that falls "outside of proper meaning." While the French are *frantsuzy* from *Frantsiia* and the English are *anglichane* from *Angliia*, the Germans are the *nemtsy* from *Germaniia.* Even the Austrians and the Swiss – rendered as *avstriitsy* and *shveitsartsy* in formal, academic and political contexts – are sometimes referred to as *nemtsy* in colloquial Russian.[62] This conflation has not gone unobserved by the representatives of the German government: while state-official Russian refers to German citizens as *nemets* (m.) / *nemka* (f.) / *nemtsy* (pl.),[63] the German government often refers to its own citizens as *germanets / germanka / germantsy* in official publications, as evidenced by the German Consulate in Moscow website.[64] This fact – that the German state can call its citizens by a different name than

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[60] See my discussion in the Introduction, and also Fleischhauer and Pinkus, p. 13.

[61] This feeling of homelessness is captured in a series of interviews undertaken by *Helsinki Watch.* One anonymously quoted *russkii nemets* said, "Who are we Russian Germans? Are we eternal wanderers? I don't know a single family of Russian Germans where father and son were born in the same place. Take my case: my great-grandfather was born in East Prussia, my grandfather on the outskirts of Warsaw, my father in Zhitomir [in the Ukraine] and I was born in Kazakhstan. My children were born in Uzbekistan and now I live in Moscow. Where will my grandchildren be born? Where is the place on earth where the endless hounding of Russian Germans will stop?" Interview conducted in Moscow, 1991; see Critchlow, "Punished Peoples," p. 11.

[62] An example of this conflation can be seen in the online travel guide "AboutAustria.ru," <http://www.aboutaustria.ru/culture.php>, site accessed 15 April 2008, where the following advice is given: "Важно подчеркнуть, что австрийцы - это не немцы... таких определений как "немецкий" лучше избегать" [It is important to emphasize the fact that Austrians are not *nemtsy*... and it is best to avoid the label *nemetskii* altogether]. The fact that this site is careful to point out the fact that Austrians are not *nemtsy* implies that this is a common mistake made by *ruskii* tourists. Most internet sites and journalists also regularly refer to the language in Austria as *nemetskii iazyk* (German), as opposed to a qualified form, such as *avstriiskii nemetskii* (Austrian German); for an example of the former, see the language-course site "studying.ru," at <http://www.studying.ru/index.php?razd=42>, site accessed 16 April 2008; there it is argued that "не стоит также забывать о том что, по мнению многих лингвистов, на самом мелодичном немецком языке говорят именно в Австрии" [It is worth remembering that, in the opinion of many linguists, the most melodious German in the world is spoken in Austria].

[63] See the official embassy webpage: <http://www.russische-botschaft.de/index.php?id=162&L=3>, site accessed 8 February 2009.

[64] See the official consular website: <http://www.moskau.diplo.de/Vertretung/moskau/ru/Startseite.html>, site accessed 24 March 2008. An example of the re-appropriation of the language is the page "*Germanskaia vneshniaia politika*" which corresponds to Russian state-official "*Nemetskaia vneshnaia politika*" (see previous note). There still appear a few "*nemtsy*" on the site, usually in recent news bulletins – though the official publications and information pages are mostly consistent in using the term "*germanets.*"

native speakers of Russian do – emphasises the imprecision of the term in contemporary political discourse.

1.2.3.3. What is Unique about the *Nemtsy*?

As the title of this Sub-Section indicates, it is necessary to remark upon the difference between the *nemets* and other labels for the Foreign in the Russian language. I privilege the *nemets* as a more problematic label than other foreign terms because of its status as a conflation of a conflation, as discussed in the previous Section. But why did the Germanic peoples, of all other Europeans, become labelled the *nemtsy?* Why did the term not come to refer to the French, the Italians, or the Spanish? There exist two related answers to this question.

The first is that the term "*nemets*" had always referred to Western, non-Slavonic peoples, and the closest cultural groups to the Poles, the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Croats in geographical terms were the Bavarians, the Prussians, the Austrians, and the Scandinavians.[65] These Germanic peoples were the foreigners closest at hand, the ones who provided the most ready cultural and economic exchange, and they also comprised the states that competed for resources and territory in the tightest proximity.[66] According to this model, the Germanics, of whom the "Germans" represented the most salient category, became the default Western foreigners, and therefore acquired the default label from the Slavs. Hubertus F. Jahn implies such a process for the *russkii* context when he describes nineteenth-century folk entertainment, such as the mass-produced broadsheets (*lubki*), fairground puppet theatres (*petrushki*), and peep-shows (*raeki*):

> These genres offered an entertaining alternative to the religious imagery of the Orthodox Church and also conveyed ideas about what it meant to be Russian and what distinguished Russians from other people, usually the Germans. Oftentimes these were simple personal characteristics like, for example, courage, openness, and peasant wit, as opposed to German pedantry, dullness, and small-mindedness.[67]

Dominic Lieven makes a similar assumption when he characterises the dilemma the Bolsheviks faced when attempting to define a Soviet sense of identity: "The old bogeyman against which Russian nationalism had defined itself in the tsarist era – the foreign (eg German) threat and the internal enemy (especially the Jews) – were now rehabilitated by a regime that proclaimed its internationalism."[68] This position has also

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[65] *Nemets* is not limited to Russian – it appears, in slightly varying forms, in most other Slavonic languages: "Germany" is rendered as *Njemačka* in Croatian, for example.
[66] See also Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," p. 143.
[67] Hubertus F. Jahn, "'Us': Russians on Russianness," in *National Identity,* pp. 53-73, esp. p. 67.
[68] Dominic Lieven, "Russian, Imperial and Soviet Identities," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical*

been adopted by the American Librarian of Congress James Billington, who argues that "*nemets*" was applied to the "Germans" after Peter the Great's Westernisation of Russia and extensive personal interaction with Northern Europe.[69]



Figure 1.1: Close Encounters: Indo-European Linguistic Subfamilies in Europe[70]

The second argument is that the "Germans" were the most populous European foreign population inside the boundaries of Russia, and that they therefore become the default Western-European minority group within the Slavonic lands.[71] An example of this is in the following chart of the demographics of the St. Petersburg governorate, taken from the 1897 imperial census, which is organised by "mother tongue":

Society, 6th Ser., Vol. 8. (1998), pp. 253-269, esp. p. 264.

[69] James H. Billington, *Russia in Search of Itself* (Baltimore, 2004), p. 4.

[70] From Matthew S. Dryer's linguistics webpage at the University of Buffalo, <http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/dryer/dryer/map.euro.ie.GIF>, site accessed 12 May 2010.

[71] For the contextualisation of the 1.8 million *nemtsy* in the Russian Empire in 1900, see Fleischhauer and Pinkus, p. 13. For interaction between *russkie* and *nemtsy* in Russia, see Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 46.

Language	Sub-Group	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Lithuanian-Latvian dialects	Lithuanian	3411	875	4 286
	Samogitian			
	Latvian	6510	3741	10 251
Romance languages	Moldavian/ Romanian			
	French	1159	2359	3 518
	Italian	314	209	523
	Spanish and Portuguese			
German		**28992**	**34465**	**63 457**
Other Germanic languages	Swedish	1991	3241	5 232
	Norwegian and Danish	142	106	248
	Dutch			
	English	1151	1493	2 644
Other Indo-European dialects	Greek	224	50	274
	Albanian			
	Armenian	550	238	788
	Gipsy	214	240	454
	Pashto			

Figure 1.2: Demographic Chart of Petersburg Governorate, 1897: Breakdown of poulation by mother tongue[72]

Using the term "*nemets*" to denote a group of people within the Empire, however, is just as problematic as applying it a group without. This is because there existed at least five kinds of *nemtsy* who inhabited the Empire in the 19th century: the Russified craftsmen whose families had lived in the Empire for several generations; the colonists on the Volga River and in Ukraine, who were invited to settle in the Empire by Catherine the

[72] From the *First General Census of the Russian Empire of 1897*, archived online by the *Demoskop Weekly* (No. 427-428), the electronic version of the *Naselenie i obshchestvo* (*Population and Society*) bulletin, available at <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/rus_lan_97_uezd_eng.php?reg=1289>, search term "Saint Petersburg governorate – total population," site accessed 20 July 2010.

Great in the 1860s; the Baltic *nemtsy* whose territory had been absorbed by the Empire; the first-generation immigrants; and the members of the Romanov royal family.[73]

1.2.3.4. Conclusions on the Term "*Nemets*"

The *nemtsy* cannot appear as *neutral* in literary works because this label has never been unproblematic in the history of its usage. Because it is inherently ambiguous on the linguistic level, defining the *nemets* will always be an indefinite process, at once concerned with defining Russia on an external level (comparing Russia to other states), and on the internal level (describing the peoples that inhabit *russkii* space). Therefore, because the term "*nemets*" represents a complicated conflation of External/Internal, Political/Cultural, and also General Foreign/Specific Foreign, a *nemets* name in Russian literature "speaks," to return to Tynianov's terminology.[74]

The tension between these two models – as default Western Foreign without and within the Empire – re-emerges numerous times in the following Chapters. The first meaning refers to the External Other, the people at the border, the representatives of the West, and the inhabitants of Foreign space. The second refers to a minority group inside Russia, who are known from everyday experience, and who commingle with the *russkie*, fill out the ranks of the army and government, share the markets and streets, colonise the Volga River, run gentry estates, speak the language, intermarry with the *russkie,* and convert to Orthodoxy. In both contexts, the term subsumes a number of disparate groups and heterogeneous individuals under the same reifying label.

1.3. Problematic *Nemtsy* in Russian Literature: Three Illustrations

1.3.1. Introduction: Johannes Harder's Puzzle

So far in this Chapter, I have moved from the abstract level of the general problematics of the Foreign in literature to the more specific case of the *nemets* in the *russkii* discursive context. This Section continues this narrowing trend by presenting three illustrations of problematic *nemtsy* in Russian literature, as articulated by Johannes Harder, Anna Muza, and Wolf Schmid. There are two aims in this Section: to bolster my conclusions from the previous Sections with specific examples of how the *nemtsy* in Russian literature are neither *natural* nor *neutral,* and to provide a bridge to my literature

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[73] For an account of the subjective differences between groups of *nemtsy* in Russia – such as the Black Sea *nemtsy* and the Volga *nemtsy* – see Sidney Heitman, "The Soviet Germans in the USSR Today," *Berichte des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien* (Cologne, 1980), esp. pp. 11-13.

[74] For an additional example of this – and how Chekhov never chooses a name by accident – see Karla Hielscher, "'Die absolute Freiheit von Vorurteilen'. Thematisierung und Dekonstruktion der nationalen Stereotypen bei Anton Čechov," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19./20. Jahrhundert: Von den Reformen Alexanders II. Bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Dagmar Herrmann (München, 1998), pp. 605-635, esp. p. 630.

review (Section 1.4) that critiques these three scholars. Continuing the movement from broad to narrow, I first present Harder's dilemma as an introduction, which raises questions regarding the general appearance of the *nemtsy*. Is the Foreign not just reflective of the social milieu that surrounded producers of culture? I follow this on a more specific level, summarising the contextualisation of Chekhov and Pushkin by Muza and Schmid respectively.

Johannes Harder provides – but does not solve – a puzzle regarding the *nemtsy* in Russian Literature similar to the one I raise in the Introduction regarding Siniavskii.[75] Harder argues that the 19th century was a period when *russkie* travelled extensively to Germany, studied among the *nemtsy*, and knew many *nemtsy* in the Russian Empire; yet the *russkii* writers seemed to eschew their first-hand experiences with their literary *nemtsy*, and instead chose to incorporate stereotypes. Harder phrases his problem thus:

> It is remarkable that the European-educated Russians (who were the only section of society who could write at that time), which included members of the aristocracy with excellent linguistic knowledge and produced more than a few outstanding translators of German literature, should disregard the ancestry/background, attitude to life, and intellectual breeding ground of these strangers.[76]

I examine this argument in detail in Section 1.4.3, but for now it suffices to remark that the *nemets* cannot be a *natural* or *neutral* inclusion if there exists a disparity between historical and literary *nemtsy*. This observation supports the conclusions from the previous Section: the literary characters, dependent upon discursive labels, have a life of their own outside *objective reality*. Muza and Schmid continue in this vein by providing problematic *nemtsy* from specific authors.

1.3.2. Muza's Puzzle: The Case of Chekhov's Sharlotta

Anna Muza addresses the stakes of the Foreign with a discussion of a seemingly minor role. She identifies the *nemets* governess Sharlotta from Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard* as "one of the most peculiar characters in Chekhov's world."[77] Muza provides three reasons for this peculiarity, all of which emphasise Tynianov's position regarding

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[75] Johannes Harder, "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literatur," in *Heimatbuch 1973-1981*, ed. E. Markstaedter, M. Hagin, and R. Keil (Stuttgart, 1981), p. 117-125.

[76] "Verwunderlich, dass der damals ausschliesslich schreibende europäisch Gebildete, darunter Vertreter der sprachenkundigen Aristokratie, die nicht wenige hervorragende Übersetzer auch der deutschen Literatur gestellt hat, Herkunft, Lebensgefühl und den geistigen Nährboden dieser Fremdlinge ausser acht lassen konnte." Harder, p. 171; translation: Anna Bloxham.

[77] Anna Muza, "Science, Philosophy, Music: Chekhov's Three Germans," in *Cold Fusion: Aspects of the German Cultural Presence in Russia,* ed. Gennady Barabtarlo (New York and Oxford, 2000), pp. 186-196, esp. p. 192. See also Hielscher, "Die absolute Freiheit von Vorurteilen," pp. 634-635.

the importance of naming. The first reason is that Chekhov attached great significance to the seemingly minor role; he even tried to convince his wife, the actress Olga Knipper, to play her instead of the lead, Mme Ranevskaia.[78]

For the second reason, Muza summarises an anecdote from Stanislavski's memoirs regarding the original Moscow Arts Theatre (MXT) production of the play. When Stanislavski began his staging, he conceived of Sharlotta as an eccentric *English* governess, and cast the role accordingly.[79] Stanislavski jumped to this conclusion because of perceived "English" aspects of Sharlotta's character, such as her small dog, and also because Chekhov had spent time with an English governess two summers before [4^{C}]. Assuming that the governess had to be connected to a real life person, Stanislavski developed the role accordingly. But while Sharlotta does not appear to do anything very "German-like" in the play beyond speaking two German phrases, Chekhov insisted that Sharlotta "was German, had to be German."[80] This anecdote elucidates how a foreign name "speaks," because Sharlotta's status as a *nemka* was significant enough for Chekhov to intervene in Stanislavski's directorial vision for the play. It also demonstrates a character's status as a foreigner can be significant, even if that significance is not immediately apparent.

The second curious aspect of Sharlotta's character – her status as a *nemka* – is echoed by the third: her status as a governess. While there is nothing strange about a *nemka* governess in a *russkii* gentry family (Muza even argues that such a station could be considered "commonplace"),[81] Sharlotta does not perform the role of a governess in the course of the play, nor do any of the other characters seem to expect it of her.[82] Sharlotta is thus problematic in three ways: as a leading character with a seemingly small role; as a *nemka* who must be a *nemka*, though there is no obvious reason why (at least to Stanislavski); and as a governess who never interacts with her pupil. This demonstrates

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[78] See Muza, p. 193; on p. 196 (n. 17), Muza notes: "On the whole, Chekhov's correspondence with Olga Knipper and other members of the Moscow Arts Theatre during auditioning and casting in October to November 1903 reveals the author's remarkable concern about Charlotta's amusing but technically minor 'character part.'" Muza cites the correspondences between Chekhov and Knipper from October to November 1903 in Anton P. Chekhov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem, Vol.* XX (Moscow, 1951). See also Hielscher, p. 634.

[79] Muza, p. 192.

[80] Muza, p. 192, cites Konstantin Stanislavskii, *Moia zhizn' v iskusstve* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 325-326, for the anecdote and quotation.

[81] Muza, p. 192.

[82] For Muza, "It is indeed striking that not once in the play does Charlotta speak to Anya, the young lady entrusted to her care. Charlotta's domain is not the rules of German grammar or proper demeanor but buffoonery and magic tricks" (192-193).

how Sharlotta's nationality is a thematic of the play – though one so subtle, it was almost effaced in Stanislavski's staging.

1.3.3. The Problematics of Pushkin's *Nemtsy*

The third illustration engages with the *nemtsy* from Pushkin's prose of the 1830s, and it addresses another thread that naturalises the *nemtsy* in *russkii* discourse: does not literature simply reflect prevalent cultural stereotypes? Wolf Schmid examines a number of Sharlotta's predecessors to re-examine the Russified *nemets* engineer Germann who ends up in a madhouse in Pushkin's 1834 *Queen of Spades*.[83] Schmid argues that Germann at first appears to be a stereotypical *nemets*, considering his friend Tomskii's exclamation that he "is *nemets*: he's calculating, that's all! [5^{D}]"[84] Germann's own words, according to Schmid, seem to "explicitly confirm these qualities" because, when propositioned to gamble, "he makes a typically German decision: 'No! Calculation, moderation, and industry; these are my three reliable cards.'"[85] Schmid presents these stereotypes in order to overturn them; he argues that these superficial details (such as Germann's "calculating" nature) are destabilised by the events of the story. Pushkin, according to Schmid, never allows Germann's "Germanness" to assume the form of a stable national stereotype: "The national stereotype characterized by Tomskii is a trap for the reader. The stereotype is not disproved by the narration but undermined by the alternation between two opposite possibilities. This is a typically Pushkinian way of treating the problem of national stereotypes."[86]

Schmid supports this assertion by arguing that, while Germann's personality wavers between two sets of traits, it never fully adopts or rejects either of them. In this revisionist reading of Germann's personality – he is considered to be a classical "German cliché" by many critics, including Muza[87] – Schmid raises a number of challenges. First, if Germann is so cautious and hard working, why does he spend night after night watching gamblers playing cards until early in the morning instead of working or sleeping? And how rational and calculating is he when we also know from the narrator that he possesses an "unbridled imagination?" (необузданное воображение)?[88]

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[83] Wolf Schmid, "Dreams of a German(n) in Russia: German Heroes and Subtexts in *The Queen of Spades* and Other Works by Alexander Pushkin," in *Cold Fusion,* pp. 50-61.
[84] "Германн немец: он расчетлив, вот и все!" Schmid, "Dreams of a German(n)," p. 50. The translation is Schmid's of A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, Vol.* VIII (Moscow, 1937-59), p. 227.
[85] "Нет! расчет, умеренность и трудолюбие: вот мои три верные карты." Schmid, "Dreams of a German(n)," p. 51; trnas. Schmid.
[86] Schmid, "Dreams of a German(n)," p. 58.
[87] See Muza, p. 186, and also my detailed analysis of Muza in Section 1.4.5.
[88] Schmid, "Dreams of a German(n)," p. 51.

Secondly, Germann asserts that he does not wish "to sacrifice essential capital in order to obtain anything superfluous," which implies that he does not have enough money to risk it on cards. But how can we reconcile this with the fact that Germann lives off his own income, and does not require his father's inheritance?[89] Thirdly, Germann's mission to visit the old Countess to learn her secret undermines the stability of his character: he is at once an opportunist – scheming for a sure thing – and a lover – utilising creative, romantic discourse.[90] Considering this self-contradictory material, it is impossible to agree with Tomskii's party banter that Germann is simply a stereotypically "calculating" *nemets*. Because Germann's national character proves to be elusive, subjective and conferred upon him by others, it provides an example of Saunders's "conceptual instability of foreignness."

The juxtaposition of the essays by Schmid and Muza indicates another problematic aspect of the *nemets* in Russian literature. Muza identifies the following stable structure when treating Sharlotta:

> Regardless of their status or welfare, Germans in Russian letters cherished the golden rule of their forefather in *The Queen of Spades,* who would not "sacrifice the necessary in the hope of acquiring the superfluous."[91]

Schmid, however, argues that when we go back to the "forefather," Germann, the seemingly stable foundation proves unsound. The "golden rule" thus turns out to be a mirage. For his part, Schmid argues that Pushkin subverts the stereotype of the *nemets* – but could these foundations not prove to be as unstable as Germann's pragmatism? I continue this line of reasoning in my detailed analysis of Schmid and Muza in Section 1.4.5, but for now it suffices to query: where is the foundation for the stereotype? Because each preceding generation of images presents a new set of problems (from Siniavskii to Olesha to Chekhov to Pushkin), there is no single, stable foundation for the depiction of the Other. The problem of the *nemtsy* thus proves to be more complex than Diment and Monas imply.

1.3.5. Conclusions: The *Nemtsy* as Critical Problem

Harder shows that there exists a breakdown between historical reality and the literary images, while Muza and Schmid demonstrate that the Foreign can be a thematic in Russian literature, even in situations where this seems unlikely. These scholars thus

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[89] "...жертвовать необходимым в надежде приобрести излишнее." See Schmid, p. 51.
[90] Schmid consider him a "highly eloquent seducer," "Dreams of a German(n)," p. 56.
[91] Muza, p. 186.

evidence how the inclusion of the *nemtsy* cannot be considered *natural*: they possess puzzling yet significant roles in the literature, and they do not necessarily reflect either an author's milieu or the prevalent cultural stereotypes. I return to the three arguments in Section 1.4 of this Chapter.

If the *nemtsy* still appear to represent an uncomplicated problem at this point in the Chapter, it is worth recounting Vladimir Nabokov's remarks regarding Gogol and Realism. Nabokov focuses upon Gogol's limited first-hand knowledge of provincial *russkii* life to explode the claim that the *russkii*-Ukrainian author was *realistically* portraying *russkii* space in his fiction. This argument will be particularly useful to keep in mind when analysing Gogol's Petersburg *nemets* artisans in Chapter Four and Gogol's imagined *russkii* space in Chapter Five:

> Gogol's heroes merely happen to be Russian squires and officials... their surroundings and conditions, whatever they might have been in "real life," underwent such a thorough permutation and reconstruction in the laboratory of Gogol's peculiar genius that (as has been observed already in connection with *The Government Inspector* [Ревизор, 1836]) it is as useless to look in *Dead Souls* for an authentic Russian background as it would be to try and form a conception of Denmark on the basis of that little affair in cloudy Elsinore. And if you want "facts," then let us inquire what experience had Gogol of provincial Russia. Eight hours in a Podolsk inn, a week in Kursk, the rest he had seen from the window of his traveling carriage...[92]

The following Section takes the instability of the Foreign one step further by investigating how scholars have characterised the role of the literary *nemtsy* – and also how some have failed to do so.

1.4. Four Approaches to the *Nemets* Material

1.4.1. Introduction

In this Section, I examine four approaches to the role of the *nemtsy* in Russian literature. Each deploys a different set of assumptions, and I categorise them as follows: Essentialist, Historicist, Biographical, and Stereotype-Analysis.[93] While they represent common approaches to this topic, they are not the only approaches possible, and these categories at times overlap with each other and may co-exist within the work of a single critic (as I argue in my discussion of Julia Sazonova, Section 1.4.3). By analysing the critical lenses found in these strategies and unravelling the problems they encounter, I hope to make a case for the suitability of an Image Studies approach to the topic. I am

[92] Vladimir Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (New York, 1944), pp. 70-71. Nabokov continues this line of thought later in the chapter: "It is inconceivable what type of mind one must have to see in Gogol a frontrunner of the 'naturalistic school' and a 'realistic painter of Russian life'" (85).
[93] The terminology and organisation of the categories are my own.

interested first and foremost in whether any approach can deliver a satisfactory account for the *nemets* material in general, and for the problematics discovered in the *nemtsy* of Pushkin, Chekhov and Siniavskii in particular.

1.4.2. Discrete Encounters Between Nations: An Essentialist Approach

1.4.2.1. Introduction: D. S. Mirsky's *History of Russian Literature* (1926)

While working as a professor of Slavonic Studies at the University of London in the early 1920s, D. S. Mirsky composed what Vladimir Nabokov would later call "the best history of Russian literature in any language including Russian."[94] In this *History of Russian Literature* (1926), Mirsky analyses writers primarily from the perspective of artistic achievements and aesthetic merit while attempting to convey to his Anglophone audience the meaning and significance these writers held for the educated *russkii* reading public.[95] Mirsky not only explains the Russian literary canon as he understood it – he also revises and reinforces it.[96]

Mirsky examines neither the general status nor the function of the *nemtsy*, and he does not raise the topic of foreigners; indeed, it is rare to find any mention of *nemtsy* in Mirsky's treatment of the literature at all. He does not mention the *nemets* artisans in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt," Germann in Pushkin's *Queen of Spades*, nor Chekhov's Sharlotta in *Cherry Orchard*.[97] One of the only *nemtsy* Mirsky treats is Shtol'ts, from Goncharov's *Oblomov*, whom Mirsky characterises as "efficient" and "practical and energetic... characteristically represented as half German."[98] A more common topic for Mirsky is that of *nemets* cultural influence upon *russkie* producers of culture – which he compares to a virus. If one's only exposure to Russian literature were through Mirsky's book, Shtol'ts would appear to be the sole *nemets* character in the history of the literature, and cultural interaction would seem negative without exception.

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[94] Gerald Stanton Smith contextualises this passage in *D. S. Mirsky: A Russian-English Life 1890-1939* (Oxford & New York, 2000), p. 295, quoting Vladimir Nabokov, *Selected Letters 1940-1977*, ed. Dmitri Nabokov and Matthew J. Bruccoli (London, 1990), p. 91. I agree with my former professor Gabriella Safran of Stanford University, who places importance on Mirsky's book as a historical document of how the *russkii* intelligentsia from the late 19th century viewed Russian literature. See also D. S. Mirsky, A *History of Russian Literature*: *From Its Beginnings to 1900* (Evanston, 1999; 1958).

[95] An example of Mirsky's valuation of the literature appears in his conclusion to the works of Turgenev: "It is impossible to imagine a time when *The Singers, A Quiet Spot, First Love,* or *Fathers and Sons* will cease to be among the most cherished of joys for Russian readers" (208).

[96] This explains many curious aspects of Mirsky's book, such as why he dedicates 36 pages to Tolstoy and eight to Leskov, while Goncharov receives four and Saltykov-Shchedrin receives only three.

[97] For Mirsky's discussion of "Nevskii Prospect," see his *History*, pp. 150, 159; for *Queen of Spades* see pp. 122-123; and for *Cherry Orchard* see p. 371. It is not entirely surprising that Mirsky does not mention many characters from Chekhov; Mirsky found Chekhov to be extremely overrated, especially by the "highbrow" English intellectuals and "lowbrow" *russkie*; see p. 383.

[98] Mirsky, p. 192.

There are two aims for this Section: to account for Mirsky's lapse in analysing the *nemtsy*, and to address how and why *nemets* cultural influence is cast as a virus. I begin with an analysis of Mirsky's conception of Russia and the *russkii* character (Section 1.4.2.2), and I use this to probe his lack of concern for *nemets* literary characters. I follow with an analysis of Mirsky's treatment of the interactions between the *nemets* and *russkii* (Section 1.4.2.3), a process that derives from his historical and cultural models. Because Mirsky imagines cultures as organisms with their own unique histories and sets of traits, he provides an Essentialist reading of the historical and literary material. While this thesis differs from Mirsky's work in that I posit literary images as constructs, it is appropriate to provide a description of and an argument against this Essentialist reading (Section 1.4.2.4).

1.4.2.2. The Organic Model of Culture

The absence of the Foreign element in the *History* is a product of the larger historical foundation for Mirsky's narrative of Russia. Mirsky, like many thinkers of his time who based their historical imaginations upon Hegel's dialectical reasoning and Herder's schematics of nationality, conceives of nations as discrete organisms, separated from each other by clear-cut borders, and maintained by indigenous and unique national cultures.[99] Through this lens, the main purpose of an analysis of Russian literature should be to scrutinise *russkii* authors to reveal what they had to say about the *russkii narod.*[100] Mirsky's treatment of Leskov illustrates this commitment: for Mirsky, he is, "recognised by Russians as the most Russian of Russian writers and the one who had the deepest and widest knowledge of the Russian people as it actually is."[101] Mirsky believes that it possible to outline the shape and character of the *russkii* people, and then to analyse how literature expresses this character.

Because the *russkii* culture represents a stable structure for Mirsky, it must have its personal history, in addition to a unique set of character traits. Mirsky thus represents Kievan-*Rus'* monks as "Old Russian bookmen," and positions them as the direct

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[99] See Hayden White's chapter on Hegel in *Metahistory* (Baltimore, 1974) pp. 81-131, where White treats, "the historical work as what it most manifestly is: a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse" (ix). For a classical treatment of the organicist historical movement after Herder, see Rudolf Unger, "The Problem of Historical Objectivity. A Sketch of Its Development to the Time of Hegel [1923]," in *History and Theory*, Vol. 11, Beiheft 11: (1971), pp. 60-86, esp. p. 78. Mirsky was born in 1890. For a brief account of the organicist model in 19th-century Russia, see James H. Billington, *Russia in Search of Itself,* pp. 8-11.

[100] See Mirsky's depiction of Turgenev, p. 208.

[101] Mirsky, p. 333.

antecedents of modern *russkie*.[102] These "Old Russians" established *russkii* traditions, because "It was by attending church services rather than by reading that their [i.e. the Old Russian's] mind became saturated with the intellectual food of Orthodox Christianity."[103] This creates a false sense of continuity – that there has always been a Russian state and a *russkii* people as we know of them now. There are a number of problems inherent in this representation, and these demonstrate the weaknesses of an Essentialist approach to literary material.[104] First, the Kievan-*Rus'* intellectual tradition has influenced not only modern *russkii* culture, but also Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Polish cultures.[105] Secondly, Kievan *Rus'* represents only one of the many groups that commingled and interacted to produce the peoples of modern Russia, so it is problematic to imply that this group represents Russia's sole ancestors. Thirdly, modern Russia is home to the *russkii narod* in addition to Jews, Turks, Georgians, Mongols, Poles, Koreans, Cossacks, and Chechens, to make an incomplete list. Similarly, not all *russkie* live in "Russia," because many who define themselves as *russkie* live outside the bounds of the Russian state, further undermining cultural continuity based upon geographical proximity. Finally, Mirsky's application of "Russia" is anachronistic.[106]

Because this model conceives of "Russia" and "Russianness" as stable concepts through the past, foreigners emerge as discrete, quantifiable encounters. According to Mirsky's model, there were no blurred political lines, no intermingling tribes, no cultural

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[102] Mirsky, pp. 4-6.

[103] Mirsky, p. 5.

[104] For the instability of Kievan *Rus'* as cultural forbearer to both modern Russian and Ukraine, see Zenon E. Kohut, "History as a Battleground: Russian-Ukrainian Relations and Historical Consciousness in Contemporary Ukraine," in *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia,* ed. S. Frederick Starr (New York and London, 1994), pp. 123-146, esp. p. 124. For an account of Ukrainians discovering "areas of distinctiveness from Russians" based on Kievan *Rus'* culture, see Kohut, "The Question of Russo-Ukrainian Unity and Ukrainian Distinctiveness in Early Modern Ukrainian Thought and Culture" in *Culture, Nation, and Identity*, pp. 57-86, esp. 84-86.

[105] As Simon Franklin has recently argued, the tendency to claim Kievan *Rus'* as a constituent part of *russkii* history is a common cultural myth, destabilised in recent years by the Post-Soviet Ukrainian government's attempt to claim Vladimir of Kiev as a part of *Ukrainian* history. See Franklin's essay "Russia in Time," esp. pp. 20-29, in *National Identity in Russian Culture.*

[106] The term "state" as we know it today, as a political entity with fixed geographical borders, gained widespread currency in the 15th century, while the associations located in the modern idea of the "nation" came into being only in the late 18th and 19th centuries, with the rise of nationalistic and revolutionary thought in Europe. See Ronald Grigor Suny's paper "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," delivered for the University of Chicago Conference "Empire and Nations" (October, 1997), esp. p. 7; also published as Suny, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York, 2001), pp. 23-66. As Spiering remarks in his recent essay on nationalism in Europe, "The history of concepts, or 'ideas', can of course be traced, and the origins and past usages of 'nation' and 'state' are well documented. In Europe, *nation* began to be widely used in ecclesiastical context in the thirteenth century. Since then there have been significant shifts in the meaning and usage of the term." See Menno Spiering, "National Identity and European Unity" in *Culture and Identity in Europe: Perceptions of Divergences and Unity in Past and Present,* ed. Michael J. Wintle (Aldershot, 1996), p. 104.

hybrids or grey areas, and no instances of intercultural discourse. When the non-*russkii* Shtol'ts – who cannot be ignored in a discussion of *Oblomov* – appears, Mirsky refers to what he considers a matter of common sense. Shtol'ts is "characteristically half-German" and therefore "efficient," "practical" and "energetic." The stereotype is left to speak for itself.

The organic *russkii* character that Mirsky imagines as extending back one thousand years to Kievan *Rus'* also applies to the linguistic level: just as "Russia" has its own self-contained history, it has its own pure language. When writing about Petrine Russian, for example, Mirsky implies that there existed a paradoxical Russian – understood as "correct" by his contemporaneous standards, but which does not contain foreign contaminants or anachronisms: "The secular literature of the age of Peter discarded Slavonic and made Russian the literary language. But it was a curious Russian, full of Slavonic reminiscences and saturated with undigested words of every conceivable foreign origin – Greek, Latin, Polish, German, Dutch, Italian and French."[107] Mirsky judges instances of the Russian language from the standards of his own time – and he characterises secular literature under Peter as a "curious" mix, even though a significant percentage of modern literary Russian consists of foreign imports.[108] The mythic cultural continuity is thus paralleled on the linguistic level. Finally, in addition to the problem of including only European languages in this list of "every conceivable origin," Mirsky casts cultural interaction through linguistic borrowing as an inherently negative process.

1.4.2.3. The Evaluation of *Nemets* Culture

Mirsky's linguistic judgments establish a pattern for his treatment of Western encroachment upon the *russkii* as corruptive. Mirsky identifies German Idealist Philosophy that influenced the younger generation in the 1820s as one such a malicious influence: "At the same time [i.e. around 1825-1826] the clear eighteenth-century atmosphere of the Golden Age is poisoned: young men of a somewhat younger generation introduce the first germs of German idealism."[109] Mirsky depicts the cultural exchange as though it were quantifiable, reinforcing the separate and unique nature of the categories *russkii* and *nemets*. Mirsky also casts exposure to this cultural exchange as a

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[107] Mirsky, p. 34.

[108] Half a century ago, Gerta Huttl Worth estimated that "About one-fourth of the Russian literary vocabulary consists of foreign words" in her "Foreign Borrowings in Russian," in *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), pp. 47-54, esp. p. 47. I have not come across a scholarly article that estimates less than twenty-five percent foreign borrowings.

[109] Mirsky continues the viral metaphor by characterising French Romanticism as a movement that, "with its unbridled license of bad taste, infects the air" (75).

disease: the *nemets* "germs" "poisoned" the *russkie*. This implies that good philosophical and aesthetic health existed before this exchange (i.e. in the "clear atmosphere"), and this also characterises the process of adopting something from the *nemets* as inherently negative. Mirsky pays little attention to how Russia processed these foreign ideas, and to how they were augmented to suit the literary and intellectual needs at the time. Rather, the very exposure to this foreign body of threatening ideas was enough to do damage.

Mirsky's analysis of Russian versification provides an intersection between his cultural and linguistic models and the negative influence of the *nemets*. When characterising the versification undertaken by two *nemtsy*, Mirsky again implies that there existed a Russian that was paradoxically correct and pure: "[Glück and Werner] translated Lutheran hymns into a Russian that, though very incorrect, is studiously pure of foreign words."[110] By "pure of foreign words," Mirsky cannot mean *free from non-Slavonic words*, because, as I have indicated, such a Russian language has never existed. Rather, Mirsky imagines a pure Russian language based upon the Essentialist interpretation of history – where each culture has its language. Further, in the context of the *nemtsy* Glück and Werner, "Foreign words" are synonymous with "German words," which are in turn cast as corrosive and corrupting. As with the analyses of Kievan bookmen and the Petrine literary language, Mirsky projects the assumptions of his own time regarding nation and language onto these *russkie*, and this creates the sense of unproblematic continuity that extends back to the 10th century. Under this model, "*russkii*" appears as an unproblematic category, while the *nemets* represents exclusively that which is outside Domestic space.

1.4.2.4. Conclusions

In response to the first guiding question of this Section, Mirsky avoids treating *nemets* characters because, even though they are a product of Russian literature and part of *russkii* discourse, his model assumes that they are exterior concerns, and also matters of common sense. Because Russian literature is assumed to describe and to express the *russkii* character, addressing the *nemtsy* falls beyond the scope of analysis of *Russian* literature. In response to the second question, Mirsky views the *russkii* as an organic whole. When external factors, such as *nemets* language and Romanticism, do contact the *russkii*, it is viewed as a loss of the wholeness of *russkii* culture and as an external threat.

Gennady G. Barabtarlo has provided a succinct account of why the assumption of rigid borders between Germanics and Slavs – in both geographical and intellectual terms

[110] Mirsky, p. 36.

– is flawed. This passage provides further evidence for the problematic nature of imposing modern ideas of the nation and national boundaries upon previous times:

> Ptolemy calls the Baltic by its old name, the Slavonic Gulf, because Slavs inhabited its shores. A much more recent author attempts a *philological solution* to the problem of placing the ancient Slavs on the European map: he argues, brilliantly, that their aboriginal habitat must have lain in a place where yew and ivy grew (because the Russian *tis* and *pliushch* are common to all Slavs and are of Slavonic derivation) but beech did not, since *buk* comes from the German *Buche.* "This gives the parallels Ösel-Kurland-Kovno-Vilno-Grodno-Kamenets Podolsk-Kishinev and Köninsberg-Danube Mouths." Recent archaeological discoveries rather astonishingly place it much farther west, into Ostholstein (the southeastern region of Schleswig-Holstein), where two stages of Slav occupation have been proposed: first, several fortified settlements in the late seventh and eighth centuries, and then an expansion across the entire region, with many fortresses and even trading centres. And quite recently, German archaeologists Klaus Goldmann and Günter Wersmusch found the long-sought city of Vineta *underwater,* at the mouth of the Oder in eastern Germany. This appears to be the very city where the monk Adam of Bremen said centuries ago that it was the "biggest city in all of Europe," populated by "Slavs, Saxons, Greeks, and Barbarians," all Orthodox Christians. Suddenly, the German and Slavic historical abodes appear to have been not merely contiguous but also overlapping in large areas centuries before coming to a cultural engagement.[111]

Taking this historical, geographical, and political overlapping into account, some problems inherent in Mirsky's historical model become clear. How can we speak of discrete encounters when the two peoples shared cities? And how can we even talk about a pure "*russkii*" when mixed Germano-Slav cultures represented the norm in Central Europe?

I follow this Essentialist approach with another non-Constructivist strategy, the Historicist. I place these two in close proximity because, as we shall see, the scholars who approach literature as indicative of historical *reality* often let Essentialism in through the back door.

1.4.3. *Nemtsy* Reflecting the Reality of Russian History: The Historicist Approach

1.4.3.1. Introduction

The Historicist approach posits the following question to account for the *nemets* in Russian literature: could the literary *nemtsy* not reflect historical *reality*? And, concurrently, does literature not serve to elucidate aspects of history? While I have broached this topic a number of times in this Chapter, this Section represents an attempt to draw conclusions regarding the weaknesses of this approach. In this Section, I analyse two essays that examine Russian literature from opposite starting points: one based upon the assumption that the *nemets* is inherently hostile, as prefigured by Mirsky, while the

[111] Gennady G. Barabtarlo, Introduction, *Cold Fusion,* p. 1.

other is based upon the assumption that the *nemets* should be a source of positive influence. The first essay I analyse is Julia Sazonova's 1945 essay, "The German character in Russian Literature," and I follow this with a return to Johannes Harder's 1981 essay, "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literatur."

1.4.3.2. Sazonova's Proto-Nazi *Nemtsy*

Sazonova's "The German Character in Russian Literature"[112] is one of the only works of English-language scholarship that accounts for the *why* of literary *nemtsy*: for Sazonova, a close reading of *nemtsy* can clarify aspects of the *nemets* national character, and it can even elucidate history. Sazonova casts Lazhechnikov's *nemtsy* as typical of Russian literature and also of *objective historical fact*, because they demonstrate how, "A positive German type was unattainable not only because of Russian folk memories, but also because of a feeling for the Germans' dislike of Russia and the Russians, and for their conceited disdain for Russian culture and the Russia that had given them prosperity."[113] This passage demonstrates how Sazonova deploys an Essentialist reading of the *nemtsy* similar to Mirsky' approach. While *russkii* writers could express the *russkii* character for Mirsky, according to Sazonova's model, these writers could describe the truth of the *nemets* national character.

Sazonova takes this one step further by arguing that these Essential characteristics of the *nemets* have determined historical developments. That is, she reads Russian literature as presenting the *truth* of the *nemtsy*, and this knowledge of *truth* explains history. Writing in 1945, the specific historical subject she seeks to elucidate is that of Nazi Germany, and she thus interprets the literary *nemtsy* of the 19th century as members of the proto-Nazi lineage. This aspect appears when Sazonova aligns her reading of Pushkin's Germann to fit her model of *nemtsy* as egotistical and avaricious at core:

> Like all Germans in Russian literature, [Germann] is thrifty and unwilling to take risks: he is attracted not by the powerful emotions, not by the play of fortune, but by the possibility of getting rich quickly and without effort. He wishes to bet only on a sure thing, and cards attract him only by the hope they give of riches. He is a gambler without passion, a gambler against his will, a merchant in the fortune of cards... When the three cards betray him he cannot return to his former activity, and Pushkin softens the traits of egotism and avarice that he has given him by making him go mad.[114]

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[112] Nicholas V. Riasanovsky discusses the ways in which Westernisers, Slavophiles, and Official Imperial Policy cast the West in his chapters on *russkii* identity in the 19th century in *Russian Identities: A Historical Survey* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 130-166, esp. pp. 150-155.
[113] Sazonova, p. 55.
[114] Sazonova, p. 59.

The ambiguity of the *Queen of Spades* that I discuss in this Chapter is not a recent discovery: Gary Rosenshield argues that, by the late 19th century, Dostoevsky had already asserted that the story could be read simultaneously as a supernatural and/or psychological narrative.[115] For Sazonova, though, ambiguity has a place neither on the historical timeline, nor in the set of national characteristics.

1.4.3.3. Sazonova's Essay as Tragedy

Sazonova's essay is emplotted as a Tragedy, and this accounts for her framing of the selection of texts, details, and historical narrative. Her first literary analysis treats Lazhechnikov, who created one of the more unambiguously negative *nemtsy* in the 19th century, Biron. Subsequent *nemtsy* who can fit the pattern of representation are included – those who do not are excluded. This means she emphasises the negative *nemets*, Biron, but does not mention that he was arrested by another *nemets*, Count von Münnich.[116] Further, the *nemtsy* of Turgenev and Chekhov whose *nemets* nature seems insignificant – such as Sharlotta – do not appear in Sazonova's essay.[117] Sazonova's exclusion of *russkii nemets* writers – such as Herzen, Kiukhel'bekker, Pavlova, and Catherine the Great – can likewise be explained: as hybrids, they undermine the thesis that the *nemtsy* plundered and disdained Russia as outsiders, and that they were distinct from the *russkie*.[118] And, as in Mirsky's model, Sazonova's commitment to clear delineations between the *russkii* and *nemets* cannot account for these ambiguities.

World War II provides both the starting and ending points for her essay. Because the war represents the reason for the essay's existence, Sazonova maintains the Nazi thread from the beginning of the essay, arguing in her introduction: "Even the recent cooperation of German science and art in the all-out military struggle for German ideas has hardly been able to shake" the idea of Germany as an "idyllic, professorial"

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[115] Gary Rosenshield treats this in the beginning of his essay, "Choosing the Right Card: Madness, Gambling, and the Imagination in Pushkin's 'The Queen of Spades'," in *PMLA*, Vol. 109, No.5 (Oct., 1994), pp. 995-1008, esp. pp. 995-996.

[116] See "Münnich, Burkhard Christoph, Count von" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*; *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* at <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9054290>, site accessed 21 July 2010.

[117] See also Kupfer in Turgenev's "Klara Milich" ("После смерти" ["Клара Милич"], 1883) and Maier (Майер) in Chekhov's "An Attack of Nerves" ("Припадок," 1888)

[118] Kiukhel'beker was an ardent supporter of the romantic view of Russia and its people. A patriotic Russian-language site, <http://russia.rin.ru/guides/5670.html>, site accessed 1 April 2008, features a passage from a letter by Kiukhel'beker: "По отцу и матери я немец, но не по языку: до шести лет я не знал ни слова по-немецки; природный мой язык - **русский**..." (emphasis in the original) [I'm a *nemets* by way of my mother and father, but not by my native tongue. Until I was five I didn't know a single word of German, and my native language is **Russian**.]. Kiukhel'beker, this site demonstrates, can readily be considered to be a part of the nationalistic Russian literary canon.

country.[119] Further, for Sazonova, the "almost religious cult of Wotan and the Valkyries" demonstrates that "poetry and music helped the advance of the politico-military machine."[120] Because her argument aims to establish the stability and coherence of the *nemets* character, Sazonova asserts that each author predicted what would come, and this includes the older "Russian" sources: "The old Russian literature, at the time of the greatest friendship for the Germans and of the latter's best behaviour in Russia, foresaw much and pointed it out."[121] The more one approaches the end of Sazonova's essay, the more one reaches its origins.

Sazonova's description of Gogol's *nemtsy* fits the pattern established by her analyses of Lazhechnikov and Pushkin, and it continues her emplotment of the story as a Tragedy. She begins her analysis of Gogol by referencing the "self-love and avarice" she identifies in Pushkin's *nemtsy*: "These same traits of exactness, honesty, and avarice appear in the artisans of *Nevski Prospekt* by Gogol'."[122] Similar to Pushkin, Sazonova argues, Gogol desired to believe in the high ideals of the *nemtsy,* and he wanted to depict them as "sharp, terse and just."[123] But when it came down to actual portrayal, Gogol depicted the *nemtsy* as egomaniacal, disdainful, and material. This account heightens the sense of Gogol and Pushkin as prophetic: for Sazonova, they portrayed the *truth* of the *nemets* character despite their intentions to do otherwise. Sazonova also assserts that Gogol's story "Nevskii Prospekt" "depicted the German spirit of the Petersburg Germans in actual life."[124] But, recalling Nabokov's challenge to Gogol's realism, how much "actual life" emerges in the story? After quoting the drunken *nemets* artisan Shiller, who asks his friend to cut off his nose, Sazonova remarks that, "In this scene we are shown German economy – better to cut off one's nose than lose twenty rubles – the king in Germany, mentioned by Germans on every occasion, and their self-confident boastfulness."[125] The absurdity of a character begging to have his nose cut off to save on his snuff habit while invoking the Swabian king strikes Sazonova as depicting factual reality: she accepts Shiller's statement at face value without considering the irony, the humour, and the literariness of the scene.

1.4.3.4. Conclusions

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[119] Sazonova, p. 53.
[120] Sazonova, p. 53.
[121] Sazonova, p. 74.
[122] Sazonova, p. 59.
[123] Sazonova, p. 59.
[124] Sazonova, p. 61.
[125] Sazonova, p. 60.

While Sazonova's essay may strike one as naively reactive to the recent historical developments of her day, it demonstrates the logical conclusions of reading literature as reflective of *objective historical reality*. This is because the analysis of literature to elucidate *historical reality* can turn into a circular project, where one only finds what one seeks in the material. Her arguments also warrant a close examination because of their own constructed and constructing nature. In the process of isolating the inherent nature of the *nemets*, she constructs her own version of the stereotype, selecting her sources and details accordingly. She also defines what it means to be *russkii* in two manners. First, she cast the *russkii* (humble, generous, spontaneous, and kind) as the opposite of the *nemtsy* (proud, material, methodical, and cruel). Secondly, she stresses Russia's spiritual, messianic role in rescuing the world from the *nemets* war machine – an argument that accesses the discursive tradition of the Slavophiles and Pan-Slavs.[126]

Because this thesis is concerned with *russkii* and *nemets* space, it is appropriate to remark here that Sazonova represents Russia as a homogenous, defensive space, where external forces have constantly threatened internal affairs. This image, which emerges in a comparable form in Mirsky's book, has discursive roots, and identifying them is one of the aims of Chapters Four, Five and Six. For now, it suffices to remark that this depiction of the *nemets* is possible because her strategy envisions cultural interaction as a quantifiable act, and because it assumes the inherent and absolute separateness between *russkii* and *nemets*. This is problematic for the reasons given by Barabtarlo and Schmid, and also because *russkii* culture deploys *nemets* discursive tools to define and understand itself.[127] Sazonova's essay demonstrates this underlying problem – how else, after all, does she construct the *russkii* if not in relation to the *nemets*? This contradiction leads Sazonova to cast *nemets* influence upon *russkii* society as an exclusively negative act, while she downplays *nemets* intellectual figures, such as Goethe on the outside and Herzen on the inside, and literary characters, such as Goncharov's Shtol'ts. Sazonova thus emplots the *nemtsy* into the master narrative of the exploiting foreigner; it is a Tragedy whose ending has only just been enacted.

1.4.3.5. The *Nemets* as a Positive: Harder's *Nemtsy*

[126] The Slavophiles present a few complications for scholars of *russkii* identity, because their understanding of the movement of history was itself based on the Hegelian dialectic. See Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 156-160.

[127] See Cross, pp. 74-92. For the influence of Hegel on Russia, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 156-158, 160.

While Harder shares Sazonova's assumption that literature should reflect historical *reality*, he begins from a different premise – that the influence of historical *nemtsy* upon the *russkie* was positive.[128] As discussed in Section 1.3, Harder expresses surprise that the *russkie* ignored first-hand sources when depicting *nemtsy* in literature. Harder argues that, in spite of how well they knew the *real* Germany,

> ...these "*nemtsy*" are portrayed as strange, eccentric people [*Sonderlinge*], comical figures [*Witzfiguren*], and as problematic imports [*problematischer Import*] from Western Europe who are, on the other hand, praised elsewhere; they are portrayed as outsiders of Russian society, and, in terms of their personalities as well as linguistically, serve as entertainment [*zur amüsanten Unterhaltung*].[129]

For Harder, *russkii* writers demonstrated insensitivity to *nemets* cultural history because they did not incorporate what they "knew" of *nemets* culture into their writing.[130]

Harder follows his survey of the literary *nemtsy*, who appear to him as "eccentric people," "comical figures," and "problematic imports," with a section that recounts positively the lives of two *nemtsy* who lived in Russia in the 19th century: Anatolii Koni and Doctor Hindenberg. Harder selects these two *nemtsy* precisely because they were known to a number of *russkii* writers. While the two were helpful, caring, humane people who provided ready-made models for positive *nemets* literary types, Harder argues that the *russkie* spurned this possibility and continued with inaccurate depictions. Harder means to challenge the literary stereotypes with an historical reading of *nemtsy* in Russia by showing that the *real nemtsy* did not correspond to the clichéd representations – and in his challenge to the negative stereotypes, he offers his own picture of what *should* have occurred in the literature. What do the Konis and Hindenbergs represent if not Harder's idealised image of his In Group?

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[128] Johannes Harder, "Der Deutsche in der russischen Literatur," pp. 117-125; this essay appeared in the 1981 *Heimatbuch*, or "Homeland Almanac," published by the "Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland," a German-based historical society. The *Heimatbücher* generally publish historical articles on the Germans in Russia, primarily on Volga German society and culture, with topics ranging from village life to the 1941 mass deportations. With titles such as "Abschied an der Wolga" ["Parting on the Volga"], "Die Deportation aus der Krim" ["The Deportation from the Crimea"], and "Namhafte Wolgadeutsche" ["Famous Volga Germans"], an article of literary criticism initially seems out of place in this collection. Harder's essay is relevant to the *Heimatbuch* readership because his piece addresses a supposedly pertinent question: "what did *they* (the *russkie*) think of *us* (the *nemtsy* who lived in Russia)?" According to the *Mennonite Weekly Review Online*, Harder was born on the Volga and immigrated to West Germany. He died in 1987. See <http://www.mcusa-archives.org/mennobits/Mennonite%20Weekly%20Review/MWR%201987/1987-04%20mwrapr.html>, site accessed 20 April 2008.

[129] Harder, p. 117; translation, Anna Bloxham.

[130] Harder, pp. 117-118.

Although Harder's conviction – that there was a set of real *nemtsy* in history who could have been *truthfully* characterised – also seems naive from the perspective of contemporary literary criticism, his essay motivates the problem at hand. While he means to use history as a proof against the negative stereotypes, he ends up demonstrating the impossibility of using subjectively based historical details as the starting point of literary analysis: no matter how you look at the historical situation, it does not align with the literary representations. This leads Harder to posit the following questions: Why did positive travel experiences to Germany leave such a small impact on Russian literature? Why does *nemets* space – a place of learning and cultural enrichment to generations of *russkii* students – not appear as such in the literary sources? Also, how is it possible that many *russkii* sources seem to have so much in common in their depiction of negative *nemtsy,* who do not correspond to first-hand knowledge? It is precisely questions such as these that the Historicist model is not equipped to answer.

1.4.3.6. Conclusions on the Historicist Model

The essays by Harder and Sazonova are useful to compare because they reveal a number of problems inherent in the Historicist approach. First, Harder's argument that *russkii* writers ignored readily available data regarding the *nemtsy* and Germany destabilises Sazonova's conviction that literature represents *historical reality*. Secondly, both scholars create circular arguments in their readings, because the literature is read to suit their particular line of reasoning. Sazonova intends to prove that the *russkie* always saw the *nemtsy* as a negative influence, and she interprets her sources accordingly, even Goncharov's Shtol'ts. Similarly, Harder interprets the *nemtsy* as a positive influence, and so negative *nemtsy* are dismissed as unnecessary stereotypes, and counter to what a reasonable person – that is, a member of his In Group – should already know and expect. Harder only submits examples of positive historical *nemtsy* to fortify his argument, and he excludes problematic ones, such as Biron and the *nemets* academics who made conditions difficult for *russkii* scholars in the early days of Moscow State University.

The third problem derives from the second: both authors are less interested in unravelling the *nemtsy* in Russian literature than in constructing the *nemtsy* themselves. For Sazonova, *nemets* influence was harmful, as was the culture from which it sprang; for Harder, the *nemtsy* represented a misunderstood positive influence. Both critics take these assertions as givens, and work backwards to tell their story of the literature. Fourthly, both critics remove the characterisations of the *nemtsy* from their literary context, and they ignore other literary problems, such as aesthetic convention, narrator

voice, irony, social context, the role of the audience, and also the political implications of representation. Character depictions are also taken at face value, and characters' direct speech is conflated with the narrator's perspective and the author's position into a single point of view. This interpretation also assumes the Otherness of the *nemets*: Sazonova and Harder interpret the *nemtsy* as a distinct group with clearly defined parameters, and they exclude characters and authors who demonstrate hybridity. In both essays, perplexing *nemtsy* such as Sharlotta or Tuzenbakh (from Chekhov's *Three Sisters* [*Три сестры,* 1901]) are not mentioned, nor are the *russkii nemets* patriots, such as Kiukhel'bekker.

An example of the complexity at hand is a character I return to a number of times in this thesis, particularly in Chapter Four: Pushkin's *nemets* baker from *Evgenii Onegin* (1825-1833), the "немец аккуратный" (thorough/exact *nemets*).[131] Is this classification meant ironically, or is it a straightforward description? What is the status of the voice that conveys this depiction? What associations did it hold for Pushkin's audience? How does the *nemets* fit into the wider picture of the scene in which he appears? And, finally, what does this description of the Other ultimately tell us about what it means to imagine oneself to be *russkii* in the mid 1820s? My answers to these questions appear in Chapter Four. The Historicist approach has difficulty addressing them precisely because it tends to interpret characters so that they fit into the broader ideological assumptions of the critic and the story of history they wish to tell. The problems inherent in attempting to align literature with a picture of historical *reality* re-emerge in the next approach I examine, the Biographical, in which the scholar assumes that literary characters are generated from an author's life.

1.4.4. The Influence of the Individual: The Biographical Approach

1.4.4.1. Introduction

Under the biographical lens, a scholar reads literary characters as standing in for actual people that the author knew – similar to Stanislavski's assumption that Chekhov created Sharlotta based on a real-life English governess. The strength of this approach is that it appears to account for all of the *nemtsy* in a given work: to the question of why Gogol included *nemets* artisans in "Nevsky Prospect," one can answer that the author was familiar with the city, and personally knew some *nemets* artisans. This apparent advantage, however, turns out to be the method's largest flaw, because a critic using this Biographical strategy seeks a more or less an exact correlation between historical

[131] See stanza 35 in Aleksandr Pushkin, *Sochineniia v trekh tomakh Vol.* II (Moscow, 1986), p. 199.

personages and literary characters. The need to provide such a correlation often leads to speculation, because only a marginal amount of evidence is required to link a real-life event to a literary moment. To counter this point, we only need recall the above examples of Gogol's understanding of the *russkii* provinces according to Nabokov and also Chekhov's insistence that Sharlotta – for no reason apparent to Stanislavski – had to be a *nemka*.

There are additional problems inherent in this approach beyond the ramifications of this speculation. First, similar to the Historicist approach, a writer's correspondences are taken as unmediated glimpses into their true feeling, as opposed to a text whose motivation relies upon the relationship between writer and reader; because correspondences represent a literary genre, subject to aesthetic convention and a negotiation between author and audience, they cannot be taken as a document where the writer describes the world exactly as he or she perceives it. Secondly, Biographical critics are prone to generating lists of characters that "speak for themselves." That is, they remove depictions and characterisations from their original context and present them as though they are more or less direct portraits of historical *reality*. Thirdly, the critics also privilege their version of authorial intention as one of the only sources of literary creation. This ignores the fact that the writer needs to present characters and depictions according to aesthetic conventions, according to the expectations of his or her audience, as E. M. Gombrich has argued.[132] While there must be more to any given description than just what the author intends (assuming the scholar can know this), the Biographical reading makes intent the ultimate goal of literary criticism. Fourthly, this method implies that by providing biographical detail, the questions of representation have been solved.

There are three critics I analyse in this section: two of them tangentially touch upon *nemtsy* in Russian literature, while the third makes the *nemtsy* his primary focus.

1.4.4.2. Charles Passage and the Sociologically Significant *Nemtsy*

The first text that tangentially touches upon the *nemtsy* is Charles Passage's 1982 book, *Character Names in Dostoevsky's Fiction,* which analyses the associations and

[132] I mean "aesthetic convention" here in the way "convention" and "style" is treated in E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (Princeton, 1969; 1961), where Gombrich argues that the form of art changes along with its function as well as with the techniques. For Gombrich's treatment of expectation and convention, see p. 52-53. For an account of how the aesthetic category precedes an objective viewing of an object, see pp. 62-63. For the "will to make conform," see p. 65. This also links to Gombrich's joke on aesthetic form in the introduction to his book *Art and Illusion:* did the ancient Egyptians really see each other as two-dimensional stick figures? See Gombrich, pp. 3-4.

underlying shades of meaning of Dostoevsky's characters.[133] In addition to suggesting etymological possibilities, Passage links literary characters through their names to historical associates of Dostoevsky. Passage's treatment of the Doctor Krest'ian Rutenshpits from *The Double* (*Двойник*, 1846) illustrates his analytic strategy:

> As a given name for a German, "Christian" would be common enough, but this doctor's name is not exactly "Christian," but rather a sly pun on *khristyanin,* "(a) Christian," and *krest'yanin,* "peasant." The patronymic "Ivanovich" represents merely the banality of the German *Johann.* "Rutenspitz" combines German *Rute,* "whip," with the German *Spitz(e),* "tip," with a hint of cruelty in the resulting "whip-tip"- and this doctor *is* "unfeeling" from his patient's point of view. By coincidence or otherwise, the name is the metrical parallel of "Riesenkampf" ("giant-battle"), the name of an actual doctor with whom Dostoevsky and his brother had shared lodgings a year earlier. But *Rute* also carries the secondary, dictionary-meaning of "penis," so that not the least important of Dostoevsky's intended denotations and connotations is a foreign-language obscenity as a brutal joke.[134]

The primary weakness in this method of analysis is its ambition: even if we can link Rutenshpits back to Risenkampf, does this fully account for the appearance of the character?[135] The assertion that a *nemets* name in Dostoevsky's fiction equals a *nemets* appearance in Dostoevsky's life is also misleading: Passage's interpretation turns the literary work into a sociological artefact. An illustration of this is how Passage reads the plethora of *nemets* characters in *Crime and Punishment* (*Преступление и наказание*, 1866) as a matter of statistical demographics.[136] Because the correlation is ultimately based on speculation, it gives the appearance of the matter being solved, while burying the actual problems out of sight.

1.4.4.3. T. J. Binyon: Onegin's Petersburg as Pushkin's Everyday Life

The second Biographical work I discuss is T. J. Binyon's recent biography of Alexander Pushkin.[137] While not a work of literary criticism per se, this book uses literature – namely, Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* – to illustrate and better understand Pushkin's own life. Binyon does this utilising the 1:1 correlation (historical personage :

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[133] Charles Passage, *Character Names in Dostoevsky's Fiction* (Ann Arbor, 1982).
[134] Passage, pp. 20-21.
[135] Victor Terras makes a similar argument regarding the book's ambitious scope in his review of the book in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), pp. 158-159: "Charles Passage has tried to do too much in this slender booklet. In trying to cover Dostoevskii's entire fiction, he not only presents for each work all those names which in his opinion have any kind of symbolic meaning or connotation, but also analyzes many of the names by correlating them with a character sketch of the bearer, often with detailed references to the plot and content of the work. It would take a much larger book to realize what Passage seems to have in mind... 'Rutenshpits' is simply a reversed *shpitsruten,* a Russian dictionary word all too current in the 1840s, and so it is quite irrelevant that the German *Rute* also has the meaning 'penis.'"
[136] "This point [i.e. the presence of the *nemtsy*] lends a certain sociological significance to the book." See Passage, p. 67.
[137] T. J. Binyon, *Pushkin: A Biography* (London, 2002).

fictional character) fallacy. This move restricts the function of literary characters to the status of biographical clues while it conflates the voices of the narrator, of Onegin, and of the poet himself – a process that removes the literary complications from the literature. I focus upon the fourth chapter of the biography, tellingly entitled "Onegin's Day," where Pushkin and Onegin are conflated in the very title.[138]

The first sentence of the chapter reinforces the implications of the title by interpreting the *Onegin* Petersburg material as reflective of Pushkin's everyday life:

> The Petersburg through which the hero of *Eugene Onegin* moves in the first chapter of the poem is not fictional: it is the Petersburg of Pushkin. Eugene's friends and acquaintances, his amusements and diversions, his interests and infatuations are also Pushkin's.[139]

Following an introductory paragraph, Binyon proceeds to recount the waking and strolling episode of Stanza I:15: after arising late in the day, "Eugene dons his 'wide *Bollivar*' to saunter up and down 'the boulevard.'" After a brief aside on where exactly he was walking, based upon evidence from Pushkin's life, Binyon continues, "Warned by his watch that it is around four in the afternoon, he hurries to Talon's French restaurant on the Nevsky, where Petr Kaverin, the hard-drinking hussar officer who considers cold champagne the best cure for the clap, is waiting."[140] It is unclear whether the "he" in this passage refers to Onegin, to Pushkin, or to both. Further complicating this question, Binyon references a page from Kaverin's diary, dated May 27, 1819: "Shcherbinin, Olsufev, Pushkin – supped with me in Petersburg."[141] After including the verses Pushkin composed to commemorate this meeting, Binyon moves on to explain Pushkin's "taste for military campaign" and his relationships and intrigues with key members of Petersburg high society.[142]

The narrative strategy Binyon deploys is to begin with Evgenii as the subject, illustrating the beginning of his day, and then slip Pushkin in to assume the role of the "he." After all, Binyon conceives of *Evgenii Onegin* as a "skeleton" structure for Pushkin's own life.[143] This strategy is also consistent with the book's ambitions: to use

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[138] The chapter discusses Pushkin's experiences while living in Petersburg between 1817 and 1820. Binyon, p. 63.
[139] Binyon, p. 63.
[140] Binyon, p. 63.
[141] Binyon, p. 63.
[142] Binyon, p. 63.
[143] According to Binyon, *Onegin* "provides a skeleton on which to drape a description of Pushkin's own social life at St Petersburg: his friends and associates, literary salons, the theatre, balls, gambling, liaisons, romances, and flirtations" (63).

the poem as a starting block for the development of Pushkin the Man's historical narrative, because Binyon means to wrest him from the prison of Pushkin the Poet/Myth.[144] Evgenii the character and Pushkin the historical figure do have overlapping attributes, so it seems plausible to posit that Pushkin is stylising an episode from his own life. But Binyon pushes these claims further: rather than portraying Evgenii as based in part on Pushkin's experiences, he substitutes one for the other. As such, we could interpret the "careful *nemets* baker" from Stanza I:35 as appearing because and only because Pushkin encountered such *nemtsy* in his Petersburg. The main danger here is that, by submitting a literary construct as a glimpse into unmediated *historical reality,* Binyon discounts Pushkin's own awareness of the apparent connection to Onegin, thus reading beyond the novel's irony and narrative play. Harder's bewilderment at the lack of alignment between historical reality and literary characters further undermines this connection. Finally, by conflating his reading of the novel with that of Pushkin's life, Binyon substitutes his own myth for the one he means to overturn.

1.4.4.4. Schulz on Turgenev, Goncharov, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky

Another work complicated by Harder's objections is Robert Kenneth Schulz's 1969 book, *The Portrayal of the German in Russian Novels,* my third example of the Biographical approach.[145] The four writers that Schulz selects are meant to demonstrate two sets of attitudes towards Germany and *nemtsy*: Goncharov and Turgenev as generally pro-*nemets*, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky as generally anti-*nemets*. Schulz's stated goal for this work is, "To investigate, as thoroughly as possible, the portrayal of the German as he appears in the prose works (drama and poetry have been excluded) of four of Russia's greatest nineteenth-century literary writers."[146] This introduction establishes the pattern for his treatment of literary characters as reflecting aspects of the authors' biographies: his strategy is to list the *nemtsy* that appear in the work of an author, to generalise on whether their traits are positive or negative, and then to conjecture about the reasons behind the depictions with the help of biographical facts. Schulz assumes that discrete personal experiences serve as the main catalyst for the resulting literary images – and so outliers must be explained by exceptional incidents in the life of the author. When Schulz

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[144] Binyon states that the purpose of his biography is, "in all humility, to free the complex and interesting figure of Pushkin the man from the heroic simplicity of Pushkin the myth. It concerns itself above all with the events of his life" (xxix).

[145] Robert Kenneth Schulz, *The Portrayal of the German in Russian Novels: Gončarov, Turgenev, Dostoevskij, Tolstoj* (Munich, 1969).

[146] Schulz, p. 1. Schulz's introduction ends with the hope that, "The examination of the divergent views of [the writers] with regard to the German, should offer fascinating and enlightening deductions" (7).

argues that the *nemtsy* in Goncharov and Turgenev are positive, any negative characters are marked as deviations from the pattern.

The weakness of this approach, beyond the problems of assuming the correlation between literature and historical reality (itself imagined as unproblematic), is that Schulz removes characters from their literary context. Schulz's account of a Turgenev story illustrates this:

> The narrator in *Knock, Knock, Knock ... A Study ...(Штук!.. Штук!.. Штук!.. Студия*, 1870) is a Russian of German extractions Alexandr Vasilevič Riedel, as his name testifies. To be sure, this tale is a very minor one when compared to such works as *Fathers and Sons, Rudin,* and *Asja.* Nonetheless, this narration illustrates the length to which the German, in one form or another, permeates the fiber of Turgenev's works—even some of his least known literary contributions.[147]

For Schulz, literary characters reflect a "reality" of the authors' lives. The appearance of three *nemtsy* in Goncharov's *The Precipice* (*Обрыв*, 1869) also illustrates this, because Schulz concludes that, "the German still appears on occasion, indicating that he was a part of ordinary, everyday nineteenth-century Russian life."[148] This assumption leads him to consider Shtol'ts to be merely another character who reflects the components of "Russian life," rather than the source of the narrative material for *Oblomov*; indeed, any information we learn from the narrator regarding Shtol'ts can be considered autobiographical and even self-serving. This results in misattributing judgments of Shtol'ts in the speech of characters to Goncharov the Author, rather than to the characters in the story whose reliability could be called into question. I return to the question of perspective in *Oblomov* in Chapter Six.

Because Schulz's critical lens requires an evaluation of each image as either positive or negative, the results are often reductive accounts, because characters are distilled to their surface traits without attention to their overall role in the story. For Schulz, the negative *nemtsy* in Turgenev's "Spring Freshets" ("Вешние воды," 1872) spring from Turgenev's support of the French against the Prussians in the struggle for Alsace-Lorraine – a position Turgenev adopted, Schultz argues, because he was involved with a French woman at the time.[149] Goncharov, on the other hand, creates a positive *nemets* in Shtol'ts because he "esteemed highly Germany and the Germans, and his preference for a German valet, love of Berlin and other German cities (notably spas), and

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[147] Schulz, p. 88.
[148] Schulz, p. 53.
[149] Schulz, pp. 88-90.

the mighty Rhine bespeak."[150] The conflation of Goncharov, Goncharov's narrators, and his characters emerges in this passage. All three sources are taken as Goncharov's uncomplicated voice, outside the bounds of irony and other narratological complications.

Another complication that Schulz shares with other Biographical approaches is his dependency upon exact correlations. The problematic nature of the Foreign is minimised by imagining each *nemets* as a reflection of the author's biography – which is itself imagined as a stable body of facts.[151] Schulz's interpretations thus become circular: a positive image requires positive biographical details, and these details are then posited as the source of the images. This leads Schulz to normalise the Foreign, because it appears to be an unavoidable phenomenon, thereby ignoring the political stakes of the image.[152]

This analysis marks the conclusion of engaging with approaches that view literary images as holding truth content and as reflective of phenomena in the world of *objective reality*.

1.4.5. Recreating the Cliché: The Stereotype-Analysis Approach

1.4.5.1. Introduction

The Stereotype-Analysis approach differs from the first three I have outlined – the Essentialist, Historicist, and Biographical – in that it views stereotypes as cultural constructs. As we shall see, Muza and Schmid, whose essays are introduced in Section 1.3, position the cultural stereotype of the *nemtsy* as the basis of their treatment of individual writers: Chekhov for Muza, Pushkin for Schmid. Of particular interest to these scholars is how their individual writers modify and reconfigure the clichéd currency of national stereotypes that exist in the writers' cultural milieu.

1.4.5.2. Individual Subversions in Muza and Schmid

In Section 1.3, I describe how Schmid argues that Pushkin undermined the cultural stereotypes with his *nemtsy*, and how Muza argues that Chekhov did the same with his. Schmid asserts that Pushkin utilises two separate sets of stereotypical traits to

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[150] Schulz, p. 53.

[151] Jean-Paul Sartre's narrator in *Nausea* makes this argument when he considers his biographical history on the Marquis: "The Marquis was there: waiting for the moment when I should have definitely installed him in a niche of history, I had loaned him my life. I felt him like a glow in the pit of my stomach." See Sartre, *Nausea,* trans. Lloyd Alexander (New York, 2007), p. 95. On the narrative dimensions of historical accounts, see Hayden White's Introduction to *Metahistory*, pp. 1-42.

[152] By "political stakes" I mean that any object – even something as innocuous as a tree – is imbued with extra significance when it becomes an object in a story or any discourse. As the French semiologist and Post-Structuralist Roland Barthes argued half a century ago: "A tree is a tree. Yes, of course. But a tree expressed by Minou Drouet is no longer quite a tree, it is a tree which is decorated, adapted to a certain type of consumption, laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in short with a type of social *usage* which is added to pure matter." See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (English translation in New York, 1972; originally published in Paris, 1957), p. 109.

fashion his hero Germann, and the character never settles on one set of traits – just as the structure of the story oscillates between Romantic, Sentimental, and Realist structures. For Schmid, Germann's surface appearance of a national stereotype is undermined by this oscillation and also because other Pushkinian *nemtsy* appear negative but perform positive functions in their stories.

Muza makes a similar argument, asserting that by the time of Chekhov's writing, the *russkii-nemets* dialogue in Russian literature was a "topos."[153] For Muza, there was an established set of stereotypical traits associated with the *nemtsy*: pragmatism, love of schedules and rules, narrow-mindedness, and "insensitivity to exceptions."[154] Muza argues that all literary *nemtsy* cherished their "forefather" Germann's calculating nature (though this is the very character that Schmid identifies as the exception to the rule). Muza takes this reading of Russian literature as her basis for endowing Chekhov with the status of an anti-traditionalist; for her, Chekhov reverses the traditional paradigm because his *nemtsy* modify the expected *nemets* traits.[155]

In these arguments, there exists the underlying assumption that a literary stereotype is a static fact – a set of traits that are omnipresent throughout the society's discourse, in the spatial and temporal sense. These traits are omnipresent in the spatial sense because they extend across the breadth of the culture while extending to all its members; in the temporal sense because they are assumed to be stable over a long period of time. These stereotypical traits are taken to predate the work that the literary scholar means to treat, but in an impersonal manner: the scholar may cast these stereotypical traits as not necessarily coming from anywhere or any time in particular, but rather simply as *the way* that one culture has characterised another in their literature. Conversely, the critic may place undue emphasis upon the literary images found in a small sample of authors. The set of stereotypical traits is then described as historically static and stable up to the point when a single author subverts it.[156]

This tendency can be deployed in criticism that seeks to account for how a single author deals with a national group in his or her writing. The argument found in Muza's and Schmid's essays adheres to the following structure:

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[153] See also Hielscher, "Die absolute Freiheit von Vorurteilen," pp. 605-606, 635, for a similar argument to Muza's.
[154] Muza, p. 186.
[155] Muza, p. 195.
[156] By "Static traits," I mean claims such as, 'The English literary stereotype held that the French were impertinent towards women' (This is an arbitrary example: see Spiering, "National Identity," pp. 121-123, for this particular cultural stereotype).

1. *The stereotypical traits that precede the text I intend to treat can be described as (a, b, c...), because this is the way this culture viewed this Other.*
2. *Author M's character demonstrates traits (a, b) while author N's character demonstrates traits (b, c), and so on.*
3. *My author, while appearing to utilise traits (a, b, c...) with his/her characters, actually undermines this structure, because the characters we see in this work subvert the expectations by adding a new dimension to each trait (a+x, b+y, c+z...) thereby creating something new with their characterisations (a1, b1, c1...).*
4. *These characters appear at first glance to correspond to stereotypes (a, b, c...), but, after an analysis of the new factors involved (x, y, z...), we can see that the writer has actually forged something completely new (the 1 factor) and thus can be considered subversive or anti-traditionalist.*

Before I examine Anna Muza's essay, I clarify this formula and show how it relates to Schmid.

The new factors that Schmid employed in his essay, for example, mostly concern the literary functions of the *nemtsy*. Thus, characters who seem to correspond to the (a, b, c...) stereotypes (as neat/thorough [Germann], greedy [the Doctor from "The Blizzard"], and uncomprehending [the *nemets* craftsmen from "The Undertaker"...) were actually something more complicated ([a1] thorough + poetic, [b1] greedy + enabling love, and [c1] uncomprehending + enabling salvation). Therefore, Pushkin is taken to be an "enemy of fixed patterns."[157] As I have mentioned, the flaw in this argument is that the terms (a, b, c...) are cast as static fixtures, active until Pushkin created something new from the range of their literary currency. Such a reading denies the stereotypes that preceded Pushkin the dynamism that is assigned to Pushkin himself. It also dismisses as inconsequential the implications that Pushkin's characters may have enabled stereotypes in their own right: the anti-traditionalist characterisations (a1, b1, c1) reinforce the stereotypes (a, b, c) because the (1) traits depend upon the previous set for their meaning. In addition to this, there exists the possibility that the "new" traits (x, y, z) will be unnoticed by the reader and by other producers of culture, in which cases the stereotypical traits (a, b, c) are again reinforced. Also problematic is the fact that the set (x, y, z) shapes the set (a, b, c), because the "anti-traditional" traits determine what must be considered "traditional." Finally, this process imbues the treated author with the status of a dissident, above the fray of those who were actually taking part in constructing a tradition of representation.

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[157] Schmid, p. 53.

For Muza and Schmid, the texts of Pushkin and Chekhov access the stereotypes of the *nemtsy* in order to undermine them. This assumes that a single writer is capable of generating the entirety of a literary image, and it thus discounts the ability of an ideal audience (in any sense of the term) to fill out certain details in a given characterisation; authors are assumed to be responsible for the entirety of a given image rather than dependent upon accessing other discursive norms, as argued by Gombrich. Schmid's essay, after all, never addresses the implications of the fact that, even if we allow that Pushkin's characters subverted the determinism of their genealogy, his Germann is still considered to be a typical *nemets* by a wide segment of the *russkii* reading public. Indeed, Dostoevsky considered Pushkin's Italian characters to be like genuine Italians (as opposed to Shakespeare's Italians, who struck Dostoevsky as nothing more than Englishmen with Italian names).[158] Another example of this is Muza's essay, where Germann is cast as the "forefather" of the literary *nemtsy*, and also Pothoff, for whom Germann expresses typically *nemets* traits.[159]

In Schmid's essay, the *nemtsy* artisans found in Gogol's "Nevsky Prospect" serve as the typical appearance of the *nemets*, fulfilling the role of the commonplace representation and also of an influential image in *russkii* culture. The deployment of these exemplary passages assumes that some reader expectation is critical for understanding the image – and once the scholars construct their version of the contemporaneous readership's apprehension of a Foreign type, they demonstrate how their main author frustrates these expectations.

We will note a similar strategy on the part of Anna Muza in analysing Chekhov's characters in relation to the *stereotypical nemtsy*.

1.4.5.3. The Relativity of the Static Stereotype: Chekhov's Anti-Traditionalism

Anna Muza's thesis is that "Chekhov's treatment of the German theme" in *The Duel, The Three Sisters,* and *The Cherry Orchard,* "in [the] traditional context is antitraditionalist. He reconsiders and parodies a set of cultural and literary commonplaces, and redefines the connotations and literary function of Germanness."[160] Muza establishes this by sketching the static national traits that appeared in works before Chekhov; while Schmid focuses upon Gogol, Muza turns to the "major writers":

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[158] Dostoevsky claimed Pushkin was unique in the world because he could describe Italians as Italians and English as English whereas Shakespeare always created Englishmen with foreign-sounding names. See F. Dostoevsky, *A Writer's Diary,* ed. & trans. Kenneth Lantz (Evanston, 1997), p. 39.
[159] Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," p. 149.
[160] Muza, p. 186.

> By Chekhov's time, the discourse of German character in Russian literature had reached the status of topos. Pushkin, Gogol, Goncharov, Tolstoy, to mention only the major writers, had associated the German view of life with the cult of a purpose: but a purpose so petty and so utterly egotistical as to become a parody of purpose. Regardless of their status or welfare, Germans in Russian literature cherished the golden rule of their forefather in *The Queen of Spades*... Germanness meant pragmatism, predilection for structures and schedule, doggedness, narrow-mindedness, worshipping of rules, and insensitivity to exceptions.[161]

Muza includes in this passage her description of the *nemets* stereotype (set [a, b, c]). She then expands upon this set, and describes Tolstoy's Berg, in *War and Peace* (*Война и мир*, 1869), as indicative of the stereotype because he is "ridiculously pedantic and conceited," in addition to Goncharov's Shtol'ts, whose "German element" expresses itself in his "excellent common sense, dedication, and purposefulness – but also in his 'fear of imagination,' hostility to 'painful and tormenting' reflections, and a lack of passion and audacity."[162]

As noted in Section 1.3, Germann's status as the "forefather" of the *nemtsy* is a mirage. Instead of allowing for Pushkin's own subversive nature, Muza takes his characters as the archetype of the stereotype: she does not assign Pushkin the same kind of historical context she extends to Chekhov. But Pushkin's Germann is thus just one of the unstable foundations of the stereotype. While Muza depicts Goncharov's Shtol'ts as part of the "topos," the character's *nemets* nature is by no means absolute – he was raised in Russia with a *russkii* mother with a *russkii* first name, Andrei.[163] I address the topic of Andrei's hybridity in Chapter Six. Muza mentions this, but only to demonstrate that he "owed his humanity to his fine Russian mother,"[164] a point intended to further strengthen her construction of dichotomy rather than undermine it.

After representing the *nemets* stereotype as stable up until Chekhov, she treats the characters in *The Duel* so that they initially seem to imply the *russkii-nemets* dichotomy: "In Chekhov's version of the relationship between a Russian of no will and a German of strong will, the sentimental friendship of Goncharov's heroes was replaced by intense

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[161] Muza, p. 186.
[162] Muza, p. 186.
[163] Milton Ehre, for example, takes a position counter to Muza's on the relationship between Oblomov and Stolz: "A reading limited to expounding Oblomov's and Stolz's antithetical opposition not only fails to do justice to the novel's intricacies of thought and experience; it does not even accurately describe what we may call its surface schema – an ideological framework to which experience is occasionally referred but that proves unable to contain it... Stolz, despite his dedication to an ethos of work and activity, is ultimately conceived of as an emblem of synthesis – a figure who will mediate the moral extremes of the novel." See Milton Ehre, *Oblomov and his Creator* (Princeton, 1973), p. 197.
[164] Muza, p. 186.

animosity."[165] Here, though, Muza deploys a dichotomy between superficial *russkii* and scientific *nemets* that is self-fulfilling. In addition to the problems in assuming a clear split between Oblomov and Shtol'ts, Muza overlooks the fact that Laevskii, a typical "Russian of no will,"[166] was originally intended by Chekhov to be a Pole, Ladzievskii.[167] Chekhov only changed the name to Laevskii at the insistence of his editor, who was apparently reluctant to publish a book that lacked a *russkii* as one of the central characters. Here I do not mean to assert that an author's intentions determine the underlying meaning of their works – rather, I mean to show that the apparent compare and contrast game between clearly-delineated "German" and "Russian" is not as unproblematic as it appears in Muza's essay. Muza's casting of the *russkii* and *nemets* as interacting exclusively in a Self/Other relationship – between Oblomov and Shtol'ts, Laevskii and Koren – demonstrates a common assumption regarding this material that I aim to re-evaluate.

After describing the dichotomy, Muza casts the *nemets* as accessing the traditional *nemets* stereotypes (set [a, b, c]): "Von Koren, whose self-admiration needs no crutches, personifies the Russian lexicon of Germanness. Not only does he meticulously plan his own life, he wishes to organise and classify all human species and lectures peremptorily on hard work, determination, and progress."[168] But while Koren may appear to fit the pattern of the *nemets*, it turns out that this is another example of the (1) factor, "Chekhov's mistrust of stock formulas of human identity."[169] This is because Koren is involved in a duel, and this establishes set (x, y, z): "the act of putting one's life at stake on the outcome of chance is the exact opposite of the alleged German way of planning and measuring."[170] The traits ([x] risky, [y] dangerous) thus emerge from – and reinforce – the set ([a] careful, [b] cautious).

Muza's essay reifies the *nemets* literary stereotype by imagining it as a stable phenomenon that existed in a unitary form in *russkii* culture. Her essay resembles Schmid's in that she allots contextualisation to Chekhov but not to previous writers (who only take part in "commonplaces"). Compare Chekhov's "mistrust of stock formulas" for Muza to Pushkin's status as an "enemy of fixed patterns" for Schmid. These two aspects

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[165] Muza, p. 187.
[166] Muza, p. 187.
[167] Donald Rayfield, *Understanding Chekhov: A Critical Study of Chekhov's Prose and Drama* (Madison, 1999), p. 102.
[168] Muza, p. 187.
[169] Muza, p. 188.
[170] Muza, p. 189.

demonstrate the need for a comprehensive study not of *nemtsy* in Chekhov or *nemtsy* in Pushkin, but rather of the changing images of *nemtsy* in the wider context of *russkii* history and literary discourse.

1.5. Conclusions to the Four Approaches

While my investigations of the four approaches represent a failure to answer the puzzles I raised at the onset, there are a number of productive aspects of the scholars' work that have informed my research. Mirsky is a compelling critic of Russian literature, and his volume will most likely always remain relevant as a reflection of the attitudes of the late 19th-century/early 20th-century intelligentsia towards its version of the Russian literary cannon, if not as interpretive scholarship in its own right. Sazonova manages to bring together a large number of sources under a single comprehensive, if problematic, unifying theory of *nemets* culture and Russian literature; her views also reflect a certain way of imposing *russkii* cultural myths – such as the messianic ability of *russkii* writers, and also the victimisation of the *russkii* at the hands of external enemies – onto the literature. Harder's study results in bafflement over the incongruities of fiction and his casting of reality, yet this is a productive confusion: he highlights the disjunctions inherent in any act of criticism that attempts to set an exact correlation between the historical world and the world of fiction. Schulz reads certain authors as positive and others as negative, though this strategy removes characterisations and depictions from their original context and leads to speculation; he does, however, manage to assemble a compendium of *nemtsy*, helpful from a research point of view. Binyon has written a compelling account of Pushkin's life and times; characters from *Evgenii Onegin,* however, are pulled from their literary context and appropriated for their illustrative capabilities. While Muza may encounters problems when she tries to isolate the pre-Chekhovian stereotype of *nemtsy*, she motivates the problems of these characters through a convincing study of Tuzenbakh and Sharlotta. Finally, Schmid does not manage to avoid the trap encountered by Muza, but he does demonstrate the parallels between Germann and the structure of *The Queen of Spades*. He also indicates how the narrative roles of the *nemtsy* complicate their surface appearance as sources of negative influences.

The literature review section of this Chapter demonstrates the need to make two decisions when approaching the topic of the *nemtsy*. First, it is imperative to isolate one aspect of the literary image so as not to fall into the trap of creating an almanac of the *nemtsy*, such as in the scholarship of Schulz and Passage. In Chapter Two, I narrow my focus to a spatial approach to the *nemets* material, and I introduce the work of

Christopher Ely, Emma Widdis, and Alexander Dolinin as a basis for my own approach. Secondly, it is necessary to engage with the problems that a study of stereotypes poses. This includes the following conclusions: stereotypes do not speak for themselves; they do not reflect *objective reality*; they do not present unmediated glimpses of historical movements; and they are not an omnipresent and static set of traits. In Chapter Three, I examine how the Image Studies methodology acknowledges and avoids these problems.

Chapter Two: A Spatial Approach to the *Nemets*

Нужно было проехать от станции верст тридцать, и Вера тоже поддалась обаянию степи, забыла о прошлом и думала только о том, как здесь просторно, как свободно; ей, здоровой, умной, красивой, молодой - ей было только 23 года - недоставало до сих пор в жизни именно только этого простора и свободы.

- Anton Chekhov[171]

Ах, ты Русь моя, необъятная,
Широка Земля, так богатая,
И не счесть полей, и лесов твоих,
Синих глаз озер, и рек голубых.

- Inessa Beloborod'ko[172]

2.1.1. Chapter One Review and Introduction

In Chapter One, I explore the puzzles raised in the Introduction: how do other scholars provide a framework to clarify the *nemtsy* in works such as Siniavskii's short story, "You and I"? I begin this exploration with examinations of the Foreign in literature and of the history of the term "*nemets*," and I conclude that, "in a literary work, all names speak." I also examine how other scholars and critics have responded (or failed to respond) to the *nemets* material in Russian literature, which I categorise in four approaches: the Essentialist, the Historicist, the Biographical, and the Stereotype-Analysis. The first three approaches fail to account for the constructed nature of literary images, and their attempt to map literary images onto *historical reality* becomes speculative and often circular. This process of mapping also marks the Foreign as a *natural* inclusion in a literary text, and it thus cannot elucidate the *unnatural nemtsy* in Siniavskii's post-war Moscow – or Schultz's own literary examples. I challenge the fourth approach, the Stereotype Analysis, by arguing that literary images are dependent upon their discursive genealogy, while they are also responsible for the structure of the images that follow them. It is problematic to isolate single authors from the greater discursive context and to privilege them above others as uniquely anti-traditionalist; this reinforces the original set of stereotypes, and it treats literary images as static structures.

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[171] Anton Chekhov, "*V rodnom uglu*" (commonly rendered as "At Home"), published in *Rassakzy i povesti 1894-1897 gg.*, I, at <http://az.lib.ru/c/chehow_a_p/text_0090.shtml#11>, site accessed 30 May 2010.
[172] See Inessa Beloborod'ko, *Stikhi* (2010), at <http://www.stihi.ru/2010/05/28/4143>, site accessed 6 June 2010.

My approach to the *nemtsy* differs from these approaches in two ways. First, I utilise the Image Studies methodology, which I examine and illustrate in Chapter Three. Secondly, I isolate the spatial aspect of the *nemets* and *russkii* images to explore the construction of *russkii* identity vis-à-vis the *nemets*. In Section 2.1.2, I describe what I mean to accomplish through an analysis of the spatial coordinates of the *nemets* image, and I explain how these coordinates connect to identity. In Section 2.1.3, I address a question that springs from my arguments regarding identity: why define spatial images as constructs rather than as *natural* phenomena? In Section 2.2, I examine three models of *russkii* spatiality that are lynchpins to my approach: Emma Widdis on *russkii* space and identity, Christopher Ely on the changing image of the *russkii* landscape in the 19th century, and Alexander Dolinin on *russkii* images of Berlin space in the 1920s.

2.1.2. Why Spatiality?

Before I examine the three scholars, it is important to establish why I have chosen a spatial approach to the *nemtsy*. In addition to restricting the material to manageable proportions, this approach provides concrete exemplars to compare and contrast; as mentioned in the Introduction, the construction of *nemets* space can be compared in like terms between authors, genres, and time. I also share Mark Bassin's assumption that spatial imagery links to identity construction – and that spatial imagination can reinforce political power structures.[173] In an essay on the construction of Siberia space, Bassin investigates the role of the geographical Other in European identity: "The conceptual assimilation of the geographical Other introduced a dialectical tension into the European world view that determined how Europe perceived the outside world and, much more important, became virtually indispensable to its self-conception as well."[174] Bassin argues that a culture's description of its geographical Other emerges by "fashioning an antipodal point of reference for itself," such as in Edward Said's characterisation of the "Orient" in European literature.[175] From this perspective, a culture's depiction of Domestic and Foreign spaces ties to how it perceives itself: Domestic space represents the Self Image, and Foreign space represents the opposite polarity. The two categories of Domestic and Foreign spaces – such as *russkii* and *nemets* – thus exist in a mutually dependent,

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[173] Mark Bassin's methodological framework is based on the work of Henri Baudet, Tzvetan Todorov, and Edward Said; see Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia: Visions of the Russian East in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 3 (Jun., 1991), pp. 763-794.

[174] Bassin, p. 764; see p. 766 for an account of "the complex ideological process by which the vision of a geographical Other was constructed and assigned a meaning."

[175] Bassin, p. 764; see also Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1994; 1978), pp. 1-28.

mutually reinforcing relationship. A spatial approach to the *nemets* thus represents a useful means to deconstruct *russkii* identity.

Mirsky's book, discussed in Chapter One, illustrates this aspect of spatial imagery, because his depictions of *russkii* and *nemets* space construct an image of the *russkii* character. As I have argued, Mirsky conceptualises cultures as developing organically, and the *russkii* is imagined to possess its own unique history, language, culture, and space. *Russkii* space, for Mirsky, parallels the cultural level because it is imagined to be self-contained and homogenous, with clearly delineated borders. The introduction of foreign bodies and ideas represents a breach of these boundaries – and this casts *nemets* cultural influence as a virus. *Russkii* space thus provides a locale to express the violation and the contamination of *russkii* purity.

2.1.3. Why Consider Spatiality a Construct?

As the previous Sub-Section implies, I also share with Bassin the assumption that images of spatiality are discursive constructs.[176] But why make this assumption? Why not consider spatial depictions to be *natural* phenomena? This is the position Binyon assumes: as mentioned in Chapter One, Binyon imagines that the literary Petersburg world of *Evgenii Onegin* represents Pushkin's own social space. Indeed, it is tempting to imagine that *russkii* writers simply *looked* at their landscapes and *described them accurately*, and, consequently, that I propose to explore a subject that does not require scholarly attention. One could even argue, as some Soviet art historians did, that *russkii* artists' apprehension of their landscape represented, in the words of Christopher Ely, a "heroic, progressive *realization* of Russia's natural environment."[177] Ely, whose work is examined in Section 2.2.3, challenges this assumption by arguing that, "'the myth of Russian space' by and large originated in Russian art and literature."[178] For him, producers of culture were responsible for the "widely disseminated conception of the landscape," because they selected and developed a limited number of images for the landscape from a virtually unlimited set of options. In order to develop this assertion, Ely

[176] Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," pp. 763-764, examines "The careful (if unconsciously motivated) construction or invention, for a specific purpose, of an external world or geographical Other of a particular type." See also Mark Bassin, "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space," in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 1-17.
[177] Christopher Ely, *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, 2002), p. 19.
[178] Ely, p. 20.

employs Georges Nivat's account of the mythology of *russkii* space and E. M. Gombrich's theories of aesthetic technique.[179]

To illustrate that the description of space – and even its perception – is an historical and not "ontological" process, Ely argues that cultures must learn how to view and represent their Domestic space as beautiful through landscape painting and literary description. To support this argument, Ely cites examples of British and American landscapes that were once viewed as negative. These examples are convincing because they touch upon landscapes that are now considered by *common sense* to be beautiful and worthy of pride.[180] First, the Rocky Mountains, now the crown jewel of American scenic space alongside Californian and Floridian beaches, appalled and horrified the first European visitors, one of whom described them as "a gigantic disorder of enormous masses, and a savage sublimity of naked rock."[181] A similar dynamic existed for viewing the English Lake District, which was described in 1630 by a surveyor as "hideous," with "nothing but hanging Hills, and great Pooles, that, what in respect to the murmuring noyse of those great waters, and those high mountainous, tumbling, rocky hills, a man would thinke he were in another world."[182] This demonstrates how writers do not *realise* natural environments in objective terms – nor do not *look* at their surroundings and describe them accordingly.



Figure 2.1. The Colorado Rocky Mountains: "...a savage sublimity of naked rock."[183]

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[179] See Ely, pp. 7, 11, 20-21.

[180] Ely cites three works that explore this topic further: Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* (Ithaca, 1959), Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), and Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York, 1990).

[181] Ely, p. 6, quotation from Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision,* p. 4.

[182] Ely, pp. 5-6, quotation from Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 130.

[183] Photo by Steve Garufi, of Buena Vista, CO, at <http://snow-pictures.com/july-2008/colorado-rocky-mountains.jpg>, site accessed 29 September 2010.

2.2.1. Three Approaches to Identity and Spatiality

The work of four scholars represents the foundation for my approach to spatiality in this thesis: Mark Bassin, Emma Widdis, Christopher Ely, and Alexander Dolinin. I provide an extended reading of three of these scholars in this Section to establish the point of entry for my approach to the topic.[184] While my work differs from theirs in that I deploy the Image Studies methodology to analyse the construction of the *russkii* through the *nemets*, I rely upon their primary sources and also upon their models of *russkii* spatiality.

My exploration of these scholars continues the discussion of the usefulness of spatiality, and it further evidences the constructed nature of spatial imagery. Widdis provides the most general overview of *russkii* space and identity, and she argues that there exists a central paradox in the image of *russkii* land: Russia is cast as massive and expansive, but also as bound by *russkii* political control. The payoff for this present thesis is that Widdis establishes a set of commonplace traits of *russkii* space that re-emerge in varying forms in the 19th and 20th centuries, and this enables me to investigate the antipodal traits of Foreign space. My investigation in this Chapter focuses upon how Widdis motivates the stakes of *russkii* spatial depiction, and how she establishes the unbounded and free nature of Russia as its leitmotif.

The second scholar I investigate, Ely, argues that *russkii* writers lacked the aesthetic techniques to render Domestic space in positive and recognisable terms at the beginning of the 19th century. For Ely, *russkii* space had been codified in terms of Western techniques of representation, and these were unsuitable for a direct transference to the *russkii* context. Ely also argues that, after importing Western landscape aesthetics, it was inevitable that *russkii* space should appear unattractive and deficient through the Western lens. My investigation of Ely focuses upon how he accounts for the shift in the paradigms of representation, and how the *russkii* landscape is cast as positive and anti-picturesque by the mid 19th century.

The third scholar I discuss is Dolinin, whose essay investigates the image of 1920s Berlin in Russian literature. He argues that the *russkii* Berlin is imagined as a

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[184] While three essays by Bassin, "Russia Between Europe and Asia," "Inventing Siberia," and "Turner, Solov'ev, and the 'Frontier Hypothesis': The Nationalist Signification of Open Spaces," in *The Journal of Modern History,* Vol. 65, No. 3 (Sep., 1993), pp. 473-511, are important underpinnings of this present thesis, I offer extensive treatments of Widdis, Ely, and Dolinin because their conclusions emerge in my work more frequently.

boring, repetitious, lifeless prison – the opposite of how the city appears in Western sources. I analyse Dolinin's description of the *russkii* Berlin to argue that the 20th-century images are prefigured by previous depictions. His analysis thus provides an "effect" to the "cause" of the image of the *nemets* in 19th-century, and it demonstrates the importance of the analyses of *russkii* space in Widdis and Ely.

In my examination of these scholars, I follow three guiding questions. First, how do they link spatiality to identity? Secondly, with this link established, what is their thesis regarding *russkii* spatial models? Thirdly, what are the specific traits of *russkii* and *nemets* space that they identify? The answers to the final question establish the framework for my analyses and close readings in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

2.2.2. Emma Widdis's "Russia as Space"

2.2.2.1. Introduction: Three Spatial Paradoxes

Because Widdis's essay, "Russia as space," is the most general critical lens of the three I utilise, it is appropriate to begin my investigations with her model.[185] Her essay revolves around a series of paradoxes, because, "Vast and diverse, often hostile and uninhabitable, the Russian territory poses problems not just of management, but also of symbolic definition."[186] One problem of "symbolic definition" is that *russkii* space paradoxically invites domestication and control, while it also resists boundaries and concrete description. This presents two competing, yet interconnected, models of *russkii* space: Russia as the wilds to conquer and bind to central authority, and Russia as the untameable expanse (*prostor*), whose boundaries recede beyond the horizon.[187] *Russkii* space becomes, according to Widdis, both that which is controlled by the Russian state, and that which is unable to be controlled by anyone.

The second paradox is related to the first: Russia is imagined as a space that has temporal and physical continuity, and also as one with shifting boundaries. For Widdis, *russkii* space has been tied to themes of conquest and assertions of political power

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[185] This essay appears in the 2004 collection, *National Identity and Russian Culture,* a volume not meant to exhaustively account for *russkii* identity, but to "represent points of orientation within the vast field of identity formation" (6). Each chapter in the volume is meant to explore "a different type of identity," where "the grid is not a key to the secret essence of Russianness, but rather a structure through which to understand its articulations" (6). For Widdis and Franklin, who edited the collection, the subject matter is the entirety of *russkii* cultural production, with the aim of equipping the reader "with the means of surveying the field, mapping the dimensions of Russian identity" (6).

[186] See the Introduction to *National Identity and Russian Culture* by Widdis and Franklin, p. 6.

[187] For more on the dual images of Russia as the wilds to conquer, and Russia as the untameable boundaries receding beyond the horizon, see Widdis, "Russia as Space," pp. 30-49.

through expansions and contractions that have continued to the present day.[188] This connection between political and spatial characterisations has been so strong, she argues, that it is tempting "to link territory and nation, to view the gigantic unwieldiness of the space as both cause and symbol of Russia's similarly unwieldy history."[189] Widdis provides citations by Aleksandr Herzen (that Russia was "more subject to geographical than to historical authority") and Aleksandr Blok (that "Our spaces are fated to play an elemental role in our history") to support this argument.[190] This addresses my first guiding question: Widdis argues that spatiality links to identity because the first has been viewed frequently as the cause of the second.

2.2.2.2. *Neob"iatnost'*: The Unifying Aspect of *Russkii* Space

Widdis's third paradox guides my investigation in this Sub-Section: given that an unlimited number of possibilities exist, what specific spatial aspects came to define the image of *russkii* space?[191] Historically, Widdis argues that Russia began as a "literally boundless"[192] territory known as *Rhosia* and gradually relocated and transformed into the expanding territory of the Russian Empire. This complication links to the first paradox: how can there be an indicative *russkii* space when the land is imagined as expanding beyond comprehension? Further, this expansion is closely linked to themes of political and military conquest – "*osvoenie* (assimilation, annexation), *zavoevanie* (conquest through battle), [and] *pokorenie* (subjugation)" – and this emphasises Russia's borders as shifting.[193] This problem of defining the indefinable is complicated by a third factor, in Russia's lack of a consistent symbolic locus of identity. That is, how can the image of *russkii* space take form if it is unclear where the centre of this space resides? Should this be a major city or a landscape? If a city, then which one? While *russkii* space has long

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[188] Widdis provides two examples of cultural fixation upon shifting borders. The first instance is Walter Benjamin's 1927 "Moscow Diary," where he argues that, "The map is almost as close to becoming the centre of the new Russian iconic cult as Lenin's portrait." See Widdis, "Russia as Space," p. 30, where she quotes Walter Benjamin, "Moscow," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz (New York, 1978), p. 118. Following the political restructuring in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution, *russkie* grappled with the shape and boundaries of their transforming country. A second moment indicative of the ambiguous relationship to space occurred in the 1990s, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union: the boundaries of *russkii* space were shifting on the state level, while the streets, squares and other spaces within cities were also renamed. The territory of Georgia, part of Russia for centuries, was now a separate country just as Gorkii Street in Moscow was renamed Tverskaia. See Widdis, pp. 30-32.

[189] Widdis, p. 32.

[190] Widdis, p. 33; Widdis cites Aleksandr Herzen, "Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie," in A. I. Gertsen (Herzen), *Sobranie sochinenii v 30-i tomakh*, VII, (Moscow, 1956), p. 16; A. A. Blok, *Zapisnye knizhki*, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1930), I, p. 83.

[191] Widdis raises the question "What, then, is the Russian 'space'?" on p. 33.

[192] Widdis argues it was boundless because "it was conceived as an approximate sphere of influence" (33).

[193] Widdis, p. 38.

been a territory defined by its size, it has also alternately codified Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev as its symbolic centres.[194] And if it is to be a landscape, which single locale could represent a space that extends from Central Europe to China to the North Pole to Turkey to Japan?

Widdis argues that, in spite of these options, there exists one aspect found repeatedly in *russkii* spatial discourse that embodies all three of these paradoxical characteristics of the *russkii* space – the conquered/expanding size, the shifting/contracting borders, and the lack of a consistent centre. This is the *neob"iatnost'* (boundlessness; необъятность) of *russkii* space. For Widdis, this trait is the leitmotif of *russkii* spatial imagery, and it can be found in sources from pre-Petrine to the Soviet eras. This term applies to Russia's conquered/expanding size because it simultaneously invites the process of binding while it resists this project's achievement. It also applies to the shifting/contracting borders because the "unbounded" by definition lacks boundaries. Finally, this image does not require a stable and temporally continuous centre.

I find it necessary to take a step back before developing Widdis's account of the "boundless" in Russian literature. I have argued that spatial depictions are constructs; if true, though, it does not necessarily follow that the descriptors are not intuitive. The following question thus emerges: is the strategy of depicting *russkii* space as "unbounded" not a matter of *common sense* because Russia is the largest country on the planet?

Widdis addresses this by providing a history of the image in *russkii* discourse. She argues that "boundlessness," codified in Russian literature in the final passage of Gogol's *Dead Souls* [5[E]], originated in folk culture, particularly the epics involving the *bogatyr,* who arrives "from the open field" ("из чиста поля").[195] Widdis also provides a comparison between perceptions of *russkii* space by a Western visitor and a *russkii* to establish the culturally constructed nature of the image.[196] After travelling through Russia in 1839, the Marquis de Custine criticised Russia's lack of a proper landscape and likened it to a graveyard. For him, the flatness and emptiness of the space represented a distinct negative, which he connected to gloominess and death. Vasilii Kliuchevskii, on the other hand, depicted Russia's flat expanse as its most positive characteristic.[197] The positively valued emptiness also demonstrates, for Widdis, why Kliuchevskii imagined

[194] Widdis, p. 37.
[195] Widdis, p. 41.
[196] Widdis makes this comparison between de Custine and Kliuchevskii on pp. 39-41.
[197] Widdis, pp. 39-41.

that a *russkii* traveller in Europe "feels restricted and hemmed in."[198] While a *russkii* and Western observer depict *russkii* space in similar concrete terms (i.e. emptiness, openness), they conclude with oppositely valued images. Therefore, *russkii* space as "unbounded" is not a matter of *common sense*, because the perspective of the observer affects the apprehension and valuation of space.

Kliuchevskii's description provides another opportunity to return to the first guiding question, which addresses the link between space and identity. For Widdis, Kliuchevskii not only evaluated *russkii* space by casting it in positive, nostalgic terms; he also deployed the spatial image to define the *russkii* character: "For Kliuchevskii, then, the 'empty Russian plain,' with its lack of distinguishing features, provides a kind of definition of Russian identity. Its power lies precisely in its emptiness – as both symbol and reality."[199] This illustrates how spatial characteristics can stand in for the character of the people that inhabit that space.

2.2.2.3. Examples of *Neob"iatnost'*

Widdis examines four sources that identify "boundlessness" and "openness" as the key to *russkii* identity. She begins with Fedor Tiutchev, who writes, "In a much quoted short poem… [that] Russian 'cannot be measured by common *arshin*,' just as she cannot be understood by mere rationality. Her spirit, like her space, defies limitation: 'in Russia one can only believe.'"[200] In addition to this 19th-century example, Widdis cites three 20th-century writers to substantiate her argument. First, she analyses Blok's account of *russkii* destiny in his 1908 poem "On Kulikovo Field" ("На поле Куликовом"), "which explicitly blends space and time: 'Our journey is one of the steppe.'"[201] Secondly, she quotes Bunin, who ties his identity to the codified conception of *russkii* space, echoing the landscape of Tiutchev's poem and Kliuchevskii's imaginary West: "I was born, and grew up, in the open field (в чистом поле), which a European can't even imagine."[202] Thirdly, she addresses Soviet cultural production in the 1930s, which absorbed and modified these descriptions: an adventure journal for teenagers, *Around the World* ("Вокруг света"), boasted in 1931 that a particular Leningrad factory, which had produced 800 globes a year during tsarist times, now produced 125,000 globes and

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[198] Widdis, pp. 39-40.
[199] Widdis, p. 40.
[200] Widdis, p. 40, cites F. I. Tiutchev, *Polnoe sobranie stikhotvorenii* (Leningrad, 1987), p. 229.
[201] "Наш путь - степной." Widdis, p. 42, cites A. A. Blok, *Stikhotvoreniia*, 3 vols., Vol. III (St Petersburg, 1995), p. 286.
[202] Widdis, p. 41, cites I. A. Bunin, *Sobranie sochinenii v shesti tomakh, Vol.* V (Moscow, 1988), p. 37.

28,000 geographical maps, "although, the author conceded, 'for our boundless [neob"iatnyi] Union' even '125,000 [globes] is too few.'"[203]

The final quote links to the political paradox (i.e. conquerable/unconquerable space), because the globes and geographical maps assert Soviet political authority over a space that is "boundless." As this suggests, the image of "boundlessness," for Widdis, links not only to the spatial paradoxes, but also to the recurring motifs expressed in *russkii* spatiality: political expansiveness and shifting borders; the mystery of the land and its great abundance; the focus upon the lone path (путь) through the empty/pure field (чистое поле); and the attention to the far-away distance (даль). Widdis introduces a 20th-century example, the Soviet film *Tale of the Siberian Land*, to illustrate these themes:

> The discourse of conquest is accompanied by an emphasis on resistance to conquest, on the ultimate "unknowability" of the territory, which act, in turn, as a cipher for a more generalised mystery of Russianness itself. The space itself becomes a symbol for the impossibility of self-definition. It is *neob"iatnyi:* it can't be grasped, or summed up. It can't, indeed, even be properly bordered. As such, like Russian identity, it is open to endless manipulation, to imaginary "re-mapping" according to shifting political and social imperatives.[204]

The image of Russia as "boundless" is thus useful in *russkii* spatial discourse because it ties together a number of conflicting aspect of the *russkii* Self Image under a single term, while it remains open to redeployment, re-conceptualisation, and, in Widdis's terminology, "re-mappings" of *russkii* space.

2.3.2.4. Conclusion: The Relevance to the *Nemets*

This present thesis utilises Widdis's model of *neob"iatnost'* as a motif that unifies *russkii* spatiality and links to the political realm. I extend her argument two steps further: I analyse how the image of *russkii* "boundlessness" emerged as opposed to the image of the *nemets*.[205] I also examine the relationship between *russkii* and *nemets* space to elucidate how *russkii* writers sought to position Russia in the world – even when *russkii* space is conceptualised as an abstract quality.

For Widdis, the image of "boundlessness" characterises *russkii* space as an enigma: the image invites an attempt to locate boundaries, but it also marks this task as an impossibility, which is illustrated by the problem of depicting "boundless" space on a

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[203] Widdis, p. 32, cites "Model' mira," *Vokrug sveta*, II (1931), p. 23.
[204] Widdis, pp. 48-49.
[205] Widdis raises the point of *russkii* space as unbounded and Western European space as inducing claustrophobia on p. 40, but does not develop this line of reasoning further.

globe. The *russkii* character is also defined as expansive, and which invites and defies definition – as evidenced by Herzen and Blok. But how does the "boundlessness" tie to the image of the *nemets*? If *russkii* identity is codified as that without borders, then the Other must be defined as that which has borders to make the image meaningful – as "good" requires "bad" in Derrida's *différance*.[206] Widdis's argument provides the foundation for one of the central points of this present thesis: *nemets* space emerges as that which can be measured and bound, a depiction that reinforces *russkii* space as borderless, unboundable, and positively valued.[207] Thus, because *nemets* space entails stark borders and limitations – converse to Russia's expansive mystery – it emerges as knowable and constricting. This aspect is illustrated by Kliuchevskii's hypothetical *russkii* traveller in the West who feels hemmed in, and also Bunin's *russkii* "open field" that a European "could not even imagine." The images of the cramped West thus support Widdis's argument and prefigure my own.

2.3.3. Christopher Ely's *This Meager Nature*

2.3.3.1. Introduction: The Process of Imagining *Russkii* Space

The second critical lens I explore is Christopher Ely's formulation of *russkii* identity and landscape space in *This Meager Nature* (2002). In this book, Ely examines how this "signifier of identity" in the 19th century was imagined and articulated in spatial discourse. Ely's study is unique in the field, because he approaches the topic as an art historian, and he provides a comprehensive, multidisciplinary approach to apprehension of *russkii* space that ties together journalism, travel literature, critical essays, literature, and landscape painting.[208] I devote a longer section to Ely's work because it provides a model for the development of 19th-century *russkii* landscape aesthetics and thus represents one of the theoretical cornerstones of this present thesis.

Ely's book centres around two guiding questions: how was it possible for *russkii* space – roundly rejected as unattractive at the beginning of the 19th century – to acquire a unique, mysterious, and positive character by the middle of the century? Secondly, why do late 19th-century portrayals of *russkii* space appear as "consciously unbeautiful?"[209] Ely thus aims to demonstrate how *russkii* space became a source of pride by the second

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[206] See Joep Leerssen's article "Identity/Alterity/Hybridity" in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam and New York, 2007), pp. 335-342, esp. p. 339.

[207] See in particular Chapter Four on Mutual Opposition.

[208] Ely argues that from "high culture venues such as theater set design," depictions of spatiality "moved into popular journals, tourist guidebooks, children's literature, postcards, books of photographs, and advertisements" (223).

[209] Ely, from the Preface, p. IX.

half of the 19th century because of its lack of picturesque quality. I begin with an historical overview of descriptions of *russkii* space that establishes Ely's response to the first question.

Viewing *russkii* space as positive at the beginning of the 19th century was problematic due to the dominance of Western aesthetic taste in Russia from the late 18th century. For Ely, Nikolai Karamzin demonstrates this problem because he "betrays an uneasiness about the beauty of the native climate and terrain" by taking "for granted that his vast native land possessed little natural beauty" and also conceding "that the absence of natural beauty constituted a loss for his compatriots."[210] Ely cites Karamzin's essay "Love of Country and National Pride" from 1802 as an illustration of this "uneasiness":

> The native land is dear to one's heart not because of the beauty of its landscapes, its clear sky, or its pleasant climate… I do not say that natural beauties and advantages have no effect whatever on the general love for one's native land – some lands richly endowed by nature can be so much the dearer to their inhabitants. I am saying only that these beauties and advantages are not the main foundation of men's physical attachment to their country.[211]

This passage, according to Ely, shows that Russia's lack of picturesque scenery and natural beauty was not only "taken for granted," but also that it was interpreted as a weakness for the country. For Ely, Karamzin argues that a source of national pride had to be found elsewhere than in Russia's landscapes, and he offers the emotional connection between citizen and land to fit the role. And yet by 1848, only 46 years later, it was possible for Ivan Aksakov, the future leader of the pan-Slav movement, to make the following claim:

> It is impossible to convey the impression, the feeling of peace and simplicity… the quiet, the safety, the trust, and the strength [of the Russian countryside]… No nature can be as good as ours. Hills are fine, but somehow one-sided; it's cramped in them… Nowhere is there such a peaceful character, where it is possible to find such simple beauty, such boundless space, with the knowledge that all this is ours, our own, that everywhere is home, everywhere *Rus'*… To be sure, the poor German,

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[210] Ely, p. 3.

[211] Ely, p. 3. Ely cites N. M. Karamzin, "Love of Country and National Pride," trans. Jaroslaw Pelenski, in *Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology,* ed. Marc Raeff (Atlantic Highlands, 1978; 1966), p. 107. My citations from this volume refer to the fourth impression, 1986; "Родина мила сердцу не местными красотами, не ясным небом, не приятным климатом… Не говорю, чтобы естественные красоты и выгоды отчизны не имели никакого влияния на общую любовь к ней: некоторые земли, обогащенные природою, могут быть тем милее своим жителям; говорю только, что сии красоты и выгоды не бывают главным основанием физической привязанности людей к отечеству: ибо она не была бы тогда общею." N. M. Karamzin, "О любви к отечеству и народной гордости," at <http://az.lib.ru/k/karamzin_n_m/text_0330.shtml>, site accessed 1 August 2010.

> living in cramped conditions and deprived of these impressions also lacks the most important element in the make-up of the Russian soul.[212]

An unarguable weakness at the beginning of the century was transformed into a source of pride and even superiority by the middle of it. Furthermore, in Aksakov's passage, *russkii* space is characterised as positive because of its lack of picturesque scenery represented by the "hills" – which, for Karamzin, had been a liability. It is also important to remark that Widdis's leitmotif, the "boundless space," emerges in this passage; the lack of boundaries reinforces the simplicity and strength of the space.

Finally, 90 years later in 1938, the émigré Orthodox philosopher Sergei Bulgakov took this picture one step further. For S. Bulgakov, in the words of Ely, "the absence of picturesque scenery only enriched his enraptured recollection of his childhood haunts." As in Aksakov's passage, the greatest strength of *russkii* space for Bulgakov emerges in the lack of the picturesque, and *russkii* space emerges as positive because of its inherent humility and simplicity:

> My homeland... doesn't sparkle with any kind of beauty, in fact it's even covered in plainness, in drab gray, and clothed not just in modest attire but in poor and even rather dirty coverings... But all of it is so quiet, simple, meager, imperceptible, and – in its permanence beautiful... It also had such a calm and gentle character, like a mother.[213]

In this passage, Bulgakov develops the anti-picturesque theme while also incorporating Karamzin's emotional bond, because the relationship between citizen and space is described in terms of a maternal metaphor.

These three quotations, all taken from different stages of Ely's book, illustrate how depictions of *russkii* space began as dependent upon Western aesthetics and Western tastes in landscapes. It also illustrates how *russkii* producers of culture began to view *russkii* space as "consciously unbeautiful," and as superior because its meagreness, humility, and simplicity. Bulgakov's depiction of Russia also shows how these solutions finally became a discursive commonplace. This process illustrates the connection Ely makes between space and identity, because the one stands in for the other: the lack of the picturesque, humility, and unseen potential became characteristics both of *russkii* space and of the *russkii* Self.

2.3.3.2. Russia as Meagre, Humble, Simple Space

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[212] Ely, p. 133, cites I. S. Aksakov, *Pis'ma k rodnym, 1844-1849*, trans. C. Ely (Moscow, 1988), p. 373.
[213] Ely, p. 228, cites S. N. Bulgakov, "Moia Rodina," in *Russkaia ideia*, ed. M. A. Maslin (Moscow, 1992), pp. 364-365.

So far, I have summarised the changing valuation of *russkii* space in Ely's model from the beginning to the end of the 19th century. But what were the specific changes that enabled this re-evaluation? And if the "anti-picturesque" came to represent the dominant mode of representation, and the "consciously unbeautiful" the dominant aesthetic, what traits embodied the image of *russkii* space?

Ely argues that Pushkin's landscapes introduced the most revolutionary method for depicting the *russkii* landscape, because he developed the image of *russkii* humility and simplicity.[214] For Ely, the landscape of "Onegin's Journey" is characteristic of Pushkin's innovations, because in it, "The cloudy skies, the short and unspectacular trees, the peasant's hut, the sandy rather than grassy hillside all work to emphasise the appeal of Russianness."[215] This is because "this space contrasts with both romantic *and* pastoral images of nature."[216] The stakes of this artistic innovation could not have been higher, Ely asserts, because Pushkin enabled *russkii* artists and writers to represent their space in positive terms, and to bypass the default Western lens that valued negatively *russkii* space.[217] Belinskii summed up the extent of Pushkin's accomplishments in 1844, only twenty years after the publication of the first chapter of *Evgenii Onegin*: "he didn't need to go to Italy for pictures of beautiful nature: beautiful nature was here beneath his feet, in Russia, in its flat and monotonous steppes, below its eternally gray skies, in its sad villages."[218] These depictions profoundly affected the literary landscape, Ely argues, because "What had been presented as an heroic feat on Pushkin's part had by the end of the nineteenth century become a simple act of aesthetic recognition, a routine and conventional way of seeing the special beauty of the Russian land."[219]

For Ely, the images of *russkii* space as "humble," "simple," and "meagre" are leitmotifs of *russkii* spatial depiction following Pushkin's re-configuration of the *russkii* landscape through the explosion of Romantic and pastoral aesthetics. Ely sums up the possible approaches to the *russkii* landscape in the mid 19th century as follows:

> By turns, depending on the location and historical context, the Russian landscape was perceived as a vast empire with widely varying types of terrain, an Arcadian retreat, a

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[214] Ely, esp. pp. 78-86 accounts for how "Pushkin reconsidered the entire question of landscape aesthetics in his work, and once he had discarded traditional assumptions he formulated new ways to appreciate his native terrain" (78).
[215] Ely, p. 84.
[216] Ely, p. 84.
[217] For Ely's conclusions regarding Pushkin's innovations, see pp. 85-86.
[218] Ely on pp. 90, 229, cites and translates V. G. Belinskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 14 (Moscow, 1955), p. 331.
[219] Ely, p. 229.

> favored holy land, a boundless expanse, a collection of nostalgic and unpretentious spaces, a miserable and empty waste, and a place to experience scenery and leisure.[220]

Ely argues that these strategies represent the most widespread and pervasive modes of depiction that were developed in the first half of the century in literature, and the ones that would be codified in the visual media of the 1860s and beyond.

There are two advantages in adopting Ely's critical lens as a background for this present thesis. First, the modes of representing *russkii* space – be it is an "Arcadian retreat" or as an "empty waste" – fit into the history of artistic conventions; rather than isolating a "stereotype" and a "subversion," it is possible to view each set of images as part of a discursive process that builds from the early 19th century to the present day. Secondly, rather than removing writers from their discursive context, they can be placed along a continuum of representation. With such a model, it is possible to identify the aesthetic conventions that a given writer inherits without neglecting how they construct the image for succeeding generations. That is, Ely describes a given image as dependent upon those that came before, but also as responsible for the descriptive possibilities of the future. His model thus analyses the image of *russkii* space without falling into the trap encountered by the Stereotype Analysis approach in Chapter One.

2.3.3.3. Ely's Model of Developing Landscape Aesthetics

Thus far, I have addressed the first guiding question of this Section: how did *russkii* space acquire a unique, mysterious, and positive character by the middle of the century? I now turn to the second question, and I examine why the "consciously unbeautiful" aesthetic emerged according to Ely's model.

Because Russia developed its literary language and literary forms much later than in Western Europe – bypassing a Renaissance literary language, the Enlightenment, and Reformation[221] – it understandably took until the 19th century for a vision of the *russkii* landscape to emerge in literature and landscape painting. Russia's tardiness, for Ely, was not the only factor that determined the appearance of the *russkii* landscape. Rather, "The construction of a unique way of seeing Russia's natural environment mainly resulted from the intersection and combination of three key factors: (1) European landscape sensibilities and aesthetics, (2) the special nature of Russian geography and society, and

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[220] Ely, p. 227.

[221] Russia bypassed the stages the Western European countries had taken, and only in the 18th century did it begin to "catch up" to the West in intellectual history. This led to a situation where, as Andrew Wachtel argues, "In Russia... Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Rousseau were, for all intents and purposes, contemporaries, since their works all became available in the last quarter of the eighteenth century." Wachtel, *An Obsession with History: Russian Writers Confront the Past* (Stanford, 1994), p. 220.

(3) the quest among educated Russians to formulate an inspirational vision of the nation."[222]

The first factor is introduced in the previous Sub-Sections: it was necessary for Russia to import the bulk of its literary templates from the West, and, along with these, Western aesthetic techniques for depicting and appreciating landscapes were adopted. Ely argues that these styles and tastes proved unsuitable in describing the *russkii* landscape as recognisable and beautiful, as evidenced by Karamzin's anxiety regarding Russia's physical appearance.[223]

On the second factor, the appearance of the countryside involved a unique problem in the *russkii* context, because this image was not saturated with associations of idyllic leisure as it was in Western Europe. Rather, it was the location of the primary "cursed question" of the day: the slavery of the *narod.* How could one take pleasure in looking at the landscape when all one saw was servitude and suffering? A poem by Tiutchev from 1855 demonstrates the intersection between the first two factors:

These poor villages,	Эти бедные селенья,
This meager nature:	Эта скудная природа -
Long-suffering native land,	Край родной долготерпенья,
Land of the Russian people!	Край ты русского народа.
Proud foreign eyes	Не поймет и не заметит
Will not notice nor grasp	Гордый взор иноплеменный,
The light that shines through	Что сквозит и тайно светит
Your humble barrenness.[224]	В наготе твоей смиренной.[225]

Tiutchev's lyrical persona connects the suffering of the *russkii* to the landscape, and he also compares the Domestic to the Foreign (here labelled an *inoplemennyi*, or "one of a different tribe"). Reminiscent of the images of *russkii* space in Aksakov and Bunin, *russkii* space is depicted in terms of the anti-picturesque, with an emphasis upon the inability of the Foreign gaze to grasp and to notice the true beauty of the scene. The introduction of the uncomprehending foreigner links to Ely's third factor: *russkii* space is at once meagre, suffering, yet is characterised by a "light that shines through," and thus it emerges as positive and inspirational.

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[222] Ely, p. 8.

[223] See also Ely's conclusions regarding the landscape painter Andrei Martynov, pp. 52-53, and my discussion in Chapter Four.

[224] See Ely, pp. 139, for a discussion of the religious dimension of the poem; trans. Ely. See also Chapter Five for a discussion of the the importance of spiritual meekness in the *russkii* Self Image.

[225] See Fedor Tiutchev, "Эти бедные селенья,..." at <http://ilibrary.ru/text/1279/p.1/index.html>, site accessed 22 July 2010. The final verse continues: "Удрученный ношей крестной, / Всю тебя, земля родная, / В рабском виде Царь небесный / Исходил, благословляя."

From Ely's perspective, the image of *russkii* space was based upon the anti-picturesque because Western aesthetics had originally represented models for imitation. In order to forge a *russkii* sense of space, it was necessary to invert the value structures and to undermine the structure of Western taste. *Russkii* space thus emerges as intentionally "non-beautiful" once "hills" are re-imagined as negative and "humble barrenness" is reconceived as positive.

2.3.3.4. Conclusions and Extensions

What can I take from Ely beyond his model for aesthetic development? While Widdis's essay establishes traits of the *russkii* Self Image that contrast with the *nemets*-as-Other, Ely opens the possibility of viewing the *nemets* as an aspect of the *russkii* Self. Because the aesthetics of *russkii* space were dependent upon Western models – and, just as importantly, Western tastes – the dynamic between *russkii* and Foreign space is not simply a compare and contrast game, where Russia is unbounded and incomprehensible while the *nemets* is bounded and understandable. While the "anti-aesthetic" also requires the "aesthetic" to be meaningful, the "aesthetic" also establishes the rules for viewing the "anti-aesthetic." A trace of *nemets* space – as the aesthetic lens for imagining and judging *russkii* space in the 18th century – is retained by Tiutchev in the "proud foreign eyes," by Bunin in the "European" who cannot comprehend the "open field," and by Aksakov in the "poor German, living in cramped conditions." *Russkii* space therefore contains an internalised *nemets* gaze, a projection of how the "Westerner" regards Domestic space, and the residue of the development of *russkii* space as anti-picturesque.[226] Through this, the projected perspective of the *nemets* becomes a constituent component of the *russkii* Self Image; after the values are flipped in Ely's model, the uncomprehending Foreign gaze – and the perspective of Western aesthetic taste – remains.

I turn to contemporary film to illustrate this aspect of *russkii* space. This dynamic of Foreign judgment and taste emerges in Aleksandr Sokurov's 2002 film, *Russian Ark* (*Русский ковчег*).[227] The film's narrator, through whose perspective the audience views the action, and a foreigner, identified as the Marquis de Custine, travel through centuries of history in the halls of the Winter Palace. While the Marquis criticises *russkii* cultural history and the country's autocratic spirit through the film, his primary target lies in Russia's obsession with imitating the West. The narrator finds few opportunities to

[226] I develop the argument of the *nemets* as an aspect of the *russkii* Self Image in Chapter Six.
[227] *Russian Ark*. Dir. Aleksandr Sokurov. Wellspring Media, 2002.

provide commentary on the proceedings, and his opinions only arise as responses to the Marquis's criticism. An illustration of this dynamic is when the *russkii* bristles at the Marquis's low opinion of Pushkin – whom he has read in translation. This system of interaction demands that we view moments of mythic *russkii* history – from Peter the Great ordering the execution of his son to the concerns of the museum's Soviet-era director regarding surveillance – from the perspective of the Foreign.

The status of the foreigner reflects the inside/outside dynamic of Western influence: on the one hand, he is indicative of a specific foreign visitor (the historical Marquis de Custine). On the other hand, because this foreigner speaks unaccented Russian, because he demurs on questions of his origins, and because he is referred to as "European" rather than as "Custine," he represents the imagined *russkii zapad* – or the *russkii* projection of the Foreign, similar to the "foreigners" invoked by Aksakov, Tiutchev, and Bunin.[228] Further, because this "European" is unaware of Glinka, even though the *russkii* composer's international fame was contemporaneous with the historical Marquis's life, there emerges a conflated aspect to the foreigner's temporal presence that parallels his conflated "Europeanness."

[228] The *russkii zapad* is the "Russian West," or the West as invented in Russian literature. See Rosalind Marsh, "The Nature of Russia's Identity: The Theme of 'Russia and the West' in Post-Soviet Culture," in *Nationalities Papers*, 35:3, pp. 555-578, esp. pp. 555-556.



Figure 2.2: The "European" Criticises Russkii Culture in Russian Ark (2002)

The conclusion of the film, however, undermines the established dynamic. Just when it seems that the "European" will leave the Winter Palace along with the narrator, he becomes entranced at the sight of an imperial ball, and he is held captive by the motion, the music, and the festivities; he even proclaims it to be the most charming in all Europe. The "European," who has engaged in a critique of Russia as an imitator, ultimately describes the *russkii* as superior to the West at its own game – the imperial ball. As the narrator files out of the Palace along with other ball-goers, the "European" elects to stay. Because the ultimate critic of Russia remains in the Palace, the judging Foreign gaze, as imagined and projected by the *russkii*, is undermined – and his systems of valuations are inverted. The projected perspective of the "European" is thus fully internalised by the conclusion of the film.

2.3.4. Alexander Dolinin and the Hallucinations of Berlin

2.3.4.1. Introduction: Dolinin's Strategies of Representation

The third critical lens I explore is Alexander Dolinin's essay, "Stepmother of Russian Cities."[229] Dolinin's aim in this essay is to examine how *russkii* writers constructed the literary Berlin of the 1920s – a city that, according to the Soviet critic Shklovksii, contained around 300,000 Russian émigrés "of various nationalities."[230] Specifically, Dolinin is interested in accounting for the intersection between two widely treated spaces, the *russkii* Berlin and the Western Berlin: what do they have in common, and how do they differ? Dolinin sets up this analysis with the assertion that "the frenzied literary and intellectual life of 'Russian Berlin' has been well documented and studied… [in] numerous works that chronicle the Berlin days and works of the most prominent authors, both émigrés and Soviet travelers."[231] But, he continues, there has yet to appear an account of how this version of Berlin differs from the city as cast by Western Europeans.

For European travellers, the Berlin of the 1920s appeared as a sensual delight, a fast-paced nexus of bright lights and hedonistic experimentation where, according to the conductor Bruno Walter, it was "as if all the eminent artistic forces were shining forth once more, imparting to the last festive symposium of the minds a many-hued brilliance before the night of barbarism closed in."[232] Berlin was famed for its sexual licentiousness among the Westerners, and, Dolinin asserts, "It is this erotic infatuation with the charms of the New Berlin that most Russian descriptions of the city conspicuously lack."[233] This is because, Dolinin argues, "Instead of the multicolored, kaleidoscopic urban festival, [Russia writers] portray a dull, monotonous, and monochrome cityscape."[234] To the Westerners, it was a city of monumental energy, while to most of the *russkie* is was a place where they wandered "aimlessly in the cracks of a perishing city," in the words of Shklovskii.[235] The main aesthetics strategies that came to dominate Russian literature of this period was either "fixation upon modernist novelties, historicist demonization, and

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[229] Dolinin's essay was published in the volume *Cold Fusion,* the source for the Muza and Schmid essays that appeared in Chapter One. See Dolinin, "Stepmother of Russian Cities," in *Cold Fusion,* pp. 225-240.
[230] Dolinin, p. 225, cites V. Shklovskii, *Zoo, or Letters not about Love,* trans. and ed. Richard Sheldon (Ithaca and London, 1971), p. 135. See pp. 237-238 (n. 4) for a discussion of the *russkii* presence in the city.
[231] See Dolinin, p. 226.
[232] Dolinin, pp. 226-227, cites B. Walter, *Theme and Variations: An Autobiography* (New York, 1941), p. 234. See pp. 226-227 for an account on the convivial atmosphere of the city according to Gottfrid Benn, Vicky Baum and Erich Kästner.
[233] Dolinin, p. 228.
[234] Dolinin, pp. 229-230.
[235] Dolinin, p. 225. See also Dolinin's treatment of Bely's picture of the city as grey, dull and monotonous on p. 230, Shklovskii's picture as a lifeless monotony on p. 231, and of Nabokov's city as a dark, gloomy, unfriendly place on p. 229.

oneirization," or the explicit rejection of such categories, as in Nabokov's Berlin, which breaks "the totality of the city into a myriad of discrete fragments," that are reconfigured to create a "defamiliarized, mysterious Berlin of his own."[236] My exploration focuses upon the first account, the "modernist novelties, historicist demonization, and oneirization," as opposed to Nabokov's picture of the city, because Dolinin argues that the former represents the prevailing mode of representation among the *russkii* writers in the city.

2.3.4.2. Paradigms for Viewing *Nemets* Space

Dolinin identifies Khodasevich's poems as expressing the "paradigmatical Russian point of view," where the "lyrical persona is cruelly locked out or separated from the city by a thick glass wall."[237] For Dolinin, this paradigm appeared in the works of numerous authors: "Shklovsky's simile likening Berlin to suitcases is also symptomatic: the inner life of the alien city, or, in Antsiferov's terms, its soul, is hidden from an outside observer as things in a locked receptacle without a key."[238] Shklovskii's depiction of Gleisdreiek, characterised as "the iron heart of Germany" and "as a demonic maze of iron constructions," emphasises the image of the *nemets* as a nexus of horrifying modernity.[239] The maze image extends the metaphor of *nemets* space as a series of locks or a thick wall, while adding demonic associations. Ilia Ehrenburg's imagery expanded upon this, because he "also meditated on the 'iron idyll' and 'iron nets' of the station."[240] *Nemets* space also emerges as an embodiment of decay, for Dolinin, in Bely's essays, where "the façade of formal bourgeois decency" hides "the wildest chaos of degeneration and death" in "the corrupt, putrid, insane Berlin."[241] These passages enable Dolinin to conclude that recurring images in the literature include mazes, locks, monotonously repetitious structures, heartless metallic buildings, and dull, sickly, chromatic landscapes.

These images apply to the concerns of this present thesis in two ways. First, when Berlin is portrayed in relationship to its gigantic quality, the description is negatively valued. As opposed to a massive space that contains a hidden energy and expresses vitality and potential – as Widdis describes paradigmatic 19th-century *russkii* space – the *nemets* entails unwieldy size and death. Dolinin cites the evaluation of large spaces in a quote from the poet Iurii Dzhanumov to illustrate this negative valuation: "[Berlin] is a

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[236] Dolinin, p. 236.
[237] Dolinin, pp. 231-232.
[238] Dolinin, p. 232.
[239] Dolinin, p. 233.
[240] Dolinin, p. 233.
[241] Dolinin, p. 230.

repulsive, cumbersome, huge warehouse."[242] *Nemets* space thus emerges as either suffocatingly small, as in Kliuchevskii's feeling of claustrophobia in the West, or suffocatingly large – and so it either represents a diametric opposite, or it displays a similar trait (here, massive size) with an inverted value (cumbersome instead of freedom-giving). Secondly, while *russkii* space exists as interiors,[243] as appears in Widdis and Ely, *nemets* space, according to Dolinin's characterisation, is graspable and intelligible by its exteriors. This is due to the focus upon repetition and monotony, where one scene stands in for all possible scenes: observing one *nemets* church leaves the potentiality of all *nemets* churches exhausted.[244] *Nemets* interiors thus emerge as hollow because they carry no content, or because they carry negative content. In Bely's citation regarding the "the façade of formal bourgeois decency," the reversal of Tiutchev's "meagre nature" is realised: while *russkii* space contains a bleak exterior that belies hidden treasure (as in Tiutchev's poetry), the Berlin landscape features decency and orderliness that belie death and ruin.

The dynamic of inversion emerges in depictions of the city's sexuality. While the city's erotic scene was portrayed as free and uninhibited by the English, French, and Germans, *russkie* such as Shklovksii cast masturbation as a keynote sexual image, thus linking the non-reproductive act to the image of the dying city. Shklovksii juxtaposes a depiction of a street-level view of Berlin, where "their cafes are filled with music," with the following image of underground iniquity: "In the dark public toilets of Berlin, men indulge in mutual onanism… their country is perishing."[245] This juxtaposition of a seemingly pleasant exterior (i.e. café filled with music) with the hidden decomposition found beneath (i.e. mutual masturbation) parallels Bely's image of the bourgeois façade that covers the city's inner essence of death and degeneration.

As in Ely's depiction of the inverted valuation of the Western "picturesque," Dolinin's characterisation of Berlin demonstrates how a previous positive can be recast as a negative. Here, the crown jewel of *nemets* influence – scientific and technological advancement – is valued as a negative, and, through the recurring images of death and infertility, *nemets* culture is depicted as nearing the end of its life cycle. "Advancement" is effaced in favour of "elderliness" and "decay."

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[242] Dolinin, p. 232. See also the image of the city as "cumbersome" in Khodasevich's poetry, p. 230.
[243] See Ely's chapter "Outer Gloom and Inner Glory," pp. 134-164.
[244] For the theme of "monotonous repetition" in Bely, Shklovskii, Ehrenburg, and Antsiferov, see Dolinin, p. 231.
[245] Dolinin, p. 233.

2.3.5. Conclusions on the Three Lenses

To develop the conclusions that can be taken from these lenses, I return to the three guiding questions for the Section. First, how do the scholars link images of space in literature to *russkii* identity? Widdis argues that the stakes of spatial representation were high: for producers of culture such as Herzen and Blok, Russia's geography explained Russia's past and determined its future. For Ely, the *russkie* came to understand their space and their own identity though Western models. Ely also argues that representations of *russkii* space can stand in for the *russkii* character: the aspects that constitute the image of *russkii* space – as full of potential, mysterious, latent, and humble – equally apply to the *russkii narod*. Dolinin links space to identity by demonstrating the incongruence between the Western Berlin and the *russkii* Berlin, where *russkii* writers established their non-*nemets* identity by characterising the *nemets* city as hostile and alien.

I address the second and third questions together: what are the scholars' main theses, and what traits do they identify as leitmotifs in *russkii* spatial depictions? Widdis identifies the concept of the "unbounded space" as the key term to encompass the factors that exert the greatest influence upon spatial construction – the shifting borders, the paradox of the land being both conquered and unconquerable, and also the space's status as inviting/defying definition. For Ely, Russia's unique cultural history and late development of literary and landscape painting genres led to the importation of Western aesthetic techniques, which were unsuitable for the native environs. Ely argues that "meagre nature" emerges as a leitmotif for *russkii* space, because it accesses a simple, humble, and non-picturesque landscape. For Dolinin, the most artistically successful conception of Berlin was that of the hallucination, found in Nabokov's cityscapes. This, however, was not the most commonly implemented strategy. Rather, for most writers of the 1920s, Berlin was a city of technological nightmares, feverish repetitiveness, and sexually licentious only in the manner of a dying organism – and these aspects were reinforced by the repetition of masturbation imagery. Berlin thus emerges as an iron maze, where its size is valued as a disadvantage. The maze imagery also echoes the repetitious monotony of churches and the sensation of claustrophobia in *nemets* space.

There are many points of intersection between these works, and these nodes set the background for my analysis of spatiality in this thesis. The first node is the massive and empty nature of *russkii* space, which is also imbued with positive associations; Widdis identifies the images of the "empty field" as a common component of *russkii* space, while Ely asserts that the image of "a miserable and empty waste" constitutes one

of the useful strategies for spatial representation. Dolinin's study also contributes to this interpretation, because whenever the gargantuan nature of the Berlin space arises, it is depicted in negative terms, described as a kind of "warehouse," or as something composed of repetition. Massive *nemets* space (as described by Dolinin) thus emerges as pointlessly tedious, or ponderous – and this stands in diametric opposition in valuation to the воля–свобода (freedom) located in the *russkii prostor* (as described by Widdis).

Secondly, the three scholars depict *russkii* space as a territory without borders. For Widdis, "boundlessness" emerges as the most characteristic term for *russkii* space, and it marks the intersection between the mythic portrayal of space (the *chistoe pole* and lone road, or *put'*) and the political ideology of expansion. For Ely, the image of Russia as a "boundless expanse" represents an aesthetic strategy closely linked with the idea of the "meagre nature," and it inverts Western models of the picturesque. Dolinin's *russkii* Berlin provides the opposite traits to the "boundless": the impenetrable suitcases and the endlessly repeating churches embody the extremes of bounded space, and they emphasise the open, free, and energetic aspects of mythic *russkii* space. Here is a point where it is possible to return to Bassin's assumptions regarding the ideological stakes of spatial representation: the negative depictions of Berlin serve to criticise *nemets* space and culture, where Berlin's bounded nature reflects the limited future of the *nemets*, while they simultaneously glorify *russkii* culture. Further, *nemets* technology is cast as advanced yet destructive, and therefore not worthy of envy. This demonstrates how the depiction of Berlin as an iron maze cedes the future to Russia's *prostor*.

A third point of alignment is the moral valuation of literary space. Ely argues that *russkii* space is cast as beautiful precisely because of its unattractive exterior. One of his chapter titles illustrates how the unpleasant *russkii* exterior emphasises the hidden potential and spirituality within: "Outer Gloom and Inner Glory."[246] While the *russkii* traits began as negatively valued when compared to a Western model, through the processes of subversion and inversion, they became re-valued as the positive – for the same reasons they were once negative. Widdis argues that the image of "borderlessness" frustrates the attempted application of boundaries to *russkii* space. For Widdis, Siberia illustrates the "borderless" topos, because it simultaneously invites conquest, while it remains somehow unconquerable. Both sides to this paradox retain positive valuation: Siberia holds almost unlimited potential (meaning the "unbounded" refers to its hidden

[246] Ely, p. 134. For Ely, Nekrasov's gloomy depictions of the hidden wonders of the landscapes are the most characteristic of this point.

resources and its open future), yet it also appears as an adventure space that was domesticated and conquered by *russkii* heroism, such as in the myths of Ermak Timofeevich's Siberian exploration (meaning the "unbounded" demands *russkii* expansion). Dolinin also demonstrates the moral aspect of space by contextualising the authors who depict Berlin as decrepit, amoral, demonic, or physically dying – traits that are expressed in the spatial terms of the "dying city."

For an illustration of the moral valuation of space, and the continuity of these images to the present day, I turn to the Washington Post review of Sergei Lukianenko's *Night Watch* (*Ночной дозор,* 1998), a popular science fiction novel that revolves around the battle of the forces of Light and Dark in a magical present-day Moscow.[247] Analogous to Dolinin's *russkii* Berlin, Lukianenko's characters cast the West as a deadened space and Russia as filled with potential. The author of the Post piece, Ron Charles, characterises the landscape in the novel as follows, including quotes from the English version (published in 2006):

> The key to [the novel's] wild popularity in Mother Russia may be the way Lukyanenko recasts Russia from a bankrupt, has-been world power to a place where the forces of Good and Evil will finish their long battle. Communism, you see, was just an experiment that went awry in a land where experiments can still take place. The Moscow of *Night Watch* may look gritty and grim, but within its murky new freedom anything might happen. "The potential of Europe and North America has already been exhausted," Lukyanenko writes. "Everything that was possible has already been tried there… All those countries are already half asleep. A healthy retiree in shorts with a digital camera — that's the prosperous countries of the West. We need to experiment with the young ones."[248]

Lukianenko casts the United States, which looks to its foundation myth in the 1776 Declaration of Independence, as elderly and spent in comparison to a culture that claims its beginnings in the foundation of the Rurikid Dynasty in the 9th century – or to the

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[247] The book, the first instalment in a planned trilogy, was also made into a successful movie of the same name directed by Timur Bekmambetov, Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2004.

[248] From the Washington Post, August 13, 2006; available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/08/10/AR2006081001319.html>, site accessed August 26 2008. The character quoted refers to Russia, Asia, and the Arab countries as "young." See Sergei Lukianenko's *Night Watch*, trans. Andrew Bromfield (London, 2006), p. 426. See the Russian original at <http://arzel.narod.ru/proza/Night_dozor/nochnoy_dozor_3_04.htm>, site accessed 26 May 2010: "Потому, милый мой мальчик, что на этом поле еще можно чего-то добиться. Европа, Северная Америка — эти страны уже отработаны. Что возможно — было опробовано. Кое-что и сейчас отрабатывается. Но они уже в дреме... они уже засыпают. Крепкий пенсионер в шортах и с видеокамерой — вот что такое благополучные западные страны. А экспериментировать надо на молодых. Россия, Азия, арабский мир — плацдармы сегодняшнего дня. И не строй возмущенного лица, я родину люблю не меньше тебя! Я за нее крови пролила больше, чем у тебя в жилах течет. Ты пойми, Антошка, поле боя — весь мир. Ты ведь знаешь это не хуже меня."

"Kievan Bookmen," as Mirsky imagines.[249] This image depends upon a deep discursive structure of *russkii* space as full of mystical potential, where its relatively late development is interpreted as "youth" rather than other possibilities, such as "backwardness" or "barbarity" – just as the *russkii* Berlin re-casts *nemets* "advancement" as "elderliness" and "decay."[250] Here I don't mean to suggest that Russia's *actual* state was one way or another, but rather to emphasise that casting the country and culture as young represents one possibility among many, and one with a specific literary genealogy and also a set of ideological stakes. Lukianenko imbues the West as elderly, even extending this up to and beyond the point where the model logically breaks down. Even more ironically, the model of Russia as young and the West as old is the continuation of the same model found nearly a century before, in the *russkii* Berlin.

2.4. Conclusion: Points of Departure

While Widdis, Ely, and Dolinin engage with topics similar to mine, there are a number of points of departure in our approaches to the material. These distinctions are important to enumerate because I use a number of the same sources employed by these critics, and also because, as I have mentioned, their conclusions mark the foundations for my approach to *russkii* space.

Widdis's essay focuses upon the spatiality of the Foreign as a way of comparing *russkii* identity construction to other options. Her account of the Marquis de Custine's depiction of *russkii* space, for example, serves as a counterpoint to other visions of the same landscape, and as a means of drawing attention to the constructed nature of spatial representation. She also uses this material to show that *russkii* producers of culture grappled with negative descriptions of the landscape in order to re-imagine them as positive. The payoff for Widdis is her argument that the particular manner of representing *russkii* space in the 19th century came to have important ramifications for 20th century spatial depictions. She makes this final move by presenting two "texts" that are illuminated by her work on the 19th century: Pyrev's film *Tale of the Siberian Land* and a 1934 map of the Soviet Union.[251] My own work expands upon her development of the *neob"iatnost'*, because I focus upon how this image establishes meaning in opposition to the *nemets*, particularly in Chapter Five.

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[249] Here I refer to the rhetoric of the "Founding fathers" that plays out in modern day politics.
[250] Widdis, p. 40, compares Russia's "lateness" in converting to Orthodoxy (which "was transmuted into a virtue of uniqueness") to the recasting of *russkii* space as positive in contrast to Western space.
[251] For these texts, see Widdis's essay pp 43-49.

Ely is concerned primarily with analysing the history of *russkii* landscape to illuminate the development of artistic themes and aesthetic techniques in the 19th century. Because he focuses upon the depiction of *russkii* space, the Foreign material enters his argument to highlight differences between artistic techniques and the perceptions of Domestic space. Ely thus analyses Foreign perceptions of *russkii* landscape and *russkii* perceptions of the West to elucidate the motivation behind landscape aesthetics, rather than to expand upon the role of Foreign images as constitutive of Domestic space. The *nemets* is thus a background element rather than a primary or even secondary focus. The payoff for Ely is his extended discussion of late 19th-century *russkii* painting, where he explains why and how landscapes came to focus upon the "consciously unbeautiful,"[252] which is characterised by bleak, muddy, and empty spaces.

Because Dolinin's essay investigates literary images of Berlin in the 1920s, the timeframe and aims of our criticism differ. Further, I do not offer a comparative account, as I focus exclusively upon the *russkii* apprehension of the *nemets*. His discussion of the 1920s is relevant to a thesis on 19th-century Russian literature because I posit his conclusions as a puzzle to solve in the remainder of my work. How is it, after all, that English, American, and Continental adventurers who arrived in Berlin in the 1920s found it to be both hedonistic and thrilling, while *russkii* depictions lack these attributes? These are questions Dolinin implicitly raises but does not answer; he is interested in the *how* rather than the *why*. In this sense, Dolinin's study demonstrates the stakes of describing *nemets* space in the 19th century, because Berlin was depicted – and experienced – on an entirely different level than their Western counterparts by the 1920s.

In the following Chapter, I examine the aspects of the Image Studies methodology that I deploy in this thesis, and I provide a preliminary reading of the *nemets* in *russkii* literature. This examination establishes the second way in which I differ from the scholars in Chapter One, and it also shows how I diverge in approach to Widdis, Ely, and Dolinin. Finally, Chapter Three marks the end of establishing the foundations for this thesis, and the beginning of my own original research.

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[252] See Ely, p. IX.

Chapter Three: An Image Studies Approach to the *Nemtsy*

Он немец был от головы до ног,
Учен, серьезен, очень аккуратен,
Всегда к себе неумолимо строг
И не терпел на мне чернильных пятен.
Но, признаюсь, его глубокий слог
Был для меня отчасти непонятен,
Особенно когда он объяснял,
Что разуметь под словом «идеал».

- Aleksei Tolstoi[253]

Немечина хитрая, безверная, басурманская.
У немца на все струмент есть.
Немец без штуки с лавки не свалится.
Немец хитер: обезьяну выдумал.
Немец своим разумом доходит (изобретает), а русский глазами (перенимает).
Немецкая (т. е. точная, школярная) ученость.
Настоящий немец (точен, педант, причудлив).
Немец - шмерец, копченый, колбаса, колбасник, сосиска.
Немец Иван Иваныч, Адам Адамыч и пр.
Штуки - шпеки, немецки человеки.
Шпрехен зи деич, Иван Андреич?
Вас ис дас? - Кислый квас.
Ноги многи, глаза быстры, а шейка шлёп-шлёп (рак, так дразнят немцев).
Что русскому здорово, то немцу смерть.

- As Collected by Dal'[254]

3.1. Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I analyse how three scholars link the conceptualisation and construction of space to *russkii* identity. First, I examine how Widdis connects Russia's shifting political borders and political expansion to the leitmotif of the *neob"iatnyi prostor* – the unembraceable/unbounded expanse. Secondly, I examine Ely's model of landscape aesthetics from the hackneyed imitation of Western models of the 18th century to the *russkii* vision of Domestic space in the middle of the 19th century. Ely explores the process by which the landscape came to be imagined and appreciated by producers and consumers of culture, and he outlines an historical continuum in painting, prose, poetry, and travel writing. Finally, I analyse how Dolinin contrasts the *russkii*

[253] A. K. Tolstoi, "*Portret*," at <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Портрет_(А._К._Толстой)>, site accessed 30 May 2010.
[254] From the V. I. Dal' entry "*Narod – iazyk,*" in *Poslovitsy russkogo iazyka*, at <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dahl_proverbs/77/НАРОД>, site accessed 3 June 2010.

Berlin to the Western Berlin. He argues that *russkii* writers of the 1920s neglected the otherwise common topics of sexuality and excitement to portray the city as variations upon the themes of the monstrous, the imprisoning, the perverted, the dying, and the nightmarish.

I also identify three points of intersection between these scholars. First, *russkii* space emerges in the 19th century as massive and open. When *nemets* space does emerge as large, it is in a cumbersome manner – as opposed to the freedom that constitutes *russkii* space. Secondly, *russkii* space appears boundless in contrast to the bounded *nemets* space. Thirdly, these images of literary space contain a moral dimension: *russkii* space is cast in positively valued terms, linked to holiness, freedom, and vitality, while *nemets* space emerges as negative, demonic, restrictive, and decrepit. I develop these oppositional traits and discuss the stakes of this representation in Section 3.2.

These three works and their points of intersection represent the background for my approach to *russkii* spatiality. I particularly employ Ely's historical account of the development of the construction of the *russkii* landscape, and also Widdis's argument that the *neob"iatnyi* is a recurring trait of the landscape of *russkii* identity. I incorporate these theses into my argument while using a number of the primary sources cited by the two scholars. I also take Dolinin's analysis as one of the endpoints of my thesis: his description of the *russkii* Berlin evidences the discursive commonplaces of the 20th century that the 19th-century images enable.

While the spatial approach marks the first divergences between this thesis and the four approaches I examine in Chapter One, the second divergence is that I posit the *nemets* as the Other to the *russkii*. In order to investigate the relationship between the two sets of images, I utilise the Image Studies (Imagological) methodology. This Chapter has two general aims: to provide an overview of Image Studies and its methods, and to investigate how these methods function in practice. The narrower concern is to answer the questions I raise in Chapter One regarding the problematic *nemtsy* in Russian literature. I use two sources in this Chapter: scholarly material discussed in the previous Chapters, and the core texts I examine in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. As such, this Chapter functions as a methodological overview, as a development of the useful conclusions from the first two Chapters, and as an introduction to my original research.

Section 3.2 motivates the first function: I discuss my motivation behind selecting this methodology, and I show how it addresses the concerns I have raised regarding the analysis of stereotypes. In Section 3.3, I introduce and discuss the Imagological methods

I utilise in this thesis. To bridge the gap between abstract methodology and specific utility, I apply Imagological principles to the *nemtsy* in two Practical Applications. The first Practical Application examines the structure of the *russkii* Self Image, and the second analyses how the image of the *nemets* affects and constructs *russkii* identity. In Section 3.4, I address how I reconcile this methodology with the spatial approach outlined in Chapter Two.

3.2. Why Image Studies?

3.2.1. Introduction: History of the Methodology

The Image Studies scholar seeks to examine the structure, history and implications of the Other in literature. Image Studies is a relatively new school of criticism – the methodology took shape in France in the 1950s and gained a scholarly following in the following decades in Germany.[255] It has been adopted by a larger English-speaking scholarly community only in the last twenty years, particularly after groundbreaking works such as Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's 1983 book, *The Invention of Tradition*.[256] The availability of Image Studies research in the English language has also been bolstered by the recent publication of the handbook of *Imagology*, a volume that provides an introduction to the approach and an overview of topics previously available only in French and German language publications.

Before I explore the specifics of Image Studies, I explain my reasons for selecting this methodology; of all the possible approaches to stereotypes, why choose this lens?

This Section explores how Image Studies accounts for the concerns and observations I have registered regarding stereotypes in literature, and I arrange them in the order they have emerged in this thesis. First, how does the methodology address the

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[255] Joep Leerssen offers a concise history of the school on the Image Studies website, "Images": "The specialism in Comparative Literature which studies intercultural relations in terms of mutual perceptions, images and self-images, was developed in France, where its methodology crystallized in the 1950s under the name imagologie. While it was rejected by more aesthetically-oriented literary critics, mainly in the US, it maintained a certain following in Europe, mainly in Germany (where the critical study of national identification and the deconstruction of nationalism was experienced as a task imposed by the mistakes of the recent past). A leading role was played here by the Belgian comparatist Hugo Dyserinck, working at the university of Aachen. Imagology was given an additional boost by the fact that in these same decades, anthropologists and social psychologists were beginning to criticize their own ethnocentrist and essentialist inheritance. The *Revue de psychologie des peuples*, for instance, offered interesting critical analyses of national identity as collective self-images." From <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/images/>, site accessed 10 April 2008. For a more detailed historical survey, see Leerssen's survey article "Introduction: History and Methodology," in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Character,* ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Amsterdam and New York, 2007), pp. 17-32.

[256] See *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), especially Hobsbawm's introduction, pp. 1-14. For contextualisation on Hobsbawm, see Spiering, "National Identity and European Unity," p. 116. An example of recent scholarship in the field is Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, *Images of Germany in American Literature* (Iowa City, 2007). Zacharasiewicz references works that appeared in the 1990s as the basis for his methodology, pp. 1-4. See also *Imagology*.

problematic nature of the Other in literature, as discussed in relation to the etymology of the term "*nemets*" and in Saunders's "conceptual instability of the foreign" (3.2.2)? Also, how does the methodology account for the fallacy of correlating literature to reality, as encountered in Chapter One with the Essentialist, Historicist, and Biographical approaches (3.2.3)? Finally, how does it avoid the trap of turning a stereotype into a static structure, as caused by the Stereotype Analysis approach, also discussed in Chapter One (3.2.4)? In addressing these questions, I aim to show how my concerns with other approaches have led me to use this methodology.

3.2.2. Image Studies and the Other

The first question returns us to the beginning of Chapter One: how does the methodology address the problematic nature of the Other in literature, with particular reference to the *nemets*?[257] Imagologists approach literature with the assumption that the Self is only possible to articulate in reference to an Other. This position has been supported recently by Riceour and Levinas, who argue that "one becomes I by way of encountering You."[258] As Leerssen argues, this approach is based upon Derrida's theoretical work regarding the relativity of identity:

> The influence of Derrida (1967) has done much to discredit the 'metaphysics of identity' and to give primacy instead to the notion of *différance*: the idea that the world consists of an unbounded and limitlessly varied web of differentiations which it would be reductive to collapse into oppositional relations between constitutive 'identities'. In this view, identity is not a given but something which is articulated: it comes into being as a result of being conceptualized and verbalized, as a discursive hinge between the developing, changing subject and its diverse, changing experiences.[259]

This present thesis is grounded in two theoretical commitments that emerge from the assumption that alterity is necessary for "the autonomous existence of a sentient identity."[260] First, identity only comes into being when it is conceptualised and verbalised: the Self is an articulation, and not an idealised abstraction. This means that there is no such thing as a stable Self – there only exists that which emerges through discourse, deployed to meet the changing demands of the situation. And because the definition of Self identity is limited by what can be articulated, aesthetic conventions and discursive possibilities mark the limits of the identity constructs. It is therefore possible

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[257] The Imagological Handbook provides broad answers to this question: see in particular Leerssen's survey article, "Imagology: History and Method," pp. 17-32, and also the case studies "Germans," by Manfred Beller, pp. 159-166, and "Russians," by Leerssen and Bruno Naarden, pp. 226-230.
[258] Leerssen, "Identity/Alterity/Hybridity," p. 339.
[259] Leerssen, "Identity/Alterity/Hybridity," p. 339.
[260] Leerssen, "Identity/Alterity/Hybridity," p. 339.

to outline a genealogy of Self identity, where the Imagologist charts the development of the Self Image vis-à-vis the Other through a chronological analysis of these articulations.

Secondly, because the Self emerges in contrast to the Other, the image of the Other represents a constitutive aspect of the Self. That is, representations of the Other in literary discourse do not exist in a separate universe from the articulations of the Self – the "You" is constructed and imagined precisely to give shape and meaning to the image of the "I." Because of this, the two terms "*russkii*" and "*nemets*" function in a symbiotic symbolic relationship in *russkii* discourse. The Image Studies methodology thus takes the instability and the relativity of identity as the starting points for its investigations – and the assumption that the *nemets* emerges in order to define and give meaning to the term "*russkii*" marks the jumping off point for my close readings of the *nemtsy*.

3.2.3. Image Studies and the "World of Their Own"

The second question I raise in Section 3.2.1 moves us from abstract concerns with the Other in literature to specific concerns regarding the *nemtsy*: how does the methodology account for the fallacy of correlating literature to reality, as encountered in Chapter One with the Essentialist, Historicist, and Biographical approaches? Menno Spiering provides a succinct answer to this question when he summarises how Image Studies elucidates problems of national identity in Europe. Spiering makes the case for the usefulness of the methodology by connecting critical theory, psychological insights, and our perception of the world:

> As images of national identity typically reach us through texts, it is useful briefly to recount some of the general findings of image studies. For instance, in order to be understood a text has to be 'recognizable'. Therefore, in texts (and perhaps in human discourse in general) recognizability takes precedence over reality. Images of national identity tend to be based on previous images in previous texts. Thus the image evokes what the Germans would call an 'aha-experience' (*Aha-Erlebnis*). We respond to it, not because we know it to be true, but simply because it is familiar. Often, however, familiarity is sadly confused with validity. Consequently, the commonplace or stereotype is such a potent image… Because images of national identity are intertextually related, rather than a reflection of observed reality, they can be said to exist and operate in a world of their own, forming and obeying their separate, independent rules. Images appearing in different texts in different countries tend to follow similar patterns.[261]

Two aspects of this quotation address the question under discussion. First, Spiering points to the importance of "recognisability" over "reality" in the dissemination of images. Literary images have currency not because they express the *truth* of *reality*, but

[261] Spiering, p. 119.

because they access expectations based upon previous literary encounters. This means that a stereotypical *nemets*, such as Aleksei Tolstoi's in the epigraph to this Chapter, has currency in the marketplace of image not because of the reader's first-hand experiences; rather, he is a "recognisable" *nemets* because he is familiar from the reader's previous literary experiences. Tolstoi's portrayal of the character as a "*nemets* from head to toe" therefore reflects reader expectation, rather than the observed and *objective truth* of the *nemets* national character.

The second aspect is related to the first: because "recognisability" is paramount for images, and because they "tend to be based on previous images in previous texts," images of national character "exist and operate in a world of their own." For Spiering, literary images perpetuate themselves based upon the inertia generated by their familiarity – and they do not require real-world data to maintain an illusion of validity.

The Image Studies methodology thus addresses the problematic aspects of the Biographical, Historicist, and Essentialist approaches, which assume a correlation between image and *reality*. As I argue in Chapter One, such an assumption ignores literary convention, the play of irony, the position of the narration, the function of the audience, and it allows the critic to write history to suit a pre-determined interpretation of the text – or to interpret fiction to suit a preconceived conception of history. Image Studies raises another problem with this assumption, because it analyses literary stereotypes as images in their own right, rather than as assertions that can be proven "correct" or "incorrect." Imagologists avoid arguing about the truth content of literary image because claims such as, "Russia has the highest homicide rate in Europe" are verifiable and falsifiable based upon statistics, whereas claims such as "*russkie* are violent" are not. The goal is to identify how these images operate in the "world of their own": to articulate the structure of the image, to provide genealogies of the Other, and to link these images to the culture's image of itself.

Does this mean that Image Studies has no relevance beyond literary studies? While Imagologists read Others in literature as images that cannot be falsified, this is not to say that these depictions exist in an alternate universe, isolated from everyday life. Rather, the images and depictions from literature, film, TV, and other media shape the way we view the world. This assertion has been informed by many Imagologists – who, like Spiering, argue that "familiarity is sadly confused with validity" – and also by social psychological research into two phenomena. First, social psychologists have demonstrated that expectation determines perception in relations between an In Group

and an Out Group.[262] Secondly, they have elucidated how the Ingroup Bias operates – where individuals tend to perceive their own group as superior to other groups, even when these groupings have been assembled at random by researchers.[263] A 1994 study illustrates the intersection of these two concerns: participants who were angry or sad were more likely to accuse a fictional character of cheating if his name was "Juan Garcia" than if it was "John Garner."[264] The image of the Mexican as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon in the American cultural context demonstrates a real-life set of stakes, illustrating both the Ingroup Bias (i.e. Juan Garcia as Other) and also the role of expectations upon perception (i.e. the Mexican is assumed to have a more devious personality, and cheating is projected onto the literary character). Even though stereotypes exist in "a world of their own," they mediate perception, and thus demonstrate the social and political stakes of literary images.

3.2.4. Image Studies and the Dynamic Stereotype

If Image Studies aims to investigate literary images, how does it avoid the trap of turning stereotypes into static structures? I am concerned with this question for two reasons. First, I find it necessary to take into account Gombrich's warning that the "tendency of our minds to classify and register our experience in terms of the known must present a real problem to the artist in his encounter with the particular."[265] For Gombrich, as I have mentioned, aesthetics develop in relationship to extant templates, and they do

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[262] Contrary to the saying "I didn't believe it until I saw it," social psychologists have been demonstrating that a more apt phrasing might be: "I didn't see it until I believed it"; see the "Confirmation Bias" in David G. Myers, *Social Psychology* (Boston and New York, 1999; 1983), pp. 108-109; see also the "Overconfidence Phenomenon," p. 106; for group-based misperception, including the "Self-Serving Bias," "Self Justification," the "Fundamental Attribution Error," "Group Polarization," "Groupthink," and "Stereotype Formation," see p. 529.

[263] For examples of this and other Ingroup Biases, see the *New York Times* online article, "Wired for Prejudice?" published 20 April 2004, at <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C05E6D8113BF933A15757C0A9629C8B63&sec=health&spon=&pagewanted=all>, site accessed April 10 2008. See also Myers, *Social Psychology,* pp. 353-356.

[264] The Garcia/Garner was reported in G. V. Bodenhausen et al., "Negative Affect and Social Judgment: The Differential Impact of Anger and Sadness," in *European Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 24* (1994), pp. 45-62, esp. p. 50. A related example of the effects of group negative stereotypes and groupings is how an Iowa schoolteacher separated the students in her class according to eye colour to demonstrate the effects of racism. The teacher, Jane Elliott, told the blue-eyed students that they were superior to the brown-eyed ones in order to show the children how racism can be both hurtful and random. The experiment yielded unexpected results: the brown-eyed group not only demonstrated feelings of anxiety and self-loathing, they even performed worse on their academic tests. See Frances E. Aboud and Sheri R. Levy, "Interventions to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination in Children and Adolescents," in *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. Stuart Oskamp (Mahwah, 2000), pp. 269-294, esp. p. 286. For more on psychological studies of Ingroup perception, see Matthew J. Rossano, *Evolutionary Psychology: The Science of Human Behavior and Evolution* (Hoboken, 2003), for an account of Ingroup Bias see p. 232; for an account of the "stranger anxiety" phenomenon see p. 173; for an account of evolutionary xenophobic programming see p. 176.

[265] E. M. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, p. 168.

not emerge from blank slates.[266] Secondly, I find it necessary to address Roland Barthes's concerns regarding the currency of aesthetic convention. For Barthes, the meaning of a sign in film (i.e. curled locks of hair) accesses a particular understanding for the audience (i.e. because the men have curled locks of hair, they must be Romans), even though it may have no relationship to actuality (i.e. what the Romans' hair actually looked like).[267] Thus, a given image must share features with its literary predecessors in order to be recognisable to the reader; for Gombrich, an artist starts from the template and works towards the specific, and for Barthes, a particular set of arbitrary signs accesses a category of representation for the purveyor and consumer of an image. From this perspective, the image of the *nemets* (or any other literary Other) is anchored in the past and is redeployed and reconfigured to meet the needs of the present day.

Because stereotypes depend upon previous images for meaning, it is tempting to imagine that there is a single set of traits that composes the cultural stereotype. As discussed in Chapter One, though, this enables a scholar to privilege a single writer as "antitraditional" if they deploy traits outside the original "traditional" set. In order to take into account the arguments made by Gombrich and Barthes – and to avoid this trap – Imagologists provide genealogies of images and examine how the stereotypes change according to historical developments.

André von Gronicka anticipated how Imagologists would present developmental histories of particular images in English language scholarship as early as 1968. Von Gronicka argued that the image of Goethe in Russian literature depended not only upon an author's political positioning, but also upon the historical events at the time of the writing.[268] Peter Edgerly Firchow and Waldemar Zacharasiewicz have followed this type of scholarship with studies of the development of the image of "Germans" in English-language literature. Firchow argues that this image changed in British literature from "cousin" to "enemy" between 1890 and the First World War because of the heightened tensions between the two peoples.[269] Zacharasiewicz has recently completed a similar study, which discusses the changing image of the "German" in American literature. He

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[266] See Gombrich, pp. 60-62 (the conclusion to "The Limits of Likeness"), 63-66 (the introduction to "Truth and Stereotype").

[267] Roland Barthes, "The Romans in Film," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972), pp. 26-28.

[268] André von Gronicka, *The Russian Image of Goethe: Goethe in Russian Literature of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1968), see the introduction, pp. 3-6; for the contrast between the Sentimental and Romantic visions of Goethe, see pp. 11, 177.

[269] Peter Edgerly Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin: Variations on a Literary Stereotype, 1890-1920* (Cranbury, 1986), pp. 31-33.

argues that the development of this image was complicated by historical factors, such as the political alignment between the US and Britain, and the large number of immigrants from "Germany" in US society.[270] For Imagologists, images are enabled by previous patterns of representation, and they also change over time according to the aesthetic and ideological needs of the author. The methodology thus takes into account the concerns raised by Gombrich and Barthes, and it avoids the trap of considering stereotypes to be static structures.

3.3. The Image Studies Methodology

With my reasons for selecting Image Studies established, I provide discussions of two specific Imagological methods that I use in this thesis. The first examines the categorisation and construction of images, and the second investigates how Image Studies ties the construction of Self identity to the image of the Other. I provide a Practical Application for each discussion to illustrate my understanding of how the methods apply to the *nemtsy* in the *russkii* discursive context, and to show the usefulness of this approach.

3.3.1. Images of the Other and the Construction of the Self

Image Studies differentiates three types of images, depending upon the relationship between the generator and the subject of the image: the "Self Image" (or "Auto Image"), the image of one culture about its own culture; the "Hetero Image," the image of one culture about another culture; and the "Meta Image," the image that one culture (group A) believes another culture (group B) holds about itself (group A).[271] Sazonova's essay discussed in Chapter One provides an illustration of these categories. The Self Image emerges in Sazonova's discussion of the *russkii* character, such as in her characterisation of the *russkii* Oblomov as humble and spiritually pure. The Hetero Image appears when Sazonova discusses the negative aspects of the *nemtsy*, such as their greed and haughtiness. Finally, the Meta Image can be found in the discussion of Sazonova's depiction of Lazhechnikov's *nemtsy*: she uses the *nemets* material in Russian literature to identify the truth of the historical situation and also to reveal what the *nemtsy really* thought about the *russkii*. This ignores the fact that these *nemtsy* reflect a projection from the *russkie* about the *russkie*. A Meta Image thus purports to provide a perspective from the Other, while it only reveals information about how the original group imagine themselves to be viewed.

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[270] Zacharasiewicz, *Images of Germany*, esp. pp. 1-15.
[271] See Leerssen's article "Image," in *Imagology*, pp. 342-344.

Practical Application 1: The Structure of the Russkii Self Image

I include this Section to explore and illustrate the categorisation of images in Image Studies: how does one analyse the structure of the Self Image in relation to the Hetero Image, and how does this relate to the *russkii* and *nemets*? To answer these two questions, I turn to five scholars – Ely, Widdis, Dolinin, Tolz, and Gasparov[272] – who characterise the *russkii* Self identity. I also include examples from Gogol, Pushkin, Tiutchev, Turgenev, Goncharov, and Dostoevsky – the core texts for my own research. I isolate six aspects of the *russkii* Self Image that appear in their scholarship, and compare them to sets of *nemets* traits that emerge in 19th-century Russian literature:

	Category	***Russkii***	***Nemets***
1	Spatial Borders	Open/Free	Restricted
2	Approach to Life	Irrational/Unpredictable	Rational/Orderly
3	Stage of Development	Vital/Youthful	Aging
4	Interpersonal Relations	Simple/Humble	Arrogant
5	Spiritual Life	Spiritual	Demonic
6	Outward Appearance	Abstract	Explicit

Figure 3.1: The Russkii Self Image and Nemets Hetero Image in mid-19th-century Russian Literature

This Practical Application illustrates how Image Studies categorises images, and it functions both as a summary of the useful aspects of the first two Chapters and as an introduction of the final three Chapters. In addition to these functions, this Section has two conceptual aims. First, I aim to show that the *nemets* represents an Other to the *russkii*. Secondly, I argue that the *russkii* traits emerge in opposition the *nemets* traits; because the Self Image exists in a symbiotic relationship with the Hetero Image, the *nemets* is "constitutive" of the *russkii*, in Leerssen's terminology. These arguments enable my discussion in Chapter Four, where I explore how the *nemets* emerges as diametrically opposite to and fundamentally incompatible with the *russkii* in 19th-century literary discourse. In the conclusions to this Chapter (Section 3.5), I discuss how other scholars have approached the topic of *russkii* identity and the *nemets* Other.

1. Spatial Borders: *Russkii* as Open/Free, *Nemets* as Restricted

[272] Gasparov, "Identity in Language?" in *National Identity in Russian Culture*, pp. 132-148; Vera Tolz, *Russia: Inventing the Nation* (London and New York, 2001).

This category describes how space is conceptualised and also how it is understood to affect the *russkii* character: how does the *russkii* emerge as open and free in contrast to the *nemets*? I mention this topic in Chapter Two, where I examine the "unboundedness" of *russkii* space and "boundedness" of *nemets* space in the works of Widdis, Ely, and Dolinin. This present analysis integrates these arguments into a single picture and extends the discussion to engage with other examples from Russian literature.

As I have mentioned, Widdis identifies mythic *russkii* space as *neob"iatnyi*, and positions this trait as a leitmotif for *russkii* space and identity. Another term that emphasises this image is the *volia* (воля: freedom) of the *russkii* landscape; for Widdis, this connotes expansiveness in addition to denoting freedom. To make this assertion, she cites Dmitri Likhachev's definition of *volia* as: "*svoboda* [i.e. freedom] plus *prostor*, the wide open, *unlimited* space so characteristic of Russia."[273] Widdis evidences the currency of the term *volia* in descriptions of *russkii* space with a discussion of its close connection to the *chistoe pole* (чистое поле: open/clean field). For Widdis, the *chistoe pole* – connected to *volia* by the rhyming scheme (воля/поле) – is another commonplace of *russkii* spatiality that reinforces the image of the *russkii* as open and free.[274] Widdis concludes that this image was not only commonplace in the 19th century, but that it also continued into Soviet culture, illustrated by the popular poet Lebedev-Kumach's lyrics for the film *The Circus* (*Цирк,* 1936): "Wide is my native land… In her there are many forests, fields, and rivers… I know no other country… Where man can breathe so freely."[275]

The theme of *russkii* space as expansiveness plus freedom also emerges in Ely's study; he argues that Gogol "registered one of the earliest characterizations of the steppe as simultaneously an 'endless' expanse and a realm of freedom."[276] He also argues that the rhyming pattern of "*razdol'nyi*" (раздольный: free, expansive) / "*privol'nyi*" (привольный: free) is characteristic of Kol'tsov's steppe poetry.[277] For Ely, the depiction of the space as free and expansive, established by these two writers, "valorizes the landscape" while marking it as "wholly and distinctly Russian."[278]

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[273] Widdis, p. 41, cites D. S. Likhachev, *Zametki o russkom* (Moscow, 1984), p. 10.
[274] Widdis, p. 41, connects these two images and links them to the image of the *prostor* (простор: expanse) in 19th-century poetry.
[275] Widdis, p. 40; *The Circus.* Dir. Grigorii Aleksandrov. Mosfilm, 1936.
[276] Ely, p. 94.
[277] Ely, p. 96.
[278] Ely, p. 91.

Other examples of the openness and breadth of Russia are the "unbounded expanse" (*neob"iatnyi prostor*) of *Rus'* in Gogol's *Dead Souls,*[279] the "boundlessly high sky"[280] and the "open expanse" (*razdol'e*) of the steppe[281] in Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches*, and the "expanse" and "freedom" found in Chekhov's story "At Home," which appears as an epigraph to Chapter Two.[282] Turgenev also casts the *russkii* as "free" in his characterisation of the Russian language as "great, powerful, true, free! [5F]"[283] In *Oblomov,* Goncharov deploys a spatial metaphor to engage with the Self Image of freedom and expansiveness and the Hetero Image of constriction. For one character, the *russkii-nemets* Andrei Shtol'ts, *russkii* influences "turned the narrow little *nemets* track into such a wide road."[284] The *russkii* factors of Andrei's upbringing and surroundings open the possibilities for his life – while the *nemets* factors function to restrict them.

Chekhov also applies this oppositional relationship to the realm of psychology; he argues that *russkie* perish because of the endless expanse of their space, while Western Europeans die from their constricted and suffocating space.[285] The image of the *nemets* as constricted continued its usefulness in *russkii* discourse into the 20th century: as discussed in Dolinin's *russkii* Berlin, the city is likened to a "demonic maze of iron constructions."[286] As with Goncharov's Shtol'ts, the constriction of the spatial realm relates to the restriction of its future possibilities. Because of the cramped spaces of Berlin, the city and its people are cast as a spent force, and the future is ceded to the free and expansive *russkii prostor.*

2. Approach to Life: *Russkii* as Irrational/Unpredictable, *Nemets* as Rational/Orderly

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[279] See my discussions in Chapters Two and Five.

[280] "Темное чистое небо торжественно и необъятно высоко стояло над нами со всем своим таинственным великолепием." From Ivan Turgenev, "Bezhin Lea" ("*Bezhin lug*"), in *Zapiski okhotnika*, <http://az.lib.ru/t/turgenew_i_s/text_0080.shtml>, site accessed 5 August 2010. See also the "boundless plain" in the story "The Singers" ("*Pevtsy*"): "...затопленная мглистыми волнами вечернего тумана, [равнина] казалась еще необъятней и как будто сливалась с потемневшим небом."

[281] *Ibid.,* in "Kas'ian from the Beautiful Lands" ("*Kas'ian s Krasivoi mechi*"). "А то за Курском пойдут степи, этакие степные места, вот удивленье, вот удовольствие человеку, вот раздолье-то, вот Божия-то благодать!"

[282] "...до сих пор в жизни именно только этого простора и свободы." A. P. Chekhov, "*V rodnom uglu.*"

[283] "...о великий, могучий, правдивый и свободный русский язык!" Turgenev concludes: "it is impossible to believe that such a language was not given to a great *narod.*"

[284] "[Они] обратят узенькую немецкую колею в такую широкую дорогу." See Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov*, at <http://az.lib.ru/g/goncharow_i_a/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 7 August 2010; see Chapter Six for a discussion of this passage.

[285] See Anatolii Ameliansky, "Chekhov at the Moscow Art Theatre," in *The Cambridge Companion to Chekhov,* ed. Vera Gottlieb and Paul Allain (Cambridge, 2000), p. 34. See also Emma Polotskaya, "Chekhov and his Russia," in the same volume, pp. 17-28, for contextualisation of Chekhov's assertion.

[286] See Dolinin, pp. 233, 235.

This category examines how the *russkii* and the *nemets* are imagined to approach their lives. The *russkii* is cast as unpredictable in character, and thus impractical in life choices and disorderly in domestic life. The *nemets*, on the other hand, approaches life in a practical manner, orders space neatly and carefully, and therefore lives in a predictable manner. Logical rules, as we shall see, can apply to the *nemtsy* and can predict their behaviour – but they do not apply to the *russkie*. This distinction appears in Dal''s collection of quotations from the epigraph to this Chapter: "The *nemets* arrives at his conclusions with logic, the *russkii* with his eyes."[287]

Boris Gasparov provides an illustration of the *russkii* as anti-rational in his essay on the establishment of identity through language.[288] Gasparov characterises the Slavophile position regarding the Russian language as follows: "in the loose usage of tenses in typical Russian discourse they [i.e. the Slavophiles] saw the linguistic symbol of Russia's rejection of an over-rationalist way of ordering all events as either past, present, or future."[289] For the Slavophiles, Gasparov argues, the anti-rationality of the Russian language was indicative of the irrationality of the *russkii* mentality. This essentialist argument was preceded by literary constructions of *russkii* irrationality. One illustration appears in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt," where the narrator characterises the mindset of young *russkie*. As opposed to the *nemtsy*, who live their lives in an orderly manner (bordering on, if not crossing well into, obsession),[290] the *russkie* are described as "living on *foo-foo*" [6^{G}].[291] Perhaps the most well known example of the *russkie* as anti-rational, though, appears in a poem by Tiutchev. Here, Tiutchev's lyrical persona stresses that traditional metrics for a society do not apply to Russia: "You cannot comprehend Russia by means of rationality / … You can only believe in Russia."[292] For the lyrical persona, the *russkii* character is constituted by faith and emotion, rather than by logic and rules.

The counterpoint to the irrational and unpredictable *russkii* is the *nemets akkuratnyi* (precise/neat *nemets*), introduced in Chapter One in the form of Pushkin's baker. This character appears in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt" and *Dead Souls,* Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin*, and A. K. Tolstoi's poem, "Portrait," which also serves as an epigraph to

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[287] "Немец своим разумом доходит (изобретает), а русский глазами (перенимает)." Dal', "*Narod – iazyk.*"
[288] Boris Gasparov, "Identity in language?" in *National Identity in Russian Culture*, pp. 132-148.
[289] Gasparov, p. 133.
[290] The *nemets,* Shiller, plans his life so carefully that he does not kiss his wife more than twice per day: "Аккуратность его простиралась до того, что он положил целовать жену свою в сутки не более двух раз," from N. V. Gogol', "Nevskii prospect," at <http://feb-web.ru/feb/gogol/texts/ps0/ps3/ps3-007-.htm>, site accessed 12 August 2010. See also my discussion of this story in Chapter Four.
[291] Wolf Schmid renders this as "going wild," p. 50.
[292] "Умом Россию не понять / … В Россию только можно верить." See F. Tiutchev, "*Umom Rossiiu ne poniat*" at <http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Умом_Россию_не_понять>, site accessed 2 August 2010.

this Chapter.[293] While the *russkii* defies rules, the *nemets akkuratnyi* is dependent upon them. Tolstoi's *nemets akkuratnyi* displays the stereotypical traits in that he is a *nemets* "from head to toe" (lit.: from head to legs): he is learned, serious, and careful, he does not allow for dirtiness, and he believes in ideals.

The comparison between orderly *nemets* and disorderly *russkii* also emerges in *Oblomov*; here, as with the "widening of the *nemets* path" discussed in the first category, this contrast involves a spatial metaphor [6^{H}]. During an argument between Oblomov and his servant, Zakhar, Oblomov complains about the untidiness of his apartment. Oblomov compares this untidiness to the tidiness of his neighbour, a *nemets*. Zakhar bristles at this comparison because, he argues, tidiness is natural for a *nemets* because of their cheap nature. This comparison thus presents in physical terms the difference between the *nemtsy* as rational and predictable, because they sacrifice nothing for comfort and they maintain orderliness at all times, while the *russkie* are irrational and unpredictable, and they live chaotically and spontaneously.

3. Stage of Development: *Russkii* as Vital/Youthful, *Nemets* as Aging

This category encompasses how the *russkii* and *nemets* are plotted onto the timeline of development in relation to each other. As mentioned in Chapter Two, and as I develop in Chapter Four, it is possible to imagine the *russkii* tardiness in such Western institutions as the novel, imperial governance, and the academy of sciences to be depicted as "uncivilised," "barbaric," or "infantile."[294] These negative traits, however, were mostly[295] disregarded in favour of an image that bore positive valuation: the *russkii* as young and vital in contrast to the decrepit and spent West.

The trait of *russkii* youth is often expressed in the metaphor of Russia as a "student" of the West.[296] That is, Russia is imagined to be a new country only just

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[293] See A. S. Pushkin, *Evgenii Onegin*, I:35; A. K. Tolstoi, "*Portret*," stanza 14; and N. V. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, where, in an aside to the reader, the author claims he desires to be careful as a *nemets* in his descriptions: "Но автор... несмотря на то, что сам человек русский, хочет быть аккуратен, как немец." For "Nevskii prospect," see the above note on the *nemets* Shiller.

[294] For an example of Russia cast as a "late developer," see *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order,* ed. Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Irving Lichback (Cambridge and New York, 2005; 2000), p. 203.

[295] One exception is Chaadaev, whose letter is discussed in Chapter Four.

[296] On the effects of following the West, see Tolz, pp. 72-81; see also Ely's depiction of the reliance upon Western aesthetic models and education, pp. 36-51. Robert K. Massie discusses Peter the Great and Russia as student of the West in *Peter the Great: His Life and World* (New York, 1980), pp. 169-174, 243-249, 272, 830-840. Lawrence Jay Olivia refers to Peter as a "student of the West" in *Russia in the Era of Peter the Great* (New York, 1969), p. 76. Extending the meme to specific authors, Allen McConnell discusses the 18th century writer and journalist Radishchev as a "student of the West" in *A Russian Philosophe, Alexander Radishchev, 1749-1802* (The Hague, 1964), p. 1. For the topic of Russia learning from the West and other peoples, see K. D. Kavelin, "Letter to F. M. Dostoevsky," translated by Gertrude Vakar from

adopting institutions developed in the West. This relationship is dramatised in literature by the relationship between a *russkii* student and a *nemets* teacher; Lenskii, in *Evgenii Onegin*, and the narrator of Turgenev's *Asia* illustrate this, because they studied in Germany.[297] In addition to the *russkie* living abroad, this relationship also emerges between *russkii* pupils and the *nemets* teachers and governesses who inhabit Domestic space, such as Chekhov's Sharlotta from "Cherry Orchard,"[298] the half-*nemets* Krutsiferskii in Herzen's *Who is to Blame*? (*Кто виноват?* 1846) [6[I]], and Turgenev's *nemets* musician, Lemm, in *A House for Gentlefolk* (*Дворянское гнездо,* 1859).[299] This relationship also appears in *Oblomov,* because Oblomov is the pupil of Andrei Shtol'ts's father.[300] The idea of Russia as a "student," however, is also capable of creating dissonance, because it opens the possibility that the *russkie* are only imitators, expressed by Belinskii, Chaadaev, and as evidenced by the character of de Custine in *Russian Ark*, discussed in Chapter Two.[301]

The *russkii* image also contains the traits of "youthfulness" and "liveliness" independently from the student-teacher literary dramatisation. An illustration of *russkii* "liveliness" appears in *Oblomov*, in yet another comparison between *russkii* and *nemets*. Andrei's mother – who, despite marrying a *nemets,* believes *nemets* culture to be a negative influence upon her son – imagines the ideal *russkii barin* to be typified by, "a clean face and a bright, lively gaze" (бойкий взгляд) as opposed to that of the *nemets* Burgher, typified by their "everyday faces" (будничные лица).[302] The trait of *russkii* "youthfulness" was expressed by Lenin in 1901,[303] and also by Aleksandr Blok, who in

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Sobranie sochinenii, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1897-1900), cols. 1021-1052, in *Russian Intellectual History An Anthology*, ed. Marc Raeff (New Jersey and Sussex, 1986; 1966), pp. 302-321, esp. pp. 304-305.

[297] I discuss Lenskii's *nemets* soul in Chapter Four. See A. S. Pushkin, *Evgenii Onegin*, and Ivan Turgenev, *Asia,* at <http://ilibrary.ru/text/1097/index.html>, site accessed 1 August 2010.

[298] See my discussion in Chapter One.

[299] For more on the appearance of a foreign tutor in a *russkii* household as a "commonplace," see Muza p. 192. The Turgenev epigraph to Chapter One, "*Herz, mein Herz*," consists of a song sung by Lemm.

[300] See Goncharov, *Oblomov*, Part I, Ch. 9: "А бедный Илюша ездит да ездит учиться к Штольцу." From <http://az.lib.ru/g/goncharow_i_a/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 8 August 2010.

[301] See Susanna Rabow-Edling's second chapter, "The Problem of Imitation," in *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism* (Albany, 2006), pp. 35-58. See also my discussion of Chaadaev in Chapter Four.

[302] See also my discussion in Chapter Six.

[303] See Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, *Essential Works of Lenin: "What is to be done" and Other Writings,* ed. Henry M. Christman (Mineola, 1987; orig. New York, 1966), p. 70. Here, Lenin argues that the people of Russia must learn from other countries to foster socialism in their young country: "...начинающееся в молодой стране движение может быть успешно лишь при условии претворения им опыта других стран." See Lenin, *Chto delat'*, at <http://www.skmrf.ru/library/library_files/vil_todo.htm>, site accessed 26 May 2010. For contextualisation, see Edward Hallett Carr's characterisation of Lenin's *What is to be Done?* in *Socialism in One Country* (New York, 1958), p. 16.

1921 characterised Russia as "a young country" with a "synthetic culture."[304] The contrast between lively *russkii* and dying *nemets* continues into the *russkii* Berlin, which Dolinin characterises as a non-reproductive and spent force. For Dolinin, the focus upon the "sad spectacle of masturbation" typifies the city as a "dying metropolis" for the *russkii* writers.[305]

The *russkii* Self Image as "young" and "vital" and the *nemets* Hetero Image as "old" and "spent" also links to Lukianenko's description of Russia as a youthful culture, mentioned in Chapter Two. Image Studies provides an answer as to how Lukianenko casts Russia as "young" and the United States as "old," even though Russia looks to the 9th and 10th centuries for its foundation myth and the US looks to the 18th century for its. Imagologists have discovered that many such nonsensical structures exist in European discourse, such as the division between East/West – where the East is uncivilised and effeminate while the West is civilised and masculine – and North/South – where the North is businesslike and cold while the South is corrupt and passionate.[306] Leerssen has argued that the North/South division is transferable to any frame of reference in Europe, be it the North/South section of the continent, a country, or even a local region – thus demonstrating that these discursive categories have currency not because they make sense, but because they fit onto a "mental map."[307] Lukianenko's image of an aged US illustrates this principle; the specific image (i.e. the US as "old") builds off previous images (i.e. the West as "old"), such as appears in the *russkii* Berlin. The specific incarnation disregards conflicting and contradictory information because it fits an established pattern and it matches the reader's expectations – as in Spiering's "*Aha!* moment." In this sense, it does not matter whether it makes logical sense to depict Russia (along with Arab and Asian countries!) as "young" and the US as "old," precisely because they are, in Spiering's terminology, "recognisable." Lenin's description of Russia as a "young country" in 1902 therefore plays off previous images of youthfulness while prefiguring those found in Blok and Lukianenko – and it also establishes the irony of consistently referring to Russia as young, century after century.

4. Interpersonal Relationships: *Russkii* as Simple/Humble, *Nemets* as Arrogant

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[304] "Россия – молодая страна, и культура ее – синтетическая культура." Aleksandr Blok, "Bez bozhestva, bez vdokhnoven'ia," (1921); see <http://gumilev.ru/criticism/29/>, site accessed 29 October 2009.

[305] Dolinin, pp. 233-234.

[306] For the North/South discourse, see Joep Leerssen, "Echoes and Images: Reflections Upon Foreign Space," in *Alterity, Identity, Image*, pp. 123-138, esp. pp. 131-133, where Leerssen refers to "geographical nonsense," where images only make sense because they align with a "mental map."

[307] *Ibid.*

This category discusses how the *russkii* and the *nemets* are described in terms of their interpersonal relationships. In their interactions with others, the *russkii* emerges as simple and humble, as opposed to the *nemets*, who is depicted as arrogant.

Ely argues that the quality of "meagreness" emerges as a constitutive aspect of the image of humble *russkii* space. To establish this, he cites the structure of Pushkin's simple pictures of the *russkii* landscape.[308] He also cites the landscape imagery of Saltykov-Shchedrin, who argued for a positive valuation of *russkii* space precisely because of its simplicity: "The picture is severe and unvaried, but it also strikes the viewer with the magnificence of its simplicity. It is generally noted that severe tones produce a livelier impression on the soul."[309] This citation provides a link between Russia as "simple" and three other traits under discussion here. First, the simplicity connects to "liveliness," because, for Saltykov-Shchedrin, Russia's severe simplicity produces a "livelier impression" than more complicated scenery. Secondly, the image of simplicity ties to Russia's wide expanse, because Saltykov-Shchedrin invokes the *prostor* and wide *razdol'e* of *russkii* space.[310] Thirdly, this quotation anticipates the category of *russkii* as spiritual; the "impression" of the simplicity impacts directly upon the *russkii* soul.

Ely argues that the image of Russia's simplicity and humility gained currency in the 19th century and continued into the Soviet period. To illustrate this, Ely cites the first Soviet Minister of Culture, Anatolii Lunacharskii, who depicted Pushkin's estate in the following terms: "Breadth, open space! [*prostor!*] – that's the first thing you say before this picture [of Mikhailovskoe], but in this breadth there is a kind of gentleness, there is a kind of sad simplicity… simple in its unmediated beauty."[311] This space is beautiful precisely because it lacks mediation – just as Saltykov-Shchedrin's scenery is all the more vigorous for its lack of superficiality.

Konstantin Aksakov deployed this image of the *russkii* as humble in his discussion of the *russkii* character in the essay "On the Internal State of Russia" (1855, pub. 1881).[312] Here, he argues "the Russians of their own free will invited foreigners to rule over them – the Varangians, Riurik and his brothers."[313] For K. Aksakov, the very foundation myth of the Russian state is based upon the humility of the *russkie* in contrast

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[308] See Ely, pp. 59, 78-86.
[309] Ely, pp. 158-159, cites and translates M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, *Sobranie sochinenii v dvadtsati tomakh,* Vol. 4 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 262-263.
[310] Ely, pp. 158-159.
[311] Ely, p. 86, cites and translates A. V. Lunacharskii, *Krasnaia gazeta* 1926, no. 201-209.
[312] K. S. Aksakov, "O vnutrennem sostoianii Rossii," in *Rannie Slavianofily*; cited in *Russian Intellectual History,* pp. 230-251, esp. p. 231. Tran. V. Snow.
[313] K. S. Aksakov, "On the Internal State of Russia," p. 231.

to other peoples. This would later express itself, for K. Aksakov, in the lack of "revolutionary spirit" among the *russkie*, and the inappropriateness of constitutional reforms in Russia.[314] While the *russkie* display humility in the political sphere and demonstrate no interest in self-governance, K. Aksakov casts the *nemets* influence in opposite terms: as causing rebelliousness.[315]

In literary instances, the trait of *russkii* simplicity is dramatised by the figure of the *prostoi russkii chelovek* (простой русский человек; simple *russkii* person) [7J]. This figure appears as the "simple *russkii narod*" that "does not trust medicine" in Dostoevsky, the "simple *russkii* person" who becomes a "lackey" in Chekhov, and the "simple *russkii* person" who inhabits a "cramped and stuffy corner of the Earth" in Gorky. In *Oblomov,* the theme of *russkii* simplicity emerges in the "simplicity of tempers" (простота нравов) in the village of Oblomovka. The opposition between the *russkii* and *nemets* also emerges here: while the "simplicity of tempers" extends through the entire *russkii* village, the sole exception is the *nemets* house inhabited by the Shtol'ts family.

The opposition between haughty *nemets* and simplistic *russkii* also appeared in folk sayings. Dal' argues that the phrase "настоящий немец" – which literally means "a real/genuine *nemets*" – also connotes a pedant.[316] Dostoevsky provides an illustration of this in *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions*, a collection of notes on his travels to Europe.[317] In a passage where he describes his encounter with a *nemets* toll operator, Dostoevsky deploys a Meta Image in addition to a Hetero Image; he depicts the egomaniacal character of the *nemets*, and also how the *nemets* looks down upon the *russkii*:

> I don't know, but it seemed to me that the *nemets* was boasting. "Truly, he has guessed that I'm a foreigner, and specifically that I'm *russkii*," I thought. At the very least his eyes did all but say out loud: "You see our bridge, you pathetic *russkii*? Well, you're just a worm before our bridge and before any *nemets* because you don't have a bridge like this."[318]

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[314] K. S. Aksakov, "On the Internal State of Russia," pp. 232-253, 244-248.
[315] K. S. Aksakov, p. 244.
[316] The entry in Dal', *Poslovitsa russkogo iazya*, reads: "Настоящий немец *(точен, педант, причудлив)*." See <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/dahl_proverbs/14241/Настоящий>, site accessed 3 June 2010.
[317] Dostoevsky, *Zimnie zametki o letnikh vpechatleniakh,* at <http://www.klassika.ru/read.html?proza/dostoevskij/zametki.txt>, site accessed 19 October 2009.
[318] "Я не знаю, но мне показалось, что немец куражится. 'Верно, догадался, что я иностранец и именно русский,' - подумал я. По крайней мере его глаза чуть не проговаривали: 'Ты видишь наш мост, жалкий русский, - ну так ты червь перед нашим мостом и перед всяки немецки человек, потому что у тебя нет такого моста.'" For an expression of perplexity over this quote, see Mark H. Teeter's *Moscow Times* article, "An Unwelcome Reception," at <http://www.carnegie.ru/en/pubs/media/76036.htm>, site accessed 29 October 2009.

For Dostoevsky, the *nemtsy* may possess superior bridge building skills, but this advantage does not lead to any greater end other than arrogance. The *russkii*, we are led to believe, acts in a more humble manner, and, to anticipate the next category under discussion, does not require material objects such as bridges to be spiritually fulfilled.

5. Spiritual Life: *Russkii* as Spiritual, *Nemets* as Demonic

This category encompasses the deepest structure of the six I discuss in this Section. As mentioned in the history of the term "*nemets*" in Chapter One, the division between *russkii* and Other in pre-Petrine times was based upon religious identities, evidenced by the foundation of the *Nemetskaia sloboda* (*Nemets* District) in Moscow for unbaptised foreigners. The opposite of the image – where the *russkii* is holy and spiritual – appears in Dal''s collected quotations, where the *nemets* (expressed as *Nemechina*; *Немечина*) is described as "cunning" (*хитрая*), "faithless" (*безверная*), and an "infidel" (*басурманская*).

The characterisation of *russkii* space as "holy" – where Russia is imagined as "Holy *Rus'*" (святая Русь) – is a commonplace in 19th-centry literature [7^{K}]. This image appears as "Holy *Rus'* that scolds and marvels" in Pushkin, as "Holy *Rus'* that eternally laments the country" in Ryleev, as "Holy *Rus'*, where it is nice to live" in Nekrasov, as "vital Holy *Rus*'" – an image that also accesses the image of the *russkii* as youthful – in Dostoevsky,[319] and as "Holy *Rus'* without the cross" in Blok. Two images from Gogol's oeuvre contribute to the "Holy *Rus'*" paradigm. Firstly, the narrator of the story "A Terrible Vengeance" refers to *russkii* space as the "Orthodox *russkii* land" (православная Русская земля) [10^{L}]. This description casts Russia as holy, and also asserts that Orthodoxy is an essential trait of the terrain. Secondly, the conclusion to Gogol's *Dead Souls* emphasises Russia's holiness because the country's mission is cast as divinely inspired. In the final paragraph of the novel, Russia is labelled "*Rus*'" and symbolised by a flying *troika;* this "never to be outdistanced" *troika*, which astounds the observer who watches its flight, is cast as a "miracle of God."[320]

Dostoevsky's character Nikolai Vsevolodovich Verkhovenskii continues the connection between devoutness and the *russkii* in the novel *Devils* [10^{M}]. Echoing the

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[319] For a discussion of spiritual categories in Dostoevsky's philosophical and political writings – where the West has betrayed the will of Christ – see Dagmar Herrmann, "Die neue europäische Ordnung – eine Vision Fëdor Dostojevskijs," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19./20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 488-549, esp. p. 491.

[320] "Остановился пораженный божьим чудом созерцатель." See N. V. Gogol' (Gogol), *Mertvye dushi*, at <http://az.lib.ru/g/gogolx_n_w/text_0140.shtml>, site accessed 12 August 2010. I discuss this passage in detail in Chapter Five.

depiction of the *russkii* land as Orthodox in Gogol, Nikolai makes three assertions in an argument about what constitutes a *russkii*: "an atheist cannot be a *russkii*," "an atheist stops being a *russkii*," and "a non-Orthodox person cannot be a *russkii*." While Nikolai qualifies these remarks to his interlocutor as a "Slavophile idea" at a later stage of his life, the argument demonstrates the possibility of viewing the categories "*russkii*" and "devoutly Orthodox" as synonymous in the 19th century.

In *Oblomov*, the *russkii* hero possesses a "pure soul" (чистая душа), an image that incorporates the adjective *chistyi*, which, Widdis argues, carries spiritual connotations.[321] Another religious image in *Oblomov* emerges in "Oblomov's Dream," where the entire village of Oblomovka is described as a perfect, calm, peaceful space. If we take Oblomov to represent an aspect of the *russkii* character, and Oblomovka to represent *russkii* space, this image functions by metonymy to cast Russia as Eden.[322] On the level of comparisons between Self and Other, Andrei Shtol'ts is depicted as constituted by his *russkii* mother and his *nemets* father. The opposition between devout *russkii* and irreligious *nemets* is dramatised in Andrei's education: while his *nemets* father teaches him *nemets* philosophy, his *russkii* mother read to him from the Lives of the Saints.[323]

A recurring character from 19th-century literature that reinforces the image of the *russkii* as holy is the *nemets* devil [10^{N}]. This character appears in Gogol's "Night Before Christmas," as the doctor Werner, nicknamed "Mephistopheles," in Lermontov's *Hero of Our Time*, as the doctor Krest'ian Ivanovich in Dostoevsky's *The Double*, and as Woland in Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita*, mentioned in Chapter One.

6. Appearance: *Russkii* as Abstract, *Nemets* as Explicit

This category addresses the appearance and the structure of the *russkii* and *nemets* images. In this discussion, I am interested in depictions that cast the *russkii* as abstract, which emerge when the *russkii* is cast as indefinite or limitless (неопределенный / беспределен). This image of abstraction ties to the first category I discuss, the freedom and openness of *russkii* space, because both are enabled by the commonplace of the *neob"iatnyi prostor* in spatial discourse. I argue that this "unboundedness" extends

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[321] Widdis, p. 41.

[322] See Ronald D. LeBlanc, "Oblomov's Consuming Passion: Food, Eating, and the Search for Communion," in *Oblomov: Critical Companion*, pp. 110-138, esp. p. 125, where he discusses Oblomovka as a "blessed corner" that is "forgotten by everyone and remaining intact due to a miracle – a fragment of Eden?"

[323] For a detailed discussion of Andrei's education, see Chapter Six.

beyond spatial depictions and into linguistic descriptions of the Russian language and the appearance of the *russkii* body.

Ely argues that this image of the *russkii* dates back to the 18th century and the poetry of Trediakovskii. For Ely, Trediakovskii casts Russia in abstract and emotional terms in a series of landscape poems, while Paris is depicted in terms of concrete imagery.[324] This contrast between Russia and the West, Ely asserts, established a paradigm for spatial depiction, where 19th-century depictions followed the precedent set in the 18th century: "Europe [is] seen as a land of external elegance and beauty, in contrast to Russia, the admirable qualities of which cannot be expressed in concrete, visual images but are felt nostalgically within the Russian heart."[325] Ely argues that Trediakovskii contributed to the commonplace where *russkii* space was defined by quality rather than quantity, and feeling rather than form. For Ely, this opposition eventually led to the characterisation of Western space as picturesque, a space of "external elegance and beauty," and *russkii* space as anti-picturesque, a space that is "consciously unbeautiful," but with "hidden glory."[326]

Tiutchev's poem, "*Russkii* Geography," continues the history of representing Russia as abstract [12^{O}]. In the poem, the lyrical persona tries unsuccessfully to identify Russia's borders, and this failure casts *russkii* space as literally limitless. This dynamic emerges in two rhetorical questions: "where are its limits?" and "where are its borders?" The lyrical persona responds to these questions with another one: "To the north, to the east, to the south, or to the sunset?" In this final question, the lyrical persona asks whether the limits are "to the north" (на север), rather that "in the north" (на севере) – further complicating the project to define the space's boundaries. This is because the limits are not set in a specific location (i.e. somewhere *in* the north) but rather in a general direction (i.e. somewhere *to* the north).[327] It is also important to remark that the fourth missing spatial coordinate is the "west," a lacuna that emphasises the borderlessness of the *russkii* space, because there is no attempt to mark where "Russia" ends and "the West" begins. Rather, the poem invokes the sunset (which takes the place of the West), a symbol of abstract location and of limitlessness; just like the sun, the edges of *russkii* space curve around the horizon and disappear out of sight.

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[324] Ely, p. 33: "Trediakovskii's imagistic admiration of Paris, as opposed to his abstract glorification of Russia, helped establish an important pattern in Russian representations of East and West that would continue into the twentieth century."
[325] Ely, p. 33.
[326] Ely, pp. IX, 134.
[327] The questions refer to motion rather than location because the preposition "на" takes the accusative case.

Nikolai Gogol contributes to this descriptive paradigm in his application of the abstract *russkii* to the Russian language. As discussed in Chapter One, the connection between language and identity is based upon the assumption that one culture (or nation) has one language, in which their spirit and character are expressed. This connection – noted in Gasparov's essay – emerges in Turgenev's depiction of the Russian language, discussed in the first category. For Gogol, the Russian language is "without definition" (беспределен) and possesses a "limitless number of dialects" (бесчисленны наречия) [12^{P}]. This characterisation of the language creates a parallel to *russkii* spatial dimensions from Gogol's *Dead Souls*: the language has no definition, just as the expanse has no boundaries. Further, Gogol describes the nebulous language as "as lively as life" (живой, как жизнь), just as the *troika* – the symbol of Russia's miraculous future destiny, as mentioned – is characterised as "lively" (бойкий) in the final passage of *Dead Souls*.[328] This demonstrates a link not only between language and character, but also between the traits of Russia as lively and Russia as abstract. For Gogol, the inability to clearly define something shows it to be all the more powerful.

How does this apply to specific traits of the *russkii* character? Here I turn to the description of Goncharov's Oblomov. As mentioned, the character of Oblomov has been taken to stand in for the *russkii* character, as evidenced by Dobroliubov's essay, "What is Oblomovitis?"[329] While I provide an extended discussion of this essay in Chapter Six, for now it suffices to remark that Dobroliubov analyses the character as standing in for aspects of *russkii* society. In the first passage of the novel – and thus the keynote description of the hero – Oblomov's facial expression and mental state are depicted as indefinite [12^{Q}]. His eyes are cast as "dark-gray, but with the absence of any kind of definite ideas." The ideas that do occur to him "[fly] across his face like a free bird."[330] While this may seem to be an incidental description, this image sets the tone for the remaining novel; this "absence of any kind of definite ideas" encompasses Oblomov's inactivity, his spiritual purity, his incompetence in practical affairs, and his unusual trajectory as the hero of a novel who does not end up with the heroine, but rather with his landlady.

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[328] "Не так ли и ты, Русь, что бойкая необгонимая тройка несешься?" As mentioned, I continue this discussion in Chapter Five; see <http://az.lib.ru/g/gogolx_n_w/text_0140.shtml>, site accessed 2 August 2010.

[329] N. A. Dobroliubov, "Chto takoe oblomovshchina?" at <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Что_такое_обломовщина%3F_(Добролюбов)>, site accessed 24 March 2010.

[330] "Мысль гуляла вольной птицей по лицу."

7. Conclusion: *Russkii* as Internal, *Nemets* as External

It is appropriate to conclude the first Practical Application with an examination of the location of *russkii* and *nemets* essence – a category that relates to a numbers of the traits covered thus far. By "location of essence," I mean that I explore where the essential characteristics of the *russkii* and *nemets* are described as residing. For the *russkii* character, the essence is located internally; this means that surface descriptions are cast as unreliable and misleading indicators for comprehending its content.

The impossibility of comprehending Russia through observations of its exterior emerges in four texts I have covered thus far: Tiutchev's "non-rational" Russia (in that Russia cannot be understood by logic), Widdis's description of *russkii* space as *neob"iatnyi* (unbounded), Ely's chapter "Outer Gloom and Inner Glory,"[331] and Gasparov's description of the Slavophiles' "anti-rational" conception of the Russian language. According to these four sources, *russkii* essence emerges as nebulous, and attempts to define it or to measure it are frustrated. In the poetry of Tiutchev, the inability to understand Russia by means of logic involves a spatial metaphor: Russia cannot be measured by *arshins* – even though these metrics can apply to other spaces, and, by extension, other peoples. This aspect connects to Widdis's description of the *neob"iatnyi prostor*, where *russkii* spatial dimensions are impossible to define, and the extent of the landscape cannot be grasped by the observer. For Ely argues, *russkii* space was imagined as unattractive but belying hidden superiority. This means the surfaces of the space do not indicate what exists within; they even present an opposite picture, in that "gloomy" opposes "glorious." Finally, in Gasparov's depiction of Slavophile linguistics, the essence of the Russian language exists outside the bounds of logical definition, because the rules defy definition.

Sergei Eisenstein's film *Aleksandr Nevskii*, which follows medieval battles between the *russkie* and *nemtsy*, exploits this aspect of the *russkii* Self Image. As the action leads up to the final battle sequence, Nevskii calls the *russkii narod* to arms. Demonstrating the hidden potentiality of *russkii* interiors, and also the "inner glory" of the *neob'iatnyi prostor*, *russkii* peasant-warriors literally spring out from the open landscape to answer Nevskii's summons.

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[331] Ely, pp. 134-164.



Figure 3.2: Two frames from Aleksandr Nevsky, *Sergei Eisenstein, 1938*[332]

The wasteland space of the landscape (in the first frame) belies the power and potential within the land (in the second frame). In this sequence, the boundless space begets the *russkii narod*, who emerge from the desolate plain to claim victory over the *nemtsy*.

How else does the internal/external distinction apply to the categories under discussion? The interiors/surfaces opposition also ties to the *russkii* and *nemets* "approach to life," of "irrationality" versus "rationality." This is because the *nemets*, cast as bound by consistency, predictability, and rational law, is understandable as a surface; once you observe the *nemets* from the external perspective, you discover its essence, as imagined in the repetition of identical streets and churches in the *russkii* Berlin. On the other hand, the *russkii* is cast as impossible to understand by logic, or to "measure in *arhsins*," as Tiutchev's image holds. Because the Self Image is cast as indefinite, boundless, free, nascent (as "youthful"), spiritual, and irrational, exteriors are not sufficient indicators to understand the *russkii* – and Russia's actual essence remains hidden out of sight.

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[332] *Aleksandr Nevskii.* Dir. Sergei Eisenstein. Mosfilm, 1938.

3.3.2. Images and Identity

In the first Practical Application, I address how the Image Studies methodology categorises types of images, and I demonstrate how these categories apply to the *nemets* Hetero Image and the *russkii* Self Image in mid-19th-century literature. I have also mentioned that the traits for both images support and emphasise each other; *nemets* as explicit, orderly, rational, arrogant, demonic, and restricted – and *russkii* as abstract, disorderly, irrational, humble, spiritual, and free. The *nemets* emerges as a series of exteriors, where outward perception is a reliable indicator for understanding their character. The *russkii* is the polar opposite of this, with a hidden essence that cannot be measured or expressed in rational terms.

While I have discussed the opposition between *russkii* and *nemets* traits, I have yet to address the role of the *nemets* image in defining *russkii* identity. That is, I have investigated *how* the image of the *nemets* opposes the *russkii*, but not *why*. This concern motivates the second Practical Application of the Imagological method.

Imagologists assert that one group describes another group based upon how the first group desires to see itself. Therefore, a list of diametric opposites is not enough to elucidate a Hetero Image; it is imperative to investigate the discursive role of the Hetero Images within the cultural context. Leerssen's work regarding Irish identity illustrates this type of investigation. He argues that Irish identity has arisen as a Savage within Europe, and in contrast to the image of the English.[333] The process of viewing the Irish as violent and uncivilised – typified by the stock characters of the "Stage Irishman" or the "IRA Irishman" – constructs English identity as lawful, reasonable, and civilised. For Leerssen, this opposition has been appropriated by Irish culture to construct the image of the musical, poetic Irishman.[334] Spiering has also argued that a number of traits taken to be traditionally "British" are themselves diametric opposites of the "French," with consequences that continue to play out to this day.[335]

In his study of "Germans" in American literature, Zacharasiewicz motivates in general terms how one group describes another in order to define itself. For

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[333] For a discussion of defining Irishness in terms of "non-Britishness," see the *Imagology* Handbook survey article on the Irish, pp. 191-194, and also Joep Leerssens, "Language Revivalism Before the Twilight," in *Forging in the Smithy: National Identity and Representation in Anglo-Irish Literary History,* ed. J. Leerssen, A. H. van der Weel, and B. Westerweel (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1995), pp. 133-144, esp. p. 134. Here, Leerssen argues "a marginalized Gaelic heritage was eagerly seized upon for a contemporary national purpose, in order to emphasize Ireland's inherent non-Britishness." See also Leerssen's "Echoes and Images," pp. 123-125 for Ireland's transformation into "Elfland" – a romanticised and magical anti-Britain – even by Irish poets such as William Allingham.

[334] See Leerssen, *Imagology*, p. 194.

[335] For a discussion on Britishness defined in terms of Frenchness, see Spiering, pp. 116-123.

Zacharasiewicz, it is important not only to investigate the cultural context of the Hetero Image, but also to examine the political and ideological stakes of representing the Other:

> If literature is not differentiated according to criteria of form and aesthetic effect, but is understood as part of social practice, in which the power politics of dominant groups and the interplay of forces acquire considerable importance, then the images of foreign peoples and countries mediated by literature attain even greater significance. Their informative value is enhanced and they may potentially provide special insight into the tensions within one's own culture and society.[336]

In the second Practical Application, I aim to follow Zacharasiewicz's lead and address how the image of the *nemets* provides "special insight into the tensions" within *russkii* culture and society. This Practical Application is thus guided by the following question: how does the *nemets* Hetero Image elucidate problematic aspects of *russkii* identity?

Practical Application 2: Nemtsy at the Fault Lines of Russkii Identity

This Practical Application investigates the "fault lines" of *russkii* identity and follows the following argument. As long as there exist contradictory aspects of *russkii* identity that cannot be reconciled vis-à-vis each other, there also exists the need for an Other with which to contrast the Self. But as long as the Other is deployed in the discourse, the original paradoxes are never solved – they are only temporarily negotiated. Further, the image of the Other contains the problematic aspects of the Self, and this turns the process into a self-perpetuating loop.

Before I address the role of the *nemets* in this process, it is necessary to identify the problematic aspects of the *russkii* Self. "Fault lines" of *russkii* identity – which correspond to Zacharasiewicz's cultural and social "tensions" – can be observed in the following five paradoxes: Russia as an empire and a nation-state; Russianness as defined by religion, ethnicity, and language;[337] the Russian state as ruled by foreigners and by an autochthonous dynasty; the *russkii narod* as a set of classes and a holistic people; and Russia as a coloniser and a colony. Each paradox represents a crack in the foundation of *russkii* identity, and, to extend the spatial metaphor, deploying the image of the Other supports the foundation at the basis of the construction of the Self. The aim of this Practical Application is to identify how the *nemets* affects these "fault lines," and thus to move from the theoretical level of identity construction to the practical level. Because any depiction of the *nemtsy* defines the *russkii* Self Image, these paradoxes serve as my

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[336] Zacharasiewicz, p. 2.

[337] By "ethnicity," I mean as a tribe, people, linked by blood rather than an imagined connection (the *russkii ethnie*). See *Imagology*, pp. 377-380, for a discussion of this distinction.

answer as to why the *nemtsy* appear with such high frequency in the history of Russian literature – the *nemets* is unavoidable in any work that seeks to describe the *russkii* character or the position of Russia in the world.

For each paradox I discuss here, I examine how other scholars have motivated the problems of *russkii* identity. I also provide an argument for how the image of the *nemets* affects the process of defining the Self. As with the first Practical Application, this Section summarises the conclusions drawn from the scholarly material up to this point, and it introduces the texts and concepts that I utilise in the final three Chapters of this thesis.

A. Is Russia an Empire or a Nation-State?

The first paradox I discuss centres upon how the social composition of the Russian state is imagined. Is Russia a multi-ethnic, expanding, heterogeneous empire, or is it a primarily *russkii*-inhabited, geographically stable, homogenous nation-state?[338] The answer to this seems obvious; from Peter's reign up until the Bolsheviks, Russia defined itself politically and territorially in imperial terms and was ruled by an "emperor/empress of all-Russia" (император всероссийский / императрица всероссийская). But while 19th-century social life can be defined as imperial, this did not prohibit characterisations of Russia as inhabited only by *russkie*. Sazonova and Mirsky, whom I discuss in Chapter One, illustrate this perspective: they assume the "purity" of the *russkie* (i.e. the stability of the category "*russkii*"), and also the invasive nature of the *nemtsy*, who are imagined as an external group. An illustration of Russia as a nation also appears in Pogodin's assertion in 1852 that, "Russia is one integral state, one integral people, confessing one faith, speaking one language, and bound to one ruler!"[339] Here, Russia is imagined as containing political, spatial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and dynastic categories that coincide with each other.

Vladimir Korolenko, a writer and journalist who was active at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, advances a similar view of Russia. For him, *russkii*

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[338] See Tolz's chapter, "Imaginative Geography: Russian Empire as a Russian Nation-State," pp. 155-190. See also Andreas Kappeler, "Mazepintsy, Malorossy, Khokhly: Ukrainians in the Ethnic Hierarchy of the Russian Empire," in *Culture, Nation and Identity,* p. 162-181, esp. p. 169; here Kappeler addresses the mingling of the "ethno-national elements" with the "dynastic, estate, cultural, and religious principles." See also Paul Bushkovitch, "What is Russia? Russian National Identity and the State," in *Culture, Nation and Identity,* pp. 144-161. On p. 156, Bushkovitch discusses the "Movement toward an ethnic definition of Russia."

[339] This quote is contextualised by Olga Andriewsky in "The Russian-Ukrainian Discourse and the Failure of the 'Little Russian Solution,' 1782-1917," in *Culture, Nation and Identity*, pp. 182-214, esp. pp. 209-210; Andriewsky cites Nikolai Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina* (22 vols), Vol. 12 (St. Petersburg, 1888-1910), pp. 418-422.

identity is based upon the connection between the *narod* and *russkii* space, which is dramatised through the actions of breathing the air and gazing at the landscapes: "We are Russian because we were born in Russia; from birth we have breathed Russian air and gazed upon Russia's sad and desolate but also sometimes beautiful nature."[340] Korolenko implies that the defining characteristic of Russianness is birth within Russia. Because he was born in Zhitomir, this image of the *russkii* territory extends into the Ukraine, and it imagines the category of ethnic *russkie* to includes the Ukrainians. This attitude demonstrates the paradox in this aspect of *russkii* identity: Korolenko and Pogodin imagine that a *russkii* is one who is born on the *russkii* land and who was nurtured by the *russkii* soil, yet not everyone born in Russia is a *russkii*, such as Pushkin's Germann and Chekhov's Sharlotta.[341] Further, even though Korolenko identifies as a "*russkii*," it does not follow that others from Zhitomir (or Zhytomyr, as the term is transliterated from Ukrainian) would identify as such.

Goncharov's Shtol'ts illustrates another type that does not fit the *russkie*-from-Russia definition. While he was born on *russkii* soil to a *russkii* mother, he is characterised by the *russkii* Tarant'ev as an "accursed *nemets*" (немец проклятый). This depiction accesses the image of the "demonic *nemets*" and thus casts Shtol'ts as Other to the *russkii*.[342] Tarant'ev label also illustrates Saunders's "conceptual instability of the foreign," discussed in Chapter One: membership in the *russkii* group is subjective, unstable, and conferred upon an individual by others. Even though Shtol'ts qualifies to be a *russkii* (because he meets Korolenko's standard of the "*russkii* soil," and Pogodin's standard of the "*russkii* people") he can be denied inclusion to the category.

In addition to the problems this definition of the *russkii* encounters in Shtol'ts's hybridity, it cannot account for the "foreigners" who were born in the Russian state. To cite an historical exemplar, Korolenko's model cannot account for the *Nemetskaia sloboda*, where foreigners – even those who had been born in Muscovy – dwelled in the century before Peter's rule.[343] In specific terms, Lindsey Hughes argues that Westerners appear as an alien urban minority in the writing of Saltykov-Shchedrin, even if they were born within the bounds of *russkii* space.[344]

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[340] Ely, p. 3, translates V. G. Korolenko, *Sobranie sochinenii, Vol.* 3 (Leningrad, 1990), p. 232.
[341] See Chapter One for an analysis of Sharlotta and Germann.
[342] "Вот нашел благодетеля! прервал его Тарантьев. Немец проклятый, шельма продувная!.."
[343] See my discussion in Chapter One.
[344] For more on the *Nemetskaia sloboda* and Saltykov-Shchedrin's projection of *nemtsy*, see Lindsey Hughes, "Attitudes Towards Foreigners in Early Modern Russia," in *Russia and the Wider World in*

The paradox of defining the Russian state has continued to the present day. The question of nation-state versus empire has been so complicated in post-Soviet political science that it prompted the following series of questions from Stephen E. Hanson: "Although about four-fifths of its population are ethnically Russian, the Russian Federation contains hundreds of other ethnic groups, some of which are now struggling for greater autonomy or – in the case of **Chechnya** – full independence. Shall we call Russia a European, an Asian, or a 'Eurasian' state? Is Russia a nation or an empire?" [emphasis in original][345] This issue is exacerbated when one considers that "ethnic" *russkie* – not counting Ukrainians and Byelorussians – comprised less than half the population of the Russian Empire.[346]

Because of the status of the *nemets* as the default external and internal Westerner, the *nemets* simultaneously defines Russia as empire and as nation. The *nemtsy* can buttress the image of Russia-as-empire because they represent the external polities against which the empire defends the imperial borders, and they also represent one component of the empire's multi-national character. But while the *nemets* can adopt these two roles – as political Other and as reflective of heterogeneous empire – the image can access national categories, and represent a social or ethnic Other. In this sense, the *nemets* can undermine the imperial identity: to imagine the *nemets* within Russia raises the questions of what it means to be *russkii*, and what separates "them" from "us." This leads to the paradox of defining the *russkii narod* as that which emerges from the *russkii* soil, and the *russkii* soil as that which exists for the *russkii narod.* Therefore, the *nemets* reinforces and undermines both conceptions of the social makeup of the Russian state. This dualistic function of reinforcing and undermining the "fault line," we shall see, emerges in each of the other paradoxes under discussion.

B. Is a *Russkii* Defined by Religion, Race, or Language?

While the two positions in the first paradox characterise the social character of the Russian state in different terms, they both imply that defining a *russkii* is unproblematic. But how does one define the overarching category to which the "*russkie*" belong? Is membership based upon religion? Or upon being "ethnically" Slavonic? Mikhail Katkov

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Historical Perspective: Essays for Paul Dukes, ed. Cathryn Brennan and Murray Frame (New York, Basingstoke, and London, 2000), p. 15. See also Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 59.

[345] Stephen E. Hanson, "Russia," in *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order,* pp. 205-253, esp. p. 205.

[346] See Daniel Field's online article "Nationality Groups in Russia around 1900," at the Brown University online resource site, <http://www.choices.edu/resources/supplemental_russianrevolution_2.php>, site accessed 30 May 2010.

addressed these questions in 1862 in a discussion regarding the relationship between Russia and Ukraine, where he anticipated Korolenko in his conflation of what it means to be *russkii*. Katkov's assertion follows the Russia-as-nation line of thinking from the first paradox, but he does not extend the same ability to possess nationhood to another people within the empire, the Ukrainians:[347] "from time immemorial the Russian nation has lived in Little Russia; here the Russian state had its origins, here began the Russian faith, and here the Russian language had its beginnings."[348] As with Korolenko, Katkov asserts that "Little Russia" is part of the "Russian Nation," and he images that the religious, ethnic, and linguistic categories overlap.

In addition to the dissonance caused by subsuming the Ukrainian language, culture, and history under the label "*russkii,*" the overlapping categories are problematic themselves. This is because the two sets are not equivalent, and also because the inhabitants of Russia were neither uniformly Orthodox nor Slavonic in the 19th century. The overlapping of religion and ethnicity breaks down because the Slavs include many non-Orthodox groups, such as the Catholic Croats, Slovenes, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks, and also the Muslim Bosnians. In addition to this, the Baltic peoples, who were imagined to be partially Slavonic,[349] were primarily Roman Catholic and Lutheran. The Orthodox category includes many non-Slavs, including the Georgians, Greeks, and Armenians (though the majority of these populations belong to autochthonous Orthodox churches).[350] The project of imaging Russia as a unified Orthodox-Slavonic space is also undermined by the Great Schism of the 17th century; those who refuse Patriarch Nikon's reforms, known as the Old Believers, maintain separate spiritual communities to this day.[351] These problems are exacerbated by the fact that Ukrainians are Slavs, yet the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is autonomous (under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Moscow

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[347] On the problems of dividing the inheritance of Kievan *Rus'* between modern Russian and Ukraine, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 18-32, esp. pp. 21-22.

[348] Andriewsky, p. 210 (n. 71), cites *Sovremennaia letopis' Russkogo vestnika* (14 November 1862). The issue of Ukraine as imaged *russkii* space is the topic of Serhy Yekelchyk's essay on 19th-century and early 20th-century textbooks, "The Grand Narrative and Its Discontents: Ukraine in Russian History Textbooks and Ukrainian Students' Minds, 1830s-1900s," in *Culture, Nation, and Identity*, pp. 229-255, esp. p. 237 where he argues: "The major flaw of Ilovaisky's narrative [the writer of a popular textbook from the 1860s] is that his implicit use of the category of nationality undermines the basic principle of his scheme, i.e., the supreme rationality of the imperial structure, which knows only administrative divisions, not ethno-territorial ones."

[349] For more on the image of the Baltic peoples as partially Slavonic, see the discussion of Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* in Chapter Four.

[350] For details on the Orthodox peoples (separate through individual churches, unified by the larger religious structure), see Bushkovitch, "What is Russia?" pp. 147-148.

[351] For the persecution of the Old Believers, see Figes, pp. 306-307; see also Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 57-58.

Patriarchate).[352] Further, part of the population identifies as Ukrainian Greek Catholic, and there even exists a small percentage of Roman Catholics and Uniates in Western Ukraine and Belarus.[353]

This leads to a problem of definition: if one conflates territory, religion, language, and ethnicity, then there exist obvious exceptions to undermine the model. If these categories do not overlap, however, then the category to which the *russkie* belong proves ephemeral, and the term "*russkii*" does not make sense beyond describing citizenship to the state (for which, it must be noted, there already existed a word in Russian: *rossiiskii*). This logical quandary proved to be a practical one for the Panslav Slavophiles; as Riasanovsky has argued, they assumed that "the organism to which one belonged, namely Slavdom, [was] attested by the use of a Slavic language."[354] As seen in the first paradox, though, the *nemtsy* undermine this connection: many *nemtsy*, such as Shtol'ts and Sharlotta, speak Russian as their native tongue, yet they are not included in the category "*russkii*," let alone "Slavonic."

In spite of these complications, many writers found it unproblematic to equate Orthodoxy and Slavdom.[355] Dostoevsky followed Katkov's conflation of these two terms, and he used them as synonymous in a description of Russia's spiritual mission. In a discussion of Dostoevsky's sketches of "some possible subjects for... a series of 'epic legends in verse,'" Joseph Frank quotes the writer as portraying the following scene: it is a "Russian wedding," and it involves,

> Prince Ivan III [who married the last of the Byzantine royal family – J. F.] in his wooden hut instead of a palace, and there enters into that wooden hut the great idea of the Pan-Orthodox significance of Russia and the cornerstone laid for her supremacy in the East;... she is not to be simply a mighty country, but a whole new world whose destiny it is to know Christianity through the Pan-Slav Orthodox idea and offer mankind a *new* message when the West has decayed, and it will decay when the Pope

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[352] Today there are three Ukrainian Orthodox Churches: the Moscow Patriarchate, the Kyiv Patriarchate (founded 1992-1997), and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (founded 1921); see the following note for a breakdown of religious affiliation as of 2006.

[353] For a discussion of how the Uniates and Catholics in Ukraine evoked "suspicion" and "hostility" from many Muscovites, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 56, 226. On the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, see Bushkovitch, pp. 147-148. For an example of the conflation of the Ukrainians with the *russkie* as "the Orthodox [people]," or as the "*russkii* people," see Yekelchyk, pp. 234, 239, 240. For a population breakdown of contemporary Ukraine, between the Kievan and Moscow Patriarchates and Greek Catholicism, see the Razumkov Centre's 2006 sociological study "On the religious situation in Ukraine," at <http://razumkov.org.ua/ukr/poll.php?poll_id=300>, site accessed 1 August 2010.

[354] Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* p. 198.

[355] For a discussion of how Dostoevsky described Catholicism and Socialism as threatening to national status – which assumes that the Panslav idea is "national" – see Herrmann, "Die neue europäische Ordnung," pp. 491-492.

> has completely distorted the image of Christ and thus engendered atheism among the defiled peoples of the West.[356]

In this picture of a united East and West under the Russian Orthodox banner, Dostoevsky accesses a number of aspects of the *russkii* Self Image discussed in the previous Practical Application. First, the *russkii* is cast as humble, because Ivan III has come to this decision in a wooden hut, "instead of a palace." Secondly, the image of the *russkii* is associated with vitality, as opposed to the "decay" of the West (anticipating Lenin, Blok, and Lukianenko). Thirdly, the *russkii* is cast as spiritual, while the West is either falling to atheism, or it is in thrall to the distortions of the Pope. Dostoevsky also equates the terms "pan-Slav" and "Orthodox," even though this image of unity can be undermined by Polish loyalty to Rome, and also by the inclusion of the Catholic Czechs, Slovaks, Croatians and Slovenes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[357] The paradox to head all "Slavonic Orthodox" countries intersected with the paradox of Russia as an empire and nation in the 1870s: prominent *russkie* supported intervention in the Balkans to aid Serbian national aspiration, while dismissing Ukrainian nationalism within the Russian imperial borders.[358]

Dostoevsky's story of Prince Ivan III raises the possibility of a constructive role for the *nemets* in the Panslav discourse. Slavdom and Orthodoxy appear reconcilable only in relation to an Other who collapses the space between the two categories; both the Slavs and the Orthodox are more different in relation to the *nemtsy* than they are to each other. Depicting the heathen, foreign *nemets* thus enables the image of the pious Orthodox Panslav. But this move carries two problems. First, it is possible to undermine the simplistic picture of "Russianness" with instances of cultural hybridity: Goncharov's Andrei Shtol'ts was born inside Russia, he speaks Russian natively, and he has *russkii* heritage and exposure to Orthodoxy, but he is labelled a *nemets* by Tarant'ev. Secondly, dissonance emerges when we consider the Russified *nemtsy*, such as Chekhov's Diderits,

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[356] Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865-1871* (Princeton and Chichester, 1995), p. 359, cites F. M. Dostoevskii, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, ed. and annotated by G. M. Fridlender et al., 30 vols., Vol. 29 /bk. 1 (Leningrad, 1972-1990), p. 40. For contextualisation of Dostoevsky's Panslavism, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* p. 193.

[357] For the Slavophile K. Aksakov's rationalisation of Catholic Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire – where he argues that the Czechs should draw upon their "Slavonic spirit" – see Edward Chmielewski, *Tribune of the Slavophiles: Konstantin Aksakov* (Gainesville, 1961), p. 87-90.

[358] D. Saunders, "Russia, the Balkans, and Ukraine in the 1870s," in *Russia and the Wider World*, pp. 85-89.

the husband of the eponymous *Lady with Lapdog*; he speaks fluent Russian, is Orthodox, and yet he is also assumed to be a *nemets* [13^{R}].[359]

The role of the *nemets* in relation to defining the *russkii* is therefore complex: the image represents the religious and ethnic Other, but also an aspect of the Self – such as in the case of Orthodox *nemtsy* who speak fluent Russian. The *nemtsy* also simultaneously represent the people to save, as representative of the corrupted West – but also, in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the people from whom to save the corrupted, Catholic Slavs. One final paradox within a paradox is that the Slavophiles defined *russkii* spiritual exceptionalism in terms of German Idealistic Philosophy; and, as Riasanovsky has argued, the theory of Panslavism "could also be regarded as most especially German."[360] The *nemets* thus fortifies and undermines the image of the *russkii* as defined by their Orthodox and Slavonic "nature."

C. Who rules Russia – Foreigners, or a *Russkii* Dynasty?

Are the Romanovs a *russkii* or *nemets* dynasty? This paradox involves the confluence of two currents of discourse: the isolated nature of pre-Petrine Muscovy and 18th-century theories of nations. The Muscovite Romanov dynasty had been largely insular and contained within Muscovy up to the time of Peter the Great.[361] Once Peter elected to take a Lithuanian peasant as his second wife, the tradition of Muscovites ruled by Muscovites was over.[362] This move was emphasised by the symbolic shift of central power from Moscow, the centre of Russian Orthodox space, to the newly founded Petersburg. Peter also found a foreign bride for his son, Alexis, which initiated the tradition of Romanovs marrying members of foreign royal families as opposed to *russkii* boyar families. This introduction of foreign presence, along with the other Westernising Petrine reforms, was a shocking introduction to a city that only a century before had created a special enclosure to separate the foreigners from the *russkie.*[363] Peter's close contact with the *nemtsy*, in addition to the introduction of his reforms, led to the outbreak

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[359] See also Chekhov's Tuzenbakh, discussed in the conclusion to Chapter Six. The character's name is often rendered as "von Diederitz" but for the sake of continuity – and because the husband is labelled a non-*nemets* by his wife – I render the surname, "Diderits."

[360] For the German Idealistic Philosophical roots of Slavophilism, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* p. 156; for the irony of Panslavism as a German idea, see p. 198.

[361] For an account of traditional Muscovy insulation in conflict with Peter's second marriage, see Massie, *Peter the Great*, pp. 385-395, 590-1, 858-861.

[362] *Ibid.*

[363] See Lindsey Hughes, "Attitudes towards Foreigners," pp 6-7. The *Nemetskaia sloboda* was established to protect the *russkie* from foreign contamination, and also to protect the *nemtsy* from being attacked by Moscow peasants, who feared and distrusted them. See Massie, pp. 113-118; for dangers to foreigners, see pp. 5, 281. For a recent contextualisation of Peter's impact upon *russkii* society, see Riasanovsky's chapter, "The Reign of Peter the Great," in *Russian Identities,* pp. 74-87.

of rumours that he was a foreigner.[364] This was followed by another rumour, which stated that Peter would force the *russkie* to marry foreigners. This led to a panic in Astrakhan that resulted in the rushed mass wedding of 100 women, the beheading of the local governor, and the establishment of a new local government.[365]

The foreign presence near the *russkii* throne may have caused panic in the early 18th century, but an entirely new set of problems arose by the latter part of the century. European states gradually transformed from political dynasties into nation-states, and the European public came under the influence of the theories of the nation, as developed by Schelling, Herder, and Hegel.[366] How, then, to reconcile a Russia inhabited by *russkie* (at least in popular imagination), but with an increasingly "Europeanised" ruling class, and with foreigners on the throne?[367] Such a situation emerges in Lazhecknikov's *Ice Palace*, where the *nemets* villain Biron oppresses the positive *russkii* character, Volynskii, during

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[364] As Robert K. Massie describes the scene, "The Volga merchants grumbled about their new taxes, the peasants complained about the tolls on the bridge, the fishermen protested the restrictions on their catch and no one liked Peter's foreign innovations. Into this flammable tinder poured incendiary rumors: The Tsar was dead, the foreigners had nailed him up in a barrel and thrown him into the sea; an imposter, perhaps even the Antichrist, now sat upon the throne of Russia" (406). See also Ronald Hingley, *Russia: A Concise History* (London, 2003; 1973), p. 81. For another account of Peter as a *nemets* Antichrist who had been born in the *Nemetskaia sloboda,* see Lindsey Hughes, "Attitudes towards Foreigners," p. 10.

[365] Massie discusses the panic in Astrakhan on pp. 406-407. For references to Peter as Antichrist, see pp. 126, 681, 819; for rumours regarding Peter becoming a *nemets*, see p. 254. For contextualisation of Peter as Antichrist, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 83-86.

[366] For the changing context of the "nation" in Germany – from a humanistic concern in the 16th century to the Enlightenment discourse to the establishment of nationalism is the 19th century – see Stefan Berger, "Germany: Ethnic Nationalism par excellence?" in *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford and New York, 2006), pp. 42-61, esp. pp. 42-43. For an account of the influence of Fichte and Herder, see p. 44. For the *russkii* context, see Ana Siljak, "Between East and West: Hegel and the Origins of the Russian Dilemma," in the *Journal of the History of Ideas,* Vol. 62, n. 2 (April, 2001), pp. 335-358, esp. p. 338. For contextualisation of German Idealistic Philosophy in Russia, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 141-143, 150-151, 155-158. For a classical account of the influence of Hegel and Schelling on the Stankevich circle, see Janko Lavrin, "Chaadayev and the West," in *Russian Review,* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Jul., 1963), pp. 274-288, esp. pp. 277-278. For the influence of Schelling upon Ivan Kireevskii, see Raymond McNally, "Ivan Kireevskij," in *Studies in Soviet Thought*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Nov., 1986), pp. 367-382, esp. p. 367; for the influence of Herder upon Russian historical thinking, see p. 369. For the influences of Hegel, see Michael Hughes, "State and Society in the Political Thought of the Moscow Slavophiles," in *Studies in East European Thought*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sep., 2000), pp. 159-183, esp. pp. 162, 171, 181 (n. 14). For a contextualisation of Herder's role in the construction of national character, see Leerssen, *Imagology*, p. 18; for Hegel see pp. 18-19.

[367] See Dagmar Herrmann, "Aleksandr Herzens Probleme mit den Deutschen," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19. Jahrhundert: Von der Jahrhundertwende bis zu den Reformen Alexanders II,* ed. Dagmar Herrmann and Alexander L. Ospovat (München 1998), pp. 873-937, esp. pp. 929-931. Vera Grigor'evna Galaktionova, a contemporary writer, characterises the *russkii* ruler Aleksei Mikhalych as a "*Nemets* tsar" in her folk-tale "The Big Cross": Как, знашь, Романовы-немцы на русском престоле сели, и как русски токо цари все кончились, вот истинно русску веру нашу настоящу Алексей Михалыч — немец-царь — под землю и загнал. Русской ведь веры — Иргизски-то монастыри сроду!" From <http://www.moskvam.ru/2001/11/galaktionova.htm>, site accessed 31 October 2009.

the reign of Anna Ioannovna.[368] N. Petrunina contextualises this scene as follows: "Entering into single combat with Biron, Volynskii made a defiant challenge not only against the clique of foreigners, who had bestowed upon themselves the privilege to 'rob, punish, and pardon the *russkie.*'"[369]

This applies to the *nemtsy* because they represent either an external, Foreign threat from which the *russkii* dynasty must protect the people (as in Eisenstein's *Aleksandr Nevskii*), or they represent the rulers themselves: not only was Peter characterised as a foreigner due to his reorganisation of *russkii* society, but many rulers were *nemtsy*, such as the German-born Catherine the Great. And, even though the six tsars who succeeded Catherine were born in Russia, the paradox of a *nemets russkii* dynasty continued: tsars Nicholas I and Alexander II were 7/8 *nemets* and only 1/8 *russkii*, because only one of their great-grandparents, Elizabeth, was *russkii*.[370] In addition to this, Peter the Great and his successors imported large numbers of *nemtsy* to work for the government, and they represented a class that was resented by the 19th-century intelligentsia.[371]

D. Does the *Russkii Narod* Consist of a Set of Classes or a Holistic People?

Just as the tsar-as-*nemets* emerges as a fault line of *russkii* identity following Peter's Westernisation, so does the *russkii*-as-*nemets*. This is not only because the social changes at the beginning of the 18th century introduced foreign marriages and foreigners to the ranks of the government, but also because they divided the "Westernised" upper class from the peasantry.[372] Riasanovsky describes the effect upon *russkii* identity as follows:

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[368] Ivan Lazhechnikov, *Ledianoi dom*, at <http://az.lib.ru/l/lazhechnikow_i_i/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 9 August 2010.

[369] "Вступая в единоборство с Бироном, Волынский бросает дерзкий вызов не только клике пришлецов, присвоивших себе право 'грабить, казнить и миловать русских.'" See N. Petrunina's introduction, "The Novel *Ice Palace* and its Author," from the "Nadornaia asveta" (Minsk, 1985) edition of *Ledianoi dom*, at <http://az.lib.ru/l/lazhechnikow_i_i/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 30 May 2010. This historical situation, however, was far from clear-cut, as Trediakovskii, one of the innovators of Russia versification, sided with Biron. For historical and literary contextualisation, see Irina Reyfman, *Vasilii Trediakovsky: The Fool of the "New" Russian Literature* (Stanford, 1990), pp. 125-127, esp. p. 125: "[Trediakovskii] was an enemy of Volynsky and even cashed in on Volynsky's execution, receiving compensation for the beatings that he sustained from the former cabinet minister."

[370] Peter's daughter, Empress Elizabeth, married Charles Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Their son, Peter III, married Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, the woman who would later take the throne as Catherine II (the Great). Catherine's son, Paul, married Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg; their children were Alexander and Nicholas. Even Elizabeth's status as a *russkii* is problematic because of her mother's Foreign status; see Massie, p. 385.

[371] Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 57.

[372] Lotman argues that this "Westernisation" was subjectively experienced; see Lotman, "The Poetics of Everyday Behavior," in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History*, ed. A. D. Nakhimovsky and A. S. Nakhimovsky (Ithaca and London, 1985), esp. pp. 61, 69-70.

> A study of the popular reaction to the first emperor serves to emphasize the vastness of the divide between Peter the Great and his associates on the one hand and his people on the other. The gulf between the two sides was to widen even farther in the decades following his death, when serfdom reached its greatest extent in Russia, while the educated and governing upper layer of society grew in numbers and in distinctiveness from the common people.[373]

The "gulf" between classes raises the following question: did the *russkii* aristocrats and intelligentsia have more in common with their European counterparts than with the *narod*? While the second paradox addresses definitions of the *russkii* from without, this paradox addresses definitions of the *russkii* from within: is there a single unifying concept in the term "*russkii*" that marks all *russkie* as more similar than different, or are the *russkii* educated classes forever split from the lower classes by their Western-style education, tastes, and their usage of foreign languages?

The problem of the Westernised elite in the 18th century is dramatised in Fonvizin's play, *The Minor*. In the play, the gentry have a better grasp of French than they do of Russian, and the main female character – the mother of the eponymous minor – demonstrates this problem while discussing a *liaison dangereuse*. During this passage, she utilises jarring Russian grammar, an imported adjective from the French (*amurnoe* from *l'amour*), and also French syntax. I diagram these aspects in underlined text, and I attempt to convey the comic nature of the language.

> **Madame Prostakova** (To Sof'ia). Give me the letter. (She nearly tears it apart). I wager that it's an amoursome [*amurnoe* instead of *liubovnoe*] letter. And I can guess who from. It's from that officer, who was searching to marry you [*iskal na tebe* instead of *khotel na tebia*; this follows the French syntax of *qui cherchait à te marier*][374] and onto who you also wanted to marry. Indeed, who kind [*kotoraia* instead of *kakaia*] of rogue gives off letters to you without my permission! I'll get my hands on him. So this is what we have lived to see. They write letters to girls! And girls are knowing readings and writings [*gramote umeiut* instead of *imeiut gramotnost'* or *umeiut pisat' i chitat'*]![375]

How does this Francophile Russian language apply to the *nemets*? Because of the Westernisation of the *russkii* upper classes, the possibility exists that referring to the Foreign actually applies to the Domestic. That is, does the *nemets akkuratnyi* ("careful

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[373] Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* p. 87.

[374] I am grateful to my Doctoral advisor Sarah Smyth for pointing out this connection and providing the French original.

[375] "*Г-жа Простакова* (К Софье.) Письмецо-то мне пожалуй. (Почти вырывает.) Я об заклад бьюсь, что оно какое-нибудь амурное. И догадываюсь, от кого. Это от того офицера, который искал на тебе жениться и за которого ты сама итти хотела. Да которая бестия без моего спросу отдает тебе письма! Я доберусь. Вот до чего дожили. К девушкам письма пишут! Девушки грамоте умеют!" Denis Fonvizin, *Nedorosl'*. From <http://lib.ru/LITRA/FONWIZIN/nedorosl.txt>, site accessed 31 October 2009.

nemets") in Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* represent the Foreign Other or the Foreign elements of the *russkii* Self? This line of reasoning enables my discussion of the "*nemets* within" in Chapter Six, where I argue that depictions of the *nemets* actually serve as commentary upon the *russkii* Self Image. For now, it suffices to remark that, within the context of Fonvizin's play, a characterisation of French traits applies to characters such as Madame Prostakova – and also the general societal Francophilia – rather than to an external Other.

While the "*nemets* within" can destabilise the category "*russkii,*" it can also reinforce it. As with the case of the "heathen *nemets*," the space between the upper and lower classes can be collapsed if an Other is posited to make the space between the two seem inconsequential. That is, while the *nemets* can call into question whether the gentry is actually *russkii*, it can also reaffirm the gentry's Russianness when the *nemets* traits oppose those that the *russkie* are imagined to share.

E. Is Russia a Coloniser or the Colonised?

The final paradox I discuss is a conceptual dilemma: unlike the other paradoxes, I do not ground it in specific exemplars for this present discussion, though I return to it in my discussion of Lermontov in Chapter Six. This dilemma continues the line of reasoning from the previous paradox, and investigates another fault line caused by Russia's Westernisation: is Russia a colonising force, or does it represent a space that was colonised by the West? On one hand, Russia was an imperial power and writers deployed, as Harsha Ram has recently demonstrated, an array of imperial notions within the poetic discourse.[376] On the other hand, Russia can be considered a cultural colony of the West, because *russkii* culture imported fashions, literary tastes, and forms of governance from the West. Russia thus takes part in the Westernising process externally as an empire, while simultaneously Westernising itself.[377]

Because Russia aligns with both categories, it resists total inclusion into either. Russia defies definition as a "coloniser" because it has possessed the escape hatch of being an imitator. And if we do define Russia as an empire, then where does the centre end and colonial space begin? This was a non-issue for other 19th-century imperial powers such as Britain and France, for whom the majority of colonial space existed

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[376] Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (Madison and London, 2003), pp. 3-27. One example is how modern versification and the empire were "established almost simultaneously in eighteenth-century Russia," p. 3; for the "growing ambivalence to the official state culture," see p. 4.

[377] For the process of "subjective Westernisation," see Lotman, "The Poetics of Everyday Behavior," esp. pp. 57, 61; for Westernisation during Peter's reign, see Massie, pp. 169-174, 250-253, 830-840; for cultural borrowings from the West, see Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* p. 150.

overseas rather than contiguously. But for Russia, it is a pressing question. Specifically, where does Russia end and Central Asia begin? Is Siberia a colony of Western Russia?[378] Is Western Russia a colony of Moscow?[379] On the other hand, Russia has never assumed the role of the "colonised" because of the size of country and the strength of its military.[380] Because of these factors, if we consider the standard categories of "empire" and "colony," Russia defied clean inclusion into either. It is possibly because of this resistance to categorisation that Sergei Solov'ev (1820-79) depicted Russia as "colonising itself" (колонизоваться).[381]

As mentioned, I return to this paradox in the close reading of Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* in Chapter Six. For now, it suffices to remark that the *nemets* is located in this paradox because it supplies the instruments for Westernising the periphery of *russkii* space, and also for Westernising the interior of *russkii* space.

3.4. Conclusions on the Practical Applications

Located at the fault line of *russkii* identity, the ideological functions of the *nemtsy* are varied, interconnected, and also contradictory. The *nemets* holds an ambiguous position in the process of identity construction, within and without the image of the *russkii*, simultaneously stabilising and destabilising elements of that Self Image. From the above explorations, I hope to have shown the radically different ways that the *nemets* image might appear in Russian literature. This serves as an introduction to my approach in this thesis and to the problematic aspects of *russkii* identity. It also serves as a refutation against any attempt to characterise the range of *nemets* material in Russian literature in a single sentence.

How do these explorations affect my interpretation of the literary texts and my approach to the spatial material? I argue that the *nemtsy* construct the *russkii* mythology

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[378] For motivation of this question, see Widdis, "Russia as Space," and Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," esp. pp. 766-767.

[379] In contemporary *russkii* discourse, it has becomes popular to refer to Russia as a "colony of Moscow." Vladimir Kaganskii asserts this idea in the form of a rhetorical question in the article "Russia? A Usual Unusual Country," in *Otechestvennye zapiski*, (No. 6, 2002): "Однажды на автобусной остановке мне все объяснил пьяный мясник, приезжий: 'Вы не поняли, что вы отдельно от страны? Я вот котлеты нарубаю. Но сердце я же рукой вынимаю, отдельно оно…' Есть основания согласиться с такой точкой зрения, но можно ли представить себе такое, что Россия — колония Москвы? И как тогда пойдет деколонизация? Ведь если есть империя — деколонизация неизбежна. Ты сам уверял, что империи не вечны." See <http://www.strana-oz.ru/?numid=7&article=293>, site accessed 2 August 2010. See also the epigraph to the Conclusion.

[380] A 31 October 2009 google.com search of the exact terms ("россия колония") [("Russia is a colony")] produced about 7,000 hits; Russia as a colony "of the USA" received 3,350 hits, "of England" 1,590 hits, and of "of Moscow" 2,220 hits.

[381] See Mark Bassin, "Turner, Solov'ev, and the 'Frontier Hypothesis,'" p. 498, where Bassin cites S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (29 vols.), Vol. 2 (Moscow, 1851-1876), p. 648.

of the Self, such as in the paradox of requiring the *nemets* to imagine the *russkie* as a unitary culture. In other words, I examine the stakes of representation to investigate how the literary images construct the *russkii* "imagined community" – Benedict Anderson's terminology for a group where "in the minds of each [member] lives the image of their communion," even though "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or hear of them."[382] This ties together a number of the claims I make above: first, I assume that depictions of *nemsty* in Russian literature have more to do with constructing *russkii* identity than with empirically attempting to "understand" *nemtsy*. Secondly, I assume that the terms "*russkii*" and "*nemets*" are both unstable labels that can be assigned or denied to individuals – and that they exist relative to one another. Thirdly, I assume that the image of the *nemets* develops over time and changes according to the context of a particular narrative and the author's ideological commitments (conscious or otherwise). Fourthly, the *nemets* functions as a diametric opposite to the *russkii* Self, but it also emerges as an internal aspect of that Self.

These four factors summarise how I deploy the Image Studies methodology in this thesis. They also serve as my conclusion on the approaches from Chapter One. The Essentialist approach imagines that identity is an essence that can be expressed rather than a discursive construct that is articulated. The Historicist approach assumes that literature reveals aspects of the world rather than aspects of the constructed world. The Biographical approach assumes that characters are generated by a writer's personal experiences, rather than by aesthetic conventions and reader expectation. Finally, the Stereotype Analysis approach assumes that there exists a single commonplace stereotype in a culture, rather than a dynamic set of traits.

It is not incidental that a tension in my own approach has arisen in this Chapter. On one hand, I have insisted that stereotypes change over time, and that they develop along with the imagined picture of the Self. On the other hand, I have included a chart of *russkii-nemets* traits in the previous Section, and I have identified five specific paradoxes of identity. I have done this not to fall into the trap of reducing stereotype to a static set, but to motivate my discussion in Part II of this thesis. The tensions demonstrate the necessity of adding the dimension of time to the Practical Applications: in the final three

[382] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York, 1991; 1983), pp. 1-8, esp. p. 6 (n. 9).

Chapters, I examine how and why the image of the *nemets* changed during the 19th century.

3.5. Conclusion: How does the *Nemets* Construct *Russkii* Identity?

It is appropriate to reiterate a number of conclusions from this Chapter before moving on to the analyses of Part II. As both an insider and outsider, the *nemets* can buttress the image of Russia as a nation-state and as an empire, depending upon how the *nemets* is located in relation to *russkii* space. If the *nemets* is depicted as at home in *russkii* space, the picture that emerges is one multiethnic, imperial space. If the *nemets* is an intruder, then Russia is imagined as a space specifically for the *russkii narod* – though, because no such pure *russkii* space exists, this leads back to the original problem. Further, the *nemets* simultaneously symbolises *russkii* uniqueness (as different from Western culture) and also the Westernised nature of *russkii* society (as part of Western culture). The *nemets* is thus, as I have argued, both an external Other and a figure that undermines the vision of a Russia entirely populated by "pure" *russkie*. The *nemtsy* may be born on the *russkii* land, share the language and even the Orthodox religion, but they never share the imagined ethnic/tribal connection to the *russkii*. As such, they can be marked as outsiders even if they prefer insider status. This problem is illustrated by Tuzenbakh in Chekhov's *Three Sisters*, who claims he is not a *nemets* two times in the play, yet is denied inclusion in the group.[383]

The instability of the term "*russkii*" creates the need to shore constantly the foundations of the identity construct. In order for "*russkii*" to appear as an unproblematic matter of common sense, the associated traits need to be rehearsed and redeployed to meet contemporary manifestations of the systemic fault lines of *russkii* identity. This means the unstable term "*russkii*" is reinforced temporarily by variations upon the term "*nemets,*" which gives meaning to the "*russkii*" traits through opposition. While variations emerge, the general shapes of these traits are themselves dependent upon a number of "deep structures" that organise the traits associated with the two categories. The "deep structures" organise huge amounts of data and filter the complexities of the world to present a recognisable and familiar spectrum of images for author and reader alike. But this leads to a paradox: the project to imagine the *nemets* as Other is problematic because the *nemets* is located at the fault lines of *russkii* identity, and any Othering relationship can be undermined by the "*nemets* within." There exists another paradox that is specific to the *russkii* cultural context: *russkii* identity defines itself as

[383] See Muza's discussion of Tuzenbakh, pp. 188-192.

opposed to the *nemets,* but it accomplishes this by means of *nemets* philosophical theories. Thus, the *russkii* Self internalises and externalises *nemets* cultural influence in order to define itself.

I am not the first scholar to link *russkii* identity to the concept of the Other. Monas, whose work is discussed in Chapter One, links the *nemets* and other foreigners to *russkii* identity, though he regards the process as a dead-end and an unproductive source of identity.[384] He argues, rather, that the main source of identity for *russkie* in the 19th and 20th centuries was the idealised image of the peasants.[385] The image of the *nemets*, however, actually constructs this image of a peasant; as I argue in the fourth paradox, the space between the *russkii* classes can be collapsed with a focus upon the *nemtsy* as antithetical to the *russkie*. I argue in Chapter Four that the image of the *muzhik* (male *russkii* peasant) becomes the repository of *russkii* identity, opposed to the *nemets* in writers such as Gogol, Herzen, and Sergei Aksakov. I therefore take the *nemets* as a necessary component for the image of the *muzhik* rather than as a parenthetical dead-end.

Anthony Cross explores depictions of the Other as an historical artefact, and he argues that the *russkie* utilised Western discursive technologies in order to define themselves.[386] For Cross, this caused the *russkii* producers of culture to become dependent upon and resentful towards the West.[387] His approach differs from mine because he analyses the Western cultural influence and personal interaction, but he does not examine the structure of the Other and its relationship to the image of the Self.

Vera Tolz assumes a perspective similar to Cross in her recent book on *russkii* identity. She investigates the process of creating *russkii* identity in relation to the imagined West in the cultural realm.[388] As such, Tolz examines *russkii* perspectives and depictions of the West in the broader context of intellectual history, but does not engage with the development of specific literary images.

There has been a significant amount of interest in the topic of *russkii* views of the *nemets* in German-language scholarship in the last 20 years. Wilfreid Pothoff provides an Imagological analysis of the *nemtsy* over the course of 130 years, from the time of

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[384] For the foreign characters as periphery figures, see Monas, pp. 83-85; this ties to Monas's argument that "Classical Russian literature is almost exclusively about Russians and it deals with a distinctly limited social milieu" (85).
[385] Monas, p. 91.
[386] Anthony Cross, "'Them': Russians on Foreigners," in *National Identity*, pp. 74-92.
[387] See Cross, pp. 82, 91-92.
[388] See the chapter "Russia and the West" in Tolz, *Russia*, pp. 69-131. She concludes that, "For the past three hundred years, the views of Russian intellectuals and to some extent the government as to what Russia has been, and should be, have been shaped more than anything else by a comparison with the West" (130).

Karamzin to Bely.[389] For Pothoff, literary images provide the means for a culture's self-protection, even in times that lack overt political or military conflict. He posits that images experience development during intracultural and intercultural crises, and he outlines four phases for the *nemets* image in the *russkii* context: from Karamzin to the Napoleonic Wars (where Germany appears as the home of sensitive, idealistic poets and philosophers), the 30s and the 40s (where there exists a growing ambivalence towards the *nemets*), the years following German unification in 1870/1871 (where Germany emerges as an external threat), and the turn of the century (where the threat dimension deepens). Pothoff's model is similar to mine in that he identifies the 1830s as a period of growing ambivalence towards *nemets* influence upon the *russkii*. Unlike his essay, though, I restrict the parameters of my investigation to the timeframe that encompasses his first and second phases. I also aim to develop both the causes and the effects of the crises that augment the structure of the *nemets* image.

Swetlana Oblenskaja establishes her model for the *nemtsy* in *russkii* culture in the title of her essay: "Belittled and Admired" ("Belächelt und Bewundert").[390] For her, the *nemtsy* occupied an ambivalent position in *russkii* culture, where the educated *russkie* respected and admired *nemets* philosophy and poetry, but disdained the petit bourgeois mentality of its middle classes – while the uneducated *russkie* classes (the *Volk*) also demonstrated ambivalence. For Obolenskaja, the perceptions of the educated classes were reinforced by Stankevich's position regarding the *nemtsy*, which was influential upon both Slavophiles and Westernisers: the *nemets* poets and philosophers emerge in positive terms, while the everyday *nemtsy* emerge as philistines. Obolenskaja argues that this dichotomy later translates into the split between the images of "intellectual Germany" and "militaristic Prussia." Her essay differs from this thesis because she analyses the representation of the *nemtsy* in media beyond literature and painting, and also because she examines the attitudes of the educated and uneducated classes. I restrict my approach to literature, painting, and film, and I also categorise my analyses of the *nemets* image based upon the ideological position of the author rather than class-based considerations. I also aim to provide motivation for the appearance of the ambivalence that Obolenskaja discusses.

In addition to these two general studies, it is appropriate to mention the series of German language volumes that discusses specific authors, *Deutsche und Deutschland aus*

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[389] Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland in der russischen Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts."
[390] Swetlana Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," pp. 46-63.

russischer Sicht (Germans and Germany from the Russian Perspective), edited by Dagmar Herrmann and supervised by Lev Kopolev.[391] Jurij Mann's essay, which focuses upon the aesthetic meaning of "Germany" and the "*nemtsy*" in Pushkin's oeuvre, illustrates the approach taken by many of the essays of this series.[392] Mann provides biographical details and information regarding Pushkin's attitudes towards the *nemets* to elucidate his depiction of *nemtsy* in literature. For Mann, Pushkin began his literary career opposed to German philosophy because of his background in the French intellectual tradition – and, for Mann, the valuation of the *nemtsy* followed accordingly. Mann argues that this changed in the beginning of the 1830s, when Pushkin adopted the "*nemets* element" as a means to express the conflict between the real and the unreal – and between the classical and the Romantic – in the literary context. Mann's analysis differs from mine because he focuses upon the aesthetic possibilities provided by the *nemtsy* for the author, and also upon the images as an extension of Pushkin's biography, while I analyse Pushkin in the greater discursive context. Because the volumes from this series contain essays on specific producers of culture, I reference them during the individual analyses in Part II.

Before I address the issue of time in relation to the *nemets* in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, though, I discuss one additional aspect of the Hetero Image: the roles played by the *nemtsy* in Russian literature. This discussion, included as an Interlude between this Chapter and Chapter Four, aims to fill out the picture of the *nemtsy* by examining their diverse – and often contradictory – literary functions.

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[391] The four volumes of *Germany and Germans from the Russian Perspective* are part of a larger project regarding *russkii* views of *nemtsy*, and *nemets* views of *russkie*. See *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19. Jahrhundert*, and *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19./20. Jahrhundert.*

[392] Jurij Mann, "Aleksandr Puškin über die 'göttingensche Seele,'" in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 377-410.

Interlude: Seven Additional Ways of Looking at a *Nemets*[393]

Конгресс археологов.

Выступает немец: "Мы провели раскопки и на глубине 20 метров нашли куски меди. Это доказывает, что 1.000 лет назад на всей территории Германии действовала телефонная сеть."

Выступает американец: "Мы провели раскопки и на глубине 50 метров нашли куски стекла. Это доказывает, что 5.000 лет назад на всей территории Америки действовала оптоволоконная сеть связи."

Выступает русский: "Мы провели раскопки до глубины 100 метров и ничего не нашли. Это доказывает, что 10.000 лет назад на всей территории России действовала сеть сотовой связи."

- Contemporary Russian Anecdote[394]

Chapter Three discusses two aspects of the image of the *nemets*: as the diametric opposite of the Self Image and as constructive of *russkii* identity. While I have examined the how and the why of the *nemets* Hetero Image, this Interlude investigates the following question: what do the *nemtsy* do in Russian literature? In my discussion of this, I aim to complete the preliminary picture of the *nemets* before adding the dimension of time in Chapters Four, Five, and Six – to "fill in the blanks" that Chapter Three has left open. This Interlude also represents a second refutation of the position that the *nemtsy* play minor or insignificant roles in the landscape of Russian literature.[395]

The Essentialist, Biographical, Historicist, and Stereotype Analysis approaches from Chapter One assume that the *nemets* refers to something separate from the *russkii*, and they posit that literary *nemtsy* involve the process of "Us" writing about "Them." The first Practical Application of Chapter Three, which discusses the *nemets* Hetero Image, also follows this assumption. I argue in this Interlude, however, that there are literary roles that the *nemtsy* perform other than as foreigners: the *nemets* can signal

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[393] The title of this Interlude was inspired by Robert Louis Gates, Jr., *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man* (New York, 1997).

[394] This joke is told by user "DK," at <http://carella.ru/fun/anecdots/key/russia/106/>, site accessed 17 August 2010.

[395] Here I mean the assumption that *nemtsy* only "provide comic relief (as in Pushkin's "The Undertaker" or Gogol's "Nevsky Prospect"), supply fodder for parody (cf. Hermann in Pushkin's *Queen of Spades*), or give impetus to moralistic diatribes (as is often the case in Gogol)." See my discussion of Galya Diment's characterisation (p. 29 n. 79) of the *nemtsy* in Chapter One.

Foreign influence within *russkii* culture, and the *nemets* can stand in as an internal aspect of the *russkii* Self (as the "*nemets* within"). While I touch upon these aspects in Chapter Three, I develop the concepts within the context of individual literary works.

The possibility for a *nemets* literary character to refer to the *russkii* – as a marker of influence or as a component of the Westernised Self – is enabled by a number of factors, some inherent to the structure of literary images, and some due to the unique historical factors of the *nemets* in *russkii* culture. Included in the first category are Saunders's "conceptual instability of the foreign" – where foreignness is relative and conferred by others – and Leerseen's argument that identity exists only as an articulation and conceptualisation. The "*russkii*" and "*nemets*" are unstable because these categories are based upon diametric opposite, and yet it is possible for an individual to be included in both groups depending upon the discursive context. The existence of cultural hybridity in producers of culture (e.g. Fonvizin, Kiukhel'bekker, Herzen, Pavlova) and literary characters (e.g. Shtol'ts, Krutsiferskii,[396] Koren, Tuzenbakh, Sharlotta) provides an example of how the distinction between Self and Other is undermined – even though they depend on the *différance* for meaning.[397] An additional destabilising factor emerges in the transformative events of the 18th century, unique to *russkii* culture: the subjectively experienced Westernisation of the upper class, and the increased serfdom of the peasantry, as evidenced by the gentry charter of 1785.[398] Because of the "gulf" that separated the two groups (to use Riasanovsky's terminology), it became possible to view aspects of *russkii* society as alien, Foreign, or *nemets*.

In order to elucidate this complicated and contradictory relationship, I isolate seven roles that the *nemtsy* play in Russian literature beyond the material discussed in Chapter Three. These roles are divided into three groupings based upon the relationship between the *russkii* and the *nemets*. The first grouping is "The *Nemets* as Other," where the *nemets* is representative of a nation or a people that is portrayed as opposed to the *russkii* Self. The second grouping is "The *Nemets* as Physical/Mental/Spiritual Influence," where the spirit of the *nemets* has penetrated *russkii* space, or the *russkii* body has been contaminated while present in *nemets* space. The third grouping is "The *Nemets* as Internal Quality of the *Russkii*," where the "pure" status of the image of Russianness is destabilised because the *russkii* body is shown to be actually consisting of *nemets* parts;

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[396] Herrmann, "Aleksandr Herzens Probleme mit den Deutschen," p. 881.
[397] See my discussion of Derrida, Leerssen, and the *différance* in Chapter Three.
[398] See Ronald Hingley, *Russia*: "The general effect was to reduce the peasant masses to a condition yet more akin to slavery" (89).

this grouping therefore returns to the line of reasoning I introduce in Chapter Three and develop in this introduction. These groupings attempt to give shape to a contradictory, paradoxical, and mutually inconsistent set of images. Because of this, the roles under discussion are intended as an approach to the problem rather than an exhaustive study.

I. The *Nemets* as Other

This grouping encompasses *nemets* images that function as the foreign Other to the *russkii* Self, and they relate to the first Practical Application from Chapter Three: the *nemets* Hetero Image as diametrically opposed to the *russkii* Self Image. To picture the *nemets* as Other, the character is imagined as outside *russkii* space or it is characterised as a Foreign element within *russkii* space. The first possibility imagines *russkii* space as an enclosure, sealed from a hostile external world that the *nemets* represents. The second possibility imagines the rupture of the *russkii* enclosure by hostile Foreign penetration.

I mention many roles in Chapter Three that deserve inclusion in this grouping: the pedant *nemets* who constructs *russkii* simplicity and common sense; the *nemets* devil and demons who constructs *russkii* piety and spirituality; the *nemets akkuratnyi* who constructs *russkii* irrationality; the cramped and claustrophobic *nemets* who constructs *russkii* freedom and expansiveness; and the aging *nemets* who constructs *russkii* vitality. In addition to these, it is possible to cite an additional role mentioned, but not developed, in Chapter Three: the *nemets* who reconciles *russkii* social groups. If the *nemets* is posited as an Other to all *russkie*, the "gulf" between the Westernised upper class and the peasant *narod* collapses.

Reconciliation emerges in Turgenev's story from the *Sportsman* cycle, "The Singers," in which the gentry narrator is captivated by a singing contest between two *muzhiki* [13^{S}]. While the narrator is fully able to appreciate the brilliance of the performance, he asserts that the singing would "make a *nemets* indignant." To emphasise this Meta Image, the narrator depicts one of the *muzhik's* voices as specifically *russkii*: a "*russkii* tenore di grazia, ténor léger." This is a turning point in the story, because a genuine emotional connection emerges between the gentry and the *narod;* and it is enabled by the invocation of the arrogant *nemets*, who cannot comprehend the true beauty of the scene – and who thus links to the series of uncomprehending *nemtsy*, as discussed in Chapter Two. Because the "gulf" is temporarily collapsed, all parties are invited to share the communal identity of the *russkii* (or, "non-*nemets*") – as long as the singing contest lasts.

To complement these possibilities for the *nemets* as Other, I examine two additional roles in this grouping: the *nemets* imagined as an invasive force that breaches the boundaries of *russkii* space, and the *nemets* as an object of curiosity within that space.

I:A. The *Nemets* as Invader

This role casts the *nemets* as a dangerous foreign particle that penetrates *russkii* space, as depicted by Sazonova in the "greedy German" who does "not love Russia," and discussed in Chapter One. This analysis is informed by Robert Maguire, who argues that *russkii* space has been imagined throughout Russian history as an "enclosure," separated from a hostile external world.[399] A key historical figure for this perspective is Riurik the Varangian, who was cast by the Slavophile tradition as a foreign invader who suppressed the *russkie*, as Andrew Wachtel has argued.[400] In literary sources, the invading *nemets* is invoked in *Oblomov* by Tarant'ev, who asserts that the Shtol'tses are plunderers and invaders: according to him, Andrei Shtol'ts swindles Oblomov, and his father plunders Russia for material gain.[401] Foreign penetration within the *russkii* enclosure also carries religious overtones, because the foreign radical may display demonic traits.[402] Tarant'ev also deploys this aspect of the invader image: for him, Andrei Shtol'ts is an "accursed *nemets*" (немец проклятый), an image I discuss at length in Chapter Six. This role was also deployed by the journalist Velitsin, who argued in the 1880s and 1890s that the Volga *nemets* farmers represented a possible "invasion" of Southern Russia.[403] In 20th-century sources, Bulgakov's Woland displays the traits of the invasive and demonic *nemets* whose arrival penetrates and destabilises *russkii* life.[404]

A variation upon the "Invader" role is the "Master" role, where the *nemets* is cast as a person who has enslaved a group of *russkie*, such as Biron in Lazhechnikov's *Ice Palace*.[405] Goncharov engages with this discursive tradition in *Oblomov,* because Andrei

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[399] For an account of imaging the *russki* city as the "enclosure" in *russkii* culture, see Robert A. Maguire's essay "The City," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Classic Russian Novel*, ed. Malcolm V. Jones and Robin Feuer Miller (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 21-40. Maguire argues on p. 21: "Russians were hardly unique in feeling that the world at large was hostile and must be shut out. What is unusual is the persistence of this feeling throughout the nation's history."

[400] See Andre Wachtel's chapter on Vadim from the Nikonian Chronicle, "A Historical Character in Search of a Genre: Vadim of Novgorod and the Prehistory of the Intergeneric Dialogue in Russia," in *An Obsession with History: Russian Writers Confront the Past* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 19-45.

[401] See my discussion of Goncharov's *Oblomov* in Chapter Six.

[402] See the discussion of the *nemets* devil in the first Practical Application in Chapter Three.

[403] Swetlana Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 58.

[404] See page 12 of the Appendix.

[405] See Ivan Lazhechnikov, *Ledianoi dom*, at <http://az.lib.ru/l/lazhechnikow_i_i/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 9 August 2010. See also Herzen: "There is no need to repeat how cramped, how painful, was the development of Russia. We were kept in ignorance by the knout and the Tatars: we were civilised by the axe and by Germans: and in both cases our nostrils were slit and we were branded with irons." Alexander

Shtol'ts's father is young Oblomov's teacher.[406] Herzen deploys this role in his characterisation of the *nemtsy* in the Russian government as suppressors of the *russkii narod.*[407] In *Cherry Orchard*, Chekhov offers a parody of this relationship in the governess Sharlotta, who does not speak to her *russkii* charge through the course of the play.[408]

The roles can also be reversed, and the *russkii* can penetrate the *nemets* border to observe their way of life as an object of curiosity. As opposed to the image of the viral, intrusive *nemets*, the *russkii* presence is typically not cast as an intrusion, and it does not upset the Foreign society's equilibrium. This appears in the form of travel literature within and outside the empire's borders, such as Karamzin's notes from his travels across Europe. In this work, Karamzin's narrator crosses Northern and Western Europe to meet with well-regarded intellectuals of the day.[409] This role also appears in stories of *russkie* living abroad, such as in Turgenev's *Asia,* where the *nemets* provides the backdrop for an exotic locale [14^{T}]. A 20th-century source that deploys the *nemets* as an exotic travel locale is Isaac Babel's tale of civil war strife, "Ivan-da-Mar'ia."[410] In the story, the narrator journeys to a Foreign space within the Russian state: the Volga-*nemets* colonies near Saratov.[411]

I:B. The *Nemets* as Object of Curiosity

This role involves the *nemets* as a foreign Other who exists in the *russkii* "enclosure," though this action results in exoticism rather the exploitation. This tradition of the shocking foreign element located within *russkii* borders can be linked historically to the *Nemetskaia sloboda* in Moscow where the foreigners were quarantined from the general populace. The *nemets* as object of curiosity relates to what Carol Avins labels "intrusions from the outer world" that "upset a society's equilibrium" in her analysis of border crossing in post-revolutionary Russian literature.[412] In 19th-century Russian

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Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen,* trans. Constance Garnett (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), p. 621.

[406] See my discussions of Andrei in Chapters Three and Six. This role also emerges in a scholarly source: Sazonova's essay casts the *nemtsy* as the cruel masters of the *russkie*, discussed in Chapter One.

[407] Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," p. 150.

[408] See my discussion of Anna Muza's essay in Chapter One.

[409] See my discussion of Karamzin in Chapter Four.

[410] See my discussion of Babel's idyllic Volga *nemets* space in Chapter Five on Synthesis.

[411] "Ivan-da-Mar'ia" is a unique example, because it presents a case of destroyed equilibrium; this destruction foreshadows the oncoming catastrophe of the Civil War.

[412] For Avins, "outsiders cause internal realignments"; Carol Avins, *Border Crossings: The West and Russian Identity in Soviet Literature 1917-1934* (Berkeley and London, 1983), p. 160.

literature, this exoticism manifests itself in the *nemets* style of clothing and manner of speech that astonish the *russkie*.

These two aspects of exoticism emerge in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* [14^{U}]. First, *nemets* clothing is depicted as strange: when Raskol'nikov leaves his flat for the trial run of his murder plan, he is called a "*nemets* hatter" by a passer-by on account of his ruined hat. Secondly, *nemets* speech emerges as humorous in a scene where the *nemka* landlady Luiza Ivanovna argues to the police that she maintains a decent household. Luiza uses German words in Russian and also heavily accented pronunciation. An example of both phenomena appears in her complaint that someone "*ganz* broke her piano" (он ганц фортепьян ломаль), where she uses the German word "ganz" instead of the Russian "совсем," and she softens the final consonant in the verb "to break" (ломаль instead of ломал). This passage represents the closest example of the *nemtsy* as "figures of fun" and "comic relief," as characterised by Monas and Diment, respectively.[413]

Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt" prefigures Luiza's role of the astonishing Petersburg *nemets*: while following a blonde girl across the city, Pirogov crosses the threshold of the *nemets* quarter.[414] Still attempting to locate the girl, Pirogov enters an artisan's studio, were he comes upon an "astonishing" (удивило его) scene: the *nemets* Shiller is begging his friend Hoffmann to cut off his nose. This scene creates a comic situation, and the *russkii* hero becomes a foreigner in his own city. Both Dostoevsky and Gogol imagine Domestic space as containing elements of the Foreign, and these provide exotic material within the *russkii* capital.

II. The *Nemets* as Physical/Mental/Spiritual Influence

In the first grouping, the *nemets* in *russkii* space is a physical phenomenon, and it involves the presence of *nemets* bodies breaching the "enclosure." There is another type of *nemets* penetration possible; the *nemets* crosses into *russkii* space as a set of ideas. Alternately, the *russkii* body can be contaminated while in *nemets* space. The consequences of this interaction emerge as a subject for inquiry during the narrative: does contact with the *nemets* lead to a positive effect, or does it cripple and sicken the *russkii* body?

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[413] Monas, p. 84, and Diment, p. 29; see also my discussion in Chapter One.
[414] See my discussion of breaching *nemets* space in Chapter Four, especially the Appendix reference in the beginning of Section 4.4.3.

As discussed in Chapter One, Mirsky provides an example of how *nemets* influence can be viewed as negative and virulent; for him, the germs of *nemets* Romanticism "poison" the clear air of Classical aesthetics. Vladimir Nabokov continues this tradition of representation in his 1959 study of Gogol. In a discussion of the Russian word *poshlost'* (пошлость: banality/platitude) and how it relates to the *nemets* national character, Nabokov includes a historical digression to elucidate Gogol's perception of the *nemtsy*: "a hundred years ago, while civic-minded publicists in St. Petersburg were mixing heady cocktails of Hegel and Schlegel (with a dash of Feuerbach), Gogol, in a chance story he told, expressed the immortal spirit of *poshlust* [sic] pervading the German nation and expressed it with all the vigor of his genius."[415] For Nabokov, the *nemets* cultural influence in Russia can be likened to a state of intoxication. As with Mirsky's viral metaphor, this depiction imagines *russkii* space as under Foreign, harmful influence that affects the *russkii* body from within.

To complement the role of the *nemets* as a virus and as intoxication, I discuss three additional roles that involve Foreign influence: the *nemets* as revolutionary ideals, as a philosophy of ideas, and as a body of literary texts. These roles are more abstract than the others discussed in this Interlude: the aim is not to exhaust fully the possibilities for each role, but rather to suggest the differing ways in which *nemets* influence was received and conceptualised within *russkii* culture.

II:A. The *Nemets* as Source of Revolutionary Thought

In this role, the *nemets* represents influence that takes hold of *russkii* bodies and compels them to rebellion. This role is based upon the assumption that early-to-mid 19th-century revolutionary ideas, such as those that came to the fore around the unsuccessful Decembrist Uprising of 1825, were rooted in the interaction with the *nemets*.[416] This particularly applies to the students and army officers who were exposed to *nemets* material within Russia, and also to those who experienced *nemets* ideas firsthand while studying or campaigning abroad. The Decembrists themselves provide the link between cause and effect. During interrogations undertaken by government officials, the jailed revolutionaries were asked to list the sources of their liberal ideas; many indicated that they had been drawn to liberalism while either reading *nemets* books or while spending

[415] Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol,* p. 65.

[416] While I limit the discussion here to the nineteenth century, it is worth mentioning the connection between this discourse and its later manifestations. In the Soviet Union, this fear manifest itself in attacks on "Western Idolatry" and today extends to Putin's crackdowns on foreign enemies "falsifying" Russian history.

time in Paris among the *nemtsy*.[417] Because of this, the *nemets* can represent the spread of dangerous and subversive thoughts. This image also appears in the work of the Slavophile K. Aksakov, who contrasts *nemets* rebelliousness to *russkii* humility: "The clean-shaven face and German dress rebelled, but when did the Russian beard and the peasant coat (кафтан) rebel?"[418] From this perspective, the *nemets* represents a carrier of dangerous, Foreign influence.

II:B. The *Nemets* as Embodiment of a Philosophy of Ideas

This analysis is informed by Gary Saul Morson's discussion of the philosophy of 19th-century Russian literature in contrast to its European counterparts.[419] Morson argues that the distinguishing characteristic of the philosophy that emerges in Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy is an aversion to systems of ideas that purport to hold general answers for mankind. According to Morson, characters in the *russkii* tradition who construct their lives around such ideals (Turgenev's Bazarov, Dostoevsky's revolutionaries and Underground Man, Tolstoy's Vronskii) fail to apply their theories to the dilemmas they face in their lives.[420] Such a strategy of subversion, Morson argues, contributes to the unorthodox structure of the Russian novel: the major novelists resist traditional narrative structures that reinforce the dominance of theory over individual circumstance, such as foreshadowing.[421] For Morson, Tolstoy illustrates this philosophical approach in *War and Peace* with Prince Andrei, whose beliefs in the dictates of military science are undermined by the action of the novel. Through this dissonance, Morson argues, Tolstoy demonstrates that history does not have an organic

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[417] See Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 1625-169. One particular instance of referring to the *nemtsy* as influence is how, "Major Raevskii, a brilliant wit, speaking of the Germans made [the Prussian military investigator] Diebitsch jump out of his seat" (168). For more on the interrogations, see pp. 30-57. One somewhat typical response to the question "When and from where did you acquire your liberal ideas?" was made by Prince Evgenii Petrovich Obolenskii: "The proclamations of the Allied powers in 1813, offering the peoples of Germany a representative government as a reward for their efforts, called my attention to this question for the first time" (48).

[418] This image is discussed in the first Practical Application of Chapter Three; see K. S. Aksakov, p. 244.

[419] Gary Saul Morson, "Philosophy in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Classic Russian Novel,* pp. 150-168. Morson's conclusion on p. 167 reads: "The idea that philosophy is about the abstract, the timeless, the general, and the theoretical had dominated European thought since Descartes. The Russian novel gives new life to an older and rival philosophical tradition – extending from Aristotle to Montaigne and revived in our time by Wittgenstein – that places the highest value on the particular, the local, the timely, and on accumulated experiences."

[420] Morson argues that Bazarov's nihilistic approach to life is undermined by his discovery of his own capacity to feel love, an emotion he had initially rejected as beneath him. Bazarov's world of theory is further undermined by his sudden death at the end of the novel. See Morson, pp. 154-155.

[421] Morson, pp. 163-164, argues that Dostoevsky and Tolstoy instead rely on the technique of "sideshadowing," the opposite of foreshadowing that "conveys the sense that time is open and that each moment contains real alternatives."

form or a set of dictates, but rather that moments of crisis are determined by individual choices and chaos.[422]

What can we take from Morson's conclusion for this present thesis? First, the *nemtsy* can represent the "realm of ideas," such as in the *nemets* generals of *War and Peace.* Secondly, the *nemtsy* can also represent systems of thought that are considered untenable in the *russkii* cultural context, such as German Romanticism and German Idealistic Philosophy.

II:C. The *Nemets* as Intertextual Marker

This role involves the *nemtsy* as representing intertextual markers, in both direct and meta-literary capacities. The direct intertexts include Germann, whom Schmid links to Balzac's "The Red Inn" and to Stendhal's *The Red and the Black* (*Le Rouge et le Noir*);[423] Sharlotta, whom Muza links to Schiller;[424] the Byronic allusions Nabokov finds in *Evgenii Onegin*;[425] and the story of "Nevskii Prospekt" that Priscilla Meyer links to Hoffmann's "A New Year's Eve Adventure."[426] Meyer has also recently argued that, "*A Hero of Our Time*, *Crime and Punishment* and *Anna Karenina* use French subtexts according to a dialectical pattern."[427] Meta-literary intertexts – which directly invoke the relationship between the source and intertext – include the Petersburg artisans Goffmann and Shiller in "Nevskii Prospekt," and the self aware Byronic Pechorin in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time.*[428] The intertextual *nemets* simultaneously accesses themes from a separate work, and also comments upon how foreign literature influences *russkii* society.[429] Goethe's *Faust* was one such source that influenced the *russkii* reading public

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[422] For an account of Prince Andrei versus Nikolai Rostov, see Morson, p. 159. Morson treats these two characters here, but does not mention the *nemets* generals.

[423] Schmid, pp. 50, 57; Schmid links the plot to Clas Johan Livijn, *Spader Dame, en Berättelse i Bref, Funne på Danviken* (1824) and Hoffmann's *Gambler's Luck* (*Spielerglück*, 1823), p. 57.

[424] Muza, p. 191.

[425] Vladimir Nabokov, "The Lermontov Mirage," in *Russian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Nov., 1941), pp. 31-39, see esp. 38-39.

[426] Priscilla Meyer, "The Fantastic in the Everyday: Gogol's 'Nevsky Prospect' and Hoffmann's 'A New Year's Eve Adventure," in *Cold Fusion*, pp. 62-73, esp. p. 62.

[427] For Meyer, "The thesis (French texts) is countered by an antithesis (text[s] containing cherished values) and this opposition is suspended in a synthesis, in the Schellingian sense: only in a work of art can an opposition remain in tension without being resolved." Meyer uses the term "subtext" for the process I refer to as "intertext," rather than the "intertext" used in the "indeterminate" sense by Julia Kristeva. See Priscilla Meyer, *How the Russians Read the French: Lermontov, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy* (Madison, 2008), esp. p. 7.

[428] For Nabokov on Grushnitskii's Byronism, see "The Lermontov Mirage," pp. 38-39.

[429] Meyer argues for the relevance of "subtext" studies as follows: "By identifying them we may better participate in the conversation about French prose among the Russian novelists and their contemporaries. At the same time as the earlier (French) text reveals and explicates the later (Russian) text's argument, it gains a coherent reading that projects it into a new meaningfulness. The new reading provided by refraction through these novels allows the earlier text to take part in a dialogue, despite its priority: we understand the French work differently after reading it through the Russian writer's eyes" (8).

on two levels during the Sentimental and Romantic periods,[430] as evidenced by the Goethe intertexts in Lermontov's *A Hero of our Time* that relate to Russian literature and to *russkii* social behaviour.[431] Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827-1907), who advised three tsars and was said to carry a copy of *Faust* with him at all times, illustrates how this influence carried beyond the 1830s.[432]

III. The *Nemets* as Internal Quality of the *Russkii*.

This grouping discusses roles where the *nemets* represents an internal aspect of the *russkii*. Here, the "pure" status of the *russkii* is destabilised because the *russkii* body is imagined to consist of *nemets* parts. This differs from the previous grouping, because the *nemets* within the *russkii* is not a temporary interaction (as infection, intoxication, or influence) but rather represents a constitutive element of the Self. This role is enabled by the perceived "gulf" between *russkii* classes, and it allows a writer to investigate two aspects of *russkii* identity: the experience of Westernisation, and the trajectory of *russkii* culture vis-à-vis the West.

The "gulf" is dramatised spatially by the relationship between the Westernised cities and the *russkii* periphery. The peasants from the villages, even in the late 19th century, referred to travelling to a larger town as "going abroad."[433] This idea of the city-as-Foreigner especially applied to Petersburg, which Peter built to establish a "window to the West" upon territory newly conquered from Sweden.[434] In addition to this symbolic alignment to the West, the Baltic port enabled increased economic and political ties to Northern Europe. But because of the unsuitability of the climate and the land, and also because the city was built for such a specific set of abstract principles (i.e. "Westernisation," "military power," "trade"), the city acquired the status of being "intentionally" rather than organically created. Dostoevsky deploys this image of the city when his Underground Man labels Petersburg "the most abstract and intentional city in the world."[435] For the Underground Man, the city had started as an idea, and this aspect

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[430] Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," p. 146. See also von Gronicka: "the Russian romanticists of the 1820s admired, even worshipped Goethe as the incomparable poet-philosopher of the age." See André von Gronicka, "The Russian Poet-Critic, S. P. Shevyrëv, on Goethe," in *Comparative Literature,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Spring, 1966), pp. 145-161, esp. p. 145.

[431] See my discussion in Chapter Six.

[432] See Walter Laqueur, *Russia and Germany: A Century of Conflict* (New Brunswick, 1990; 1965), p. 25.

[433] See Peter Gatrell, *The Tsarist Economy 1850-1917* (London, 1986), pp. 39, 58.

[434] Petersburg was literally founded on foreign soil because the war versus Sweden was ongoing at the time of the city's foundation. See Massie, pp. 368-374, 622-633.

[435] For an account linking the intentionality of the city to the West with attention to the ideas of setting and crossing boundaries, see William V. Spanos, "The Detective and the Boundary: Some Notes on the Postmodern Literary Imagination," in *Early Postmodernism: Foundational Essays*, ed. Paul A. Bové, (Durham, 1995), pp. 17-39, esp. p. 22. In Russian, "самом отвлеченном и умышленном городе на всем

had not diminished a century and a half after its foundation. Boris Pasternak's poem "Petersburg" (1915) continues this tradition of representation, because he casts the city as exploding to life as a product of Peter's inspiration [15^{V}]:

> Inspiration knows no time. Whether on
> A bog, solid earth, a sea, or a pond, -
> A vision came to me here, and I
> Will settle my score with it here and now.

This dynamic also emerges in Andrei Bely's novel, *Petersburg*, where the streets are cast as "straight-lined" – as opposed to *russkii* cities such as Moscow, which are shaped like wheels and spokes around a fortress or church [16^{W}]. Because of this, the narrator describes Nevskii Prospekt as a "European prospect" (европейский проспект) and therefore "not *russkii*."

Hugh McLean characterises the appearance of space in the 19th century as a triangular system: Petersburg emerges as foreign, international, Western, imperial, and young; Moscow emerges as traditional, historical, old, and national; and the countryside represents the *narod*, the village church, and the peasant commune.[436] This opposition is illustrated by K. Aksakov's "On the Internal States of Russia," a text referred to in the second grouping. Aksakov depicts Petersburg as alienating because it is connected to the "cleavage" in *russkii* society that was created by Westernisation and Petrine reforms:

> A cleavage had taken place in Russian society. The men of service, or the upper class, had been torn loose from Russian principles, concepts, and customs, as well as from the Russian people; they began to live, dress, and speak like foreigners. The sovereign was displeased with Moscow, and transferred his capital to the edge of Russia, to a new city he had built himself and called by the German name of Sankt-Peterburg. In that city, Peter was surrounded by a whole immigrant population of newly transformed Russians – officials deprived even of their native ground, for the indigenous population of St. Petersburg is foreign.[437]

Aksakov depicts the *russkii* upper class as becoming "like foreigners," and the officials as "transformed" into immigrants in their own country.[438] Petersburg therefore becomes, for Aksakov, a symptom of Peter's harmful Westernisation project, and also a symbol of the alienation and foreignness that the tsar engendered in *russkii* society.

земном шаре;" see F. M. Dostoevsky, *Notes from the Underground*, I:2, at <http://ilibrary.ru/text/9/p.2/index.html>, site accessed 30 May 2010.

[436] For a more detailed account of this "triangle of vividly contrasted settings," see Hugh McLean, "The Countryside," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Classic Russian Novel*, pp. 41-61, esp. pp. 41-42.

[437] K. A. Aksakov, "On the Internal State of Russia," in *Russian Intellectual History,* trans. V. Snow, p. 243.

[438] The transformation of *russkie* into foreigners within Russia links to my argument in Chapter Five regarding Gogol's Petersburg space in "Nevskii Prospekt."

In this present grouping, I discuss how this "gulf" or "cleavage" between classes emerges in the phenomenon of the "*nemets* within." I identify two roles that the *nemets* plays in this process: the *nemets* as representative of the Westernised *russkii* upper class, and the *nemets* as standing in for the *nemets* producers of *russkii* culture.

III:A. The *Nemets* as a Noble on a Stage

This role reflects the distance between the peasantry and the upper class, who were forced to adopt a "Western" lifestyle, such as *nemets* institutions (universities, the military) and physical styles (clothing, shaved beards, the consumption of luxury goods).[439] It is informed by Iurii Lotman's description of 18th-century nobles as actors on a stage.[440] The Westernised *russkie*, according to Lotman, approached their new societal duties as though they were in a theatre, wearing their new garments and hairstyles like costumes. To describe the situation, Lotman deploys the metaphor that the nobles were like students studying a foreign language. The paradox that emerges here, for Lotman, was that, "In order to perceive one's own behavior as consistently foreign, is was essential *not to be a foreigner*; for a foreigner, foreign behavior is not foreign."[441] For Lotman, the importation of Foreign comportment led to a shift in *russkii* behaviour, not only in the Foreign comportment itself, but also because its adoption was predicated upon the awareness of being non-Foreign. From this perspective, the *nemets* serves as a metaphor for *russkii* estrangement, both from the peasantry and from society as a whole. That is, the alienated *nemets* can refer to the separation within *russkii* society between social groups, or it can refer metaphorically to the alienation between an individual and society.

The *nemets* as a metaphor for estrangement is dramatised in Russian literature by alienated *russkii* heroes who are doubled with *nemtsy*, such as in Turgenev's "Diary of a Superfluous Man" [16X]. During a passage where the Superfluous Man articulates his lonely childhood, he mentions an "unusually sad creature" (необыкновенно печальное существо) – the tutor, Rikman. The *nemets*, physically isolated by the distance to his homeland, emphasises the Superfluous Man's social isolation, which is characterised by

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[439] For an account of how the "European culture" manifest itself not only in terms of changes to traditional Russian culture but in terms of the boosting demand for European luxury items, see Gatrell, *The Tsarist Economy,* p. 145.

[440] For Lotman, the *russkii* nobility were not "native speakers" of the culture that had been imported, and thus "their function was changed" such that "European social forms took on value"; this raised an individual's social status. See Iurii Lotman, "The Poetics of Everyday Behavior," in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History*, ed. A. D. Nakhimovsky and A. S. Nakhimovsky (Ithaca and London), pp. 67-94, esp. p. 69.

[441] Lotman, "The Poetics of Everyday Behavior," p. 70.

his lonely upbringing and his inability to establish a romantic relationship. Many "superfluous men" of Russian literature have "*nemets*" doubles: Onegin/ Lenskii, Pechorin/Werner, the Superfluous Man/Rikman, Oblomov/Shtol'ts, Bel'tov/Krutsiferskii, and Chekhov's superfluous woman Ranevskaia/Sharlotta. I return to the stakes of these sets of doubles in Chapter Six, and in the Conclusion to this thesis.

III:B. The *Nemtsy* as Cultural Producers

This role reflects the problems that emerge when attempting to extend the Self:Other dichotomy to every *russkii* who writes about the *nemtsy*. Gogol's status as a *russkii* writer has long been under question due to his Ukrainian heritage.[442] Shall we consider him to be writing about "his own" capital in his Petersburg stories, or does Russia represent a Foreign space?[443] This applies to the topic at hand because there were a number of *russkie* for whom the *nemets* was a part of their Self identity, including Catherine the Great (born Sophie Friederike Auguste von Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg), Fonvizin, Khemnitser, Kiukhel'beker, Dal', Fet, Pavlova, Herzen, Gan, Pil'niak, Tsvetaeva, Nabokov, and Lenin.[444] This process is dramatised in Goncharov's *Oblomov,* because the reader learns in the final passage of the novel that Shtol'ts was the source for the story.[445] It is also dramatised in the first passage of Pavlova's *A Double Life* (*Двойная жизнь*, 1848): a *russkii* complains about the "*nemtsy* and half-*nemtsy*" in Russia while

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[442] For a treatment of Gogol/Hohol's relationship to Ukraine, see George G. Grabowicz, "Between Subversion and Self-Assertion: The Role of *Kotliarevshchyna* in Russian-Ukrainian Literary Relations," in *Culture, Nation, and Identity,* pp. 215-228, esp. p. 227.

[443] It is a similar problem that appears when attempting to classify the Irish characters that appear in the work of Arthur Conan Doyle: can we consider the Irish characters to be literary Others, or can they be connected to the writer's own Irish heritage?

[444] Dal''s father's family was Danish, and his mother's had *nemets* roots; Fet's surname came from his mother, Charlotta Foeth; Karolina Pavlova was born with the surname Jänisch; Gan is the Russified form of "Hahn"; Pil'niak is the pseudonym of Boris Vogau: see *The Handbook of Russian Literature*, ed. Victor Terras (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 92 (Dal'), 135 (Fet), 166 (Gan), 191 (Herzen), 338 (Pil'niak). Lenin's maternal grandmother was half-Swedish and was believed to be half-Volga *nemka*; see the page on Lenin at the Concordia University site: <http://cvgs.cu-portland.edu/history/biographies/l/lenin_vladimir.cfm>, site accessed 29 May 2010. Tvetaeva's mother was of *nemets* descent; see Lily Feiler, *Marina Tsvetaeva: The Double Beat of Heaven and Hell* (Durham, NC, 1994), p. 65. This situation is complicated when we consider that Herzen's position on Germany following the revolutions of 1848 has led to being labelled a "pronounced Germanophobe"; see Laqueur, *Russia and Germany*, p. 25. Nabokov, who expressed the wish to destroy Germany to the "last beer-mug and last forget-me-not," was also of German ancestry: "Born in 1899 [Nabokov] came, like so many Berlin Russians, from the upper class of the old regime, the child of a wealthy family of liberal and Anglophile leanings but also of aristocratic lineage with a mixed Russian and Baltic German ancestry." See Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol*, p. 65, and Robert Chadwell Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Émigrés in Germany, 1881-1941* (Ithaca, 1972), p. 325. Fonvizin's family's name had been Baltic *nemets*: Von Wiesen. See William Edward Brown, *A History of 18th Century Russian Literature* (Ann Arbor, 1980), p. 219

[445] "И [Штольц] рассказал [писателю], что здесь написано."

wearing *nemets*-tailored clothing.[446] This passage represents an ironic meta-literary reference to Pavlova's status as a *nemka* writing in Russia – she is both within and without the culture. It also demonstrates the irony that emerges when *russkie* denigrate *nemtsy* while simultaneously internalising and externalising *nemets* cultural influence.

Conclusions

As discussed in the previous Chapter, the image of the *nemets* constructs *russkii* identity, and it is located at the fault lines of the paradoxes in the *russkii* Self-Image. The *nemets* can also appear as an internal aspect of the *russkii* Self because of the outer/inner nature of the *nemets* in *russkii* society, and because the processes by which *russkie* defined their identity were themselves Western imports. A striking example of this is the Slavophile position that emerged in the 1840s that advocated the emulation of the *russkii narod* and the development of indigenous (cast as pre-Petrine)[447] social institutions – while the foundations of their theories, as discussed in Chapter Three, were based upon the works of Hegel, Herder, and Schelling.[448] Turgenev dramatises this paradox at the core of the Slavophile view in the epilogue to his novel *Fathers and Children* (*Отцы и дети,* 1862) with the figure of Pavel Petrovich living in Dresden:

> [Pavel Petrovich] holds Slavophile views: it is well known that this is *très distingué* in high society. He doesn't read anything in Russian, but he does have a silver ashtray in the form of a *muzhik's* bast sandal on his desk. Our *russkii* tourists make a point of seeking him out… No one can procure entrance to the court chapel, the theater and the like as easily and quickly as *Herr Baron von Kirsanoff.*[449]

Pavel's Slavophile views are refracted under four layers of parody in this passage. First, Pavel's Slavophile outlook is cast as part of his aristocratic accoutrements, as the narrator labels this worldview "*très distingué*." The only folk article he possesses is an ashtray in the form of peasant footwear. The object is made from a precious metal, while the activity of smoking represents a Western form of behaviour.[450] The ashtray thus echoes

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[446] The conversation takes place between two young men travelling to the *nemets's* house, where the heroine of the novel lives. See Karolina Pavlova, *A Double Life,* trans. Barbara Heldt (Oakland, 1986; 1978), p. 3.

[447] It should be noted that casting Peter as transforming every aspect of *russkii* culture is an illusion, because many reforms and transformations had been prefigured by the rule of his father, Alexis. See Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities*, p. 88.

[448] See Chapter Three, "Who rules Russia – Foreigners, or a *Russkii* Dynasty?"

[449] "Он придерживается славянофильских воззрений: известно, что в высшем свете это считается *très distingué*. Он ничего русского не читает, но на письменном столе у него находится серебряная пепельница в виде мужицкого лаптя. Наши туристы очень за ним волочатся… Получить билет в придворную капеллу, в театр и т.д. никто не может так легко и скоро, как der Herr Baron von Kirsanoff."

[450] Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 54.

the *nemets* clothing worn by the *russkie* in Pavlova. Secondly, because Pavel espouses these views while living abroad in the company of non-*russkii* people and literature, his Slavophile life is separated from the realities of *russkii* life. Thirdly, his name is transformed into a *nemets* form, from Pavel Petrovich into *Herr Baron von Kirsanoff*, where the spelling is Latinised in the German style: the *von, Herr*, and *Baron* are added, and his patronymic is dropped. The *nemets* naming thus further emphasises his separation from *russkii* social life. The fourth ironic aspect of this text is an extension of the first and second: his only source of contact with *russkii* people is as tourist attraction. These layers of parody demonstrate that Pavel's Slavophilism is enabled by his contact with the West; just as the *nemets* character can be located inside/outside the *russkii* as either an Other or an aspect of the Self, *nemets* cultural influence emerges as what defines the *russkii* Self, while it also represents the tools and conditions by which this process is achieved. Pavel thus emerges as a Westernised *Herr Baron* Slavophile, where the three aspects of the *nemets* image under discussion exist simultaneously.

Part Two of this thesis represents a move from the thematic and theoretical to the sequential and specific. I expand upon the analyses from Chapter Three and this Interlude to outline a chronological framework for how, why, and when the image of the *nemets* changed in Russian literature. In Chapter Four, I ask whether the ambiguous relationship of *nemets* as insider/outsider was an eternal one, or whether it was the product of historical events. In Chapter Five, I explore how *russkii* writers came to view the *nemets* as Other, and as Mutually Exclusive to the *russkii* Self. This represents an elaboration upon the *nemets* Hetero Image as opposed to the *russkii* Self Image from Chapter Three. In Chapter Six, I explore the other side of the paradox to investigate how the *nemets* came to be imagined as an internal aspect of the *russkii* Self.

Chapter Four: The Model of Complementarity in the Pre-1836 Literary World

The Russian German general Schubert wrote of his participation in the wars of 1812-1815, speaking of the Russians as "we" and the Germans as "they."

- Paul Bushkovitch, "What is Russia?"[451]

In the USSR, they wrote neither books nor songs about the nemtsy.

- Aleksandr Fitz, *Russkii Berlin*[452]

4.1. Interlude Review and Introduction

In the Interlude, I examine three literary roles that the *nemets* assumes to complement the Practical Applications in Chapter Three: the *nemtsy* as Other, as representatives of cultural influence, and as internal aspects of the *russkii* Self. These preliminary investigations are intended to provide a link between theory and practice, and, because they introduce my Imagological approach to *nemets* spatiality, they aim to motivate the discussion of the *nemets* in the final three Chapters. While I have provided this preliminary picture to establish the constructive role of the *nemets* in *russkii* identity, I have not addressed how this image develops over time. This Chapter marks the first step in addressing this concern, because it examines the prehistory of the image of *nemets* space from the late 18th century to the 1830s. I argue that the relationship between the *russkii* and the *nemets* during this period was one of Complementarity.

Let us first examine the necessity of providing a prehistory for the 19th-century image of the *nemets*. It is tempting to imagine that the ambiguity of the *nemets* that emerges in Turgenev's *Fathers and Children* – as Antithetical to the *russkii* and as a constituent part of being *russkii* – was a consistent aspect of *russkii* cultural history, extending backwards to the time of Peter the Great, or perhaps even as far as Russia's conversion to Orthodoxy in 988. Stepan Shevyrev implies such a consistent historical state in 1841: "The West and Russia, Russia and the West – here is the result that follows from the entire past; here is the last word of history; here are the two facts for the future."[453] For Shevyrev, Russia's relationship with the West was the most problematic

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[451] Paul Bushkovitch, "What is Russia?" p. 153.

[452] "В СССР о немцах не писали ни книг, ни песен." From the *Russkaia Germaniia / Russkii Berlin gazeta,* No. 21 (2010), see <http://rulit.org/read/834/>, site accessed 15 August 2010.

[453] Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855* (London, Berkeley, and Los Angeles, 1974; 1959), p. 134, cites and translates S. Shevyrev, "Vzglad russkogo na sovremennoe

issue that faced his contemporaries and his descendants. Nikolai Berdiaev, a 20th-century philosopher, echoes Shevyrev position that the West was a consistent problem for *russkii* producers of culture, and he applies it to the problematic nature of the *russkii* Self.[454] Ana Siljak asserts that, for Berdiaev, the "problem of East and West" was an "eternal" one for Russia: "attempting to make sense of the violent upheavals that shook Russia in 1917, Berdiaev believed that the source of Russian troubles lay in the 'inconsistency of the Russian spirit' due to the 'conflict of the Eastern and Western elements in her.'"[455]

Orlando Figes also characterises the relationship between the *russkii* and *nemets* as consistently problematic. While Figes does not go as far as Berdiaev, he does argue that 18th-century literature introduced the tortured relationship as a theme, and that it enabled the 19th-century national narrative of the *russkii* "soul" (a theme that connects to the *russkii* Self Image of "humility" and "spirituality").[456] For Figes, producers of culture such as Kheraskov and Kniazhnin developed a series of diametric oppositions to contrast the Foreign with the Domestic, and they defined the *russkii* as antithetical to the *nemets*:

> Set against this [cultural] domination by Europe, satires such as Kniazhnin's and Kheraskov's began to define the Russian character in terms which were distinct from the values of the West. These writers set up the antithesis between foreign artifice and native truth, European reason and the Russian heart or 'soul', that would form the basis of the national narrative in the nineteenth century. At the heart of this discourse was the old romantic ideal of the native soil – of a pure 'organic' Russia uncorrupted by civilisation. St. Petersburg was all deceit and vanity, a narcissistic dandy constantly observing its own reflection in the Neva river. The real Russia was in the provinces, a place without pretensions or alien conventions, where simply 'Russian' virtues were preserved.[457]

For Figes, Petersburg *always* represented alien conventions in literature, while the countryside *always* offered a picture of pure, "real" Russianness. Figes thus asserts a similar spatial paradigm of Petersburg and the countryside for 18th-century literature as Hugh McLean does for 19th-century literature.[458]

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obrazovanie Evropy," in *Moskvitianin*, no. 1, p. 219. "Запад и Россия, Россия и Запад — вот результат, вытекающий из всего предыдущего; вот последнее слово истории; вот два данные для будущего!" From <http://www.portal-slovo.ru/history/35441.php>, site accessed 19 August 2010.

[454] Ana Siljak, "Between East and West: Hegel and the Origins of the Russian Dilemma."

[455] Ana Siljak, p. 335, cites and translates Nikolai Berdiaev, *Sud'ba Rossii: Opyty po psikhologii voiny i natsional'nosti* (Moscow, 1990), p. 54, and cites Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 8.

[456] These two traits are discussed in the first Practical Application of Chapter Three.

[457] Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (London and New York, 2002), p. 58. See also p. 53 for the question of losing "all sense of [Russian] nationality."

[458] See the Interlude, grouping III.

If Figes is correct in this picture of the *nemets* in the 18th century, then the relationship between *russkii* producers of culture and the imagined West has been consistent over the past centuries, and there is no need for a prehistory of the *nemets* image. But how is it possible to reconcile Figes's position with Johann Gottlieb Georgi's *A Description of the People Inhabiting the Russian State* (1776-1780), a document that expresses optimism for Russia's Westernising project? For Georgi, the Russian Empire required enlightenment and education to "lead our rude peoples by giant steps toward the common goal of general Enlightenment in Russia, of a wonderful fusion of all into a single body and soul, and of creating, as it were, an unshakable Giant that will stand for hundreds of centuries."[459] For Georgi, Westernisation was an unproblematically positive process, and the *russkie* represented both carriers and recipients of the enlightening process. While Georgi was a Prussian *nemets*, Yuri Slezkine has contextualised his writing as representative of the mid 18th-century historical imagination, and as similar in assumptions and approach to Russia's first historian, Tatishchev.[460] Further, it is of note that Georgi refers to the peoples of Russia as "ours," demonstrating, as with General Schubert in the epigraph to this Chapter, how pre-Romantic identity in the Russian Empire was based upon an identification with the state, rather than ethnic/racial categories.[461]

While this Chapter provides an account of how and why the *nemets* Hetero Image developed during the first quarter of the 19th century, the narrower aim is to develop a polemic against Figes's position. My argument – that the relationship between the *nemets* and *russkii* was one of Complementarity rather than antithesis until the 1830s – begins with Georgi's optimism for Western influence in *russkii* culture.[462] I argue that the image of the *nemets* in the 18th century reflected the post-Petrine historical discourse that Russia was a partially Western state and that it carried a stable Western trajectory for its future (expressed by Griboedov's Chatskii in the epigraph to Chapter One). The question in this intellectual environment was not *whether* Russia should imitate the *nemets* (as Shevyrev, Berdiaev, and Figes imagine must have been the case), but *how* it should

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[459] Yuri Slezkine, "Naturalists versus Nations: Eighteenth Century Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity," in *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700-1919*, ed. D. R. Brower and E. J. Lazzerini (Bloomington, 1997), p. 39, cites Johann Gottlieb Georgi, *Opisanie vsiekh obitaiushchikh v Rossiiskom gosudarstvie narodov* (4 vols.), Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1799), p. ix.

[460] Yuri Slezkine, pp. 38-40.

[461] See Bushkovitch, pp. 151-153, for an account of the "statist element of national identity" from the 18th century to the poetry of Pushkin.

[462] Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," argues that the 1830s/1840s represented a time when a critical stance emerged regarding the image of Germany; pp. 149-150.

imitate the *nemets*. According to this argument, the *nemets* images discussed in the Practical Applications and the Interlude were not constant and consistent phenomena in *russkii* discourse – but rather the products of historical factors. I also argue that, while Complementarity was the default lens for viewing the *nemets* in the 18th century, it became increasingly problematic in the 1820s and 1830s because of the advent of Romanticism, the impact of the Decembrist Uprising, and the influence of the Hegelian model of history. By 1836, the year of the publication of Chaadaev's "First Philosophical Letter," the Model of Complementarity was no longer tenable, and the vectors for imaging *russkii* identity in relation to the West shifted to anticipate the debate between the Slavophiles and the Westernisers. This Chapter is thus intended to make the case for Complementarity, and to show how it became an increasingly problematic lens for the articulation of *russkii* identity – to the point where Pushkin's lyrical persona from *Evegenii Onegin* would claim that he required "different pictures" (иные картины) to describe Russia in the late 1820s [17Y].[463]

The steps in my polemic against Figes's position establish this Chapter's structure. I begin with close readings of Karamzin, Pushkin, and Gogol to show how they plotted the *russkii* in space, and I follow with a discussion of how and why this emplotment shifted between 1790 and 1835. In Section 4.2, I analyse the appearance of borderland space in Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* to investigate how Karamzin positions the *russkii* in the world vis-à-vis the *nemets*. In Section 4.3, I discuss the picture of Petersburg space in Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin,* and I argue that Complementarity – while treated in increasingly problematic terms – represents the default mode for portraying the *nemets*. In Section 4.4, I continue the discussion of Petersburg space with an analysis of Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt." I argue that Gogol's short story continues the assumption of Complementarity, while it also establishes a revolutionary mode for reimagining the *russkii* as Mutually Exclusive to the *nemets*. In Section 4.5, I summarise how spatial descriptions represent articulations of identity, and I also return to Figes's assertion of antithesis in the 18th century.

Section 4.6 addresses the question that springs from the close readings: how and why did this relationship change between the end of the 18th century and the late 1830s? In other words, how can one account for the shift between Georgi's enthusiasm towards the West in the late 1770s and Shevyrev's anxiety regarding the same influence in 1841?

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[463] Aleksandr Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin: A Novel in Verse*, Vol. I, translated, with a commentary, by Vladimir Nabokov (Princeton, 1991; 1964), pp. 64-65, and Ely, pp. 59, 84.

In Section 4.7, I argue that Chaadaev distilled the problematic aspects of the Complementarity lens, and that he provided the nascent terms for *russkii* identities for the 1840s and beyond. In Section 4.8, I provide an analysis of the Marquis de Custine's foreign perspective upon 1830s Russia that reinforced Chaadaev's Hegelian critique. Finally, Section 4.9 provides an analysis of Riurik the Varangian, a 9th-century *nemets* leader whose image shifted significantly over the course of the century in question.

4.2. Overlapping the *Nemets*: Karamzin's *Russkii* Traveller

4.2.1. Introduction and Context

Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* (1789-1790) reflects the pre-Hegelian, pre-Romantic intellectual period when the process of imitation was held as a virtue.[464] This means that Karamzin's identity as a *russkii* writer is compatible with the imitation of a foreign genre (i.e. the Sentimental epistolary travel novel), and also with the emulation of *nemtsy* writers and institutions (i.e. Hegel, Herder, and Western political and educational structures). This picture of Complementarity is a two-way street for Karamzin: the importation of foreign genres and institutions to the *russkie* are cast as positive, and *nemets* space is portrayed as accessible and open to Karamzin's Sentimental/sentimental narrator.[465] In Prussia, the cities and their inhabitants are depicted as familiar from the shared experience of Western education and immersion in Western intellectual thought.[466] Western education thus acts as a universal passport and a reliable travel guide for the *russkii* in the *nemets* world: the *nemets* figures reassuringly conform to his educated expectations, and there are neither shocks nor breakdowns as he crosses the borderland. Because the *russkii* is neither excluded nor alienated, the effect of this is to portray Russia as containing Western traits, and *russkii* culture as on a stable trajectory of enlightenment. This relationship also applies to the spatial depiction between the Prussian and Russian capitals, where it is unclear where Russia ends and the West begins.

The publication of Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller* had a monumental impact upon Russian literature, and it affected the lens by which the *russkii* consumers of

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[464] T. Page, "Karamzin" entry, in *The Handbook of Russian Literature*, p. 216. For more on Karamzin's influences, including Sterne, Young, Thomson, and the "classical traditions," see the introduction by Leon Stilman in N. M. Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller, 1789-1790,* trans. Florence Jonas (New York, 1957), pp. 3-26, esp. p. 25.

[465] Figes portrays Karamzin's narrator as "perfectly at ease, and accepted as an equal, in Europe's intellectual circles." See Figes, pp. 62-63.

[466] An example of this is the narrator's encounter with Ramler, the "*nemets* Horace": the narrator has a deep knowledge of his *nemets* host because the latter's work has been "read and valued in Russia." See Karamzin, *Letters* p. 64, entry 5 July 1789. See also Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," pp. 145-156.

culture would perceive the West and the position of Russia in the world. The travelogue functioned as a handbook on European education for subsequent generations of *russkie*, even as far as the 20th century.[467] Karamzin was dubbed the "*russkii* Sterne" and his work popularised both German literature and the genre of the travel novel in Russia.[468]

In this Section, I begin with an investigation of how the assumed cultural overlapping between *russkii* and *nemets* is reflected in the overlapping of *russkii* and *nemets* space (4.2.2). To elucidate this relationship, I analyse Karamzin's descriptions of the conflated *russkii-nemets* Baltic landscape (4.2.3) in the context of the *nemets* cityscapes (4.2.4). I conclude with a discussion of how the construction of *nemets* space links to Karamzin's ideological position regarding Russia's Western components and its Western trajectory (4.2.5).

4.2.2. Cultural and Spatial Overlapping

For Karamzin's narrator, the space between St. Petersburg and Mitava (Mitau/Jelgava) – all territory of the Russian Empire – emerges as a continuous borderland between *russkii* and *nemets*. Because of this overlapping, the area that separates the *russkii* space (Tver and Petersburg) from the *nemets* (Memel and the rest of Prussia) emerges as a *russkii-nemets* hybrid. St. Petersburg, as a major port and also as the capital, marks the first border: one can travel directly from the city to Danzig, Stettin, or Lübeck by ship.[469] The narrator, however, can only travel to Prussia by land because of a bureaucratic issue with his passport. Petersburg is thus simultaneously a border to the northern *nemets* cities (in the tradition of Peter's "Window to the West"), but also the bureaucratic centre of the empire (where the narrator gets his passport, and is denied travel). The narrator's status in Petersburg is indicative of his travels trough the Baltics: he is half inside and half outside the Empire, crossing one border only to find another.

From Petersburg, the narrator travels by land to Narva, which he casts in ambiguous terms as an historical borderland. While Karamzin's narrator is conscious that the city is under *russkii* control, he depicts it as a mixture of *russkii* and *nemets*, divided metaphorically and literally by a river:

> The *nemets* part of Narva, also called "Narva Proper," consists mostly of stone houses. The other part, separated by the river, is called Ivan-gorod. In the first area, everyone speaks German, and in the second, Russian. This used to be our

[467] Figes, p. 62-63. Figes asserts that the poet Maiakovskii "responded to [Paris], in 1925, through the sentimental prism of Karamzin's work" (62).
[468] See the "Karamzin" entry in *The Handbook of Russian Literature*, p. 216.
[469] Entry 26 May 1789. See N. M. Karamzin, *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika,* at <http://az.lib.ru/k/karamzin_n_m/text_0320.shtml>, site accessed 19 August 2010.

border. Oh, Peter, Peter![470]

Of note in this passage is that there are no physical details that separate the two halves of the city other than the physical border between them: while the *nemets* houses are made of stone, we get no indication of the make-up of the *russkii* side – the only concrete differences are in the languages and the name of the city. While the river is cast as a "former" frontier, it still maintains the structure of a border, splitting Ivan-gorod from Narva. Also of note is how this space is mediated through the post-Petrine narrative of Russian history: the space is that which is "ours" because of Russia's expansion under Peter, just as Karamzin's sentimental journey is enabled by Peter's Westernising project. The effect is to reinforce the historical discourse of Karamzin's Russia as emerging entirely from Petrine reforms.

The narrator follows his account of Narva with a similarly ambiguous account of Riga, placing himself within and without the Empire. He writes to his interlocutor: "I haven't even left Russia yet, though I have long been in foreign parts because I left you so long ago."[471] The narrator's claim that he has been in "foreign parts" simultaneously places Riga in Russia and in the nebulous borderland, which is construed as that which generates nostalgia and the yearning for Domestic space. Three additional moments from the narrator's experience in Riga exacerbate the ambiguity of his location. First, the narrator notes that all postmasters between Narva and Riga are *nemtsy*, meaning the *russkii* terrain is mediated through interaction with the *nemets*.[472] Secondly, Riga is depicted as a *nemets* space within the Russian Empire in both language and currency: "You hear German everywhere – every once in a while some Russian – and everywhere they demand thalers instead of roubles."[473] Thirdly, the narrator encounters two *nemtsy*, who consider Riga to be Russia, while the narrator claims it is but a border city, and thus not representative of Russia as a whole:

> Then two *nemtsy* came out onto the shore. They had been travelling with us in the *kibitka* towards Königsberg. They lay near me on the grass, began smoking pipes, and, out of boredom, began to insult the *russkii narod.* I stopped writing and asked them in a composed manner whether they had even been any further in Russia than Riga. "No," they replied. "And then how, sirs," I said, "can you judge the

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[470] Entry 31 May 1789. "Немецкая часть Нарвы, или, собственно, так называемая Нарва, состоит по большей части из каменных домов; другая, отделяемая рекою, называется Иван-город. В первой всё на немецкую стать, а в другой всё на русскую. Тут была прежде наша граница - о, Петр, Петр!"
[471] "Я еще не выехал из России, но давно уже в чужих краях, потому что давно с вами расстался."
[472] Entry 31 May 1789.
[473] "Везде слышишь немецкий язык - где-где русский, - и везде требуют не рублей, а талеров."

Russians when you have only been to a border city?"[474]

Riga maintains its duality on two levels: it is *russkii* to the *nemtsy*, and a *russkii-nemets* border to the *russkii*.

The shifting border illustrates two aspects of the Complementary lens for viewing the *nemets*. First, Karamzin depicts *russkii* space as containing by necessity *nemets* aspects. Riga is a borderland city where the postmen are all *nemtsy*, but this does not exclude Karamzin from being "in Russia," with qualification. Instead of establishing alienation, this borderland space demonstrates that the *nemets* and *russkii* are by no means mutually exclusive. Secondly, the overlapping spatial borders between the *nemets* and *russkii* reflect the overlapping of culture and education, which emerges, as we shall see, in Karamzin's experience of *nemets* space in Prussia.

The ambiguity of the borderland is reinforced when Karamzin enters Mitava in Courland, because the narrator speaks with elation upon seeing his "first" foreign city (первый иностранный город): "I felt the kind of joy that I have not felt since our parting, my dear! Soon Mitava came into view. The appearance of this town is not that beautiful, but for me it was attractive! 'Here is the first foreign city,' I thought as my eyes searched for something unusual and new" [17^{Z}].[475] From his position in Mitava, everything the narrator had encountered previously was *russkii* space because it did not possess the novelty of the Foreign – despite the *nemets* aspects of Riga, Narva, and the postmen between. Furthermore, he searches for "something unusual and new" even though he has already experienced thalers and the bored *nemets* travellers. Mitava thus emerges as the final extension of the nebulous borderland.

This overlapping picture of space is particularly significant considering that the Russian Empire did not border Prussia at the time Karamzin wrote the book.[476] The borders are thus entirely imagined and extant in the bounds of literary discourse.

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[474] Entry 1 June 1789: "Между тем вышли на берег два немца, которые в особливой кибитке едут с нами до Кенигсберга; легли подле меня на траве, закурили трубки и от скуки начали бранить русский народ. Я, перестав писать, хладнокровно спросил у них, были ли они в России далее Риги? 'Нет', - отвечали они. 'А когда так, государи мои, - сказал я, - то вы не можете судить о русских; побывав только в пограничном городе'."

[475] Entry 1 June 1789.

[476] Russia and Prussia would not share a border until six years later following the third partition of Poland; Karamzin, *Letters*, p. 36 (n. 7).

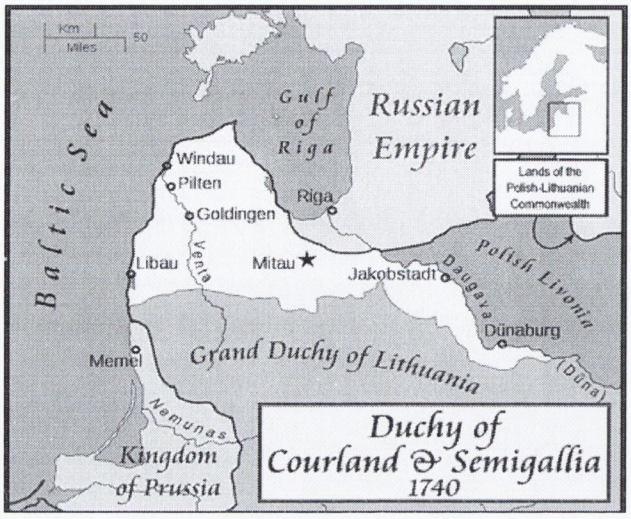


Figure 4.1: Map of Courland in 1740[477]

4.2.3. The Conflated *Russkii-Nemets* Baltics

If we consider Riga to be a borderland, then the following question arises: what is it a border between? While the Baltics included a number of cultures – including Estonian, Lithuanian, Latvian, *nemets*, *chukhon*, Polish, and Jewish – the Baltic space in Karamzin's account appears as a simple mixture of the *russkii*, the *nemets*, and an almost inconsequential local flavour. The overlapping of the boundaries between the *russkii* and *nemets* and the conflated nature of Karamzin's Baltic space are thus mutually reinforcing.

Karamzin's sociological and linguistic theories illustrate the conflated picture. For him, the Livonians and the Estonians are subsumed into a single group, and they are cast as varieties of *nemtsy* rather than as separate peoples. This classification even emerges in Karamzin's depiction of the Baltic languages – remarkable given that Estonian is not an Indo-European language:

> I have not observed any difference between the *estliandtsy* (Estonians) and the *lifliandtsy* (Livonians), except for their languages and caftans: the former wear black ones, and the latter wear grey ones. Their languages are similar and they contain very little of their own. They mostly contain *nemets* words, and even a few Slavonic words. I noticed that they pronounce the *nemets* words softly: because of this, one may conclude that they have sensitive ears.[478]

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[477] The borders were redrawn in 1795. Image from Wikipedia.org, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Duchy_of_Courland_%26_Semigallia_1740.svg>, site accessed 22 August 2010.

[478] Entry 31 May 1789. "Я не приметил никакой розницы между эстляндцами и лифляндцами, кроме языка и кафтанов: одни носят черные, а другие серые. Языки их сходны; имеют в себе мало собственного, много немецких и даже несколько славянских слов. Я заметил, что они все немецкие слова смягчают в произношении: из чего можно заключить, что слух их нежен."

While Karamzin admits that the two peoples speak two kinds of German languages, the differences between them are marginal. While the passage begins with the linguistic differences between the two groups, it ends with one pronoun subsuming both: "they" have the same soft pronunciation and sensitive ears. The image of the Livonians and Estonians thus reflects their landscape – partially *nemets* and partially *russkii,* similar to the *nemets-russkii* structure of the city of Narva/Ivan-gorod. The narrator also emphasises the locals' *nemets* aspects in his description of the inhabitants. They are Lutherans, and their pastors speak German: "The *muzhiki* and the nobles are all of the Lutheran faith… Their sermons take place in their language, although all of the pastors speak the German language."[479] While referring to the people in *nemets* terms, though, the narrator includes a *russkii* element by deploying the term "*muzhik*" instead of the general term for a peasant, крестьянин (*krest'ianin*). The spatial overlapping between *russkii* and *nemets* terms thus echoes the levels of linguistics, attire, religion, and the character of the Baltic peoples.

4.2.4. Crossing into *Nemets* Space

Just as the Baltics represent a conflated hybrid of the *nemets* and *russkii* for the narrator, Königsberg emerges as a place that the *russkii* can measure and comprehend; and because of this, it presents itself in terms comparable to *russkii* cities [18^{AA}].[480] The first measurement emerges regarding the city's size: "Königsberg is the capital of Prussia, and one of the largest cities in Europe at around fifteen versts in circumference." The narrator also notes that, "The Pregel River, on which it lies, is no more than 150 or 160 feet wide. It is deep enough for large merchant ships to sail on it." The city also "has about 4,000 houses and 40,000 inhabitants." As far as young soldiers go, the narrator notices "no fewer than ten who seem not older than fifteen." Even less significant details of his experience in the city are quantified: during his first night in the city, the narrator dines with military officers, "about thirty in all." There is a level of detail present that goes beyond reporting what one saw abroad for the home audience; rather, the city is rendered as a space graspable entirely by the educated *russkii* reader. Königsberg's measurability enables its familiarity, and it collapses the cultural separation between *russkii* and *nemets*.

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[479] "Мужики и господа лютеранского исповедания… Проповеди говорятся на их языке; однако ж пасторы все знают по-немецки."

[480] See Karamzin, pp. 38-39; entry 19 June 1789. The first part of the entry appears in the Appendix.

This measurability establishes the terms by which the city is comparable to *russkii* cities. For the narrator, the city "is probably constructed better than Moscow." The traveller also compares the soldiers in qualitative terms, passing judgment upon which are better dressed: "I would not say that Prussian soldiers are dressed better than ours; in particular, I find their pointed hats unattractive." He also compares soldiers' pay and age: "The officers look very neat, even though their salary is not much higher than ours, with the exception of the captains. I have been told that the Prussian army does not contain officers as young as ours."

Because the narrator can compare Prussia and Russia in like terms, the two spaces appear as similar in essence. The comparative aspect of the city also reaffirms Russia's place in Europe, because the narrator does not encounter strange objects in the *nemets* lands that are beyond the bounds of his comprehension and cultural understanding. Rather, the urban space and its inhabitants readily meet the expectations generated by his education and erudition. This space is thus far from the horrifying and alienating cityscape of the *russkii* Berlin of the 1920s,[481] and it appears as a natural setting for a sentimental/Sentimental *russkii*. One of the clearest examples of this acceptance comes from a dialogue between the narrator and Phillip Moritz, the "author, philosopher, teacher and psychologist."[482] While *russkii* culture is not well known in Europe, this dialogue implies that is only a matter of time before it is:

> [Moritz] asked me about our language and about our literature. I had to read poems of various meters to him, and their harmony seemed pleasing to him. "Perhaps the time will come," he said, "when we will study the Russian language; but for that to occur, you will have to compose a magnificent work." An involuntary sigh escaped from my heart at this.[483]

For Karamzin, the imitation and importation of Western institutions is a given, and his "involuntary sigh" reinforces the "magnificent work" as a goal toward which Russia must strive. This passage demonstrates the Complementary relationship between *nemets* space and *russkii* advancement – it is unproblematic to assume that absorbing teaching from the *nemets* will lead to great things in *russkii* culture. Furthermore, it is unproblematic to assume that the cultural goals of the *nemtsy* are appropriate for Russia to adopt for itself.

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[481] For a discussion of the *russkii* Berlin, see the discussion of Dolinin in Chapter Two.
[482] Entry 6 July 1789.
[483] Entry 6 July 1789. "Он спрашивал меня о нашем языке, о нашей литературе. Я должен был прочесть ему несколько стихов разной меры, которых гармония казалась ему довольно приятною. 'Может быть, придет такое время, - сказал он, - в которое мы будем учиться и русскому языку; но для этого надобно вам написать что-нибудь превосходное'. Тут невольный вздох вылетел у меня из сердца."

4.2.5. Conclusion: The Educated *Russkii* in *Nemets* Space

The novel depicts a Russia that overlaps the borders of the *nemets*, a relationship expressed spatially in the conflated *russkii-nemets* Baltic space between Petersburg and Prussia. The narrator does not cast Russia as antithetical to *nemets* space, but rather assumes that Russia contains Western traits – enough to interact on the same level with famous *nemtsy* and to compare in quantitative terms *nemets* and *russkii* cities. As the dialogue with Moritz indicates, Western education is taken for granted as an ideal source of knowledge with which to understand the world: when the educated *russkii* enters upon an intellectual discourse with a *nemets* intellectual, he does not have to pretend to be anything that he is not. Even more significantly, the *nemets* intellectuals readily accept Karamzin's narrator as one of their own, which reaffirms Russia's position in the Western sphere of influence, if not in the Western world. While the *russkii* had not yet produced a work of genius, Karamzin creates a world where this is possible given time and education due to the stable nature of social development according to the post-Petrine historical discourse. Because the *nemets* is inexorably tied to *russkii* potential, Russia is depicted as capable of great things because of – and not in spite of – its relationship to the *nemets*.

The narrator's characterisation of his first meeting with Herder illustrates this series of parallel relationships between the *russkii* and the *nemets*:

> [Herder] met me at the entrance hall and interacted with me so gently that I forgot that before me stood a great writer. Instead, I just saw a kind, friendly man. He asked me many questions about the political situation in Russia, but with remarkable modesty.[484]

As opposed to the image of the haughty *nemets* (that opposes the simple and humble *russkii*), Herder displays modesty and an interest to learn about *russkii* culture. The Meta Image of the *nemets* does not involve disdain, but rather the acknowledgement of Russia's recent cultural strides, and its future possibilities. In addition to interacting with Karamzin as an equal, Herder's queries establish Karamzin – at least briefly – as an instructor to the famous *nemtsy*. To illustrate the remarkable nature of this passage, it is only necessary to recall how Dostoevsky would imagine that a *nemets* toll keeper

[484] Entry 20 July 1789. "Он встретил меня еще в сенях и обошелся со мною так ласково, что я забыл в нем великого автора, а видел перед собою только любезного, приветливого человека. - Он расспрашивал меня о политическом состоянии России, но с отменною скромностию." Figes contextualises this passage on p. 63.

considered him to be "just a worm before our (*nemets*) bridge" in his account of travelling in *nemets* space in 1863.[485]

Russia's assumed position in the world at the turn of the century can be summarised by an article in Karamzin's *Vestnik Evropy* (*Messenger of Europe*) from March 1803. This article marked the educational policies of the government, and it is saturated with enthusiasm for the potential of the Westernising project:

> *Peter* the Great established the first academy in our fatherland, Elizabeth the first university, the Great *Catherine* town schools, but *Alexander*, multiplying universities and secondary schools, says in addition: *let there be lights also in the huts*! A new, great epoch is beginning henceforth in the history of the moral formation of Russia which is the root of state glory and without which the most brilliant reigns represent only the personal glory of the monarchs, not of the fatherland, not of the people. Russia, strong and fortunate in many respects, remained abased by a just envy, seeing the triumph of enlightenment in other countries and its weak, unsteady flicker in the vast Russian lands. Romans, already conquerors of the world, were still despised for their ignorance by Greeks, and not by might, not by victories, but only through learning could they escape the name of barbarians. The name of *Peter* and *Catherine* will for ever shine at the head of the history of reason and enlightenment in Russia; but what they could not accomplish, this is being done by Alexander, who has the happiness of reigning after them, and in the nineteenth century. Heaven left for *him* the glory and the opportunity of crowning their immortal work. [Emphasis in original].[486]

A number of aspects of the Complementarity lens emerge in this passage. First, in 1803 it was unproblematic to assert Russia's greatness while simultaneously admitting to its weaknesses – which are here expressed in the "weak, unsteady flicker" of the enlightenment in the "vast Russian lands." Secondly, the article assumes that the Westernising trajectory enacted by Peter and continued by Catherine would continue into the glorious future: as with Moritz, it is only a matter of time before the seeds of education yield the bounty of exceptional artistic and cultural works. Thirdly, if peoples from Western countries view the *russkie* as barbarians, this is the fault of the *russkie*, who have a "just envy" of other cultures' enlightenment. It is up to the *russkie* to "escape the name of barbarians" through education, just as it was incumbent upon the Romans to shed the label before the Greeks. Fourthly, as the reference to classical empires suggests, Russia is cast as a participant in a long line of Western imperial powers, balancing the glory of military victories and expansion with the enrichment of its citizenry. Fifthly, the Westernising project itself is a matter of precritical glory. Finally, the article reinforces

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[485] See my discussion in the first test case of Chapter Three; Fedor Dostoevskii (Dostoevsky), *Zimnie zametki o letnikh vpechatleniiakh,* from <http://www.klassika.ru/read.html?proza/dostoevskij/zametki.txt>, site accessed 2 February 2010.

[486] Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities*, pp. 115-116, cites and translates "O novom obrazovanii narodnogo prosveshcheniia v Rossii," in *Vestnik Evropy*, no. 5 (March 1803), pp. 49-56.

the post-Petrine historical discourse, where enlightening tsars continue the projects of previous enlightening tsars.

This image of the West and Westernisation represents the intellectual context in which Pushkin was born in 1799. Even though the Napoleonic Wars challenged the Francophile aspects of *russkii* culture and enabled the Decembrist Uprising (which I discuss in this Chapter), it also emplotted Russia in the Western world in the respect that Alexander was hailed as the "liberator of Europe" who had overthrown the Napoleonic tyranny.[487]

In the following Section, I examine the appearance of Western space in Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin.* While Pushkin's novel presents an updated reaction to the *nemets* – cast as an influence with drawbacks and tensions – it echoes Karamzin's assumptions of Russia's *nemets* components and of its Western trajectory. Pushkin's novel presents *nemets* influence in an ironic light, and it investigates the limits of Western models (such as in the "different pictures," mentioned in the introduction) – but it does not question the existence of this influence in the first place.

4.3. Complementarity in the Capital: *Nemets* Space in Onegin's Petersburg, 1825

4.3.1. Introduction and Context

Although the first Chapter of Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin*, published in St. Petersburg in February 1825, did not match the commercial expectations for the exiled poet, the critical response was mostly positive.[488] Included in these ranks was the Moscow poet Nikolai Polevoi, who praised the Chapter for capturing the *russkii* "national character."[489] The poet Dmitrii Venevitinov countered with the argument that the scenery in Pushkin's chapter was nothing short of generic: "I don't know what is national here except the names of Petersburg streets and restaurants. In France and England, too, corks pop to the ceiling, devotees go to the theatres and balls."[490] Polevoi responded that, "Mr.

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[487] Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities*, pp. 163-164.

[488] Pletnev, Pushkin's friend and the task's overseer, argued that Chapter One captured the dynamism for the younger generation in the city, and wrote to Pushkin: "Your *Onegin* will be a pocket mirror of St. Petersburg youth." Binyon, p. 223, cites a letter from P. A. Pletnev, 22 January 1825, Pushkin (Vol. XIII), p. 133. Another review maintained that in *Onegin*, "the charm of joyful, witty, and noble satire is combined with authentic and sharp descriptions of society life." Binyon, pp. 223-224. Quoted from *Pushkin v prizhiznennoi kritike 1820-1827,* (Petersburg, 1996). There was the occasional negative review, such as from Iazykov: "I very, very much disliked *Onegin* ... the sophisms of the past century are very obvious in *Onegin* when the poet himself speaks." Binyon, p. 224.

[489] This exchange can be found in *Moskovskii Telegraf* 15 (1825), pp. 10-11 (special supplement), and is quoted in Sergei Bocharov, "The Stylistic World of the Novel," trans. Sona Stephan Hoisington, in *Russian Views of Pushkin's Eugene Onegin* (Bloomington, 1988), pp. 122-168, esp. p. 125. This essay originally appeared in S. G. Bocharov, *Poetika Pushkina* (Moscow, 1974).

[490] *Ibid.*

[Venevitinov] himself calls Pushkin's poem a complete picture of Petersburg life. Surely he who has portrayed Petersburg completely has portrayed the national character."[491]

While disagreeing on a number of issues, both Polevoi and Venenitinov insist that the totality of the city is reflected in the artistic work. Polevoi takes the argument a step further than Venevitinov, because he argues that a depiction of Petersburg is equivalent to a depiction of the *russkii* character as a whole. That one of Pushkin's contemporaries believed Petersburg could reflect the *russkii narod* demonstrates the extent to which the Complementary Model of space was in operation in the 1820s. This is a remarkable fact, considering the huge number of foreigners who lived in the city at the time, and also the Western-style architecture that dominated the city's skyline.[492] Furthermore, Polevoi's assertion contrasts fundamentally with the image of Petersburg as "the most abstract and intentional city" that appears in Dostoevsky's *Notes from the Underground* four decades later.[493] It also does not cast the city as a foreigner that is antithetical to *russkii* values, as Figes's position holds.[494]

Polevoi's assumption – that the Westernised and Westernising city of Petersburg is indicative of *russkii* culture as a whole – marks the starting point for this Section, because it demonstrates how the first Chapter coincided with a cultural milieu where the act of imitation was a creative act rather than a cultural liability.[495] In order to argue that the *nemets* is "at home" in the Petersburg space of *Evgenii Onegin,* I polemicise against a scholar who holds the opposite position: the Soviet scholar Sergei Bocharov, and his 1974 essay, "The Stylistic World of the Novel."[496] Bocharov also begins his analysis with Polevoi's position in the debate with Venevitinov, but to a different end. While I argue that the space demonstrates Complementarity because the city emerges as a partially Western imperial capital, Bocharov argues that the cityscape is based upon the diametric opposition between the *russkii* and the Western – and that these oppositions represent the entirety of 1820s *russkii* society.[497].

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[491] *Ibid.*

[492] See Figes, pp. 7-10, 12-13.

[493] See my discussion of the Underground Man in Chapter Three, grouping III.

[494] Figes, p. 58; I include this citation in the introduction of this Chapter.

[495] *Russian Subjects: Empire, Nation, and the Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Monika Greenleaf and Stephen Moeller-Sally (Evanston, 1998); see the Introduction, p. 17, and also Greenleaf, "Found in Translation: The Subject of Batiushkov's Poetry," p. 51. For more on the creative potential of imitation, see Monika Greenleaf, *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion: Fragment, Elegy, Orient, Irony* (Stanford, 1994), esp. pp. 84-85.

[496] Bocharov, "The Stylistic World of the Novel."

[497] This scholarly tradition of the novel as representative of the whole includes Belinskii, Dostoevsky, and Bakhtin. See Bocharov, p. 122.

4.3.2. Bocharov's Diametrically Opposed Poles

For Bocharov, the fullness of *russkii* life emerges in the Chapter because the poet operates between two stylistic poles, one of foreign luxuries and the other of domestic simplicities.[498] Bocharov evidences this by indicating the oppositional relationship between the Foreign and the Domestic, and also by dividing Pushkin's language into two groups: the "simple" and "poetic" registers. Bocharov follows this analysis with the assertion that that Polevoi was "obviously… closer to the truth" in his debate with Venevitinov, which implies that the stylistic polarities fill out everything between.[499] For Bocharov, this structure is established by Stanzas 35 and 36 of the first Chapter, where Petersburg awakens while Onegin travels home from a ball [19^{BB}].[500] I provide a close reading of Stanza 35 to investigate the basis of Bocharov's claims:

> 1:XXXV
> So what is going on with my Onegin? Half-asleep
> he's heading to bed after leaving a ball:
> And rambunctious Petersburg has already been
> awoken by the sound of a drum.
> The shopkeeper awakens, the hawker sets off,
> the cabby heads to the cab-stand,[501]
> the *okhtenka* [~ Finnish girl] hurries along with her jug.
> The snow crunches underfoot,
> and the pleasant morning din has awoken.
> The shutters are open: and clouds of blue
> smoke arise from the pipes,
> and a baker, an *akkuratnyi nemets*
> in a cotton cap, has not for the first time
> opened his *was ist das*.[502]

Bocharov argues that this and the following Stanza (I:36) portray the polarities of Petersburg life – the life of the refined dandy and the life of the simple people.[503] These two stanzas present "two different kinds of content, two totally opposed contexts, two clusters of images, two worlds, and two languages," which portray "the character of the

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[498] Bocharov, pp. 122-125.
[499] Bocharov, p. 126; he includes as an epigraph the assertion by Bakhtin that, in *Evgenii Onegin* "Russian life speaks in all its voices, in all the languages and styles of the era" (122).
[500] "Thanks to stanza 35, there is a 'complete picture' of Petersburg, the focus of this stratification and polarity" (125).
[501] Another possibility for this line is "the carrier heads to the market," as извозчик also meant a cart or carter, while биржа meant both a place for trading and a cab-stand.
[502] Aleksandr Pushkin, *Sochineniia v trekh tomakh, Vol.* II (Moscow, 1986), p. 199. Nabokov renders the passage: "And my Onegin? Half asleep, / he drives from ball to bed, / while indefatigable Petersburg / is roused already by the drum. / The merchant's up, the hawker's on his way, / the cabby to the hack stand drags, / the Okhta girl hastes with her jug, / the morning snow creaks under her. / Morn's pleasant hubbub has awoken, / unclosed are shutters, chimney smoke / ascends in a blue column, / and the baker, a punctual German / in cotton cap, has more than once / already opened his *vasisdas*." Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin,* trans. Nabokov, p. 111.
[503] Bocharov, pp. 125-127.

Petersburg world" – and they are thus "characteristic of the text of *Onegin* as a whole."[504] The world of the dandy who passes through a city of elegance and linguistic barbarisms is contrasted with the simple, Slavonic-language world, which thematises "the relationship between the 'native' and the 'foreign'."[505] An example of the first pole – that of foreign imports and lexical barbarisms – is the characterisation of Onegin as "a child of luxury and glamour," because he is often replaced "periphrastically" by "verbal masks."[506]

4.3.3. Irony and the *Nemets*: Complementarity in Onegin's Petersburg

Because of his division of every aspect of Petersburg space between two polarities, Bocharov does not account for the complex interaction between the *russkii* and the West in the novel. I support this assertion with two criticisms of Bocharov's approach: the ironic play that involves rather than excludes the *nemets*, and the Complementarity of Onegin's Petersburg space.

Onegin's Petersburg, for Bocharov, emerges as the interaction of diametric oppositions, as opposed to a verbal game in which all characters participate.[507] Bocharov diminishes the extent of the parody and irony present in the novel because he organises the novel's images and characterisations into monolithic categories: irony is strictly the preserve of one of the poles that fashion the city in the novel, included in the world of foreign affectation, refinement, and verbal masks. The simple people, on the other hand, are conceived of as linguistically direct.[508] As Greenleaf argues, though, the trope of irony at work throughout the piece privileges no particular voices over another.[509] Greenleaf supports this with the assertion that, "Even the most definite sounding statements in *Eugene Onegin* can be thought of as having invisible quotation marks – that is, as representing a partial point of view, belonging to this or that character, or even more importantly, to particular moments in a single life."[510] So we must heed the warning:

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[504] Bocharov, pp. 127.
[505] Bocharov, p. 125.
[506] Bocharov provides the following examples of periphrasis: Onegin appears as "'no mean economist [эконом]' [I:7]; 'the stage's arbiter, exacting,' 'established freeman of the wings'[I:17]; 'fashion's acolyte,' 'philosopher at age eighteen' [I:23]; 'child of luxury and glamour'[I:36]; and, a little later, conversely, as 'apostate from the whirl of pleasure' [I:43]." See Bocharov, pp. 123-125, esp. p. 124.
[507] For another challenge to Bocharov's model, see Ely, p. 82. Ely argues that spatiality in *Onegin* subverts conventional ways of misrepresenting the *russkii* landscape rather than to oppose diametrically *russkii* with *nemets*. The spaces that Pushkin invokes involve allusions taken to absurd levels to show the breakdown of the accepted modes of representation. One example is Lenskii's grave, where maidens first leave flowers but later becomes a bench for elderly shepherds, inverting the Sentimental landscape with the Pastoral.
[508] Bocharov, pp. 124-126.
[509] Monika Greenleaf, *Pushkin and Romantic Fashion,* pp. 206-207.
[510] Greenleaf, pp. 206-207.

beware seemingly simplistic peasants, they may be hidden under more layers of irony than the elegant dandies.

Nabokov's account for the origins of the *nemets* baker character emphasises how the novel's irony involves one of the "simple" city workers:

> Pushkin, rather cynically, expects to hear a guffaw from the gallery, if one may judge by a passage in his letter to Gnedich (May 13, 1823, from Kishinev to Petersburg) in which he refers to a one-act comedy in verse, *The Waverer (Nereshitel'nyi,* performed for the first time July 20, 1820), by the third-rate playwright Nikolay Hmelnitski, who adapted it from the French...: "Well, I do not know the measure of the public's comprehension, taste, culture.... Once, I remember Hmelnitski was reading me his *Nereshitel'nyi.* When I heard the line: '...and one must own, Germans are punctual (*akuratny*) [sic]...' I said to him: Mind my words, at this verse everybody will applaud and roar with laughter. Yet what is there witty or funny about it? I should very much like to know if my prediction came true."[511]

For Nabokov, The characterisation of the *nemets* as "*akkuratnyi*" is a double play of irony. It is a gambit to make the gullible reader laugh at this stereotype, so that "we," the less gullible who desire to take part in the play of irony along with the author, can laugh at the other readers who would "applaud and roar with laughter." Because the *nemets* takes part in the narrative play, he complements the ironic landscape of the novel.

While Bocharov characterises the foreigner and the dandy as part of the same stylistic pole, in Stanza 35 the *nemets* baker is actually a part of the awakening and working side of Petersburg. This *nemets* takes part in the activity of the *russkii* and *okhta* workers that serve as, in the words of William Mills Todd III, "swift counterpoints... which accentuated the frivolity of Eugene's social whirl ('making midnight out of dawn')."[512] That is, the actions of the workers (waking, setting off, going to work, and starting to work) present a chronological – and even chronotopical – development from sleep to work, just as Onegin travels from activity to sleep. If we take the *nemets* as a part of Onegin's world, this inversion ("making midnight out of dawn" in stanza 36) falls apart and the irony of the passage is lost.

Nabokov's translation of stanza 35 implicitly rejects Bocharov's claims regarding Pushkin's division between the "poetic" and "simple" styles – and thus the clear divisions between the Foreign and Domestic. For Bocharov, the simple people of Petersburg should be rendered in simple terms – as opposed to the lexical barbarisms that accompany Onegin. Nabokov, however, renders the line that involves the *okhtenka* as: "the Okhta

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[511] Vladimir Nabokov, *Eugene Onegin; Commentary and Index* (Princeton, 1990; 1964), p. 144.
[512] William Mills Todd III, "Literature in Early-Nineteenth-Century Russia," in *Literature and History: Theoretical Problems and Russian Case Studies,* ed. Gary Saul Morson (Stanford, 1986), p. 67.

girl hastes with her jug."[513] Here, Nabokov, who aimed for a translation of the poem that would not sacrifice the sense of the original for poetic concerns, uses the word "hastes."[514] Not only does Nabokov use an elevated term in the place of a "simple" one (i.e. "hastes" instead of "hurries"), he even deploys a literary verb that has fallen out of common English usage (i.e. "hastes" instead of "hastens").[515] For Nabokov, the style that depicts the simple people occupies an elevated and ironic register in English, which does not mark them as diametrically opposite the other characters in the novel. It is also appropriate to mention that this *okhtenka* takes part in the ironic space, similar to the *nemets*: where the lyrical persona introduces her, he notes the activity of her feet (i.e. the snow crunches beneath her), which links to the lyrical digression in the previous Stanza (I:34) that warns against the charms of women's feet.[516]

Because of his commitment to polarities, Bocharov's approach ignores the areas where his categories overlap. Stanza 35 demonstrates that Onegin, the "child of luxury," is not the only character to be characterised by means of periphrasis: this is no simple baker, but rather a "*nemets akkuratnyi.*" The *nemets* therefore inhabits a world that is neither the same as Onegin (because he takes part in the workers' morning), nor one that is opposed to Onegin (because they are both depicted periphrastically), according to Bocharov's definitions. Considering that the *nemets akkuratnyi* displays traits of the worker and of the dandy, he cannot be plotted among either of Bocharov's extreme poles. This shows that periphrasis, like irony, is not the strict preserve of one social group. Rather, this *nemets* is "at home" in the novelistic world: because he – like the *okhtenka* – is not the object of the joke, he participates in the ironic play of the novel, and he shares the space with the *russkii* workers as a constitutive part of the imperial, multiethnic, Westernised capital.

4.3.4. Conclusions

Bocharov's analysis of the two stylistic poles in *Onegin* reflects to a much greater degree the categories that would appear in mid-19th-century Russian intellectual history than those that appear in the novel itself.[517] It was only after the East/West divide had

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[513] Pushkin and Nabokov, *Eugene Onegin,* Vol. 1, p. 111; see also Nabokov, *Onegin*, Vol. 2, p. 143.
[514] Nabokov, *Onegin*, pp. 3-4.
[515] The Oxford English Dictionary supplies the following definition of "to haste": "Now chiefly literary, the ordinary word being *hasten*." See the entry "to haste," at <http://dictionary.oed.com>, site accessed 28 August 2010.
[516] "Они не стоят ни страстей, / Ни песен, ими вдохновенных: / Слова и взор волшебниц сих / Обманчивы... как ножки их."
[517] For a reading that separates Pushkin from the intelligentsia traditions that would arise in subsequent decades, because the poet lived in a time where "poets could serve both Caesar and God," see Caryl

become enshrined in Russia as its "interminable debate" in the 1840s that Pushkin could be read retroactively as dividing entirely the simple *russkii* space from complex Foreign space.[518] The relationship between the *nemets* and Petersburg space is analogous to the Westernised Lenskii, who has a "truly Göttingenian soul" and has "brought the fruits of learning from misty Germany" [19[CC]].[519] While Lenskii's character is depicted ironically, the *nemets* influence upon him is not superficial – nor is he entirely estranged from *russkii* life. Rather, his character has undergone a transformation while studying in *nemets* space, and he emerges as a hybrid of the two polarities that Bocharov considers mutually exclusive.

Even if the Western influence is not entirely suitable for the characters' needs in their own society, it emerges as the filter through which they view their social world – and there is no system to put in place of imitation and parody beyond imitation and parody. From this perspective, the lyrical persona's need for "different pictures" expresses the unsuitability of Western models (i.e. picturesque pictures) in the *russkii* context, but also the awareness that the available pictures are Western. The process of imitation for Pushkin is thus creative, and the foreign models provide opportunity for mimicry, verbal play and subversion rather than an antipodal discursive system.

In the following close reading, I move from the 1820s to the 1830s to analyse the picture of Petersburg space in Gogol's short story, "Nevskii Prospekt." Similar to Pushkin's Petersburg, Gogol's story includes urban space where the *nemtsy* are "at home," and emerge as Complementary to the *russkii* space of the imperial capital. As opposed to Pushkin's picture, however, Gogol includes a new possibility for depicting the *nemets* as Mutually Exclusive to the *russkii*.

4.4. The Two Petersburgs of Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt" (1835)

4.4.1. Introduction and Context

I offer a close reading of Gogol's short story, "Nevskii Prospekt" as a transitional piece in the emergence of *russkii* identity. I argue that the story is based upon the Complementary Model of *russkii-nemets* interaction, and that it suggests the terms of a

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Emerson, "Pushkin, Literary Criticism, and Creativity in Closed Places," in *New Literary History*, Vol. 29, No. 4, "Critics without Schools?" (Autumn, 1998), pp. 653-672, esp. pp. 656-657.

[518] See Ronald Grigor Suny, *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (New York, 2001), pp. 23-66; the debate as "interminable" appears in the conference paper, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, "National" Identity, and Theories of Empire," for the University of Chicago Conference, "Empire and Nations: The Soviet Union and the Non-Russian Peoples," October 24-26, 1997, p. 36.

[519] Nabokov renders this section as "By name Vladimir Lenski, / with a soul really Göttingenian, / a handsome chap, in the full bloom of years, / Kant's votary, and a poet. / He out of misty Germany / had brought the fruits of learning" (126).

new model based upon irreconcilable oppositions. The space of the Nevskii Prospekt (i.e. the street) is comparable to Stanza 35 in the first Chapter of *Evgenii Onegin*: people from all nations are naturalised in this space, and this casts the *nemets* as a constituent component of the empire. On the other hand, Gogol constructs the city beyond Nevskii to oppose the *russkii* with the *nemets*; here, the narrator draws a sharp contrast between the spaces the two groups inhabit. The *nemtsy* artisans Goffmann and Shiller dramatise this relationship between imperial space and national space: they signal *nemets* literary intertexts, while they also function as foils to construct *russkii* trait. The literary genealogy of the story also parallels the mixture of Complementarity with Mutual Exclusivity: while Gogol includes elements of the fantastic and Gothic (signalled by Goffmann and Shiller), the story also follows Russian folkloric models as a tale of a *russkii* hero who quests in Foreign space.

"Nevskii Prospekt" establishes a paradigm that I revisit a number of times in the following Chapters: the meta-literary level (*nemets* and *russkii* intertexts) parallels the configuration of space (Nevskii Prospekt versus the *nemets* district) and also the level of stereotypes (*nemets* versus *russkii* traits). I begin this Section with an account of the Complementarity that exists in the story within the chronotope of Nevskii Prokspekt (4.4.2), and follow it with an analysis of the Mutual Exclusivity that emerges once the hero Pirogov crosses the border into the *nemets* world of Petersburg (4.4.3).

The ambiguous view of the city in "Nevskii Prospekt" contrasts with the clear sets of diametric opposites that emerge seven years later in Gogol's 1842 *Dead Souls;* in Chapter Five, I argue that the novel proposes a new way of viewing Russia after the terms of the "interminable debate" crystallise. A close analysis of "Nevskii Prospekt" thus illustrates the fracturing of the Complementary lens in 1835, and it creates a point of comparison for my interpretation of the *nemtsy* in *Dead Souls*.

4.4.2. On Nevskii Prospekt: A Complementary Vision

The social world that exists on Nevskii is a mixture of overlapping *russkii* and Western influence, similar to Pushkin's Petersburg scenes and Karamzin's Baltic borderland space [20[DD]]. Mirroring Polevoi's assumptions, the story begins with a view of Petersburg space as related to the *russkii* whole: the narrator asserts "There is nothing better than Nevskii Prospekt."[520] He then casts the street as a symbol for the city (because

[520] Nikolai Gogol', "*Nevskii prospekt*," at <http://public-library.narod.ru/Gogol.Nikolai/nevskiy.html>, site accessed 14 December 2009. "Нет ничего лучшего Невского проспекта."

it is "everything" for Petersburg), and also for the Russian state (because Nevskii represents the "beauty of our capital"; красавица нашей столицы).[521]

The social make-up of Nevskii is also distinctly Complementary, because the *russkii* component exists on equal terms with the Foreign on the street. By late morning, Nevskii is inhabited by the "*Russkie muzhiki* talking about ten kopecks [*grivnia*] or seven brass farthings"[522] – and the street is so dominated by the *russkii narod* that it is unseemly at this time for ladies to stroll, because "the *russkii narod* loves to employ quite harsh language."[523] The *russkii* composition of the street shifts at noon, when "tutors of all nationalities (всех наций) spill out upon Nevskii Prospekt." It is significant that the first appearance of the Foreign in Petersburg is in the form of tutors, meaning that these foreigners are not separated spatially or physically from the *russkie*, but live among them; they are not foreigners outside (such as the *Nemetskaia sloboda* model), but foreigners inside (similar to Pushkin's *nemets akkuratnyi* baker). Their appearance is part of the chronology of a normal day, and because they represent a constituent component of the city, their position in this space is naturalised.

This structure of the Foreign/Domestic mixture also appears when the narrator introduces the artist Piskarev, one of the two *russkii* heroes. The narrator notes that his occupation is an exceptional phenomenon, because "everyone in the city is a *chinovnik,* a merchant, or a *nemets* artisan."[524] This passage reinforces the image of the city as imperial and composed of the Domestic (*chinovniki*), the Foreign (*nemtsy*), and those mediating between the two (the merchants). Because the narrator has already enumerated types that do not fit in this characterisation (i.e. the tutors and *muzhiki*), this passage is ironic, but it links to the irony in Pushkin's novel: the *nemets* is included in the function rather than excluded. The second hero, the officer Pirogov, also demonstrates Complementary in the city. While his character, as we shall see, contains *russkii* traits that are cast as typical of all *russkie*, he is also stationed in Petersburg – and so, linking to Polevoi's assertions, an aspect of the "window to the West" can stand in for *russkii* culture as a whole.

In this passage, the narrator also accesses the leitmotif of *russkii* space as geographically massive.[525] Nevskii – and, by extension, Russia – is rendered as an

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[521] "...по крайней мере в Петербурге; для него он составляет все."
[522] "Русский мужик говорит о гривне или о семи грошах меди."
[523] "...изъясняться такими резкими выражениями."
[524] "...все или чиновники, или купцы, или мастеровые немцы."
[525] See my discussion of the breadth of Russia in Chapters Two and Three; see also Widdis, pp. 33, 39-40.

enormous space because the street is "the all-encompassing/universal communication centre of Petersburg" (всеобщая коммуникация Петербурга), "all-powerful" (всемогущий), and it displays "all the best products of mankind" (все лучших произведений человека).[526] This depiction of "all-powerful" Russia with "all the best products," which repeats the word "all" (все/все-), draws the reader's attention to the massive scope of the city and to its importance in the economic sphere in Russia and in Europe. The *nemets* artisans reinforce the expansive and multinational structure of the city's economy, and so they are a constitutive aspect of the image. Further, the foreign tutors are semantically related to the "all-powerful," "all-encompassing," and "all the best products" because they are from "every nationality," which repeats the word "all" (все). On Nevskii, Russia's expansive nature is depicted *because of* its inclusion of the foreign rather than *in spite of* it.

A second aspect of the *russkii* Self Image appears here: the empty, wasteland appearance of the land that belies the hidden strength beneath.[527] This emerges in Gogol's Nevskii because, even though the street appears busy at most points during the day, it is barren from four o'clock until dusk – an especially surreal characterisation given that this city is cast as full of *chinovniki*. The image of Nevskii as simultaneously the wasteland and as the bustling urban centre parallels the other extreme that is under discussion here – the mixture of the Foreign and the Domestic. The cityscape is based around a number of such oppositions: rich/poor (wealthy ladies vs. *muzhiki*), Domestic/Foreign (*chinovniki* vs. *nemtsy*), busy/empty (noon/four), day/night (as mundane/magical). These polarities, however, exist comfortably side-by-side on the street rather than segregated, because the *nemets* and *russkii* participate equally in the bustle and the emptiness. Furthermore, the *nemets* artisans share in the exclusionary process with the *russkii*: there are *russkie* within and without society (the ladies vs. the cursing *muzhiki*) just as there are *nemtsy* within and without (tutors living with family vs. *nemets* artisans living in their own cluster). This

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[526] The concept of an all-encompassing [все–] link the idea of the empire as the summation of Russian space, in which the tsar was crowned the "Tsar of All Rus'" [царь всея Руси] (Widdis, p. 35), and also as to Dostoevsky's characterisation of the Russian people as able to embrace the all-human [всечеловечность] and all-worldly [всемирность] in his "Pushkin Speech." For contextualisation of Dostoevsky's "Pushkin Speech," see David Herman, *Poverty of the Imagination: Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature about the Poor* (Evanston, 2001), pp. 193-201. The full quotation from Dostoevsky is: "Ибо что такое сила духа русской народности, как не стремление ее в конечных целях своих ко всемирности и ко всечеловечности?" from F. M. Dostoevskii, "Pushkin," at <http://www.pereplet.ru/text/pushkin.shtml>, site accessed 3 February 2010.

[527] See my discussion of Ely in Chapter Two and the *russkii* Self Image in Chapter Three.

level of Complementarity is further emphasised by the narrator's depiction of the *nemki* (female *nemtsy*) cooks who live with the city's older men.[528]

The intertextual aspects of the story emphasise the cultural overlapping. As Meyer argues, the text accesses Thomas de Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, the realism of Jules Janin, and also Hoffmann's "A New Year's Eve Adventure."[529] The *nemets* artisan Goffmann and Shiller participate directly in the literary intertexts, and they dramatise the story's literary genealogy while also casting the *nemets* as an integral part of the absurd cityscape: the narrator specifies that Shiller is a *nemets* artisan and not a writer, and that Piskarev is an artist and not a *nemets* artisan. The direct and indirect literary allusions thus parallel the foreign tutors and cooks, who are just as much "at home" on the street as the *muzhiki*.

4.4.3. Off Nevskii: *Nemets* as Opposed to *Russkii* Space

A different picture emerges, however, once the second hero of the story, Pirogov, starts to follow a girl – who turns out to be a *nemka* – through the city [21[EE]]. The *nemka* draws Pirogov off to the increasingly Foreign and alien spaces of the city, and the progression is reminiscent of the folkloric "wondertale quest," according to Vladimir Propp's definition.[530] While they begin on Nevskii, the *nemka* quickly leads Pirogov past the "dark Kazan Gates" (темными Казанскими воротами), which mark this space as Foreign territory literally and metaphorically, because Kazan is the capital of the Tartar territories. She then leads him through Meshchanskaia Street, populated by tobacconists – a mark of Western influence – and inhabited by *nemets* craftsmen (немцев–ремесленников) and *chukhon* (~Finnish) nymphs (чухонских нимф). The Foreign composition of exotic space beyond the Foreign gates (*nemtsy* and *chukhon* nymphs) resemble Onegin's Petersburg, which is constituted by the *nemets* baker and the *okhtenka*. But while Pushkin's foreigners were integrated into the city and shared the space with the *russkii* workers, Gogol's *nemtsy* inhabit a space that is all their own.

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[528] "...им очень хорошо готовят кушанье живущие у них в домах кухарки–немки."

[529] Priscilla Meyer, "The Fantastic in the Everyday: Gogol's 'Nevski Prospect' and Hoffmann's 'A New Year's Eve Adventure,'" in *Cold Fusion,* pp. 62-73. Due to the intertextual alignment, Meyer argues that Gogol "affirms Hoffmann's... supernatural world" (62-63).

[530] The story meets the four criteria: the landscape changes, the *nemka* establishes the "purpose" of the quest, the hero meets a variety of obstacles, and he is "dispatched" to the quest by his agreement with his friend. See Vladimir Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, ed. Anatoly Liberman, trans. Ariadna Y. Martin and Richard P. Martin (Minneapolis, 1997), pp. 82-98, esp. p. 83. The folkloric aspect is further emphasised by the appearance of the *chukhon* nymphs, a blending of the standard elements of the city with the mythological.

Pirogov follows the *nemka* to another shadowy space, a "narrow, dark staircase,"[531] and the *nemka* disappears into an apartment. Once Pirogov enters the first room of the *nemets* flat, the narrator describes a cluttered workspace that indicates that the inhabitant is an artisan. Pirogov then crosses into a second room: "He entered a room that did not at all resemble the first: it was tidied very neatly, showing that the owner was a *nemets*." But why does the first room not already indicate that Pirogov is in *nemets* space, considering the narrator has already cast the city's craftsmen as *nemtsy*? Just as in folkloric tales, the transgression of a boundary is key here: once Pirogov steps into the second room, the atmosphere changes – and the room does "not at all resemble the first." Further, the room actually announces itself to be *nemets* and is not deduced as such. Consider how the rules of logic are flipped upside down when Pirogov crosses the threshold: even though he walks into a room where two drunken *nemtsy* are speaking in German and one is holding a knife to cut off the other's nose, it is the room that declares this to be *nemets* space – not the scene unfolding before him. Even more astonishing is that the room seems "tidy" even though two drunken men are engaged in a drinking spree, about to spill blood. One final magical detail of this new exotic world-within-a-world is that the *nemka*, whom Pirogov had been trailing so closely down narrow streets and up a dark stairwell, has vanished completely.

The characterisation of the space as tidy and therefore characteristically *nemets* (or conversely: *nemets* and therefore characteristically tidy) is indicative of the diametric opposites at work in the *nemets* space. The *russkii* space of the city has already been described as "clean" (чисто): the footpaths of Nevskii are remarkably clean, even considering the amount of foot traffic they see: "How cleanly swept are the footpaths, especially, oh God, considering how many feet have left footprints on them!"[532] Ekaterinskii Canal is also "famous for its cleanliness" (известный своей чистотою). The *russkii* "*chistota*" implies spiritual purity and also physical cleanliness, and it links to the "*chistoe pole*" image of the *russkii* landscape.[533] The *chistota* opposes the "tidiness" in Shiller's second room (убранную очень опрятно), because it is simply "tidy" (*opriatno*), and therefore lacks the positive moral dimension of "cleanliness" (*chistota*). In additional to the valuation, this distinction further emphasises the *nemets* space as different. This is because, while both are "clean," there exists a difference in quality: the

[531] "…по узенькой темной лестнице…"
[532] "Как чисто подметены его тратуары, и, Боже, сколько ног оставило на нем следы свои!"
[533] See Widdis's discussion on the *chistoe pole*, p. 41.

nemets space links to the *nemets* Hetero Image as *akkuraten*, while the *russkii* space reinforces the Self Image as spiritual and morally superior. This opposition follows the pattern discussed in Chapter Three of the *nemets* as Exteriors and the *russkii* as Interiors: the *nemets* space announces itself as *nemets* and nothing else, and so is graspable by its external appearance, despite its magical properties.

The opposition between *nemets* and *russkii* space is emphasised in the essentialist traits that guide Pirogov's and Shiller's behaviour [22[FF]]. First, Pirogov's reckless transgression is cast as a product of his Russianness: he is only "following the *russkii* rule of thumb" (следуя русскому правилу) when he crosses the two thresholds to Shiller's apartment. Secondly, Shiller's own behaviour contrasts to that of the typical *russkii*, particularly in terms of his *akkuratnost'*: "Shiller was a perfect *nemets* in the full sense of the word. When he was only 20, that happy age when a *russkii* lives carelessly, Shiller had already measured out his entire life, and he never made an exception, no matter the circumstances." The essentialist traits are cast as diametric opposites: *nemets* as precise, predictable, and mundane; *russkii* as unfocused, spontaneous, and lively. The verb *размерил* (to measure out) echoes the image of the *nemets* space as quantifiable: while the *russkii* appears as indefinable (i.e. he "lives wildly/carelessly"; "живет на фу-фу"), Shiller's own life is quantifiable.

The diametric opposition between *russkii* and *nemets* space also emerges on the comparative level of physical description. Nevskii is depicted in hyperbolic terms as all-important, all-encompassing, and all-powerful, a characterisation that emphasises the size and scope of Russia. The *nemets* space, on the other hand, is cast as a compartment within the city, and its borders are defined rather than receding. Even the path that leads to this new space is cast in terms opposite to Nevskii: the *nemka's* space is marked by constriction because it is introduced by a "narrow, dark stairway."[534] As opposed to the brilliance and breadth of Nevskii, this space is dim and cramped. Furthermore, it is a homogenous space, in which the transgressor, Pirogov, meets only *nemtsy*, as opposed to the heterogeneous Nevskii that features the tutors "from all nations." Finally, Nevskii as a street extends into the distance to invoke the chronotope of the "open road," while the exotic space of Foreign Petersburg is marked by the boundaries of alleys, stairwells, gates, and bounded rooms – anticipating the "iron maze" of the *russkii* Berlin of the 1920s.

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[534] "Она взбежала по узенькой темной лестнице и вошла в дверь."

Shiller's workspace illustrates how *nemets* space is cast as bounded and quantifiable. It is dominated by objects with physical shape and concrete dimensions:

> [Pirogov] found himself in a large room with black walls, with a blackened ceiling. There were a lot of iron bolts, metalworker's tools, sparkling coffeepots and candlesticks on the table, and under that the floor was covered in brass and iron shavings.[535]

The boundaries of the apartment – the walls, ceiling, and floor – occupy a central role in this description. This space also emerges as tactile (the preponderance of objects), visual (the sparkling metal objects), and olfactory (the smoke-blackened walls and ceiling).

The explicit depiction of Schiller's apartment contrasts to the *russkii* space of the artist Piskarev, and to the living space of the *russkii* prostitute he follows. The prostitute's space is depicted in terms of its lack of order: "A kind of unpleasant disorder, the kind you might encounter in the rooms of carefree bachelors, reigns over everything."[536] The room's disorder not only reinforces the space as a den of sin, but the bachelor untidiness also opposes directly the matrimonial neatness of the inner room of the *nemets*. Finally, it is necessary to mention that the overarching theme of the prostitute's space is opposite to the *nemets* space: it is "carefree," as opposed to the Shiller's *akkuratnost'*.

This oppositional structure also emerges in the description of Piskarev's room. As opposed to the bounded and quantifiable nature of the *nemets* space, this room has no definite shape, and it is defined by emotional and abstract concepts. The room is locus of a dreamscape, and its boundaries not only do not come into focus, they even disappear:

> Overwhelmed with crushing sorrow, [Piskarev] sat in front of a dying candle… Drowsiness had already started to slowly but surely cover him, taking advantage of his motionlessness. His room began to disappear, and only the flame from a single candle was penetrating the dream that overcame him, when suddenly a knock on the door made him awaken and jerk up.[537]

The sole boundary exists in the form of the door, which separates the inside/outside space as well as dreams/reality. Because Piskarev's room could contain anything and be of any shape, the narrator accesses and constructs the *russkii* Self Image as unpredictable and

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[535] See the Appendix reference in the beginning of Section 4.4.3.

[536] "Какой–то неприятный беспорядок, который можно встретить только в беспечной комнате холостяка, царствовал во всем."

[537] "Проникнутый разрывающею жалостью, сидел он перед загоревшею свечою… Дремота, воспользовавшись его неподвижностью, уже было начала тихонько одолевать его, уже комната начала исчезать, один только огонь свечи просвечивал сквозь одолевавшие его грезы, как вдруг стук у дверей заставил его вздрогнуть и очнуться."

unknowable. The *nemets* space, on the other hand, is exhaustibly knowable because the first *nemets* room contains concrete objects with shapes and dimensions, and the second appears precisely as the reader expects *nemets* space to appear.

4.4.4. Conclusions

Nevskii Prospekt the street represents a space where different classes and nationalities exist as Complementary to one another. It is a vision of Russia as an empire, and Petersburg as the imperial capital, where multinational heterogeneity is the norm: there are different components, but they combine together to create the whole. The space on the street reflects early-19th-century spatial discourse, where portraying Russia as a hybrid was not only unproblematic, but even a commonplace, established in Karamzin's *Letters* and Pushkin's *Onegin*. It is a space where Georgi's optimism about the Westernising project is still possible, because the Western influence exists for the enrichment of the *russkie*. On the other hand, the city is divided into oppositional boundaries, where the *nemets* space appears as Foreign and Mutually Exclusive. While the *nemki* on Nevskii compose part of Domestic space, the *nemka* who lives off the street leads Pirogov on a folkloric adventure into strange, exotic space.

The *nemets* space contrasts with *russkii* space in terms of physical dimensions (bounded/unbounded), appearance (overt/implicit), epistemological (knowable/unknowable), and character (predictable/unpredictable) – all traits that appear as aspects of the *russkii* Self Image discussed in Chapter Three. The story therefore invokes precedent and literary expectations while offering a new picture of the *russkii* as fundamentally opposite to the *nemets*. The discursive current that would culminate in Dostoevsky's "most intentional and abstract city" image is established when Pirogov appears as more out of place in Petersburg than Karamzin was in Prussia. Pirogov's adventure beyond the boundaries of Nevskii Prospekt thus leads him to discover the deep alienation of his native capital – just as Gogol's narrator discovers how and where the model of Complementarity breaks down.

4.5. Response to Figes

I agree with Figes's assertion that *russkii* writers cast the West as antithetical, as I hope to have demonstrated in my analysis of Petersburg space in Gogol. But, as the Complementarity of Karamzin's Baltic space and Pushkin's Petersburg indicate, Figes postdates the emergence of this lens to a time when it did not apply, because the 18th-century sources follow in the vein of Karamzin and Georgi rather than Berdiaev and Shevyrev. In this Section, I provide three additional arguments to counter Figes's

assertion. These serve as a conclusion to the close readings of Karamzin, Pushkin, and Gogol, and they also foreshadow the discussion of how the image of the *nemets* changed between 1790 and 1835 in Section 4.6.

First, Figes is correct to point out the impact of romanticism/Romanticism upon the construction of *russkii* identity when he argues, "At the heart of this discourse was the old romantic ideal of the native soil." But this was a movement that only matured in Russia in the 1820s and gained momentum in prose around 1829.[538] While aspects of this worldview emerge in Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* (particularly the latter chapters written in the late 1820s), it was absent from Karamzin's Sentimental articulation of Russia vis-à-vis the West and also Pushkin's first Chapter. Further, in the 18th century it was not problematic for a *russkii* author to reconcile the imitation of the West with their sense of *russkii* identity: Neo-Classical aesthetics were based upon narrowly defined genres and the imitation of a limited set of models.[539] *Russkii* producers of culture thus considered the process of imitation to be a virtue, evidenced by the competition among writers to achieve the title of "the *russkii* Homer" and "the *russkii* Voltaire."[540] It was only in the 1820s that this process would be cast as negatively valued "slavish imitation."[541] As Moeller-Sally and Greenleaf have argued, it is also possible to view the process of imitation in early 19th-century Russian literature not as "passive, reverent, emasculated, or otherwise uncreative culture activity, but as a necessary component of impersonation and improvisation."[542] Therefore, the necessity of discovering the unique and essential aspects of *russkii* culture did affect the image of the *russkii*, as in "Nevskii Prospekt" – but this was not an "eternal" phenomenon, to invoke Berdiaev's terminology.

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[538] See L. G. Leighton, "Romanticism," in the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* pp. 372-376, esp. p. 373.
[539] See P. R. Hart, "Neoclassicism," in the *Handbook of Russian Literature*, pp. 298-301.
[540] Kheraskov was cast as the "*russkii* Homer" for his epic poem "Rossiada"; he was also called the "Northern Racine" (Sumarokov) and the "*russkii* Pindar" (Lomonosov). See the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* p. 222. Karamzin was dubbed the "*russkii* Sterne" after the publication of his letters; see the *Handbook*, p. 216. Lomonosov was also dubbed the "*russkii* Pindar" and the "*russkii* Malherbe"; see Mirsky, p. 46. Panaev was considered the "*russkii* Gessner"; see Ely, *Meager Nature,* p. 70. Sumarokov considered himself the "*russkii* Racine" and the "*russkii* Voltaire" in one; Mirsky, p. 47. Finally, in the early 19th century, "Tens of thousands of pages of historical novels were written by a pleiad of 'Russian Walter Scotts; see "Romanticism," in the *Handbook,* p. 373.
[541] See "Romanticism," in the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* p. 373.
[542] See the Introduction to *Russian Subjects*, p. 17. Greenleaf's essay in this volume presents an account of translation and poetic imitation as a creative act; "Batiushkov's Poetry," pp. 51-79. For the specific link to the period I discuss, see Greenleaf's argument that "The boundary between exact and 'free' translation, between translation and 'imitation,' between 'imitation' and 'poetry in the spirit of the ancients' in this period [1801-1825] was still fluid" (51). Greenleaf cites Jean Klim, "Making Another's Voice Mine: Pushkin and the Poetics of Translation" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1992), esp. Chapter. 3.

Secondly, Figes cites how, for Pushkin, Karamzin "discovered ancient Russia as Columbus discovered America" with *The History of the Russian State* (1818-1826).[543] But if awareness of pre-Petrine history resembled an uncharted continent before the appearance of the work, what source could *russkii* producers of culture have drawn upon to counter "foreign artifice" with "native truth" before 1818? In fact, Figes's own characterisation of the reaction to Karamzin's *History* in the 1820s would seem to undermine his previous assertion: "People who had been raised on the old conviction that there was no history before the reign of Peter the Great began to look back to the distant past for the source of their country's unexpected strengths."[544] The literary articulation of a *russkii* culture that extended beyond the Westernising project and existed outside the state thus emerged in the early 19th century, rather than the 18th century.

The work of historian Vasilii Tatishchev (1686-1750) contributed to the Complementary historical imagination, which is illustrated by his ethnographic theories. Tatishchev argued that the Slavonic *narody* could be divided into "Asian and European branches," and this move assumed that Russian history was composed of Western and Eastern elements as a matter of course.[545] Ana Siljak has utilised this classification to argue that, for Tatishchev, "both cultures were of importance in Russian history."[546] For Siljak, the image of Russia as tortured by its placelessness between the East and the West is a 19th-century development that does not have a basis in medieval or 18th-century thought. Rather, the default assumption of the 18th century was that the West was a component of being *russkii*, as emerges in Karamzin's conflated Baltic space.[547]

Thirdly, even if *russkii* writers of the 18th century were concerned with losing "all sense of their nationality,"[548] there did not exist any concept of *russkii* identity that existed beyond the assumption of Russia as a Westernising state and people: identity cannot precede the discursive and aesthetic capabilities to create the construct, because, as I have argued, identity represents an articulation rather than a substance or a Platonic ideal. This dynamic emerges in Onegin's Petersburg: while Onegin and Lenskii are at the mercy of authorial irony for their Western imitation, there is no coherent discourse of

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[543] Figes, p. 131.
[544] Figes, p. 131.
[545] Siljak, p. 336, cites V. N. Tatishchev, "Russia ili kak nyne zovut Rossiia," in *Izbrannye trudy po geografii Rossii* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 112, 114.
[546] Siljak, p. 336.
[547] Siljak, p. 337; see also Edward Keenan, "On Certain Mythical Beliefs and Russian Behaviors," in *The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (Armonk and London, 1994), pp. 19-40, esp. pp. 25-26.
[548] Figes, p. 53.

"Russianness" to put in its place. Rather, up until the 1830s it was possible to cast the West as a basic component of Russia as a matter of common sense, and producers of culture were more concerned with how Russia should imitate the West rather than whether Russia should imitate it in the first place. Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt," as a transitional piece, offers a new discourse of "Russianness": the *russkii* as the anti-*nemets*.

The Complementarity Model was enabled by these three factors: Neo-Classical aesthetics that established imitation as valuable; an historical imagination that began with the rule of Peter the Great; and a structure of identity that existed in terms of identification with the state. And, while the lens of Complementarity emerges in varying degrees in the three close readings I provide, it is perhaps best summed up by Pushkin's image of Petersburg in "The Bronze Horseman" that unites the sense of internationalism, Russia's Western trajectory, and also *russkii* indigenous strengths: "All flags will be our guest / and we shall feast in the vastness [*prostor*]!"[549]

Two additional factors enabled the filter of Complementarity in the late 18th century: the problem of Russian literary aesthetics, and the rise of periodical publications in the 1820s and 1830s. These two factors also emphasise how the discursive and aesthetic capabilities to define *russkii* identity outside Western models did not exist in the 18th century. I briefly discuss these two factors before I move on to the role of the Decembrists, Hegelian historical theories, and Chaadaev's letter.

The first factor is one already discussed: in the 18th century, Western models constituted the only lenses available to depict the *russkii* landscape.[550] In Chapter Two, I investigate Ely's argument that depictions of Domestic *russkii* space had no alternative but to appear Western.[551] The limits of aesthetic capabilities thus enabled the Complementary Model of *russkii-nemets* spatiality: just as Russia was cast as containing *nemets* elements, such as in Karamzin's geography and Tatishchev's ethnography, producers of *russkii* culture viewed their own space from the perspective of the *nemtsy*.[552] This is illustrated in Andrei Martynov's depiction of Siberia (1814-1817): his landscapes

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[549] "Все флаги в гости будут к нам / И запируем на просторе!" A. S. Pushkin, "The Bronze Horseman," from <http://www.zhurnal.ru/magister/library/pushkin/poetry/medniy.htm>, site accessed 3 June 2010.
[550] This assertion is informed by Ely's model for the development of Russian landscape aesthetics in *This Meager Nature*, discussed in Chapter Three.
[551] Ely, p. 27; for contextualisation see the Chapter "Arcadia on the Steppe," pp. 27-58.
[552] Landscape art in Russia "rarely surpassed the level of hackneyed idylls or one-among-many evocations of northern European terrain" until the mid 19th century; Ely, p. 165.

more closely resemble the space of the Swiss and English picturesque than the "recognisable" *russkii* space that was constructed later in the century.[553]



Figure 4.2. Andrei Martynov, View of the Selenga River, Siberia (1817)

The painting of the Selenga River in Siberia – with imagery evocative of England's Lake District – illustrates how aesthetic constraints rendered non-Western depictions of *russkii* space impossible in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It also illustrates in visual terms how Western aesthetics and structures of taste became constitutive components for viewing *russkii* space.

In addition to the state of *russkii* literary and artistic aesthetics, another logistical problem enabled the Complementary view of *russkii* identity in the 18th century: the lack

[553] Ely provides the following contextualisation: "European aesthetic influences on Russian taste in landscape simply remained too pronounced during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century for Russian writers and artists to be able to create what would amount to an entirely new landscape aesthetic... Martynov's work is full of enthusiasm about the scenery of the Urals and Siberia, but his enthusiasm is expressed in the only aesthetic language he knew. About Krasnoiarsk, for example, Martynov wrote, 'both in the city and in its environs, at every step one encounters views meriting the brush of an artist remembering delightful Switzerland.' The resulting landscapes, probably painted after his return home, exhibit a gentle placelessness as reminiscent of England as it is of Siberia" (52-53). Ely cites A. Martynov, *Zhivopisnoe puteshestvie ot Moskvy do Kitaiskoi granitsy* (St. Petersburg, 1819), p. 39.

of a developed periodical culture.[554] The nascent state of *russkii* journalism in the 18th century limited the scope of intellectual debate and the dissemination of new ideas. Further, this absence constricted cultural production to the orbit of the *russkii* court. For Lotman, this marked one of the differences between the literary environments in the 18th and 19th centuries: "the struggle of eighteen-century Russian literature for its social function was its struggle for the right to social independence, for the right to be the voice of truth, and not the reflection of the opinions of the court."[555] The multiplication of periodicals in the 1830s thus marked a shift in the cultural centre of *russkii* intellectual life because it enabled the decentralisation of cultural production. The rise of journals thus paralleled the advent of Romanticism, and the two currents worked together to place the producers of culture outside the court's sphere of influence.[556]

Up to this point, I have followed my close readings with a discussion of how the Complementary view of the *nemets* was enabled up to the 1830s. The factors that enabled this approach, and excluded others, included the aesthetic (the inability to portray space as non-Western), the historical (the lack of a picture of pre-Petrine Russia), the logistical (the close connection between culture and the court), and the philosophical-aesthetic (the virtue of imitating Classical genres). I have argued how the image of the *nemets* shifted from the late 18th century to the 1830s, but I have not accounted for why: what changed between the publication of Karamzin's *Letters* and the 1820s and 1830s? In the following Sections, I discuss one concrete factor and one abstract factor that undermined the Westernising project and the assumptions of Complementarity: the Decembrist Uprising (4.6.1), and the influence of Hegelian models of history (4.6.2).

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[554] For the development of journals in Russia, see William Mills Todd III, "Periodicals in Literary Life in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia*, ed. Deborah A. Martinsen (Cambridge and New York, 1997), pp. 37-63; Mirsky, *Russian Literature,* p. 124; Chester M. Rzadkiewicz, "N. A. Polevoi's 'Moscow Telegraph' and the journal wars of 1825-1834," in *Literary Journals in Imperial Russia,* p. 64; Vera Tolz, *Russia*, pp. 80-81. The period 1800-1840 witnessed the maturation of journalism in Russia, an endeavour that had begun in earnest under Catherine the Great in the preceding century. William Mills Todd III frames the beginning of this period with a quote from Prince Viazemskii that "all our journals are school archives of pupils' essays" and the end of it with a quote from Belinskii that "the journal has now swallowed up our entire literature – the public doesn't want books, it wants journals" (38). Todd cites a quote in Iu. M. Lotman, "P. A. Viazemskii i dvizhenie Dekabristov," in *Uchenye zapiski Tartuskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, 98 (1960), p. 50, and V. G. Belinskii, *Sobranie sochinenii v deviati tomakh*, Vol. 9 (Moscow, 1976-1982), p. 411.

[555] Harsha Ram, *The Imperial Sublime,* pp. 54-55, quotes and translates Iurii Lotman, "Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury XVIII – nachala XIX veka," in *Iz istorii russkoi kul'tury (XVIII – nachala XIX veka)*, Vol. 4 (Moscow, 1996) p. 93.

[556] For the centralised power structures as a form of religious service, see Yuri M. Lotman, *Universe of the Mind: a Semiotic Theory of Culture* (London and New York, 2001; 1990), p. 258. For the topic of German Romanticism in the context of Lotman's semiotic theory, see Lidiia Ia. Ginsburg, "The 'Human Document' and the Formation of Character," in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History,* pp. 188-224, esp. pp. 195-196, 200-204, 206-208, 214-215.

4.6.1. The Role of the Decembrists in Problematising Complementarity

A key moment in the history of *russkii* identity occurred in the middle of the composition of Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* and ten months after the publication of the first Chapter: the Decembrist Uprising of 1825. I limit my discussion to how the uprising problematised the image of the regime's Westernising project, and I argue that the rebellion demonstrated both the reach and the limits of Complementarity. On the first point, only the assumption that Russia contained essential Western traits could lead the Decembrists to assume that their relatively small insurrection could introduce radical reforms – including a constitution – to the autocratic state. On the second point, the uprising undermined the premises of the Westernising project because the ranks of the Decembrists were filled with officers who had spent significant time abroad in the West, and who therefore could compare the assumed Complementarity to first-hand experiences. This led to a disjunction between the optimism expressed by Karamzin and Georgi and what the Decembrists experienced personally. Further, the harsh fate the Decembrists met at the hands of Nicholas I illustrated the political differences between Russia and the West: while Russia championed itself as the "liberator of Europe" and as a Westernising imperial power, it treated its own citizens in a manner that was perceived as barbaric.[557]

According to Lotman, the Decembrists' behaviour leading up to the insurrection illustrates the degree of foreign influence upon their worldview. He argues that the insurgents adopted the personae of Romantic heroes during the plot: "The Decembrists brought unity to human behavior, not through the rehabilitation of life's prose but by filtering life through heroic texts and removing whatever was not worthy of history."[558] The conspirators viewed their lives through a literary prism, Lotman argues, where their Romanticism functioned as a template that determined both the meaning of their lives and also how to express that meaning. Lotman's argument demonstrates both the assumption of Complementarity held by the Decembrists (i.e. that Russia was part *nemets* and therefore could adopt *nemets* and French social models), and the instability of this formulation, because many Decembrists retroactively viewed their *nemets* Romantic influences as a kind of viral infection that had overcome them.[559]

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[557] For an account of how the Decembrist Uprising led to accounts of Russia as "inhuman" and "backward," see Leighton, "Decembrism," in the *Handbook of Russian Literature*, pp. 94-96, esp. p. 96.
[558] Lotman, "The Decembrists in Everyday Life," in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural history*, pp 148-149.
[559] See Obolenskii's deposition in Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement,* pp. 46-47.

Beyond the Romantic worldview that mediated the conspirators' perceptions, how did their encounter with the West serve to destabilise Complementarity? Figes has pointed out that the Napoleonic Wars found a large corps of gentry-born officers in the West for an extended period.[560] This contact demonstrated to many officers the gulf that existed not only between Russia and the West, but also between the gentry and peasant. Figes provides the example of the Decembrist Volkonskii as evidence: Europe "made [Volkonskii] think of Russia's backwardness, or its lack of basic rights or public life, and helped him focus his attention on the need to follow Europe's liberal principles."[561] The degree to which the Decembrists were influenced by the West – and also their assumption that Western social institutions could be imposed upon Russia in 1825 – emerges in the first-person depositions made by the imprisoned members of the uprising, such as in A. N. Murav'ev's account:

> In 1817 I graduated from the [Naval Cadet] Corps and in the same year I was sent to France with the fleet under the command of Vice Admiral Crown. There I made the acquaintance of many French officers and English travelers and acquired the principles of liberal ideas.[562]

Murav'ev implies that liberal ideas can only be acquired by contact with the West, and that this Foreign influence could compel *russkii* disobedience (thus anticipating K. Aksakov).[563]

The uprising established the discourse of Russia and the West as fundamentally different in their trajectories: the West as humane and liberal, Russia as repressive and conservative. In their attempt to impose Western reforms upon a nominally Westernising power, many Decembrists discovered Russia to be the Other of their image of civilisation. The opposite effect was also enabled: the perspective that the West was a virus established the Western components of *russkii* culture as an Other in its own right. This ambiguity was also established by Hegelian historical theory. Because these historical

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[560] Figes, pp. 75-77; see also the "Decembrism" entry in the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* pp. 94-95.
[561] Figes, pp. 75-77. See also Janko Lavrin's discussion in "Chaadayev and the West," in *Russian Review, Vol.* 22, No. 3 (Jul., 1963), pp. 274-288, esp. p. 275.
[562] These are available because the conspirators were required to complete a survey regarding their motives. See Marc Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement;* for A. N. Murav'ev, see p. 50. Other depositions include: K. F. Ryleev: "In Paris, out of curiosity, I heard almost all of the famous professors several times... I acquired liberal ideas at the end of the war against the French, as a result of the events that had occurred after the establishment of peace in Europe" (45). E. P. Obolenskii: "I was first infected by liberal ideas during the campaign in France, 1814-15. Then [my liberalism] gradually grew from reading various contemporary writers" (46). N. M. Murav'ev: "I acquired a liberal way of thinking from the time I entered the service – through intercourse with educated people who had participated in the campaign of 1812... This way of thinking was strengthened by the spirit of the age and by observation of the events which during the last years had punctuated [sic] with all kinds of revolutions" (47-48).
[563] See my discussion of Konstantin Aksakov in the Interlude, grouping II:A.

models further emphasised the gulf between the *russkii* and *nemets* cultures, it became possible to view Russia as Other, or Russia's Westernisation as Other to the *russkii* Self.

4.6.2. The Hegelian Question and the Role of History in *Russkii* Discourse

Hegel's Spirit of History imagines each people as a nation, and each nation as a self-contained organism that moves along a stable timeline of development.[564] Based upon this idea of historical progress, this approach divides the world into "historical nations" (i.e. "advanced" nations that included France and England) and "unhistorical nations" still stuck in "childhood" (i.e. "backward" nations such as China and India).[565] From this perspective, the goal of cultural production is to take part in advancement and to express the unique spirit of one's culture and language. But what can a people do when its cultural production is based entirely upon emulation and imitation, even if this is done with the creativity of a Pushkin? In the *russkii* context of the 1820s and 1830s, it thus became necessary to discover where Russia fit in the Eurocentric model, and to address how Russia could be an "historical nation" that was "predestined to take part in history" given its cultural history.[566]

Hegel's ambiguous statements regarding the Slavs further problematised the project of plotting Russia on the Eurocentric timeline. While at times he depicted Russia as part of the "advanced guard" of Christians into unbaptised Asia, he also cast it as outside of the Western world.[567] This relocation of Russia to Asia was significant,

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[564] Siljak, pp. 340-341. For more on the "organic" model of history in Russia, see Michael Hughes, "State and Society in the Political Thought of the Moscow Slavophiles," esp. p. 167. The stakes of being an "advanced" culture were indeed high. As Stephen Houlgate has argued in his introduction to Hegel, some categories such as general being are universal to all mankind; but other understandings of the world, such as "cause and effect, or force and expression, are to be found, according to [Hegel] only in more advanced cultures." See Stephen Houlgate, *Freedom, Truth and History: An Introduction to Hegel's Philosophy* (London and New York, 1991), pp. 8-9. For an account of the importance of History in Hegelian thought, see the Chapter "History and Truth," pp. 5-40, esp. pp. 28-32 for the connection between progress and self-consciousness.

[565] Siljak, pp. 340-341. For another scholarly account that identifies Hegelianism as the trigger for an identity crisis in 19th-century Russian intellectual history, see Edward Wasiolek, *Fathers and Sons: Russia at the Cross-Roads* (New York, 1993), pp. 82-84.

[566] Siljak, p. 340.

[567] Siljak contextualises Hegel's position on the Slavs as follows: "At one point in [Hegel's] lectures he claimed that the Slavic people 'perpetuate the connection with Asia.' At another point he was more equivocal: '[A]t times, as an advanced guard or an intermediate party, they have taken part in the struggle between Christian Europe and unchristian Asia..., and some of the Slavs have been conquered by Western reason. Yet this entire mass of people remains excluded from our consideration, because hitherto they have not played a role in the series of forms that reason has passed through in the world. Whether they will do so hereafter is a question that does not concern us here, because in history we deal with the past.' However, in a letter to one of his earliest students, the Estonian nobleman Baron Von Yxkull, Hegel was much more hopeful for Russia's fate: 'It seems that other modern states have already more or less achieved the goals of their development; possibly they have left the culminating point of their development behind them and they now remain in a condition of stasis. Russia, on the other hand, possibly... carries within its depths enormous possibilities for the development of its intensive nature'" (342-343).

because Hegel not only judged the West as historically relevant, but he also imbued the West and the East with essentialist characteristics: reason and advancement were Western traits, while irrationality and passivity were Eastern traits. If Russia is dislocated from the Western world, then *russkii* culture is not only excluded from the "historical nations," but it is also reduced to an auxiliary and parenthetical role in world history and human development.

Siljak argues that Hegel's influence upon Russia in the 1830s and 1840s led to the reexamination of the role of East and West in Russian intellectual history such that "casual references to the variegated nature of Russian national character became unfashionable" and "Russian intellectuals were no longer content to see Russia as a medley of races but rather anguished over Russia's essential nature: whether it was Eastern or Western, European or Asian."[568] For Siljak, the breakdown of *russkii* identity as partially Western created the need to forge new identities based upon intrinsic *russkii* traits, because Hegelian theory introduced the possibility that *russkii* Westernisation was a liability rather than the key to unlocking a bright and glorious future.

The Decembrist Uprising and the Hegelian model of history undermined the assumptions of Complementarity, because they discovered the "gulf" between Russia and the Western world. This crisis dislocated Russia from the Western world and opened a vacuum for the Self Image: how could the *russkii* be understood and articulated in non-Western terms, given the prevalence of Western aesthetic and philosophical models? This question represents a variation upon the need for "different pictures," which was articulated by Pushkin's lyrical persona in the late 1820s. Chaadaev's 1836 "First Philosophical Letter" not only succeeded in articulating the problems surrounding the crisis, it also suggested alternative – and contentious – ways to construct the *russkii* Self within this vacuum.

4.7. Chaadaev's Hegelian Challenge (1836)

4.7.1. Introduction and Context

Following the publication of Chaadaev's "First Philosophical Letter" in 1836, the Complementary model was untenable, but radically new ways of viewing the *russkii* Self and the *nemets* Other were enabled. The letter laid bare the Hegelian dilemma that had been steadily growing in *russkii* discourse in the 1820s and 1830s, and it also suggested the discursive strategies that would become the foundations for the Slavophile and Westerniser positions in the 1840s.

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[568] Siljak, p. 337.

Chaadaev's letter represented a scathing attack upon *russkii* cultural institutions in comparison to the West, and its impact upon *russkii* society was immediate; it produced "the effect of a bombshell" upon the cultural world, according to Mirsky.[569] Not only was the letter censored along with everything Chaadaev wrote thereafter, but the journal in which it had been published (*Teleskop*) was suspended, and Nadezhdin, the editor, was exiled.[570] Mentioning the letter in any context – even in unfavourable terms – was also forbidden. The censor who had allowed the article to be published, and who was removed from his position and deprived of his pension, pleaded in his defence that he had committed the grave error only because he was playing whist with lady friends.[571] Chaadaev was ruled insane and subjected to house arrest and daily medical attention.[572]

In the letter, Chaadaev follows the Hegelian model of history that locates a people in time (along the timeline of advancement) and space (inside or outside the Western/Eastern worlds) to determine that people's trajectory for the future. Chaadaev follows the Hegelian lead in his description of Russia as outside the West, but he takes it a step further and portrays Russia as outside the East. He thus dislocates Russia entirely from space. Even more problematically from the Hegelian perspective, this causes a temporal dislocation along the Eurocentric timeline. Chaadaev's argument consists of the following steps, which serve as the basis for my discussion:

1. Russia's development was ruptured.
2. Therefore, Russia developed separately from the East and the West.
3. Therefore, Russia is neither part of the West nor of the East.
4. Therefore, Russia is incapable of importing foreign institutions in a meaningful way.
5. Therefore, Russia is stuck in a position of timeless infantilism.
6. Therefore, the *russkii* people are homeless in their own space, and float about with no purpose.
7. Therefore, Russia has no future.

4.7.2. Analysis: Imagining Russia's Future in Space

Chaadaev's argument begins with an account of Russia's fragmented history. For him, Russia does not have "vivid memories," but rather: "A brutal barbarism to begin with, followed by an age of gross superstition, then by a ferocious and humiliating

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[569] Mirsky, p. 168.
[570] Mirsky, p. 126.
[571] John Maynard, *Russia in Flux* (London, 1941), p. 160.
[572] G. Kjetsaa, "Chaadaev" in the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* p. 76. See also Yuri Glazov, "Chaadaev and Russia's Destiny," in *Studies in Soviet Thought, Vol.* 32, No. 4 (Nov., 1986), pp. 281-301, esp. pp. 281-282.

foreign domination."[573] Because of this disrupted development, primarily caused by the Mongol invasion, Russia "never marched with the other peoples." In the following passage, Chaadaev links steps 2 (i.e. Russia as having developed separately) and 3 (i.e. Russia as not a part of the West or of the East) to dislocate Russia from time and space:

> ...It is one of the most deplorable traits of our peculiar civilization that we are still discovering truths which other peoples, even some much less advanced than we, have taken for granted. The reason is that we have never marched with the other peoples. We do not belong to any of the great families of the human race; we are neither of the West nor of the East, and we have not the traditions of either. Placed, as it were, outside of time, we have not been touched by the universal education of the human race...[574]

This passage constructs an image of Russia that is opposite to Tatishchev's, because Russia is now disjointed from all the "great families of the human race." This aspect is echoed in the location given for the letter's composition: *Necropolis*.[575] The "City of the Dead" places Chaadaev outside of *russkii* space and time, which parallels Russia's placelessness vis-à-vis the Hegelian points of orientation (i.e. East and West).

Emphasising this dislocation, Chaadaev deploys a series of spatial metaphors to reconfigure Russia's breadth as a disadvantage that hinders cultural and spiritual development. Because the metaphors revolve around the image of Russia as a "desert," Chaadaev's depiction of *russkii* space undermines its greatest strength: the *prostor*.

> Look around you. Everyone seems to have one foot in the air. You would say we are all travelers on the move. No one has a fixed sphere of existence; there are no good habits, no rules that govern anything. We do not even have homes; we have nothing that binds, nothing that awakens our sympathies and affections, nothing that endures, nothing that remains. Everything passes, flows away, leaving no trace either outside or within us. We seem to camp in our houses, we behave like strangers in our families; and in our cities we appear to be nomads, more so than the real nomads who graze their flocks in our steppes, for they are more attached to their desert than we are to our towns.[576]

The *russkie* are cast as "travellers on the move," and "like nomads" within their own cities. Just as Russia has no place in the Western world, they have no place within their own country – and the relationship of the *russkie* to *russkii* space thus parallels the

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[573] The full text of the Chaadaev's first letter is translated from the French in Raeff, *Russian Intellectual History,* trans. Valentine Snow, pp. 160-173, esp. p. 163; from P. Ia. Chaadaev, "Lettres sur la philosophie de l'histoire: Lettre première," in *Sochineniia i pis'ma P. Ia. Chaadaeva,* ed. M. O. Gershenzon, Vol. 1 (Moscow, 1913-1914), pp. 74-93.
[574] Chaadaev, p. 162
[575] For the depiction of Russia as "outside of time and humanity" in Chaadaev, see Robin Aizlewood, "Revisiting Russian Identity in Russian Thought: From Chaadaev to the Early Twentieth Century," in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 20-43, esp. p. 23.
[576] Chaadaev, pp. 162-163.

relationship of *russkii* space to *nemets* space. Further, Russia's estrangement from other nations is reflected on the societal and familial levels, because the *russkie* are estranged in their cities and "behave like strangers in [their] families."

Because Russia is outside the Western world (step 3), it had to import Western social and political institutions late and out of step with Europe – but because of its ruptured development (step 1), it was doomed to remain in an undeveloped state along the timeline of historical progress. While Chaadaev portrays Western Europe as an integrated whole, he asserts that Russia is fragmented due to these specifics of *russkii* religious and intellectual history.[577] This moves Chaadaev's argument to step 4 (i.e. Russia's inability to import foreign institutions): while the West was unified by moral and spiritual traditions that constituted the "very physiognomy of the European man," Russia had nothing comparable in its history:

> ...the strange situation of our people, which cannot link its thinking to any sequence of ideas progressively developed by society and slowly succeeding each other, which has taken part in the general movement of the human mind only by a blind, superficial, and often clumsy imitation of other nations, must have a profound influence on the thinking of each of its individual members.[578]

Russia's imitation of the West was awkward, because one developing organism was attempting to mimic a developed one; it was superficial because Russia could only adopt the exterior of Western institutions rather than their core aspects.[579] The stakes of this position – imitating but not becoming the West – were high for Chaadaev. He articulates the effects of *russkii* backwardness, and moves to step 5, with a metaphor of Russia as a senseless child:

> We live in a narrow present, without a past as without a future, in the midst of a dead calm. On the few occasions when we do rouse ourselves, we do so neither in the hope nor in the desire of achieving some common good, but with the thoughtlessness of a child who sits up and stretches its hand for the rattle held out by its nurse.[580]

Instead of viewing Russia's development as a matter of time and education, as was assumed by Karamzin and Georgi, Chaadaev questions whether such a transformation is even possible: Russia is "without a past" and therefore "without a future." This explodes

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[577] For more on how Chaadaev was a "more outspokenly Europocentric thinker than Hegel," see Kjestaa, "Chaadaev," p. 76.
[578] See Chaadaev, "Letter," p. 165.
[579] Herzen considered this to be an attack upon Petrine reforms for causing the rupture, a "merciless cry of pain and reproach against Petrine Russia"; see Alexander Herzen, *Who is to Blame,* trans. Michael R. Katz, (Ithaca, 1984), p. 16.
[580] Chaadaev, "Letter," p.163.

Karamzin's image of the educated *russkii* in Europe, because Chaadaev creates a double bind for the project of Westernisation: if the *russkie* attempt to follow the West, they are only doing it in a superficial manner; but, if the *russkie* do not follow the West, they remain barbarians.

Step 6 (i.e. Russia's lack of a future) emerges from the implicit invocation of Hegelian models of history through the other Steps, which emerge in the characterisations of Russia as located "outside of time," "neither of the West nor of the East," and "without a past as without a future."[581] Further, Russia is stuck is a state of infantilism, the state that Hegel reserves for "non-historical" nations. Chaadaev removes the *russkie* from the leading peoples of the world, and this characterisation repudiates *russkii* culture and places it outside the Spirit of History. The placelessness of *russkii* space in terms of the *nemets* thus denies the *russkii* any and all relevance in the future.

4.7.3. The Changing Values of the "Boundless Plain"

The changing value of the "boundless expanse" in Gogol's work illustrates the immediate impact of Chaadaev's letter upon *russkii* discourse. Gogol's *Arabesques* (published 1834-1835), written while Gogol was teaching history in St. Petersburg, presents a striking dismissal of the "boundless plains," while Europe's varied landscape emerges as superior for its variety and "heaps" of innumerable objects:[582]

> Central Asia is completely opposite from south and southwest Asia, from the African and European shores of the Mediterranean, where the flourishing diversity of nature, of the soil, of products, the mixture of land and sea, the heaps of innumerable islands, capes, and bays, seem to have been created on purpose to quickly develop human activity and intellect. The nature of Central Asia is of a completely different sort: it is monotonous and immeasurable. Its steppes are boundless, somehow enormously flat, resembling a desert ocean nowhere interrupted by an island. The motionless lakes of boundless plains could not arouse any activity.[583]

The character of the space determines the character of the people who inhabit it: the "boundless plains," through their monotony, hinder activity, while the picturesque nature of the West stimulates development and motion.[584]

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[581] For more on the contextualisation of Hegel's work in the work of Chaadaev and the Moscow circles, see Janko Lavrin, "Chaadayev and the West," pp. 277-278, and Aizlewood, "Revisiting Russian Identity in Russian Thought."

[582] Susanne Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls: An Anatomy of Disorder in Gogol* (Stanford, 1993), p. 5.

[583] Quoted and translated by Fusso, pp. 8-9.

[584] For the historical connection between climate and national character, see the "Climate" entry in *Imagology*, esp. pp. 301-302 for the link to Kant and Herder. See also Fusso's account of how in *Arabesques,* "landscape is destiny," in Susanne Fusso, "The Landscape of *Arabesques*," in *Essays on*

In the late 1830s, reflecting the changed intellectual climate that followed Chaadaev's letter, Gogol began to re-configure the image of the "boundless expanse" to re-cast it as a positive.[585] Following Chaadaev's assault upon *russkii* culture as a "desert," the image of Russia's expansiveness adopted an entirely new set of stakes: indeed, to portray the "boundless plain" as a space that does "not arouse any activity" in the late 1830s or 1840s would endorse Chaadaev's conception of Russia as outside history.[586] In a letter Gogol sent home while travelling through *nemets* space during the late 1830s, he casts the West as negative precisely because of its concrete and picturesque nature. For Gogol, the Rhine inculcates more annoyance than awe because of its attractive scenes – the same phenomenon that, in *Arabesques*, was "created on purpose to quickly develop human activity and intellect":

> Our journey by ship lasted two days, and I finally grew tired of all the incessant views. Your eyes get completely worn out, as in a panorama or a picture. Before the windows of your cabin pass, one after another, towns, crags, hills, and old ruined knights' castles. Very many of them are picturesque and still beautiful to this day.[587]

Gogol flips the valuation of the picturesque and non-picturesque – Russia's possible liabilities (such as its "boundless plains") are repositioned as advantages because the *nemets* views are re-imagined as causing ocular pain. The picturesque views of Switzerland inspire in him a similarly negative reaction, because they cause nausea: "It's all one view after another, so that I finally begin to get sick to my stomach… there is really nothing to write about them [i.e. the towns and lands]."[588] In addition to the physical illness that the picturesque sights cause, the *nemets* space is both boring (in its repetition) and explicit (in that the observer grasps the object by viewing its exterior) – which illustrates the development of Gogol's *nemets* Hetero Image as opposite to the *russkii* Self. These images of *nemets* space also represent the development of the oppositional structure between Piskarev's abstract dream space and Shiller's concrete workspace in "Nevskii Prospekt": the preponderance of *nemets* objects is imagined as inferior to *russkii* expansiveness.

Gogol: Logos and the Russian Word, ed. S. Fusso and P. Meyer (Evanston, 1994), pp. 112-125, esp. p. 112; for the perils of monotony in *Arabesques*, see pp. 121-122.

[585] For extended treatment of Gogol's stories and landscape, see Ely, pp. 91-94; see in particular Ely's discussion of "Taras Bulba," written in 1836 and revised in 1842; Ely, p. 93.

[586] Fusso accounts for this difference by pointing to the discrepancies between the world that Gogol creates in his history and his fiction – showing that one is antithetical to the other; Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls,* p. 18.

[587] Quoted and translated by Robert Maguire, *Exploring Gogol,* (Stanford, 1994), p. 115.

[588] Maguire, p. 116. See also Ely's contextualisation, pp. 97-98.

A letter from Gogol to Pogodin in 1837 illustrates the direct link between negative depictions of *nemets* scenery and the ability to imagine *russkii* space as positive: "By an unbreakable chain I am bound to my own land, to our poor and dismal world; our peasant huts and our bare expanses I prefer to the bright skies that smile down upon me."[589] The "dismal world" thus becomes superior to the "bright skies" because of the emotional connection between the speaker and the bareness of the *russkii* expanse.[590] I continue this line of argumentation in Chapter Five, where I discuss how Gogol adopts the motif of the "endless" to depict *russkii* space in positive, oppositional terms to the constricted *nemets* in *Dead Souls*. For now, it suffices to remark that Gogol's "expanse," which had implied lifelessness only a decade before, is transformed into Russia's greatest advantage after Chaadaev has imbued the image with political and ideological stakes.

4.7.4. Conclusions

Following Chaadaev's letter, the West could not appear as unproblematically comforting, as in Karamzin's travel novel, nor as a space filled with ironic play regarding literary models, as in Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* (as we shall see in the analysis of Lermontov in Chapter Six), nor even one where Complementarity could exist side by side with mutual opposites, as in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt." The question was no longer "*what* aspect of Russia is *nemets*?" but rather, "*should* or *could* any aspect of Russia be *nemets*?" Accordingly, the Westerniser-Slavophile debate provided opposite answers to this question: Westernisers sought to re-plot Russia in the Western world, while Slavophiles sought to annihilate Russia's Western traces altogether.[591] As Isaiah Berlin argued nearly a half century ago, "The lines of battle in the century that followed remained where Chaadaev drew them: the weapons were the ideas which, whatever their origins, in Russia became matters of the deepest concern – often of life and death – as they never were in England or France or, to such a degree, in Romantic Germany."[592]

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[589] Quoted in Ely, p. 98.

[590] Chaadaev laid the groundwork for this aesthetic shift in his "Apology of a Madman": "Peter the Great found a sheet of paper and wrote on it: Russia and the West… But now the West is no longer recognized, the work of Peter the Great is repudiated, one wishes to return to the desert . . . And full of fervent zeal the most recent representatives of our patriotism keep proclaiming us the favorite children of the East… You see that a real revolution is now taking place in our midst – a passionate reaction against enlightenment and Western ideas, against that enlightenment and those ideas which have made us what we are."[590] Quoted in Janko Lavrin, p. 286. For more contextualisation of Chaadaev's "Second Letter," and an argument for how he transferred Russia's emptiness and lack of a past from a liability to an advantage, see Andrew Wachtel, p. 135.

[591] See Riasanovsky, *Russian Identities,* pp. 164-166.

[592] Isaiah Berlin, "Introduction," in *Russian Intellectual History,* p. 9.

Herzen's characterisation of the "Letter" in his memoirs shows its immediate polarising and transformative effect: "It was a shot that rang out in the dark night; whether it was something foundering that proclaimed its own wreck, whether it was a signal, a cry for help, whether it was news of the dawn or news that there would not be one – it was all the same: one had to wake up."[593] Either Russia could strive to join the Western world, or it could find its own autochthonous path and imagine its placelessness to be its greatest strength. Either way, it became necessary to take a position regarding Russia's location vis-à-vis the *nemets*. The assumption of Russia as part Western – where development into a Western-style modern state was a simply a function of time and of continuing the efforts of previous generations – could no longer be taken as a given.

4.8. A Final Salvo: The Marquis de Custine's *Russia in 1839*

La Russie is written as an account of de Custine's travels in Russia, and it is composed of a series of letters to a curious, sympathetic, and equally erudite interlocutor. I discuss this work for two reasons. First, de Custine's book provides a non-*russkii* perspective that rejects the Western aspects of the *russkie*. Secondly, while Chaadaev was declared insane for his attack upon *russkii* culture, de Custine offered a similar set of judgements and condemnations that were met with acceptance. That is, arguments that had been radical in 1836 became matters of common sense by 1843.

De Custine denies Russia a place in the Western world through a critique of *russkii* culture that is reminiscent of Chaadaev. For de Custine, Russia is a backward Asiatic country, where a tyrannical despot lords over the people who live in fear and silence.[594] While de Custine comments at length regarding the barbarity of the country, he reserves his most devastating attack for what he saw as the Western façade that covers

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[593] Alexander Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, trans. Constance Garnett, revised by Humphrey Higgins (New York, 1973), pp. 292-293; see Part IV of Herzen's memoirs: "'Письмо' Чаадаева было своего рода последнее слово, рубеж. Это был выстрел, раздавшийся в темную ночь; тонуло ли что и возвещало свою гибель, был ли это сигнал, зов на помощь, весть об утре или о том, что его не будет, - все равно, надобно было проснуться." From <http://az.lib.ru/g/gercen_a_i/text_0130.shtml>, site accessed 1 May 2010. Herzen's novel *Who is to Blame* is an example of the direct impact Chaadaev's "Letter" had upon the literary world: after the "Letter" was published in 1836, Herzen began work on his novel, and the figure of Bel'tov closely aligns with Chaadaev's "lost souls" who lived in Russia. See Katz's "Introduction" to Herzen, *Who is to Blame?* pp. 16, 22-23.

[594] "Things that I admire elsewhere, I hate here, because I find them too dearly paid for; order, patience, calmness, elegance, respectfulness, the natural and moral relations that ought to exist between those who conceive and those who execute, in short, all that gives a worth and a charm to well-organised societies, all that gives a meaning and an object to political institutions, is lost and confounded here in one single sentiment – that of fear." Marquis de Custine, *Empire of the Czar: A Journey Through Eternal Russia*, trans. (New York, 1989), p. 233. See also George F. Kennan, *The Marquis de Custine and his Russia in 1839* (London, 1972), pp. 81, 84-85.

over its Eastern essence.[595] For him, this façade indicates that the *russkie* are more concerned with appearing civilised than in becoming civilised:

> I don't reproach the Russians for being what they are; what I blame them for is their desire to appear to be what we are… They are much less interested in being civilized than making us believe them so… They would be quite content to be in effect more awful and barbaric than they actually are, if only others could thereby be made to believe them better and more civilized.[596]

De Custine's attacks align precisely with the Hegelian anxiety active within *russkii* culture, and also the pressure points indicated by Chaadaev: Russia is cast as a hopeless barbarian whose Westernisation is entirely superficial. Furthermore, de Custine deploys a metaphor of *russkii* space similar to Chaadaev's; for de Custine, the *russkii* landscape is a "graveyard" that does not have an edge, where "the traveller's heart is overtaken with horror."[597] Regardless of the veracity of de Custine's judgments, his book problematised Russia's relationship to the West by introducing a non-*russkii* perspective that vehemently denied Russia a place in the Western world.[598]

De Custine's account also became a part of the debate regarding Russia's trajectory into the future and its relationship to the West. While the book had been banned immediately upon its publication in Paris, copies of it leaked into Russia without delay in 1843.[599] This was facilitated by the book's immediate success: de Custine later estimated that at least 200,000 copies had been sold.[600] Reactions to the book within Russia were mostly hostile. Emperor Nicholas I was said to have "flung the book to the floor in anger" after reading the first few pages of it – at which point he blamed himself for patronising the "scoundrel's" visit to the country.[601] But, while the volume sparked outrage among many *russkie*, Alexander Herzen pronounced it to be the best book ever written about Russia by a foreigner, and he even lamented the fact that it had not been written by a *russkii*.[602] Vasilii Zhukovskii also admits some "truth" of the book, according

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[595] Kennan, p. 80.
[596] Quoted in Kennan, p. 81.
[597] Widdis, "Russia as Space," p. 39.
[598] There are many arguments that have been made regarding how much of Russia the Marquis *actually* experienced. In addition to the imperialistic, Franco-centric tone of the Marquis' work, he did not speak the language and he spent very little time in the country. See S. G. Pushkarev, "Russia and the West: Ideological and Personal Contacts before 1917," in *Russian Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Apr., 1965), pp. 138-164, esp. p. 138. Further, it is possible that the majority of de Custine's opinions were mediated by the prejudices of émigré Polish intellectuals in Paris; see Kennan, pp. 23-29.
[599] Kennan, p. vii.
[600] Kennan, p. 95.
[601] Kennan, p. vii. The tsar's government even made a point of commissioning "semi-official" rebuttals to the book – by Ia. N. Tolstoi, N. I. Grech, and Xavier Labenski; Kennan, pp. 98-103.
[602] Kennan, p. vii.

to a letter from Aleksandr Turgenev to Viazemskii.[603] This demonstrates how de Custine's work appeared to depict accurately the state of *russkii* culture, even to its enemies. This fact says less about de Custine's talent as an observer than it does about the environment of the early 1840s: while Chaadaev's judgements of Russia as an empty "desert" in 1836 had him declared insane, de Custine's picture of Russia as a "graveyard" in 1842 is admitted to carry some truth, by Herzen and (according to A. I. Turgenev) Zhukovskii. This demonstrates the immediate discursive impact of Chaadaev's letter – and prefigures how the fracture regarding Russia's relationship to the West would affect the appearance of the *nemets*.

4.9. The Changing Image of Russia's *Nemets* Past

Thus far, I have argued that the valuation of the *nemets* Hetero Image depends upon the relationship of the writer to the Westernising project. When Westernisation was taken for granted as a positive process in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century – as in Karamzin's *Messenger of Europe* and Georgi's historical accounts – the *nemets* appeared as a benevolent figure who reinforced Russia's glorious and enlightened future. Once the relationship to the Westernising project became problematic, and even characterised as harmful, the image of the *nemets* changed accordingly.

Siljak has noted that the transformation in the stakes of Russia's relationship to the West can been seen in the changing image of Riurik, the leader of the Varangians who was "invited" to "rule and have dominion" over *Rus'* in the 9th century [23GG].[604] At the beginning of the 19th century, Karamzin took pride in the diverse heritage of the state that Riurik provided, and he portrayed Russia as:

> ...raising its head between the Asiatic and European kingdoms, represented within its civic life the characteristics of these two parts of the world: a mixture of old Eastern customs, brought by the Slavs into Europe and renewed, so to speak, by our long connection with the Mongols; Byzantine customs borrowed by the Russians along with the Christian religion, and some German [*germanskie*] customs imparted by the Varangians...[605]

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[603] "If that hypocritical blabber-mouth [i.e. *Custine*] puts out a new edition of his pasquil in four volumes, then Vyazemski must take hold of the matter and respond; but the response must be short; it must be directed not against the book, for there is a lot of truth in it, but against Custine: in short, the response must be simply a printed punishment (he is clever, this Zhukovski, don't you think?) in anticipation of a material punishment..." Kennan, p. 107, cites and translates Cadot, *La Russie dans la vie intellectuelle françoise*, pp. 236-237, which cites the *Ostaf'evskii arkhiv.* The letter is dated 27 April 1844.

[604] "Приходите княжить и владеть нами." For a contextualisation of the place of Riurik in Russian historical work, see Tolz, p. 51, and Figes, *Natasha's Dance,* p. 135. This comparison is informed by Siljak's essay.

[605] Siljak, pp. 336-337, quotes and translates N. M. Karamzin, *Zapiska o drevnei i novoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 10-11. "Во глубине Севера, возвысив главу свою между азиатскими и европейскими царствами, она представляла в своем гражданском образе черты сих обеих частей

Karamzin cast Russia as occupying the space in the North, positioned between the West and the East, and able to borrow from both. This passage echoes Tatishchev in that Karamzin did not see Russia as antithetical to the West, but rather as a composite of both sides of the world map. And this, for Karamzin, was to Russia's advantage and contributed to its strength as a heterogeneous, expanding empire.

Andrew Wachtel's study of the role of history in *russkii* culture has contributed a second perspective on the image of Riurik. For A. Wachtel, Kniazhnin's portrayal of Riurik was as "an exemplary ruler" in his play *Vadim* (1793).[606] Thus, the Foreign on the throne is portrayed as a matter of course, because Riurik is judged by his merits as a ruler rather than his status as a *nemets*.[607] Furthermore, the people of Novgorod in the play share this judgement, and this demonstrates how the statist identity defined articulations of Russia's position in the world – and also how it was projected upon the *narod* in literature.

In the 19th century, however, the image of the *nemets* Riurik altered significantly. A. Wachtel argues that, for the Slavophile Khomiakov, Riurik emerges as a negative influence: he "is a bad ruler… not because he is a tyrant, but because he is a foreigner."[608] In Khomiakov's account of the Riurik myth, also entitled *Vadim*, the appearance of the *nemets* Riurik in the *russkii* lands marked a Foreign invasion. Here, the Slavonic hero is reconfigured and re-imagined as a national champion, because, as A. Wachtel asserts, he is "a hero as much for his racial qualities as for his democratic leanings."[609] Remarkably, Khomiakov's work responds the paradox of the national image of Russia (i.e. as pure of the Foreign) by altering historical facts to depict the Novgorodians as defeating the *nemtsy* and liberating their "city of Slavs" (И град славян освобожденный).[610]

The image of the *nemets* thus depends upon the social milieu and the discursive

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мира: смесь древних восточных нравов, принесенных славянами в Европу и подновленных, так сказать, нашею долговременною связью с монголами, - византийских, заимствованных россиянами вместе с христианскою верою, и некоторых германских, сообщенных им варягами." From <http://www.hist.msu.ru/ER/Etext/karamzin.htm>, site accessed 11 December 2009.

[606] See A. Wachtel, *History*, pp. 32-34. It is important to add parenthetically that A. Wachtel also provides the account of Tatishchev in the 18th century, who cast Riurik as an invader and provided "nationalistic spin" on the story of Vadim. See Andrew B. Wachtel and Ilya Vinitsky, *Russian Literature* (Malden and Cambridge, 2009), p. 22.

[607] Catherine had written her own play about the Novgorodian Vadim, in which his "foreignness was an asset"; see A. Wachtel, "In Search of a Genre," in *History*, esp. pp. 27-33, p. 43.

[608] A. Wachtel, *History*, p. 43.

[609] A. Wachtel, *History*, p. 43.

[610] A. Wachtel, *History*, p. 43. This is a fanciful account, because the Rurikid Dynasty ruled for over 400 years (1157-1598). As mentioned in the discussion of the "Fault Lines" of *russkii* identity in Chapter Three, the tsars were kinds of *nemtsy* starting in the 19th century.

context of a work's production. It also depends upon the ideological commitments of the author. This is evidenced by Khomiakov's fanciful scene of Slavonic liberation, and also by the very image of Novgorod as a "city of Slavs," which, to recall Barabtarlo's picture of borderland space in early medieval Europe (discussed in Chapter One), was itself a fantasy. Demonstrating the significance of ideological position, the young Westerniser Herzen provided an alternate image of the Varangian *nemtsy* that contrasted to that of the Slavophile Khomiakov. Siljak argues that, for Herzen, the *nemets*-Varangian roots of *russkii* culture demonstrated that Russia was at core a Western nation – while its "Asian" traits were a hindrance and liability. Siljak contextualises this as follows:

> Herzen placed his hope on those fundamentally European elements he found within Russian culture, including the fact that the Slavic language was "Indo-European," not Asian, and that the German Varangians had conquered Russia at an early stage, encouraging Russia to strive to become "an independent, strong state."[611]

The opposing images of Riurik reflect the ideological split between the Slavophiles (who cast him as an invader) and the Westernisers (who cast him as proof of Russia's Western potential). The changing image of the *nemets* thus occurred as a result of the changing relationship between *russkii* producers of culture and the West – both in their discursive environment and their own ideological commitments.

4.10. Conclusions

The filter of Complementarity for viewing Russia vis-à-vis the Western world became untenable because the factors that enabled it were undermined in the first quarter of the 19th century. First, while it was based upon an assumed Western trajectory, the influence of Hegelianism and the fallout from the Decembrist Uprising undermined this assumption. Secondly, while it was enabled by the close alignment between producers of culture and the court, the rise of journals and the influence of Romanticism shifted the structure of cultural production. Thirdly, while 18th-century aesthetics had championed imitation, this was problematised by the factors mentioned above, and also by the increasing ability for *russkii* writers to portray their own space in a recognisable manner (as opposed to Martynov's Siberian landscape paintings). Chaadaev utilised Hegelian assumptions to explode the assumptions made by Karamzin, Tatishchev, and Georgi – at once articulating the vacuum of *russkii* identity and also offering discursive models to fill it. His letter was just as productive as it was destructive: it enabled the Westernisers to

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[611] Siljak, p. 349, cites and translates Aleksandr Herzen, "O razvitii revoliutsionnykh idei v Rossii (perevod)," in *Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh*, Vol. 7 (Moscow, 1956), pp. 154-55.

criticise Russia's superficial Westernisation in order to instate a genuine Western trajectory. It also enabled the Slavophiles to imagine *russkii* culture as fractured and fragmented because of Petrine reforms, and thus to conclude that Russia's salvation lay in cultivating pre-Petrine social institutions and rejecting Westernisation.

Alexander Herzen's account of *russkii* identity in an 1860 article presents one of the starkest characterisations of how far the image of the *nemets* changed by the middle of the 19th century.[612] For Herzen, following his shift away from emulation of the West, the *russkie nemtsy* represented a harmful influence upon the *russkie*. The interaction between the two groups is thus depicted as unambiguously negative: "There is nothing more to add to how slow and difficult the development of *Rus'* was. We were held in ignorance by the knout and by the Tartars, and we were enlightened by the axe and by the *nemtsy*. In both cases our nostrils were slit and we were branded."[613] The quotation contains an image enabled directly by Chaadaev's letter: the *russkii* is depicted as tortured by both groups, while not a member of either. Chaadaev's imagery also emerges in the effects of cultural interaction: the *russkii*'s development was stunted by the Tatars, and its civilisation was imposed artificially by the *nemsty*. This picture of Russia as enslaved by East and West represents a radical shift in historical imagination from Karamzin's overlapping *russii-nemets* space, Georgi's enthusiasm for the enlightened future, and Pushkin's naturalised *nemets* baker. Following Chaadaev's letter, the East-West question became one of the accursed questions in *russkii* culture – and a subject of contention to the present day.[614]

I argue in the following two Chapters that the *nemets* fractured along the lines Chaadaev suggested. The *nemets* could be viewed as an Other that is Mutually Exclusive to the *russkii* Self – or as capable of creating a Synthesis from interaction with the *russkie*. Chapter Five discusses the first position, and I provide a close reading of texts

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[612] See also Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," p. 150.

[613] "Нечего повторять о том, как туго, тяжело развивалась Русь. Кнутом и татарами нас держали в невежестве, топором и немцами нас просвещали, и в обоих случаях рвали нам ноздри и клеймили железом." The quotation is from the article "The Superfluous and the Jaundiced" ("Lishnie liudi i zhelcheviki," 1860), at <smalt.karelia.ru/~filolog/herzen/texts/doc/herzen14.doc>, site accessed 25 August 2010. See also Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, p. 621.

[614] See Janet M. Hartley, "Is Russia Part of Europe? Russian Perceptions of Europe in the Reign of Alexander I," in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1992), pp. 369-385. This can be seen in 21st century editorial articles that ask the question "Is Russia a European Country?" For articles that ask a panel of experts this question (Россия – европейская страна?) see *Otechestvennye zapiski*, No. 5 (18) 2004, <http://www.strana-oz.ru/?numid=20&article=953>, site accessed 1 may 2010; *Izvestiia*, 22.04.05, <http://www.izvestia.ru/comment/article1662081/>, site accessed 1 May 2010; and *Kuznetskii rabochii*, 18.09.08, <http://www.kuzrab.ru/publics/index.php?ID=14433>, site accessed 1 May 2010.

that imagine the *russkii* as the anti-*nemets*. This current thus continues the discursive trend that appears in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt," it deploys the oppositional traits from Chapter Three, and it anticipates Herzen's image of *russkii* slavery at the hand of the cruel *nemtsy*.

Chapter Five: Mutual Exclusivity in the Post-1836 Literary World

Гришка-Вор тебя не ополячил,
Пётр-Царь тебя не онемечил.

- Marina Tsvetaeva[615]

Возьмите русского пьяницу и, например, хоть немецкого пьяницу: русский пакостнее немецкого, но пьяный немец несомненно глупее и смешнее русского. Немцы - народ по преимуществу самодовольный и гордый собою.

- Fyodor Dostoevsky[616]

Берега, берега... Необъятная Русь...
Даже, если уеду, обратно вернусь
Да и как я смогу бросить эту страну?
Инородцы меня никогда не поймут!

- Sergei Kostomarov[617]

5.1. Review and Chapter Introduction

5.1.1. Chapter Four Review: The Limits of Complementarity

During the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the *nemets* was a means for exploring the extent of Westernisation both in the *russkii* character and in the Russian Empire. In Chapter Four, I provide three close readings to evidence this assertion. In Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller,* the narrator interacts with the West on its own terms, and he is received as an intellectual equal – even though he comes from a culture that is understood to be behind the West in terms of cultural development. Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin* presents a cityscape where the *nemets* is included in the narrator's ironic play, just as the *nemets* baker is a part of the working side of Petersburg. Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt" is a transitional piece that embodies Complementarity on the chronotope of Nevskii Prospekt, but that also discovers the Mutual Exclusivity of the *nemets* in the Foreign space of Petersburg. Chaadaev's 1836 publication of the *First Philosophical Letter* acknowledges the breakdown of Complementarity in the Hegelian intellectual climate, and it establishes the terms for the

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[615] See M. Tsvetaeva, "Grishka-Vor tebia ne opoliachil..." (10 декабря 1917), at <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Москве_(1-3_—_Цветаева)/2>, site accessed 29 May 2010.
[616] F. M. Dostoevkii, *Dnevnik pisatelia*, at <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Дневник_писателя._1873_год_(Достоевский)/V>, site accessed 29 May 2010.
[617] From the poem "Berega" (n.d.) from Sergei Iur'evich Kostomarov's personal and professional website, at <http://www.vot-vot.ru/stihi/berega>, site accessed 7 June 2010.

East-West crisis in *russkii* discourse by plotting Russia as outside both worlds. According to Chaadaev's conclusions, the West in *russkii* culture does not represent a steady and consistent development towards enlightenment. Rather, he argues, this process contributes to Russia's cultural and historical inconsequentiality. The basis for *russkii* identity, built upon the foundation of identifying as partially Western from its Varangian roots and the Petrine legacy of Westernisation – a process that involved learning from foreign masters, importing Western institutions, and imitating aesthetic genres – was recast as a liability. The tortured nature of this relationship is illustrated by the "European" in the film *Russkii Ark: russkii* imitation of the West leads to the internalisation of Western aesthetic taste, even though Russia does not share the Western cultural context.

The perceived necessity in the 1830s to discover and express Russia's unique nature led to a paradox: how does one depict a non-Western space in non-Western terms when the dominant aesthetics are themselves Western? One solution appears is nascent form in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt": the value system can be inverted so that *russkii* traits are recast as superior to those of the *nemets* for the very reasons they had been considered inferior.[618] Russia's backwardness could be recast as youthfulness and hidden potential; its lack of traditionally picturesque scenes such as broad valleys and soaring mountain in the western part of Russia could be transformed into a space that is beautiful precisely because it does not have the pomposity of the *nemets* Alps. This presents the *nemets* as Mutual Exclusive to the *russkii*: the previous models (X) are inverted (-X), and imbued with positive valuation (-X>X). This means the original paradox is covered by another: the *russkii* and *russkii* space are depicted as fundamentally incompatible – but the term "*russkii*" still dependant upon the term "*nemets*" for meaning.

5.1.2. Chapter Overview: The Development of Mutual Exclusivity

Following Gogol's "Nevsky Prospekt" in 1835, and Chaadaev's letter in 1836, writers of the following decades developed the anti-aesthetic discourse to celebrate *russkii* space as an anti-*nemets* wasteland. Under the descriptive lens of Mutual Exclusivity, the imagery of Chaadaev's letter is developed while its conclusions are refuted: Russia may be dislocated from Western space, and it may not have participated in the Western enlightening project, but this is to Russia's advantage, because superior *russkii* institutions – such as Orthodoxy and the peasant commune – have remained

[618] See Ely's Chapter "Outer Gloom and Inner Glory," pp. 134-164 for a detailed account of how the Western aesthetic code was inverted in order to present a positive portrayal of the Russian landscape.

uncorrupted. The temporal emplotment thus follows the spatial modelling: as opposed to being located outside history (as "unhistorical"), Russia emerges as already in possession of the nascent, underdeveloped form of superior social and political institutions in its indigenous pre-Petrine traditions.[619] It is even possible to imagine Russia as endowed with a future precisely because it does not have a past, as Chaadaev suggested in his "Apology" to the letter.[620] From this perspective, the traits that compose the *nemets* Hetero Image discussed in Chapter Three are not only constitutive of the *russkii* Self Image, but even determinant of its structure.

There are two images that this Chapter aims to identify and analyse: *russkii* space as the "wasteland" (пустыня), and *nemets* space as the "labyrinth" (лабиринт). These images represent the culmination of the oppositional traits between *russkii* Self Image and *nemets* Hetero Image: the wasteland is an open and empty expanse of land, its views are anti-picturesque, it entails unlimited potential, and the spiritual and abstract nature of the *russkii* are located beyond its bleak exteriors. The wasteland thus represents a space where *russkii* essence remains hidden from sight. The labyrinth, on the other hand, represents a concrete space, where objects and limitations dominate the views. As a space that is constituted entirely by boundaries, the labyrinth emphasises quantifiable exteriors – there is nothing to the maze beyond the borders that constitute that maze. These two images were introduced in varying forms in Chapter Two: for Widdis, the "unbounded expanse" represents a commonplace of *russkii* spatial depiction. For Ely, *russkii* space gradually emerged in the 19th century as the anti-picturesque and "consciously unbeautiful," where the space is depicted as gloomy on the outside and glorious and spiritual on the inside. Finally, Dolinin's essay evidences how *nemets* space emerges as the opposition to the wasteland, because the *russkii* Berlin consists of repetition, monotony, and iron mazes.

The wasteland was not a consistent and stable image of *russkii* space, but rather the product of the historical factors discussed in Chapter Four. This Chapter aims to develop the conclusions of Chapters Two (the commonplaces of *russkii* space), Three (the *nemets* Hetero Image), and Four (the influence of Hegelianism and Chaadaev's letter) to

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[619] See Konstantin Aksakov's solution to Russia's problems in 1855: "The specific remedy for the ills of modern Russia is to *understand Russia* and to revert to the essential principles which are consonant with her spirit. The specific remedy for the disease caused by a course of action which is against Russia's nature is to abandon the unnatural course of action and to return to one which is conformity with Russian concepts and the essence of Russia." See K. Aksakov, "On the Internal State of Russia," ("O vnutrennem sostoianii Rossii") in Raeff, *Russian Intellectual History,* trans. Valentine Snow, p. 248.
[620] See Andrew Wachtel, *History*, p. 135-136.

account for how the *russkii* wasteland emerged as a reaction to Complementarity. In Section 5.2, I analyse two additional transitional pieces of the 1830s, Lazhechnikov's *Ice Palace* and Kol'tsov's steppe poetry, works that develop the image of *russkii* space as positively expansive. The aim of this Section is to provide evidence that Gogol's 1835 "Nevskii Prospekt" was part of a larger discursive development of Mutual Exclusivity, rather than the exclusive discursive foundation of the wasteland image. Section 5.3 provides the primary close reading of this Chapter: the diametric opposites that emerge in Gogol's *Dead Souls*. I discuss the thirteen references to the *nemets* in order to provide a close reading of the final passage of the novel. In Section 5.4, I discuss how the lens of Mutual Exclusivity applies to the seemingly apolitical landscape poetry of A. A. Fet. Section 5.5 discusses how this lens became adopted by the Slavophiles and by social conservatives to represent the positivity of *russkii* space. Section 5.6 examines how this lens could be deployed by the opposite political position: I analyse Aleksandr Herzen's depiction of Western space in 1847, after his worldview shifted away from the Westerniser ideology and towards Socialism. In Section 5.7, my discussion moves from the specific level to the general level, and I aim to demonstrate how Mutual Exclusivity became a commonplace in late 19th-century depictions of *russkii* and *nemets* space. To evidence this, I include brief discussions of Verderevskii, Chekhov, and Kliuchevskii. In Section 5.8, I conclude the Chapter by addressing a puzzle raised in the Introduction: why did Olesha choose to include a football match between the Soviets and the *nemtsy* in his 1927 novel *Envy*?

This Chapter thus follows a chronological progression from the mid-1830s to the 1860s, with reference to the development of the lens into the 20th century. On the conceptual level, the goal of this Chapter is to account for how *russkii* discourse moved from assuming Western components in the early 19th century to the intellectual climate of 1855, where it was possible for Konstantin Aksakov to argue that, "The only danger which threatens Russia is that *she may cease to be Russia*, and that is where Peter's system of government is leading her!"[621] Only 60 years after the publication of Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, Petrine institutions were transformed from a given advantage into the source of Russia's problems, and *nemets* influence was re-imagined as capable of annihilating the *russkii* character altogether.

5.2. Two Transitional Pieces of the 1830s: Lazhechnikov and Kol'tsov

5.2.1. Introduction

[621] Emphasis in original; see Konstantin Aksakov, "On the Internal State of Russia," p. 245.

In my discussion of the transitional piece "Nevskii Prospekt," I argue that *russkii* space is imbued with dreamscapes and marked by abstraction, whereas the *nemets* world of the craftsmen is concrete, hemmed-in, and imminently knowable. Gogol's short story thus presents nascent versions of both the wasteland and the labyrinth: *russkii* space is cast as expansive, where the eyes cannot grasp the true essence of the place. *Nemets* space, on the other hand, is presented as a place of boundaries that is graspable by its exteriors. My discussion in Chapter Four, though, implies that "Nevskii Prospekt" was the only literary work to establish this model of oppositions in the 1830s. In this Section, I supplement this discussion with an examination of two other transitional texts that develop the images of the labyrinth and the wasteland. In Lazhechnikov's novel *The Ice Palace* (*Ледяной дом,* lit. *The Ice House*, 1835), *nemets* space appears as confined, bound, and a source of cruelty. Kol'tsov's poem, "The Haymaker" ("Косарь," 1836), develops the image of Russia as the wasteland, where the *russkii* landscape is cast as empty and boundlessly expansive.

5.2.2. The Labyrinth in Lazechnikov's *Ice Palace*

In Lazhechnikov's work of historical fiction, written in the vein of Walter Scott's novels, the narrator contrasts *nemets* and *russkii* space with a description of one St. Petersburg house under two stewards. During the reign of Peter the Great, this space is depicted as inviting and tranquil: "There, the sovereign loved relaxing after days of hard work, under the shady trees that he himself had planted. He was like a kind and simple family man."[622] There emerges an emotional connection between this space and Peter because "he himself had planted" the trees that compose the landscape. The description of the house and the invocation of its location next to the Summer Gardens also establish the space as a place for the sovereign's leisure. In addition to these factors, the scene emerges as an idyll through the description of Peter as a "simple family man." When Empress Anne installs the evil *nemets* Biron as her chief minister five years after Peter's death, however, the space is transformed and its valuation is inverted:

> The house changed masters, and everything in it and around it was transformed. Biron tried to turn it into a palace, and it became a guardhouse. Horror reigns about this domicile: the Garden is silent both on holidays and workdays. No stick is

[622] "Там, под тенью дерев, им самим посаженных, любил государь, после заповеданных трудовых дней, тешиться, как добрый, простой семьянин." See I. Lazhechnikov, *Ledianoi dom,* <http://lib.misto.kiev.ua/HIST/LAZHECHNIKOW/leddom.txt>, site accessed 9 March 2010.

> required to keep people away: everyone avoids the place as one would a labyrinth where no matter where you go you, you find the Minotaur.[623]

The keynote of the transformed *nemets* space is the hemmed-in imagery of the guardhouse and the claustrophobic Minotaur's labyrinth. Because Biron tries to transform the space of a "simple family man" into a palace, *russkii* humility is contrasted with *nemets* vanity. Lazhechnikov also builds upon the image of the *nemets* as the cruel master of the *russkie*, and the *russkie* as the victims of *nemets* exploitation.[624] While this aspect of the Hetero Image is introduced by the invocations of the "guardhouse" and the "stick," it is emphasised by the labyrinth, which entails an inevitable encounter with the Minotaur. This constricted *nemets* space reinforces the image of *russkii* space as expansive, while it also establishes the Meta Image of the haughty *nemets* who looks down upon the *russkii*. Further, the labyrinth inverts the positive valuation of the picturesque palace, because it appears in its place – and because it replaces Peter's idyllic homestead. This image becomes a leitmotif of the novel in its parallels to the construction of the eponymous ice palace: negatively ostentatious, filled with cruelty, and dominated by *nemtsy*.

Why do I interpret this novel as a transitional piece rather than as an example of Mutual Exclusivity? Even though Lazhechnikov casts *nemets* influence as harmful in the character of Biron, he nonetheless assumes the positivity of Russia's Western trajectory – as established by the positive image of Peter's house and, by extension, the city, empire, and culture "that he himself had planted." Therefore, the novel problematises the rupture of the Petrine legacy caused by Empress Anne, rather than the Petrine legacy itself.

5.2.3. The Wasteland in Kol'tsov's "The Haymaker"

Aleksei Kol'tsov establishes the other side of the discursive coin to Lazhechnikov; his steppe poetry casts the *russkii* landscape as a positively valued, boundless space.[625] Continuing the trend developed by Gogol in the late 1830s, Kol'tsov's steppes are characterised by their openness and their expansiveness.[626] This imagery would have been impossible under the lens of Karamzin's and Martynov's Western aesthetics,

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[623] "Дом переменил хозяина, и все в нем и вокруг его изменилось: … Бирон силится сделать его дворцом - и он смотрит кордегардией. Ужас царствует вокруг этого жилища; сад и в праздниках и в будни молчалив; не нужно отгонять от него палкою, - и без нее его убегают, как лабиринта, куда попавшись, попадешься к Минотавру."

[624] I discuss the roles of the "cruel *nemets* master" and the "*nemets* teacher" in Chapter Three and in the Interlude.

[625] For a discussion of "The Haymaker" in terms of previous landscape aesthetics, see Ely, pp. 94-97.

[626] For the imagery of the open steppe in Kol'tsov's landscape poetry, see Ely, pp. 94-97.

because it violates the principles of the picturesque by privileging the empty over the scenic. Kol'tsov's 1836 poem, "The Haymaker," however, illustrates how the steppe can be re-imagined as beautiful:

The wide-open steppe	Степь раздольная
Spreads outward	Далеко вокруг,
With its feathery grass -	Широко лежит,
And it lies widely	Ковылой-травой
In the distance all around!..	Расстилается!..
Oh, you, my steppe,	Ах ты, степь моя,
My open and free steppe,	Степь привольная,
Widely have you	Широко ты, степь,
Spread out, my steppe:	Пораскинулась,
For you have stretched	К морю Черному
Yourself to the Black Sea![627]	Понадвинулась!

The space is cast as anti-picturesque because the glory of the landscape resides in its lack of objects that block the gaze. The sense of distance in this poem is underscored by the repetition of the terms "widely" (*shiroko*) and also the image of the space as stretching (*ponadvinut'sia*) to the Black Sea, a geographical locale far removed from the Great Russian expanse, and located over a thousand kilometres from Moscow.[628] No idyllic scenes stand between the observer and the sea – the only object present is the "feathery grass." Instead of representing a picturesque object, this grass emphasises how the steppe spreads out (*rasstilat'sia*), and it thus resists offering a point upon which the eyes can focus. Because the observer's eye is drawn to the smoothness of the plane and the curvature of the distance, he or she looks through the space where the picturesque objects should be. In Kol'tsov's steppe imagery, a glorious landscape is reduced to a barren, stretching emptiness – and this enables the lyrical persona to find pride and strength in the wasteland.

These passages from Lazhechnikov and Kol'tsov thus represent the transitional images of the labyrinth and the wasteland. Both were generated in the Hegelian intellectual climate, but before the terms of the "interminable debate" of Russia's place in the world had crystallised. In the following Section, I provide a close reading of Gogol's 1842 novel, *Dead Souls*, a novel that establishes the discursive polarities of *nemets* and *russkii* space under the aesthetic and ideological lens of Mutual Exclusivity. As I have indicated, the aim is to continue the discussion of the labyrinth and the wasteland, and to

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[627] A. V. Kol'tsov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii, A. V. Kol'tsova*, ed. A. I. Liashchenko, (St. Petersburg, 1909), p. 70; see also Ely, p. 95. Trans. is mine.

[628] Based upon a measurement using the distance tool at maps.google.com, the distance between Moscow and the Crimea is about 700 miles, or 1,125 kilometres.

discover how the structure of Gogol's *nemets* Hetero Image affects the appearance of the *russkaia troika* in the final passage of the novel.

5.3. Gogol's *Dead Souls:* How *Nemets* Boots Construct the *Russkaia Troika*

5.3.1. Introduction and Context

In his 1968 essay on space in Gogol's prose, Iurii Lotman argues that *Dead Souls* played a foundational role in the spatial structure of the 19th-century Russian novel, and that Gogol "defined much for the artistic language of Russian literature from Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Saltykov-Shchedrin, to Mikhail Bulgakov and Yuri Tynianov."[629] For Lotman, Gogol achieves this in his development of the artistic space of "the road" in the context of the novel's model of unbounded space.[630] Lotman asserts that "the language of spatial relations" is a crucial subject of inquiry, because "temporal modeling frequently represents a secondary superstructure of spatial language."[631] From this perspective, a spatial analysis of Gogol's *Dead Souls* elucidates the structures of *russkii* space that would appear in 19th and 20th-century Russian literature, and it also investigates Gogol's temporal positioning of Russia through spatial representation. Just as in *Arabesques*, Gogol's *russkii* landscapes can be interpreted as depictions of *russkii* directionality.[632]

How does the image of *russkii* space appear in *Dead Souls* to warrant these assertions? While Lotman addresses this question by a comparison of unboundedness to boundedness, I suggest that Gogol's innovation lies in his reconfiguration of the wasteland through the lens of Mutual Exclusivity. As I argue in Chapter Four, after the publication of Chaadaev's letter in 1836, Russia's "vastness" could no longer imply simple topological dimensions, nor could it function as a symbol of Russia's Western-like imperial strength. Gogol, however, does not reject Chaadaev's condemnation of *russkii* space as a "desert"; rather he co-opts Chaadaev's depictions, and he re-imagines Russia as a holy wasteland in contrast to the uninspired and banal West. This image – and its comparative structure of negation – emerges when his narrator asserts that Russia (cast as *Rus'*):

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[629] Yuri M. Lotman, "The Problem of Artistic Space in Gogol's Prose," trans. Thomas Seifrid, in Nikolai Gogol, *Dead Souls: The Reavey Translation, Backgrounds and Sources, Essays in Criticism*, ed. George Gibian (New York, 1985), pp. 577-583, esp. p. 583, from Iu. M. Lotman, "Problema khudozhest'vennogo prostranstva v proze Gogolia," in *Uchennye zapiski Tartu Gos. Universitet, Trudy po russkoi i slavianskoi filologii: literaturovedenie, 1968* (Tartu, 1968), XI, fas. 209, pp. 45-50.

[630] Lotman, "The Problem of Artistic Space," p. 577. See also Donald Fanger, "*Dead Souls:* The Mirror and the Road," in *The Creation of Nikolai Gogol* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 164-191.

[631] Lotman, "The Problem of Artistic Space," p. 583.

[632] Fusso, "Arabesques," in *Essays in Nikolai Gogol*, p. 112; see also Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls,* pp. 5-19.

> ...will not not cheer and frighten the gaze with audacious wonders of nature, crowned with audacious wonders of art, nor with cities of tall, many-windowed palaces grown into rocks, nor with picturesque trees, nor with ivy-covered houses found under the noise and the eternal spraying of waterfalls.[633]

Rus' emerges as beautiful not for its views and objects – here ironically depicted as ivy-covered houses and splashing waterfalls – but rather because it is the opposite of the picturesque. *Rus'* represents a space where everything is "openly desolate (lit: 'like a wasteland') and flat," (Открыто-пустынно и ровно) and a place where "nothing deceives nor charms the gaze" [23^{HH}]. *Russkii* flatness and openness oppose the concrete "picturesque trees," while *russkii* simplicity opposes the "audacious" views that "deceive" and "charm." *Russkii* space, which is likened to the two-dimensionality of "dots" (точки), is depicted in terms of what it lacks: Western scenery and the Western mode of depicting concrete imagery.[634] The re-evaluation of the picturesque waterfall thus represents an inversion of *nemets* models of representation, and the subversion of *nemets* aesthetic taste.

This passage, from the opening section of the final Chapter (Eleven), summarises the aesthetic tone for the depiction of *russkii* space in the novel. The "wasteland-like" (пустынно) image repeats an aspect of Pliushkin's garden in Chapter Six, a space Fusso has characterised as "the aesthetic heart of *Dead Souls*."[635] This garden appears as "desolately (lit.: 'like a wasteland') pleasant" (пустынно-хорошо), in a way that "neither man nor nature can create, but that only occurs when the two combine together" [24^{II}]. In these two passages, *russkii* space is "пустынно" – but, paradoxically, this is not an empty void. Rather, this is a space that illustrates how *russkii* producers of culture could interpret "every void as a potentiality," as Morson has characterised a dominant trope of *russkii* discourse.[636] Gogol's aesthetics therefore invert the Hegelian value scale in addition to the picturesque, because Russia's emptiness supplies its unlimited potential

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[633] "...не развеселят, не испугают взоров дерзкие дива природы, венчанные дерзкими дивами искусства, города с многооконными высокими дворцами, вросшими в утесы, картинные дерева и плющи, вросшие в домы, в шуме и в вечной пыли водопадов." N. V. Gogol' (Gogol), *Mertvye dushi: tom pervyi,* from <http://public-library.narod.ru/Gogol.Nikolai/mertvye1.html>, site accessed 14 March 2010.

[634] Gogol's narrator depicts the *russkii* landscape as distinctly lacking the picturesque: "Rus'! Rus'!.... Everything in you is open, empty, flat; your lowly towns are stuck like dots upon your plains, like scarcely visible marks." Ely cites and translates the passage, pp. 113-114.

[635] Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls*, p. 137; for Fusso, this landscape represents the "apotheosis of the picturesque."

[636] A. Wachtel, p. 136, quotes Gary Saul Morson, "Dostoevsky's *Diary of a Writer*: Threshold Art." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974, p. 30.

rather than its ruin.[637]

The general aim of this Section is to analyse how *russkii* space was re-imagined as a holy wasteland following Chaadaev's letter, and to apply the analysis to the final passage of the novel – the "*Troika* Passage." I thus aim to answer the following questions: how does the *nemets* image construct the character of the *russkii*, and how does it enable and shape Gogol's vision of Russia's messianic destiny? The narrower aim of this Section is to elucidate a specific comparative image that appears in this *Troika* Passage: why does the narrator contrast the image of the *troika* and its bearded *muzhik* driver with the image of "*nemets* jackboots" (немецкие ботфорты)? This introduction has suggested one reason: the *nemets* invokes fanciness to oppose *russkii* simplicity and humility.[638] I aim to build upon this explanation and to examine the additional dimensions that emerge in the context of an Imagological survey of the novel. It is appropriate to begin with discussions of nineteen *nemets* references in the novel that emerge in thirteen passages (5.3.2) [25^{JJ}].[639] I follow this Sub-Section with an analysis of the *Troika* Passage in the context of the other *nemets* references, and I expand upon the oppositional structure between the *nemets* boots and the *russkii muzhik* (Section 5.3.3).

I begin the thirteen discussions of the *nemtsy* with an analysis of a passage from Chapter Two.

5.3.2. Thirteen *Nemets* Passages

Passage 1, Chapter Two [JJ1]:

In an aside to the reader, the narrator describes ironically his narrative structure: he asserts that he includes descriptions of secondary characters in order to be *akkuratnyi* (or "thoroughgoing," as Guerney and Fusso render it)[640]: "the author very much loves being comprehensive in everything, and, even though he himself is a *russkii*, he would like to be as *akkuratnyi* as a *nemets* in this respect." The narrator's absurd posturing – Gogol's lyrical prose style is hardly "thoroughgoing" or "precise"[641] – accesses and

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[637] Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls*, p. 137.

[638] Guerney's translation suggests this interpretation, because term *nemets* represents something "fancy": "No fancy Hessian jackboots does thy driver wear." See N. V. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, trans. B. G. Guerney, ed. S. Fusso (New Haven, 1996), p. 248. Hogarth's rendition translates the passage: "Nor are you driven by a coachman clothed in German livery"; see N. V. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, trans. C. J. Hogarth (Stilwell, 2008), p. 144.

[639] Overall, there are 14 total passages with 20 *nemets* references – the 14th is the *Troika* Passage. In addition to this, there are two invocations of "Sprechen sie Deutsch, Andrei Ivanovich?" (шпрехен зи дейч Иван Андрейч?) from Chapters 8 and 10, which I do not discuss here.

[640] Guerney, p. 14.

[641] In his book on Gogol, Nabokov characterises the story and the narrator's style as follows: "the story goes this way: mumble, mumble, lyrical wave, mumble, lyrical wave, mumble, fantastic climax, mumble, mumble, and back into the chaos from which they all derived." See Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol*, p. 149. In

subverts the positive *nemets* Hetero Image of *akkuratnost'*. On the meta-literary level, this passage undermines the *nemets* cultural influence upon *russkii* letters: the irony emphasises the difference between Gogol's *russkii* prose and the imagined writing style of the *nemets*. Therefore, this passage forces the reader to re-consider the novel as a rejection of previous aesthetic models. The inversion of the valuation of the landscape – where Russia is superior for its lack of the picturesque – is thus paralleled on the literary level, because the irony underlines the narrator's lack of *akkuratnost'*.

Passage 2, Chapter Three [JJ2]

As Chichikov travels between estates near the town of N-, his coachman, Selifan, scolds the *troika's* Piebald horse: "Just keep your mind on your work, you *nemets* pants-maker!" This exclamation represents a vague insult through the conflation of the *nemets* as negative Other, where the ironic effect is heightened by the seemingly random nature of the exclamation. It is comic because, on the surface level, it is unclear what a Piebald has to do with the production of clothing.

Beyond the comic level, though, the exclamation represents a critique of *nemets* influences upon the *russkii*: the "pants-maker" refers to the general encroachment of the Foreign upon Russia in the Western-style clothing imposed by Peter the Great. Iurii Lotman makes this argument when he links this exclamation to the "*nemets* hatter" in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* [32[KK]]. This negative valuation also involves the process of inversion, because the *nemets* is invoked in a formerly positive capacity, illustrated by Shiller and Goffmann in "Nevskii Prospekt," who are quality *nemets* craftsmen. Here, however, this role is transformed into an insult. The negative valuation of *nemets* clothing is repeated in the *Troika* Passage: the purity of the *russkii muzhik* is expressed in terms of negation and in terms of his beard, and his Russianness is depicted in terms of his lack of *nemets* attire – such as the jackboots (and a clean-shaven face). Selifan's abuse of the horse thus prefigures the symbolic value of *nemets* attire, because the positivity of the *russkii* emerges through the negation and inversion of the *nemets* images and their discursive currency.

Passage 3, Chapter Three [JJ3]

In this passage, Gogol's narrator considers the mode of communication between two *russkie* and how it differs from that of other peoples. He casts *russkii* mannerisms

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addition, see Fusso's valuation of disorder versus order in *Designing Dead Souls,* pp. 138, 148-149, and also John Kopper, "The 'Thing-in-Itself' in Gogol's Aesthetics: A Reading of the *Dikanka* Stories," in *Essays on Gogol*, p. 57, regarding the "unmotivated narrative disorder" of Gogol's aesthetics.

and behaviour (depicted as "наш," or "our") with a changeable and adjustable quality. This is contrasted with the manners of the French and the *nemets*, who address everyone in their society in the same manner:

> It is impossible to calculate all the shades and nuances of our communication. A Frenchman or a *nemets* could spend a century trying to grasp it and still not understand all its unique features and distinctions. He always speaks in almost the exact same voice and with the exact same words with a millionaire and with a tobacconist, although he will always in the depths of his souls want to fawn over the millionaire.

The *nemets* and the Frenchman represent a conflated West through the narrowing of the 3rd-personal pronoun to the singular "он"; while the narrator begins the passage with reference to "them," he concludes it with reference to "him." This aspect strengthens the distinction that the narrator draws between "us" (i.e. the *russkii*) and "them" (i.e. the conflated Western people). The narrator also casts the foreigners as unable to understand and comprehend *russkii* modes of communication. In this respect, the quantity of linguistic parts (the words) functions like the scenic objects: no matter how many words of Russian the *nemets* learns, there will always be "nuances" and "shades of meaning" that will defy his grasp. The boundless nuances of *russkii* communication thus parallels the appearance of *russkii* space in the novel: Russia emerges as an enigma the *nemets* cannot comprehend, encoded in its expansiveness. This aspect of the oppositional structure prefigures Tiutchev's poem ("you cannot understand Russia by means of logic /… in Russia you can only believe"), and also the series of uncomprehending foreigners that I discuss in Chapters Two and Three.[642] It is also necessary to mention that the Hetero Image of the *nemets* as greedy and banal emerges in this passage because "in the depths of his soul," the *nemets* desires to fawn over the millionaire. While the *russkii* soul is composed of infinite spontaneous variations, the soul of the *nemets* desires money – and so is quantifiable to the very core.

Passage 4, Chapter Four [JJ4]

In the middle of negotiations for the "dead souls," Nozdrev offers to sell Chichikov a hurdy-gurdy. Chichikov, however, has no need for this: "What would I want with a hurdy-gurdy? After all, I'm no *nemets* who's going to be dragging it up and down the road, begging for coins." Nozdrev takes offense at this response, and, believing Chichikov to have insinuated that his wares are low quality, he responds: "But this isn't

[642] "Умом Россию не понять, .../ - В Россию можно только верить." F. Tiutchev (1866); I discuss this poem in Chapter Three.

the kind of hurdy-gurdy that the *nemtsy* lug about… it's all made of mahogany." As with the "*nemets* pants-maker" and the "*nemets* jackboots," this object becomes negatively valued when it is labelled "*nemets*." This exchange raises at least three possible readings for the meaning of the term *nemets* in this context, all of which depend upon the inverted model of valuation. (1) It is ironic: while *nemets* quality is regularly regarded as superior to *russkii* quality – as emerges in "Nevsky Prospect" – these two characters use the term as though it denotes shoddy material. The fact that Chichikov links an instrument made of mahogany – a fine wood – to a beggar emphasises the irony. (2) "*Nemets*" is a stand-in for "bad": the object in question has nothing to do with the *nemets* people, and Chichikov uses the term because of its overriding pejorative associations, which parallels the comic level of Selifan's abuse of the horse. (3) The term is a conflation of anything considered to be different: Chichikov casts any and all begging musicians as part of the homogenous Out Group, or "*nemtsy*," just as the *nemets* and Frenchman are conflated together in Passage 3. The term *nemets* thus emerges as a conflation of a conflation: it is clear what the term excludes (i.e. the positive *russkie*), but it is unclear what it includes through its destabilised referent.

Passage 5, Chapter Five [JJ5]

As Chichikov flees Nozdrev's estate following his unsuccessful attempt to purchase the "dead souls," the narrator describes the reaction of local *muzhiki*: "The *muzhiki* from the village that was very fortunately not far away managed to gather at this hubbub. Because a spectacle like this is a genuine godsend to the *muzhik*, the same thing as newspapers and a club are to a *nemets*, there was an endless amount of them near the equipage." This passage presents a conflation that is similar to the appearance of the *nemets* in Passage 4. Here, the narrator privileges the *nemets* above others in their enjoyment of clubs and newspapers, even though there is no explicit motivation for this decision. Because there is nothing particularly "*nemets*" about this behaviour, the *nemets* emerges as a negatively valued conflation that stands in as shorthand for Western Otherness.

It is necessary to add that the *nemets* – however conflated – appears as a constitutive aspect of the image of the *muzhik*, because *muzhik* behaviour is cast as diametrically opposed to that of the *nemets* in two respects. The *muzhiki* gather in the open street as opposed to the civilised confines of the club. The modes of communication are also diametrically opposed: the *muzhiki* utilise oral communication, while the *nemtsy* read their newspapers. The speech of the *muzhiki*, and their creation of rumour, thus links

to the image of *russkii* creativity and spontaneity, as opposed to the prescribed and explicit behaviour of reading journals. This passage thus establishes the *russkii* as unassuming and creative precisely because they lack the pretention and constriction of the *nemets* – and this foreshadows the constructive oppositional relationship between the *nemets* and the *muzhik* in the *Troika* Passage.

Passage 6, Chapter Five [JJ6]

When the hero of the novel, Chichikov, reaches Sobakevich's estate, the space is cast as "surrounded by a strong and excessively thick wooden railing (решетка)." The narrator asserts that this design is the product of a pedantic architect, as evidenced in its symmetry. The narrator also emphasises the house's boundaries – its roof and walls, and also the two forests that constitute the boundaries of the estate. The narrator adds an explicit *nemets* aspect to Sobakevich's estate, because he likens the house to those built for *nemets* colonists. This passage thus develops the imagery that defines Shiller's apartment as bounded and explicit. The *russkii-nemets* opposition emerges in an additional manner beyond the simile and the parallel of spatial depiction: Sobakevich's estate appears as a counterpoint to Pliushkin's garden. While the garden contains the desolation of the wasteland and the violation of the picturesque, this estate contains concrete objects, boundaries, sturdiness, and is the result of a plan (even though it is a ruptured one – as the owner's desire for convenience conflicted with the builder's pedantic desire for symmetry).[643] This contrast is heightened by the juxtaposition of the two estates in the chronology of Chichikov's adventures: he visits Sobakevich in Chapter Five and Pliushkin in Chapter Six. The "staunch and unwieldy orderliness"[644] of Sobakevich's estate – evocative of *nemets* space to the narrator – thus reinforces the wasteland aspect of Pliushkin's garden through the series of oppositions and through the chorological proximity of the two estates.[645]

Passage 7, Chapter Five [JJ7]

Chichikov approaches Sobakevich to purchase "dead souls" after travelling through his steadfast (упористо) grounds. Just as the owner's desires conflicted with those of the builder in the execution of the house (where a planned undertaking is deemed unsuitable in the indivudal context), so does Sobakevich cast *nemets* medical

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[643] Fusso considers the plot of *Dead Souls* to revolve around a ruptured plan – the purchase of titles to dead serfs. For her, Pliushkin's garden illustrates this theme; Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls*, pp. 20, 137-138.
[644] See the Guerney and Fusso translation of *Dead Souls*, p. 89.
[645] Pletnev was the first critic to compare the structure of Pliushkin's garden to the structure of the novel as a whole ("His book is like this garden"); Fusso translates and contextualises this citation, *Designing Dead Souls*, p. 138.

prescriptions as unsuitable for the *russkii* people. He takes this one step further by arguing that this *nemets* influence is potentially lethal:

> This was all invented by the *nemets* and French doctors, and I would have hung them for this! They come up with some kind of diet, and they try to heal one with starvation! Just because they have some kind of *nemets* liquid-like nature they imagine that they can cope with a *russkii* stomach! No, it's not remotely like that, it's just their nonsense, that's all...

Sobakevich rejects the applicability of *nemets* models and institutions within Russia, and he also argues for *russkii* exceptionality. For him, *nemets* doctors can only understand their own natures, and their logic regarding the order of things does not apply to the *russkii*.[646] The *nemets* emerges in this characterisation as not only different from the *russkii*, but even irreconcilable: because *nemets* science works for "them," it cannot work for "us." This is reminiscent of the *russkii* folk saying "what is good for the *russkii* kills the *nemets*" (что русскому здорово, то немцу – смерть).[647]

On the social level, Sobakevich disparages *nemets* doctors, a prevalent group within the Empire and also the symbolic world of Russian literature.[648] This reinforces the second interpretation of Selifan's insults in Passage 2: the *nemets* represents a harmful internal influence in *russkii* culture. Further, while Sobakevich refers to *nemets* and French doctors in the beginning, he ends his monologue with reference only to the *nemets* nature – thus following the pattern of Passage 3. The *nemets* stands in for a specific group of foreigners (i.e. *nemtsy* in the Empire) and also for the West (i.e. general Western influence). Sobakevich rejects this all as harmful to the unique conditions of *russkii* life – an indictment that is ironic given the *nemets* spatial aspects of his estate.

Passage 8, Chapter Five [JJ8]

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[646] The image of the *russkii* as exceptional – and not subject to the rules that apply to other peoples – has a discursive history; see Andrew Wachtel, pp. 1-3. This exceptionality applies to present day political discourse; under the rule of Putin and Medvedev, it is regularly argued in the *russkii* press that Russia requires a unique form of government for its unique situation. This emerges in the official ideology of "sovereign democracy" rather than the Western-style democracy. See Masha Lipman's article on Russian "Sovereign Democracy" at the Washington Post, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/07/14/AR2006071401534.html>, site accessed October 22 2008. She writes that, in July 2006, "On the public relations side, one of the most influential Kremlin aides, Vladislav Surkov, met with Western journalists to explain that Russian 'sovereign democracy' is not much different from democratic practices of the Western countries. 'Sovereign democracy' is a Kremlin coinage that conveys two messages: first, that Russia's regime is democratic and, second, that this claim must be accepted, period. Any attempt at verification will be regarded as unfriendly and as meddling in Russia's domestic affairs."

[647] See Dal' in the epigraph to Chapter Three.

[648] *Nemets* doctors appear in Pushkin's "Postmaster," Herzen's *Who is to Blame?*, the *russkii* Dr. Werner in Lermontov's *A Hero of out Time*, and, later in the century, in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* and Dostoevsky's *The Double.*

Continuing the argument introduced by Sobakevich, Gogol's narrator asserts that the pure "*russkii* wit" is superior to that which has been contaminated by contact with the *nemets*. For him, the *russkii* wit does not rely upon convoluted explanations, but rather it sketches a subject "from head to toe" in a single stroke:

> And then how very to the point are those phrases that come from the depths of *Rus'*, where there are no *nemets* or *chukhon* tribes, nor any other tribe – just the home-grown, lively, *russkii* wit, which does not fumble in its pocket for a word, nor brood over it, as a hen does over her chicks. Rather, this wit comes out right away, like a passport you can take with yourself forever. And there's no need to add anything at a later stage about your nose or lips because you have already been drawn head to toe with a single stroke!

The spatial point of reference in this passage is one located far from the *nemets* and the *chukhon*. These two components – *nemets* and *chukhon* – invokes Petersburg space; the *nemets* through the Western nature of the city, and the *chukhon* through the geographical proximity to the Finnic tribes, and also through the literary associations of *Evgenii Onegin* (the *okhtenka* and *nemets akkuratnyi* of I:35), "The Bronze Horseman,"[649] and "Nevskii Prospekt" (the *chukhonskie nimfy* and Shiller). This passage represents an implicit rejection of Complementarity: while Petersburg could represent *russkii* space for Polevoi in the 1820s – and the Petersburg officer Pirogov could express pan-*russkii* traits in 1835 – the narrator of *Dead Souls* draws a sharp distinction between *nemets* Russia and pure *Rus'*. This demonstrates how the lens of Mutual Exclusivity can invoke the aspect of the "*nemets* within" as a means of Othering: for Gogol's narrator, *Rus'* is the *russkii* space that lacks the Foreign *russkie*.

As this definition implies, the narrator does not refer to the geographical entity of historical *Rus'*, because this lies in close proximity to the *nemets* lands and to the Catholic Poles. Rather, the narrator invokes the imaginary *Rus'*, deployed it for its cultural association as a Utopia (in the sense of "no place"), because it represents the imagined, spiritually pure ancestor of the *russkie*.

The narrator develops this theme – where *russkii* purity is defined by its separation from the Foreign – with a discussion of the *russkii* word as compared to that of the British, the French, and the *nemets*.[650] This passage concerns external cultural

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[649] "По мшистым, топким берегам / Чернели избы здесь и там, / Приют убогого чухонца." from A. S. Pushkin, "Mednyi vsadnik" from <http://www.rvb.ru/pushkin/01text/02poems/01poems/0795.htm?start=0&length=all>, site accessed 6 June 2010.

[650] For an account of the importance of the "Word" in *Dead Souls* in creating and implying categories of representation, see Robert A. Maguire, *Exploring Gogol* (Stanford, 1994), pp. 214-254.

categories, because the term "Briton" is under discussion rather than "English," even though the topic is language. This is consistent with the invocation of *Rus'*, which, as I have argued, represents an imagined cultural space rather than geographical space. Once the narrator begins to compare the *russkii* to those outside *Rus'*, the *chukhon* drops out of the picture, and the French and Briton appear. That is, we have moved from an internal comparison (i.e. the "*nemets* within" as opposed to the pure *russkii*) to an external comparison (i.e. the *russkii* words as opposed to representative of the West). The *nemets*, as I have noted numerous times in this thesis, fits both categories – and thus reappears:

> The word of the Briton echoes with knowledge of the heart and a wise understanding of life. The short-lived word of the Frenchman flashes like a light-footed dandy and then flies asunder. The *nemets* will contrive some sort of intellectually-gaunt word that is not accessible to everyone. But there is not a word that is so sweeping, that bursts out so lively from the very heart, and that boils and trembles with life as an aptly spoken *russkii* word.

While the narrator invokes three different cultural groups to compare to the *russkii* (Briton, French, *nemets*), it is only the *nemets* who functions as the diametric opposite of the *russkii*. The British word has "knowledge of the heart" and a "wise grasp of life" – which are not opposites of the *russkii* word. Rather, they have a different focus and a different set of strengths. The French word is like a "light-footed dandy" whose appearance is "short-lived" – also not opposed traits. While this depiction is ironic, it casts the French word in ambiguous terms, because it is active before its expiration. The *nemets* word, however, does oppose the *russkii*: it is "contrived" and "intellectually-gaunt" while the *russkii* is "lively" and "bursts from the heart." Further, the *nemets* word is "not accessible to everyone," while the *russkii* word is "sweeping." Finally, in the place of Karamzin's humble and learned *nemets* intellectuals, Gogol casts the *nemets* as undeservedly pompous, because the *nemets* word is "gaunt" despite its posturing.[651] While the *nemets* word is one of the three Western cultures invoked, it is the only one that is constitutive of the *russkii* Self Image through opposition.

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[651] The concept of the "word" is linked to divine inspiration in a number of Old Testament passage, including Genesis 15:1: "After these things the word of the LORD came unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward," as well as Genesis 15:4: "And, behold, the word of the LORD came unto him, saying, This shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir." From the biblegateway.com internet resource, King James Version. From <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis%2015:4&version=KJV>, site accessed 7 March 2010. "The Word" also appears in the New Testament – twice in 1 John, Chapter 1: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life;" and "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." 1 John 1:1,10, King James Version. From <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20John+1&version=KJV>, site accessed 7 March 2010.

As Fusso argues, there exists a general system of valuation in the novel, where the narrator prefers chaos, disorder and ruptured symmetry over wholeness, order, and symmetry – as emerges in Pliushkin's garden.[652] The *nemets* thus fits in the first set of traits, while the *russkii* Self Image fits in the second set. The distinction between the *nemets* and *russkii* words in this passage thus engages with the novel's overall thematic structure: the *nemets* established a pattern that the *russkii* can oppose – and then transcend. This also clarifies how the *akkuratnyi* aspect of the *nemets* contains a moral valuation in Gogol's symbolic universe, and it prefigures how the *nemets* jackboots apply to Russia's spiritual destiny.

Passage 9, Chapter Seven [JJ9]

While looking through the descriptions of his newly acquired "dead souls," Chichikov invents narratives for the names he comes across. When he encounters the memorandum, "Maksim Teliatnikov, Boot-maker," Chichikov generates a comical, intricate biography for the deceased: Teliatnikov was the apprentice of a cruel *nemets* before he fell to ruin.

> I know you, I know you, my dear. If you want, I'll tell your whole story. You studied under a *nemets* who fed you all together. He also beat you with his belt for your *neakkuratnost'* and never let you go out. But you were a miracle, and not just a shoemaker, and this *nemets* could not praise you enough when he spoke to his wife or with a *Kamerad*. But when you finished studying, you said to yourself: "Now I'll take charge of my own house. And I won't go on like the *nemets*, earning kopeck after kopeck – no, I'll get rich quick." And so, having given your master his dues, you set up a shop, you got through all the paperwork, and went to work. You got yourself some old cheap and rotten leather and made a double profit on every boot you made – but then about two weeks later the boots would fall apart, and your customers would insult you in the foulest of ways. And so your shop ended up empty, and you took to drinking and wallowing about on the streets, saying, "No, no, it is awful to live in this world! There's no way for a *russkii* to live – the *nemtsy* ruin everything."

Connecting to the structural pattern identified by Fusso, an oppositional relationship emerges between the planned *nemets* lifestyle and the improvisational capacity of the *russkii*. Further, the relationship between the two – where the *nemets* master beats his *russkii* apprentice for being *neakkuratnyi* (not *akkuratnyi*) – develops the image of Biron the Minotaur in Lazhechnikov and prefigures the cruel *nemets* who civilises the *russkii*

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[652] Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls,* p. 138. As Fusso argues, the creative language of the *muzhiki* connects to themes of spontaneity, chaos, and to "cheating, con artistry… lying and divination." This grouping contrasts to the "ritualized, prescribed discourse" of bureaucratic procedures and bourgeois social euphemisms – a world of the novel that the *nemets* participates in, because he speaks in every situation in exactly the same manner.

with an axe in Herzen. It is also important to note that the space of the *nemets* master resembles the labyrinth as a constrictive place of brutality, because he never lets the *russkii* leave the apartment.

Despite his *neakkuratnyi* approach to his work, however, the *russkii* apprentice excels in his craft to the point of being identified as a miracle (чудо). While the *nemets* is the better businessman, the *russkii* emerges as a prodigy – and his tragic ending reinforces his superior potential. Even though Maksim's own irrational business behaviour leaves him destitute on the street, the following questions emerge from his story: does the *nemets* influence sap Russia of its miraculous potential? Is the downfall of the *russkii* apprentice his own fault for cheating his customers, or is it the result of his experience with the cruel and restrictive *nemets* master? If it is the latter, as is implied in the exclamation "the *nemtsy* ruin everything," then this passage functions like Sobakevich's medical theories and the narrator's linguistic assertions to indict the Westernising process as destructive in Russia.

This passage links thematically to the *Troika* Passage through the image of the boots: the creation of *nemets* boots becomes destructive and harmful for the *russkii* boot-maker, just as the *troika muzhik* maintains his superiority because he does not wear *nemets* boots.

Passage 10, Chapter Eight [JJ10]

The narrator discusses the differences in articulating the Russian, German, French, and English languages – which continues the theme of the power of the *russkii* word from Passages 3 and 8. In this aside, the narrator attacks those readers who find the presence of conversational *russkii* phrases in novels to be distasteful, and he asserts that they are likely the kind of *russkie* who prefer to use other languages instead of authentic Russian. This passage presents another illustration of how the encounter with the Western Other creates the "*nemets* within" – making a foreigner out of a *russkii*:

> However, if a word from the streets would happen to appear in a book, it is not the author who is to blame, but rather the reader – and primarily those readers from high society. It is mainly from them that you will not hear a single decent *russkii* word. Rather, they provide you with so many French, German, and English words – and they provide them while even conserving every possible pronunciation: their French is nasal and the "r" is gargled, they pronounce English in a manner befitting birds, where even their own physiognomy resembles a bird, and they'll even laugh at those who cannot copy this bird-like physiognomy. And then don't adopt anything *russkii*, except for when they decide to build a hut in the *russkii* style on account of their patriotism.

The *nemets* factor accesses two dimensions of the *nemets* Hetero Image: it is pompous and also demonic. The *russkii* body and soul are deformed – rather than enriched – by their encounter with the West. Another dimension emerges from the narrator's invocation of Foreign "physiognomy," because, according to Lavater's physiognomic principles, the outer self always reflects the truth of the interior self.[653] According to this interpretation, the ability of the "high society" *russkii* to speak foreign tongues transforms him or her literally into the Foreign.

This passage also performs the inversion of the picturesque on the level of education. Foreign languages – a mark of elite status in 18th-century *russkii* culture, as evidenced in Fonvizin's *The Minor* – are reconfigured as a negative acquisition. Linguistic proficiency emerges as neither sophisticated nor urbane: it is ridiculous, in that English-speakers look and sound like birds, while French-speakers gargle through their noses. Speaking a foreign tongue not only separates "high society" from the *narod*, it also separates the *russkie* from their own language and their *natural* comportment. Through this process, the *russkii* body emerges as irreconcilable with the *nemets* and *nemets* influence – and the risk of cultural encounters becomes disfiguration. This passage thus prefigures Konstantin Aksakov's exclamation that "the only danger which threatens Russia is that *she may cease to be Russia*," and also Turgenev's Pavel Petrovich, who does not read *russkii* books. Gogol thus casts the usage of colloquial *russkii* words and phrases as a stylistic device, and also as an ideological statement.

Passage 11, Chapter Nine [JJ11]

As the story of Chichikov's purchase of "dead souls" begins to spread through the town of N–, the townsfolk wonder whether it was connected to a recent drinking spree that resulted in a number of unexplained incidents. While the feast was mostly a simple affair, cast as *russkii*, it had a few fancy trimmings, cast as *nemets*:

> The first event was with some kind of merchants from Sol'vychegodsk who came to the city for a fair. After they sold their wares, they set up a feast for their acquaintances, the Ustysysol'sk merchants. It was a feast based on the *russkii* style [lit: on a *russkii* leg] with some *nemets* contrivances: orgeats, punches, balsams, and the like.

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[653] According to prevalent mid-19th-century quasi-medical theories, as the physiognomy changes, so does personality. For a detailed account of physiognomy in French literature, see Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in Eighteenth-Century France* (London, 1999), esp. pp. 1-9. For the *russkii* cultural context (regarding Herzen's interest in Phrenology), see Dagmar Herrmann, "Aleksandr Herzens Probleme mit den Deutschen," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19. Jahrhunder*, p. 913; for Lemrontov, see Helena Goscilo, "Lermontov's Debt to Lavater and Gall," in *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 59, No. 4 (Oct., 1981), pp. 500-515.

Not one of the drinks listed – orgeat, punch, or balsam – is a uniquely *nemets* drink, and this echoes the conflation of the *nemets* "newspapers and clubs." The term connotes "fancy" and "foreign," while carrying the connotations of "bad" and "unsuitable" along with it, because the drinking spree results in violence. The emergence of the *nemets* drinks as a negative catalyst is consistent with another role of the *nemets* – its capacity as the demonic, discussed in the Interlude. The "*nemets* contrivances" thus parallel the *nemets* doctors in Passage 7; *nemets* drinks, like *nemets* medicines, do not agree with the *russkii* body.

Passage 12, Chapter Ten [JJ12]

When the people of N- gather to discuss the recent events, their disorganisation causes the narrator to wonder why it is impossible for the *russkie* to assemble themselves in structured groups – from basic village gatherings to learned societies. The narrator asserts that the only time this is possible is when it is done for relaxation with *nemets* dining clubs and Vauxhalls (*voksaly*). This passage invokes the conflated aspect of the *nemets*, because the term refers to an English institution through an English barbarism.[654] The narrator also emphasises the inconsistent success of the importation of foreign institutions to Russia; while eating and relaxing are consistent with the *russkii* character, self-governance and Western academic institutions are not. This passage casts the *russkii* Self Image as one of passivity, and it prefigures the image of the apolitical *russkii* deployed in Konstantin Aksakov's essay, "On the Internal State of Russia," discussed in Chapter Three.

This passage also contains two ironic reverberations from previous *nemets* passages. First, while the narrator implies that the *russkie* can enjoy *nemets* clubs, the narrator draws a distinction between *nemets* clubs and *muzhik* gawking in Passage 5 – and the applicability of eating clubs is undermined. Secondly, the narrator implies that the *russkie* can enjoy *nemets*-style Vauxhalls in this passage, but this is undermined by Passage 11, where the *nemets* aspects of the *russkii* feast lead to violence. These intratextual allusions negate every aspect of *nemets* cultural influence upon the *russkii*, because every imported institution emerges as unsuitable for the *russkii* cultural context through the course of the novel. This parallels Passage 7, where the value of Sobakevich's *nemets* landscape is undermined through his distrust of *nemets* medicine.

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[654] The Vauxhall refers to an area on the southern bank of the Thames in London, known for its lavish entertainment. See the "Vauxhall" entry, *Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition,* at <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/vauxhall>, site accessed 8 September 2010.

Passage 13, Chapter Eleven [JJ13]

As Chichikov's plan to purchase "dead souls" unravels, he becomes furious at the world that has besmirched his character. The narrator asserts ironically that Chichikov maintains his patience in spite of recent hardships: "he showed the kind of patience before which wooden patience of the *nemets* – an aspect of the slow, lethargic circulation of his blood – is nothing."[655] What appears to be an invocation of a positive *nemets* trait at the beginning of the sentence becomes a bodily function by the end of it, and the *nemets* trait of patience becomes a symptom of a disability.

The *nemets* lethargy is constitutive of the *russkii* Self Image because it opposes the quick-moving *russkii* nature that appears in the *Troika* Passage.[656] The narrator refutes the lively European character that appears in *Arabesques* with the image of *nemets* sluggishness, and also it casts the *nemets* as an outlier from *normal* behaviour, as in Passage 10. It is also important to add that the patience evinced by Chichikov is itself ridiculous, because he is not at all blameless in his tragic situation – which echoes the fate of Maksim the boot-maker. The *nemets* thus emerges as negatively valued from two angles: their patience is only a function of their slow blood, and the characteristic of patience itself is held at ironic distance, analogous to the narrative style of *akkuratnost'* in Passage 1.

5.3.3. The *Nemets* Hetero Image Constructs the *Troika*: Six *Nemets* Themes

There are six themes of the *nemets* image from these thirteen passages that re-emerge in the *Troika* Passage: the *nemets* as a conflation, the enclosed space of the *nemets*, the deliberate and *akkuratnyi nemets*, the pretentious *nemets*, the spiritually lacking *nemets*, and the *nemets* as a harmful model. In this Sub-Section, I interpret the *Troika* Passage in the context of these six themes. I conclude with a discussion of how Russia emerges as the holy wasteland, and I examine why this represents a space that the *nemets* cannot comprehend.

(1) The *nemets* as a conflation, as opposed to the unitary *russkii*.

The *nemets* as a conflation appears five times in the novel. In Passage 2, Selifan scolds the Piebald horse as a "cursed *nemets*." In Passage 4, Chichikov characterises the hurdy-gurdy as something a *nemets* beggar would use. Conflation also appears in

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[655] Guerney and Fusso renders this passage: "he evinced a patience before which the wooden patience of the German is as nothing, since in the case of the latter it is due to nothing but the slow, sluggish circulation of his Teutonic blood" (239).

[656] In the *Troika Passage*, the narrator asks rhetorically: "what *russkii* does not love to travel quickly?" (И какой же русский не любит быстрой езды?).

Passage 5, where the narrator invokes how the *nemtsy* love clubs and newspapers, and in Passage 11, where the *nemets* appears as a general term for fanciness. In Passage 12, the *nemets* label is used for an English term, the Vauxhall.

How does the conflated nature of the *nemets* emerge in the *Troika* Passage? First, the jackboots (*nemetskie botforty*) are related linguistically to the Vauxhall (*voksal na nemetskuiu nogu*) as barbarisms; the *botforty* derive from the French "*bottes fortes*," just as the *voksal* derives from the English.[657] Further, when the narrator describes the trajectory of the *troika*, he casts the *russkii* in opposition to a single Other, the *nemets*, but also to many "other *narody* and states" (другие народы и государства). The *nemets* thus emerges as a foil to the ethnic/tribal level *russkii narod* and also to the imperial level of the *rossiiskoe gosudarstvo*. This means that the *nemets* represents both a specific *narod* and also the general "West," to oppose the ethnic, religious, and political composition of unitary *russkii* space of *Rus'*.

(2) The enclosed space of the *nemets*, as opposed to *russkii* vastness.

The constriction of *nemets* space appears in Passage 6, in the symmetry of Sobakevich's estate. It also appears metaphorically in Passage 3, where *nemets* comportment emerges as limited in comparison to the endless nuances of the Russian language, and in Passage 9, where the *russkii* boot-maker is restricted to the *nemets* space of his master.

The breadth of *russkii* space emerges as a central theme in the novel. Foreshadowing Chichikov's dramatic exit from the town of N–, the novel begins with a conversation that focuses the reader's attention upon the massive size of the country. In an ironic dialogue, two *russkie muzhiki*[658] discuss whether a carriage would be able to reach Moscow or not given the state of its wheels: the second peasant says it would. "But it wouldn't make it to Kazan, I'm thinking – or would it?" asks the first. The second responds definitively: "Not to Kazan, it wouldn't." The dialogue raises the theme of travel across Russia on the road (дорога),[659] and it also invokes the logistical problems of

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[657] See the "botfort" (ботфорт) entry, *Etimologicheskii slovar' Maksa Fasmera*, at <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/vasmer/37084/ботфорт>, site accessed 5 September 2010.

[658] Maguire remarks that these two *muzhiki* spring into focus because they provide the first instance of direct speech, marking "an abrupt shift in diction" from the high style of narration to the low style of conversation; pp. 214-216.

[659] Yuri Lotman has identified a connection between the "road" (дорога) and the "unbounded space" (необъятный простор) in Gogol's work: while the space of his novelistic world is build around the nebulous and the undefined, the road provides a counter-point of directionality, and the fusion of these two points allows for what Lotman calls the "fantastic realism" of Gogol's work. See Lotman, "Artistic Space." Edna Andrews provides the following summary of this interaction: "Lotman argues that as Gogolian unbounded space is ambivalent in its definition, within these oppositions [i. e. bounded-unbounded and

traversing the expanse that separates its cities. The image of Russia's enormous space, dramatised in imagining travel between the capital and the major provincial towns, thus frames the novel, just as the novel begins with Chichikov's arrival and ends with his flight.

Russkii boundlessness emerges in this passage in four respects. First, the milestones turn to spots before the eyes of an observer. Because they prove an inadequate means of measuring the distance covered, *russkii* space appears as too massive to quantify. As with the *muzhik's* attire and Chichikov's appearance, the distance can only be considered in terms of negation; this image prefigures Tiutchev's assertion that Russia cannot be measured in versts ("Аршином общим не измерить"), which also invokes a system of measurement in order to show its breakdown.[660] Secondly, the narrator exaggerates the size of Russia, and portrays it as covering half the Earth. Even if we map the "Earth" from the Eurocentric point of view and consider only Europe and Asia, this characterisation is a hyperbole. It is a familiar exaggeration, though, because it accesses the stretching expanse of Kol'tsov's steppe poetry: but here, even the Black Sea cannot bind *russkii* space. Fourthly, the scene appears indistinct and hazy, and the observer's attention is drawn to the distance beyond the visual range.[661] This creates a visual metaphor for the "unbounded" space, because the inability to determine the trajectory of the *troika* parallels the inability to identify the boundaries of *Rus'*. Fourthly, the narrator emphasises the *troika's* tremendous speed: the pace of the *troika* amazes the "observers" and makes them wonder at what, exactly, has passed them. This expands the scope of *russkii* space; as Widdis argues, great speeds are needed for great distances in *russkii* spatial discourse.[662] This speed, though, emerges through a *nemets-russkii* comparison: the *troika* is contrasted to a hypothetical carriage that *is* fastened by iron and that has a driver who *does* wear *nemets* jack-boots. While the hypothetical *nemets* contraption is superficially superior to the *troika*, it is not capable of amazing speed. This comparison parallels the *nemets* boot-maker on an additional level to the repetition of the boots imagery: the *nemets* possesses the trait of *akkuratnost'*, but he does not possess the

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directionality-nondirectionality], it is precisely the road, demonstrating movement toward a goal, that allows these spaces to be raised to a higher plane… Thus, Lotman claims that 'nondirectionality of space is equivalent to a lack of goal orientation in the existence of the person occupying this space.'" See Edna Andrews, *Conversations with Lotman: Cultural Semiotics in Language, Literature, and Cognition* (Toronto and London, 2003), p. 81. See also Donald Fanger, "The Mirror and the Road," p. 169.

[660] See my discussion in Chapter Three.

[661] Maguire contends that, in *Dead Souls*, "the greater the distance, the clearer the vision; the closer, the dimmer" (231). I interpret this as implying the narration depends upon objects in the distance to create the massive scope of space.

[662] See Widdis, p. 42.

potential to become a *chudo* (miracle).

The wasteland image that emerges in previous passages thus resonates in this spatial depiction. The *troika* landscape resembles the "open and flat wasteland" of *Rus'*, the beautiful wasteland of Pliushkin's garden, and the "flat, low cities that stick out imperceptibly among the plains like points or signs."[663] And, as with previous depictions, the *russkii* void generates the limitless potential of its *narod.*

(3) The deliberate and "*akkuratnyi*" *nemets*, as opposed to the spontaneous *russkii.*

The *akkuratnost'* is invoked explicitly in the narrator's ironic narrative style in Passage 1. It also appears as a negative in Passage 7, where the *russkii* apprentice is beaten for being *neakkuratnyi.* This aspect of the Hetero Image emerges implicitly in Passage 13, where the narrator describes the "wooden patience" of the *nemets*, a character trait that links to the assumed *nemets* punctiliousness.

In addition to the invocation of *russkii* space, the image of the "never to be outdistanced" *troika* that "thunders and turns to wind" also establishes the structure of opposition between *nemets akkuratnost'* and *russkii* spontaneity. With its fantastic speed, the *troika* hurtles past other nations and states – but without any clear destination, because the narrator poses rhetorical questions regarding its direction rather than positive statements.[664] The inability for the Other to comprehend the *troika* further emphasises its chaotic directionality, and neither the observers nor the narrator are able to grasp its trajectory. But this chaos is not a liability, nor is it a symptom of *russkii* infantilism, as Chaadaev characterises the image in his letter. Rather, Russia's tremendous momentum is indicative of raw potential that will one day be realised in *russkii* space. The narrator accesses this theme in his characterisation of the *troika's* horses: "what unknown power is contained in these steeds, the likes of which are not known in this world?" This claim reinforces the antithetical structure of the *russkii* and *nemets* images in the novel: the *russkii* is unknowable, unquantifiable, and full of potential, while the *nemets* is knowable, quantifiable, and so overt that his entire potential is already on display. *Akkuratnost'* thus becomes more than a character trait in Gogol's universe: it saps the *nemets* of future potential.

(4) The pretentious *nemets*, as opposed to the humble *russkii.*

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[663] "...открыто-пустынно и ровно все," and "...как точки, как значки, неприметно торчат среди равнин невысокие твои города."

[664] This series of rhetorical questions is reminiscent of the indefinite and curiosity-arousing beginning of the novel: see Maguire, pp. 214-216.

There are three instances in *Dead Souls* where the *nemets* is cast as pretentious. First, the *nemets* clubs and newspapers appear as negative through the narrator's irony in Passage 5. Secondly, the narrator discusses the negative effects that occur when *russkie* are fluent in foreign languages in Passage 10. Thirdly, the *nemets* implies improper "fanciness" in Passage 11, when the narrator describes the *nemets* drinks at the merchants' feast.

In the *Troika* Passage, the convoluted nature of the *nemets* offsets the simplicity of the *russkii*. As I have argued, this passage invokes a hypothetical *nemets* carriage: "the *troika* draws a vehicle that is not at all cunningly put together. It is held together not by iron screws, but rather it was thrown together hastily by some Yaroslavl *muzhik*, with a dash here and there, who only used an axe and a chisel." The "iron screws" of the *nemets* carriage are connected to the *nemets* jackboots in their superficial superiority. While the *troika* cannot compare to the *nemets* contraption according to conventional metrics, due to *russkii* ingenuity a superior product has been produced nonetheless – as with the miraculous *russkii* boot-maker (who is described as a *chudo* despite the fact that his boots fall apart). Humble tools (i.e. an axe and a chisel) and humble clothing (i.e. beard, gauntlets, and not *nemets* jackboots) thus trump the pretentious *nemets* contraption because they transcend rational predictive models.

The theme of the humble *russkii muzhik* as superior to the best the West has to offer prefigures the plot of Leskov's *The Left-Handed Craftsman* (*Сказ о тульском косом Левше и о стальной блохе*, 1881), where a *russkii* blacksmith's craft astonishes and amazes the finest English craftsmen.[665] The inversion of positive traits is dramatised by the *russkii* craftsman's capacity as left-handed, a trait that is often perceived as negative. The humility of the Tula craftsmen emerges in the following depiction, a passage that echoes the down-to-earth nature of Gogol's *muzhik* from Yaroslavl:

> Platov left Tula. Three gunsmiths, the most skilled from the whole town, said farewell to their comrades and their households, not telling anyone anything. One was squint-eyed and left-handed, he had a birthmark on his cheek, and his hair at his temples was torn out from when he had been an apprentice. They all grabbed their bags, filled them with some necessary food, and disappeared from the city.[666]

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[665] The left-handed craftsman explains *russkii* superiority with the following terse epitaph: "Наш фасон… в Туле простой" (Our style in Tula is simple). See N. S. Leskov, *Levsha*, Ch. 15. From <http://az.lib.ru/l/leskow_n_s/text_0246.shtml>, site accessed 15 March 2010.

[666] "Платов из Тулы уехал, а оружейники три человека, самые искусные из них, один косой левша, на щеке пятно родимое, а на висках волосья при ученье выдраны, попрощались с товарищами и с своими домашними да, ничего никому не сказывая, взяли сумочки, положили туда что нужно съестного и скрылись из города." Leskov, *Levsha*, Ch. 6.

(5) The spiritually lacking *nemets*, as opposed to the religiously pure *russkii*.

Because the narrator can imagine the corruptive influences of the Foreign, this means there must also exist the *russkii* who is free from foreign influences (i.e. beyond the reach of the "*nemets* pants-makers"). This function emerges in Passage 8, where the invocation of the Other allows him to define the imagined cultural space of *Rus'*. The *nemets* influence – an evil that can infect or disfigure the *russkii* – thus stabilises the category of "pure" *russkie*. This function also appears in Passage 10, where the narrator imagines that there exist simple *russkie* who have never been corrupted by Western languages.

The spirituality of the *russkii* in the *Troika* Passage is prefigured by the "miracle" boot-maker. Further, just as the *russkii* word of Passage 8 is associated with Russia's spiritual destiny and awesome potential, the *troika* is "all-inspired by God" and an example of "God's wonder." The observers in the *Troika* Passage also question: "is that not lightning that is hurtling from the heavens?" The image of the *troika* as lightning from heaven connects the *troika* to figures such as Thor, Zeus, and the god of the Old Testament in Exodus – and, even though the observers cannot comprehend the vision, the divinely inspired nature of the scene is clear to them.[667] The linguistic level (i.e. the *russkii* word that the *nemets* cannot understand) is echoed on the spatial level (i.e. the unbounded space) and the spiritual level (i.e. *russkii* destiny).[668] Because the *russkie* are true to the teachings of Christianity – embodied by the uncorrupted space of *Rus'* – they have been rewarded with a divinely inspired power. This spiritual level of divine inspiration separates the *russkii* from the foreigner observers – just as the foreign languages separate the *narod* from the disfigured *russkie*. The *russkii narod* thus emerges

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[667] See the following passages from Exodus: Exodus 9:23 "When Moses stretched out his staff toward the sky, the LORD sent thunder and hail, and **lightning** flashed down to the ground. So the LORD rained hail on the land of Egypt"; Exodus 9:24: "...hail fell and **lightning** flashed back and forth. It was the worst storm in all the land of Egypt since it had become a nation"; Exodus 19:16: "On the morning of the third day there was thunder and **lightning**, with a thick cloud over the mountain, and a very loud trumpet blast. Everyone in the camp trembled"; Exodus 20:18 "When the people saw the thunder and **lightning** and heard the trumpet and saw the mountain in smoke, they trembled with fear." [All emphasis mine]. New International Version translation, from <http://www.biblegateway.com/quicksearch/?quicksearch=lightning&qs_version=NIV>, site accessed 8 March 2010.

[668] When beholding the vision in the distance, the foreigners stare at the embodiment of *Rus'* in the *troika* but not understand. This aspect is reminiscent of Jesus's explanation for his usage of parables rather than direct commands and explanation in Luke 8:10: "[Jesus] said, 'The knowledge of the secrets of the kingdom of God has been given to you, but to others I speak in parables, so that, 'though seeing, they may not see; though hearing, they may not understand.'" New International translation, <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=luke%208:10&version=NIV>, site accessed 15 March 2010.

as the bearer of "the Word."[669]

(6) The *nemets* as a harmful model, as opposed to the indigenous *russkii* strength.

This aspect of the *nemets* Hetero Image emerges explicitly in Passage 7, when Sobakevich disparages *nemets* medicine. It also emerges in Passage 12, where the narrator claims that the *russkie* fail at Western-style social organisation: while the narrator casts the *russkie* as failing at social organisation, this failure serves to reinforce the positive *russkii* traits of improvisation and strength through nebulousness. The entire project of planned social organisation thus emerges as a false positive, similar to the *nemets* jackboots and iron screws. The harmful *nemets* model also emerges implicitly in Passage 11, where the *nemets* trimmings at the feast compel the *russkie* to violence.

In the *Troika* Passage, *russkii* space and the image of the *muzhik* are defined as positives through negation: the *nemets* sits on "the devil knows what" and wears "not *nemets* jackboots."[670] This relates to the depiction of *russkii* space, which is also depicted in terms of what it lacks: ends and boundaries (без конца), which represent the chief trait of the labyrinth. Just as the *muzhik's* non-*nemets* appearance ensures his speed and connection to the religious imagery of the passage, the lack of borders in the space ensure that an idea without boundaries (the "infinite/boundless idea"; беспредельная мысль) will be born in Russia. The act of defining the *russkii* through negation and indeterminacy is emphasised by the repetition of unanswered questions that account for seven of the final 13 sentences.[671] It is therefore through the explicit and implicit rejection and inversion of *nemets* models that the *russkii* receives Messianic potential.

5.3.4. Conclusion: The *Nemets* as Incapable of Comprehension

The symbolic structure of aesthetic inversion in *Dead Souls* results from Chaadaev's attack upon the value of *russkii* culture: the unlimited *russkii* vastness is re-imagined to offer unlimited potential, and the cultural desert is reconfigured as a holy wasteland. Gogol's novel thus dislodges Russia from its spatial and temporal position in the Hegelian historical model as a quasi-Asiatic people: his spatial model deploys the framework of the Hegelian model, but, through the process of inversion, it positions

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[669] The connection between "the Word" and "understanding" appears in the Old Testament in Proverbs 4:4-5: "...he taught me and said, 'Lay hold of my words with all your heart; keep my commands and you will live. Get wisdom, get understanding; do not forget my words or swerve from them.'" New International translation, from <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Proverbs%204:4-6&version=NIV>, site accessed 15 March 2010.

[670] For more on the depiction through negation, see Maguire's characterisation of Chichikov's appearance, p. 215.

[671] In the final paragraph there are 13 sentences, and these are composed of: seven questions; four full stops; one exclamation; and one exclamation followed by ellipsis. Indicative of these seven questions is the ending of the third sentence: "is that not lightning that is hurtling from the heavens?"

Russia as an anti-historical, messianic *narod.* This illustrates the type of belief in *russkii* discourse that, in the words of Andrew Wachtel, "Russia will somehow be able to overcome history, to jump out of time, as it were, and thereby escape the perhaps overly strong allure of her history."[672] There is another effect caused by Gogol's inversion in this context: because the *russkii narod* defies Western models, the *russkii* also defies Western understanding. Therefore, the spatial structure not only defies Hegelian logic, but it challenges the applicability of *nemets* philosophical theories in the *russkii* context.

In the *Troika* Passage, Gogol's narrator draws the reader's attention to the position of the observer, who perceives the motion of the *troika's* flight but cannot quite grasp what it is; this observer only apprehends "something kicking up dust and whirling through the air." Russia's destiny becomes undecipherable by those who observe it from without, and the *troika* dumbfounds the observers. Because they cannot comprehend a scene that violates their standards for measurement and judgement, the other nations and states move aside to give Russia the right of way on its symbolic path to the future. Further, because "they" cannot comprehend "us," the tacit understanding that "we" share – which, by definition, cannot be verbalised or articulated, except through negation – is reinforced. The inversion of the Hegelian model is thus encoded into the very landscape through the images of the uncomprehending Foreigner and the hypothetical *nemets* model.

5.5. Not Just a Field: Landscape after Chaadaev and *Dead Souls*

As I have introduced in my analysis of Gogol's *Dead Souls*, following the publication of Chaadaev's letter, an open field (чистое поле) could no longer represent just a field. Rather, it marked a space imbued with ideological currency. This is due to the influence of Hegelian historical theories, where a society's spatial coordinates reflect the level of that society's cultural development. The chronotope of the field also accesses the image of Chaadaev's wasteland, and it presents an opportunity not only to describe Russia, but also to emplot *russkii* culture vis-à-vis the West through the implicit or explicit engagement with Western models. In *Dead Souls* and Kol'tsov's steppe poetry, the "open field" appears within this marketplace of symbols, and transforms Russia's liability (i.e. the wasteland as a metaphor for Russia's backwardness, lack of development, and the institution of serfdom) into a positive (i.e. the locale of the *muzhik*, the space that never ends, and a metaphor for Russia's immense potential and unique spiritual destiny).

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[672] A. Wachtel, *History*, p. 1.

The image of the "open field" appears as the subject of a poem contemporary to Gogol's *Dead Souls*, in Afanasii Fet's 1842 "O Miraculous Painting" ("Чудная картина"), from Fet's first published volume of poetry. This image provides the opportunity to investigate these assertions, and examine whether ideological stakes can be detected in the portrayal of a seemingly straightforward *russkii* winter landscape. In this poem, the reader is invited to consider a landscape painting of *russkii* space where the keynotes are the simplicity of a snowy scene among the plains.

O miraculous painting, How familiar and dear you are to me: With your white plain, And full moon,	Чудная картина, Как ты мне родна: Белая равнина, Полная луна,
Light streams down from the high heavens, And the snow sparkles, And there's a lone run From distant sleigh.[673]	Свет небес высоких, И блестящий снег, И саней далеких Одинокий бег.[674]

The connection between the speaker and the *russkii* landscape represents the central theme of the poem. This is primarily driven by the line "How familiar and dear you are to me," where the image in the painting is related directly to the lyric persona's sense of family and homeland – as "родна" (familiar/dear) is linked to the words "родина" (homeland), "род" (clan), and also to "*narod*/народ" (people).

The landscape we are to imagine is one where the trail merges with the horizon, and the "borderlessness" of the space appears through the invocation of the space beyond the horizon, where the distant sleigh recede from view. The scene thus depends upon a lack of picturesque objects, because the observer's attention is drawn to the "lone run" leading from "distant sleigh." The ideologically charged imagery of Gogol and Koltsov emerges in this aspect of the poem: the lack of "broad valleys" and "high mountains" that

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[673] Translating this poem into English presents a number of technical difficulties. For one, the poem in Russian contains no verbs, creating a challenge for the translator to render the remarkable simplicity of the poem without adding an excess of new information with English verbs. Secondly, the lyrical persona addresses the painting, but in an intimate manner different from the tone found in a standard ode, such as Keats's address to the Grecian urn. The challenge is to maintain the sense of intimacy without adding unnecessary gravitas. Thirdly, the word "родна" presents difficulties because it can be rendered as "dear" or "familiar": the former carries the connotation of the intimacy required by the poem, while the latter displays the same etymological link as "родна," from the root meaning "family." I have thus rendered the one Russian adjective as two English adjectives to maintain this dual meaning.

[674] Afanasii Fet, "Chudnaia kartina…," from <http://public-library.narod.ru/Fet.Afanasiy/snega.html#chudnaya>, site accessed 7 March 2010.

disturb Karamzin's narrator in the Baltics[675] represents precisely the source of enchantment for Fet's lyrical persona. The poem incorporates the image of *russkii* immensity, and it imbues this space with two additional traits that emerge in *Dead Souls*: the spiritual (in its "miraculous" nature and the invocation of the "heavens") and the connection to the *narod* (because the land is "familiar," and *rodna/narod* connect in the thematic and etymological senses). The lyrical persona thus succeeds in imagining a *russkii* landscape with no traces of the overly sweet elements that sickened Gogol's stomach in Switzerland in the previous decade.

The image of the "white plain" thus emerges as a reconfiguration of Chaadaev's negative desert. There is an additional aspect for how the image can be interpreted as a response to Chaadaev's letter: as a refutation of homelessness within *russkii* space. While Chaadaev argues that the *russkie* move through Russia like nomads, Fet creates a deep emotional connection to the empty *russkii* plain. Fet's lyrical persona also establishes a feeling of being "at home," because the lyrical persona responds to the space with nostalgic recognition: "how familiar you are to me." The emotional connection thus becomes an aspect of the landscape, and the poet offers this communal experience to the reader – which prefigures the nostalgia for the empty plain of *Rus'* that appears in the contemporary poetry of Kostomarov, cited as an epigraph to this Chapter.

The poem demonstrates its freedom from Western aesthetics on the literary level, as well: the poem consists of two stanzas, yet it does not include any verbs. It therefore deploys a linguistic possibility that is unique to Eastern Slavonic languages among the Western Indo-European languages: the verb "to be" (быть) does not decline in the present tense. The verbal landscape, reduced to its barest form, echoes the simplicity of *russkii* space.

5.6. From Landscape Aesthetics to Slavophile Strategy

5.6.1. Introduction: Turning from the West in Space

Thus far in this Chapter, I have argued that Chaadaev introduced a new dimension to landscape depictions with his letter, and I have provided examples from Kol'tsov, Gogol, and Fet to show a new way of viewing *russkii* space as inverting and transcending the *nemets* value systems. Even though Fet was known as an anti-political writer, his

[675] Karamzin, *Letter of a Russkii Traveller*, Entry 31 May: "Что принадлежит до местоположений, то в этой стороне смотреть не на что. Леса, песок, болота; нет ни больших гор, ни пространных долин."

conservative political leanings surface in the reconfiguration of the *russkii* wasteland.[676] This image, developed through the works of these writers, enables the lens of Mutual Exclusivity, a strategy that would prove useful for any writer who sought to portray Russia as anti-*nemets* from the 1840s onward. Politically, this presented an appealing model for the Slavophiles, who sought to defend and to glorify indigenous institutions while repudiating the West.

In this Section, I discuss the appearance of the *russkii* wasteland in the works of two Slavophiles: the political writing of Ivan Aksakov and the pastoral poetry of his father, Sergei Aksakov. I conclude with a discussion of the "derivative" poetry of Ivan Nikitin. This Section thus represents an engagement with Lotman's assertion that Gogol's spatial model influenced the shape of literary space in 19th-century Russian literature. I also move from the implicit level of Fet's ideological landscape to investigate an explicit link between landscape and ideology.

5.6.2. Ivan Aksakov's Poor, Cramped *Nemets*

In 1848, the future leader of the pan-Slav movement, Ivan Aksakov, brother to Konstantin, sought to identify the aspects of *russkii* space that enabled the superior traits of the *russkii narod.* In the depiction of *russkii* space that follows, I. Aksakov deploys imagery akin to the *nemets* labyrinth to support his ideological position. Further, I. Aksakov's imagery lacks the urgency of a polemic against Chaadaev, and this demonstrates the effectiveness of the lens of Mutual Opposition. By the end of the 1840s, the positive nature of the *russkii* wasteland had become a commonplace, and the inversion that Gogol had begun in "Nevskii Prospekt" and developed in *Dead Souls* was realised:

> It is impossible to convey the impression, the feeling of peace and simplicity... the quiet, the safety, the trust, and the strength [of the Russian countryside (C.E.)]. Only such an absence of triviality, only such a condition of being face to face with this nature, with this magnificence of open space and solemnity of peace, this inexhaustible, unchangeable beauty could form a person like the Russian peasant. No nature can be as good as ours. Hills are fine, but somehow one-sided; it's cramped in them. One nature is too bright and proud, another is too luxurious, passionate, and syrupy, and subordinates man to itself, but nowhere is there such a peaceful character, where it is possible to find such simple beauty, such boundless space, with the knowledge that all this is ours, our own, that everything is home, everywhere *Rus'*.... To be sure, the poor German, living in cramped conditions and deprived of these impressions also lacks the most important element in the make-up of the Russian soul. In a Russian field it is hard to sing anything but a Russian song: that same

[676] For more on how Fet is generally considered to be a "poet's poet" and a "political conservative" who "eschewed... unpoetic themes," see *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 223.

> simplicity, that same boundlessness, and distance and space, that same peace and the same softly and lightly varied uniformity. Nothing compares to impressions on the road, when (true – in dry weather) you ride easily along the lively, soft road… now you drop into a ravine, now you ride up on a hill, and in the distance shine strips of a meandering river, and each moment nature unfurls its inexhaustible beauty and distance, and the blue-gray vistas open their mystery before you, removing and obscuring a new distance as you draw closer. And amid all of this, sitting on a sawhorse wearing only a shirt, the Tsar and lord of it all, the Russian peasant; his soul freely mixes this nature into itself.[677]

For Aksakov, the traits of *russkii* space overlap with the character of the *russkii*, because the space serves to "form" the *russkii* peasant. The causal aspects of the space also appear in the *russkii* field, where it is impossible to sing a non-*russkii* song. In this respect, I. Aksakov presents a variation upon the links between space and character developed by Herzen and Gogol, because the expression of the *narod* emerges from the space they occupy.[678] Further, the *russkii muzhik* appears as connected to the essence of the space, because his soul "freely mixes this nature into itself." In addition to the symmetry between *russkii* Self Image and the appearance of *russkii* space, this image emphasises the emotional bond between *narod* and *prostor,* and it continues the discursive trend of Fet's emotional connection to the empty "white plain."

The Self Image of *russkii* space – its "absence of triviality," "simple beauty," "boundless space," "peace," and its "inexhaustible beauty and distance" – emerges as directly opposed to the *nemets* Hetero Image. Picturesque *nemets* space emerges implicitly in the "absence of triviality," which anticipates the explicit invocation of the "poor *nemets*, living in cramped conditions." While *russkii* space is saturated with a sense of quiet, trust, safety, strength, humility, simplicity and expansiveness, "other natures" are characterised as cramped hills (subverting the *nemets* picturesque), "too bright and proud" (subverting the sense of *nemets* superiority), and "too luxurious and passionate" (subverting the sense of *nemets* technical advances, and also the image of Western refinement). The humility and potential of Aksakov's *russkii muzhik* emerges in his humble dress because he wears only a shirt – and thus this image develops Gogol's *troika muzhik* who wears "not *nemets* jackboots."

How else does I. Aksakov's characterisation of *nemets* and *russkii* space develop the spatial model of Gogol's novel? To address this question, I return to the categories I utilised in the discussion of *nemets* themes in *Dead Souls*:

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[677] Ely quotes and translates this on page 133, referencing I. S. Aksakov *Pis'ma k rodnym, 1844-1849* (Moscow, 1988), p. 373.
[678] See Fusso, *Designing Dead Souls,* pp. 122-124.

(1) The *nemets* appears as a conflation because the *nemets* stands in as the representative of picturesque Western space. I. Aksakov also implies that all non-*russkii* space is uniformly negative, because only *russkii* space contains "peaceful simplicity." The conflation of all other types emerges explicitly when I. Aksakov asserts that all non-*russkii* space "subordinates man to itself."

(2) The enclosed space of the *nemets* emerges because of their cramped conditions. I. Aksakov depicts the *russkii* landscape as "boundless" twice in the passage, and he draws the reader's attention to the "distance" three times. I. Aksakov also includes an image utilised by Gogol and Fet to emphasise *russkii* boundlessness: Gogol's open road, stretching into the distance; and Fet's sleigh, passing through an open plain. Further, the boundlessness of the space links semantically and metaphorically to the "inexhaustible beauty" of Russia.

(3) The banal *nemets* landscape is implied in the description of how *russkii* space contains the "absence of triviality." While the *russkii* vistas "open their mystery before you," the *nemets* is incapable of such a process because it lacks mysteriousness through its predictability and its "luxurious" nature. The narrator also deploys a patronising tone to pity the "poor *nemets*" – and this emphasises how "we" understand "them" in their banality, but "they" do not understand "us" in our mystery.

(4) The pretentious *nemets* emerges when the non-*russkii* – and thus, implicitly, the *nemets* – nature is cast as too "proud." This accesses the Hetero Image of the *nemets* as pompous, while Russia is cast as the diametric opposite: "simple" and "peaceful." This image also involves a visual metaphor: while *nemets* space is "bright," the *russkii* space emerges as the duller shade of "blue-grey."

(5) The spiritually lacking *nemets* emerges because the *nemets* lacks the *russkii* soul; this invocation, connected to *russkii* mysteriousness, develops the spiritual discursive current of *Dead Souls*. In their depiction of the *muzhiki*, both Gogol and I. Aksakov evoke Matthew 5:5 of the New Testament: "blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the Earth."[679] As with Gogol's divinely inspired *muzhik* who drives the *troika*, his exceptional Yaroslavl *muzhik* who has built the *troika* "not with iron screw," and his "miracle" boot-maker, I. Aksakov's peasant becomes "the Tsar and lord of it all."

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[679] See the New International translation, at <http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=MATTHEW%205:5&version=NIV>, site accessed 8 September 2010.

(6) The *nemets* also emerges as a harmful model. Because I. Aksakov imbues the *russkii* with positive traits in opposition to the *nemets*, he also establishes a political stance: the *russkie* already possess everything they need to thrive in the future, and the source of their power is not to be found in looking to the Foreign, but rather in maintaining their close spiritual connection to their own land and in developing indigenous institutions. It is not the *russkii* peasant who should be pitied due to his harsh circumstances, but rather it is the *nemets*, because his body (and, as a corollary in this model, his mind and spirit) is not able to thrive in his non-*russkii* space. This image also prefigures the Slavophile Aleksei Khomiakov's religious arguments for rejecting Western influence because only Orthodoxy has maintained an uncorrupted and correct form of Christianity.[680]

I. Aksakov's image of *russkii* space develops a descriptive current that appears in Fet's "O Miraculous Painting." Both images cast the *russkii* as at home in *russkii* space: for I. Aksakov, everywhere "is home, everywhere *Rus'*." The image of the "blue-gray vistas" that "open their mystery before you" thus partakes in the emotional connection to the empty expanse, as offered by Fet's apprehension of the "white plain." This aspect of *russkii* space further rejects the lens of Complementarity, because it emplots the *russkii* as at home in anti-picturesque landscape, while it also asserts that Russia cannot be repositioned in the Western world.

5.6.3. Sergei Aksakov's Nostalgia for the Expanse

Ivan Aksakov's father, Sergei Aksakov, developed the image of the *russkii* lands as expansive in his poetry of the early 1850s. As with Ivan's passage on the "cramped *nemets,*" S. Aksakov deploys the once-contentious image of the wasteland and incorporates it as a matter of course into his version of the *russkii* Self Image. In the following poem published in 1851, the peace, freedom, and miraculous nature of *russkii* space mark the dominant themes. S. Aksakov also develops a close emotional connection to the expanse (*prostor*) of the steppe meadow:

There exists, however, a peacemaker	Есть, однако, примиритель
Eternally lively and youthful	Вечно юный и живой,
A miracle worker, and a healer, --	Чудотворец и целитель, --

[680] In Khomiakov's article "On Humboldt" (published in Khomiakov's first *Complete Works* 1861-1873, likely written in 1849), Khomiakov argues that spiritual life is a riddle that the *russkie* can understand: "Western Europe developed not under the influence of Christianity but under that of Roman Catholicism, which was a one-sided concept of Christianity as a law of external unity" (212-213). The "correct" understanding of Christianity triggers Russia's messianic destiny, to serve as the "exponent" of Christian principles "before the whole world" (215). See Alexei Khomiakov, "On Humboldt," in Marc Raeff, *Russian Intellectual History,* trans. V. Snow, pp. 209-229, from A. S. Khomiakov, "Po povodu Gumbol'ta," in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. 1 (3rd ed.; Moscow, 1900-1904), pp. 143-174.

I escape to him from time to time.	Ухожу к нему порой.
I escape to the world of nature,	Ухожу я в мир природы,
A world of peace and freedom,	Мир спокойствия, свободы,
Into a kingdom of fish and sandpipers,	В царство рыб и куликов,
To my familiar waters,	На свои родные воды,
To the expanse of steppe meadows,	На простор степных лугов,
Into the cool shade of the forests,	В тень прохладную лесов
And back to my earlier years!	И -- в свои младые годы![681]

The poem selects an unassuming locale – that of the steppe meadows – and imagines it as a place that connects the lyrical persona to his youth. In addition to the emotional connection to emptiness, this poem bears a number of aspects of the *russkii* Self Image under discussion in this Chapter: the focus upon the open spaces (*prostor*) and meadows, as opposed to picturesque objects; the extension in the temporal realm towards the eternal (and thus to the vital), because the peacemaker appears as eternally lively and youthful; and the light touches of religious imagery through the idea of the "miracle worker" (*chudotvorets*), which links the imagery to the tradition of the Fet's "miraculous" (*chudnaia*) painting and Gogol's "miracles" (*chudesa*) in *Dead Souls*. Finally, the lyrical persona achieves a sense of expansiveness through his usage of the plural nouns (waters, forests, meadows), which widens the lens of observation from a single place to an indefinite number that spreads across the expanse of the steppe.

As Andrew Durkin has noted, this poem deploys the poetic genre of the pastoral, while modifying it for S. Aksakov's purposes of glorifying Russia.[682] As such, this landscape contains more concrete scenes than in other variations of the *russkii* wasteland: the lyrical persona invokes meadows, water, and forests. It should be noted, though, that these are depicted in an abstract manner. The lyrical persona does not describe the forest, nor does he depict the individual trees, but rather he draws attention to the abstraction of the "cool shade." He also does not provide the dimensions or details of the meadow, but rather invokes its "expanse." This imagery results in a positive, intangible pastoral portrait of the *russkii* wasteland – a depiction that would have been impossible to construct just 20 years previous.

5.6.4. Ivan Nikitin's Wasteland

[681] Sergei Timofeevich Aksakov, "Poslanie k M. A. Dmitrievu" (March 1851), at <http://az.lib.ru/a/aksakow_s_t/text_0170.shtml#24>, site accessed 8 September 2010. See also Ely, p. 87, and Andrew Durkin, *Sergei Aksakov and Russian Pastoral* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), p. 87.
[682] Durkin, p. 87. For more on the pastoral and identity, see Ely, pp. 87-97.

The third reading I provide in this Section is of Ivan Nikitin, a poet "of the life of the poor."[683] In addition to this reputation, he was also considered to be derivative; Dobroliubov levelled this judgement in a critique of Nikitin's *magnum opus*, "The Kulak" (1857).[684] I discuss two stanzas from Nikitin's 1851 poem "*Rus'*" (pub. 1853) precisely on account of this derivativeness: because his imagery is considered borrowed from Kol'tsov and Nekrasov, his landscape depictions provide an ideal source for an examination of the Self Image of the early 1850s. I thus read the following poem as an amalgamation of commonplace wasteland imagery and widespread nationalistic sentiment.

The poem begins with the following image of *Rus'* that emphasises the enormity of *russkii* space:

Beneath the enormous tent	Под большим шатром
Of the light-blue heavens,	Голубых небес -
I see the greening	Вижу - даль степей
Of the steppe distance.	Зеленеется.[685]

This image aligns with Kol'tsov's stretching Russia, Gogol's receding distance, and the Aksakovs' indistinct dull colours of the steppe. Stanza Ten, which consists of four lines and ten words, develops the keynote image of *russkii* breadth that is prefigured by the images of the "enormous tent" and "steppe distance."[686] As with many of the writers I have surveyed thus far, it is precisely this aspect that lends the landscape its "majestic pulchritude" (краса):

Widely have you, *Rus'*,	Широко ты, Русь,
Unfolded	По лицу земли
Across the face of the land	В красе царственной
In majestic pulchritude!	Развернулася!

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[683] See Mirsky, p. 238.

[684] See Viktor Terras, "I. S. Nikitin" entry, in the *Handbook of Russian Literature*, p. 305: "Nikitin wrote a great deal of rather conventional nature poetry"; Terras also cites N. A. Doborliubov, "'Kulak,' Poema I. Nikitina," in *Sobranie sochinenii*, 9 vols., Vol. 3 (1961-1964), pp. 152-159. See also Mirsky: "[Nikitin] was not a strong enough to create a really new art or a really new attitude to poetry" (238).

[685] Ivan Savvich Nikitin, "*Rus'*," at <http://az.lib.ru/n/nikitin_i_s/text_0012.shtml>, accessed September 17 2009.

[686] The motif of the "широк" constitutes one of the more prominent themes in Nikitin's poetry – according to a keyword search, his "stikhotvoreniia" page (on the literary archive site <www.az.lib.ru>) contains 38 instances of the word, including "Над рекой широкой" from an untitled poem (1849), "Степь широкая / Степь безлюдная" from "Весна в степи" (1849), and "Поет над степию широкой / О вольной жизни и весне" from "Степная дорога" (1853). See <http://az.lib.ru/n/nikitin_i_s/text_0012.shtml>, page accessed September 17 2009.

Russia is imagined as *Rus'*, as in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, and thus evokes the mythical spiritual space – an aspect that is underlined by the attention drawn to the "heavens" (небеса) rather than to the "sky" (небо). In addition to the spiritual associations, the lyrical persona refers to *Rus'* with an informal second-person pronoun (ты), which establishes a worshipful attitude that is reminiscent of the relationship between lyrical personae and *russkii* expanse in I. Aksakov and Fet. *Rus'* is not just "widely unfolded," as Russia appears in Kol'tsov: it has even extended itself across the "face of the land," an image that evokes the *Rus'* in *Dead Souls*, where *russkii* space constitutes half the world. Further, this massive space is an object of beauty, and the size is linked to political power in its "majestic" (*tsarstvennyi*) splendour, which links to I. Kol'tsov's close-to-nature *muzhik*, who is the "tsar" of his surroundings.

By 1851, the symbolism of the *russkii* lands could already be taken for granted: *Rus'* is massive in size, flat like a palm, and imbued with an emotional connection to the *narod*. This represents a positive reconfiguration of the steppe image from Gogol's *Arabesques* that engenders inactivity, and the inversion of Chaadaev's cultural desert.

5.7. Mutual Exclusivity from the Opposite Political Position

5.7.1. Introduction: Herzen in 1847

The lens of Mutual Exclusivity for the articulation of space was not only adopted by Slavophile and Pan-Slav writers; it could be deployed by members across the political spectrum who chose to criticise Western influences and Western political models. Mutual Exclusivity between the *russkii* and *nemets* spatial structures can thus be considered a discursive strategy in addition to a worldview.

Alexander Herzen's depiction of Western space in *Letters from France and Italy* (*Письма из Франции и Италии,* 1847-1852)[687] illustrates the deployment of diametric oppositions from a different political standpoint than the Aksakovs.[688] In the years before his travels to the West – which would result in permanent exile from Russia – Herzen had previously aligned himself with the Westerniser movement, as discussed in Chapter Four. Herzen's novel *Who is to Blame?* (*Кто виноват?* 1845-1846), which had cemented both his reputation as a novelist and as a Westerniser, portrays the *nemets* in line with the *russkii* myth of Goethe.[689] In this novel, Herzen describes how *nemets* education, as

[687] For contextualisation of the *nemets* element in this collection of essays, see Herrmann, "Aleksandr Herzens Probleme," pp. 929-934. For its influence upon Dostoevsky's depiction of *nemtsy* in *Diary of a Writer*, see Herrmann, "Die neue europäische Ordnung," p. 289.
[688] A. I. Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh,* 30 vols., Vol. 5, (Moscow, 1955).
[689] Franklin and Widdis, p. 51.

Franklin and Widdis argue, produced "misty-eyed idealism," just as it had done to Lenskii in Pushkin's *Onegin.*[690] His travels to the West in 1847, however, led to deep disillusionment with the political and social trajectory of the Western countries, particularly France and Germany.[691] Herzen's primary concern was that the only social group that was content in France was the "real bourgeoisie," while "all the rest were angry" (все недовольны, кроме записной буржуазии).[692] Herzen's disillusionment with Western society following the failed revolutions of 1848 was so deep that he turned away from fiction and focused upon criticism and journalism for the rest of his literary career.[693] This shift represented a shift as a producer of culture, and it also signalled a break from the conviction that Russia could and should learn from the West – except in Socialist models. It is not surprising, then, that when Herzen depicted the Western landscape in his letters, he chose to do so in the discursive current of Mutual Exclusivity.

5.7.2. Herzen Travels West

In December 1847, as revolutionary activities were brewing across Western Europe, Herzen adopted a comparative strategy much closer to that found in I. Aksakov and Fet than in *Who is to Blame?* One striking illustration of polar opposition is how the Western space of France emerges as non-poetic, while travel through Russia is cast as poetic:

> Riding through France on post horses is boring. It's like you're in a machine; there are no conversations, no arguments, no postmasters or their *samovars*, no books, and no turnpikes. The postmen drive rapidly; they set everything up in an instant. And since the roads are like tablecloths, and there are horses everywhere, all the poetry vanishes.[694]

Herzen's radical break from his previous idealisation of the West can be detected in this passage. On the spatial level, it also represents a break from the image of Western space in Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, because the travel routes represent a space where one cannot be sentimental. While the act of gazing upon the French landscape brings Karamzin's narrator to a state of poetic rapture, Herzen describes it as a place

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[690] Franklin and Widdis, p. 51.
[691] For criticism of the Western bourgeoisie, see Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 5, pp. 33, 66.
[692] Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 5, p. 57; from an 1847 letter.
[693] In Terras's *Handbook of Russian Literature,* Nicholas Rzhevsky divides Herzen's work into two periods, split "by his departure from Russia in January of 1847" (191). See also p. 192 for contextualisation of Herzen's antipathy towards the Western bourgeoisie.
[694] "Ездить во Францию на почтовых лошадях скучно: точно машина, ни разговоров, ни спора, ни станционных смотрителей, ни их самоваров, ни книг, ни подорожных. Почтальоны ездят скоро, закладывают в один миг, дорога – как скатерть, лошади везде есть, вся поэзия исчезла." Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 5, p. 246.

where "poetry vanishes." Herzen's depiction of French space links to the *nemets* space that hurts the eyes and stomach of Gogol's narrator, because he is bored by the organisational nature of the postmen, the quality construction of the roads, and the number of horses. As in *Dead Souls*, the reader is to imagine *russkii* space as superior because of its superficial flaws (i.e. roads that are not like a "tablecloth") and because of its empty space, where there are not "horses everywhere."

I provide two reasons why the *nemets* traits – superior organisation, superior construction, and higher density – apply to the French countryside. First, Herzen's volume of letters criticises what he saw as the pan-Western institution of the bourgeoisie. The landscape of France thus emerges as a pan-European space that contains the collective weaknesses of Western culture. Secondly, this transposition illustrates an argument I have introduced a number of times in this thesis: the *nemets* has the capacity to represent the general category of the West. The *nemets* traits of the French countryside thus create an "A-Ha! Moment" of recognition, because they fit the mental map of Western space that is understood as opposite to the *russkii* – and they thus function similar to Lukianenko's aged United States.

These two seemingly out of place aspects re-emerge when Herzen's narrator reaches "The South" – the space past Lyon towards Nice via Cannes, with the Alps to the left and the Mediterranean Sea to the right. This landscape is mapped with *nemets* associations: when the Alps come into view, the narrator quotes Goethe: "Ein sanfter Wind von blauen Himmel weht" (A gentle breeze blows from the blue sky).[695] Because Herzen also casts this region as partially Italian but mostly French, this allusion emphasises the picture of pan-Europeanness, and it illustrates how *nemets* traits are applicable to the general category of "Western," even well beyond the logical borders of the *nemtsy* on the map.[696]

While Herzen enjoys the views of this landscape and considers it "amazing" (удивительно), there is one aspect that causes him pain: the labyrinthine nature of Western space. This aspect insults his eyes – reminiscent of Gogol's ocular weariness on the Rhine – and it aches his "Slavonic soul." Herzen asserts this social critique through the mutual opposition of the Western prison and the *russkii* wasteland:

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[695] Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 5, p. 250.

[696] It is particularly Nice that the narrator identifies as French and Italian: "Ницца город француский больше, нежели итальянский" (250). At the time, Nice and the surrounding area was a part of the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont, which returned to French control in 1860.

> One thing insults the eye and aches within the Slavonic soul: there are high stone walls that separate the flower gardens, and even the vegetable gardens and the fields at times. They are dark, devoid of grace, and they represent some kind of perpetuation of exclusive ownership, the rude apotheosis of property rights. For the proletariat, the road is dusty, and the harsh and offensive wall reminds him that he is a beggar. There isn't even a view of the distance for them. It is impossible to image what kind of grim feeling these walls confer upon the fields and the land. The trees are like prisoners behind them. There is nothing resembling the *russkii* village in Europe. The rural municipality in Europe is just a police measure and has no other purpose. What do all these scattered houses have in common – where everything is private and the only thing connecting them is their boundaries? And what do the hungry workers, to whom the commune appears to be *le droit de glaner,* have in common with these wealthy homeowners? Long live the *russkii* village, for its future is great![697]

The enclosed space of "Europe" emerges in five ways in this passage. First, the narrator focuses his descriptions upon the walls as a source of division, where even fields are separated one from another, as opposed to the openness of the *russkii* village. Secondly, the only thing that the rich "Europeans" have in common is their shared boundary space (межа). This is an ironic image, because the "Europeans" share a mark of separation between themselves. Thirdly, the narrator raises the status of the walls to the level of a social and political critique: for him, they serve as a class boundary and as a social divider, splitting neighbours apart just as they exclude the poor. This exclusion insults the proletariat by reminding them of their vulnerable social position. The English saying "good walls make good neighbours" thus has no place on Herzen's descriptive radar, because the walls only serve to partition.[698] Fourthly, the trees are likened to prisoners, and this animation emphasises the political overtones of the walls. The barriers that divide humanity also violate nature, which implies that the social structure is as artificial as it is harmful. Fifthly, the West is negative because "There isn't even a view of the distance for [the traveller]," which casts *russkii* spatial traits (openness, the distance of the horizon) as superior. As emerges in other labyrinth images of the 1840s, it is precisely

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[697] Gertsen, *Sobranie sochinenii,* Vol. 5, p. 250: "Одно оскорбляет глаз и щемит славянскую душу: высокие, каменные ограды, отделяющие сады, даже иногда огороды и поля, - мрачные, лишенные изящества, они представляют какое-то увековечиванье исключительного владения, дерзкую апотеозу права собственности – для полетария дорога пыльная, жесткая и оскорбительная стена, напоминающая ему беспрерывно, что он нищий; для него нет даже вида вдаль. Нельзя себе представить, какой угрюмый характер придают полям и земле эти стены: деревья, как узники, посматривают через них - - - Русского села в Европе нет. Деревенская коммуна в Европе – полицейская мера, другого смысла в ней нет: что общего между этими разбросанными домами, у которых все свое, которые связаны только общей межой? Что общего между голодными работниками, которым коммуна предоставляет le droit de glaner, и богатым домохозяином? Да здравствует русское село – будущность его велика!" See also Ely, p. 122.

[698] See Robert Frost, "Mending Wall," at <http://writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/88/frost-mending.html>, site accessed 15 September 2010. "My apple trees will never get across / And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him. / He only says, 'Good fences make good neighbors.'"

the presence of objects that marks this space as inferior to the boundlessness of *russkii* space.

Herzen's articulation of space describes the contemporary social situation, while it also anticipates that of the future.[699] Herzen utilises spatial imagery to express uncertainty that social change will occur in the West: his landscape between Cannes and Nice provides no respite from the oppression, because everything is beautiful on the outside and wretched on the inside. The only space that contains the potential to overturn the bourgeois order is the *russkii* village (село), cast as a space of humble communal life and spiritual freedom. It is no wonder why this series of essays astonished the Westernisers when it first appeared: the *russkii* village, a locale of serfdom and brutal oppression, becomes a symbol of freedom and human dignity through its simplicity, its openness, and its focus upon the communal experience. Herzen completes his turn from the West by following the discursive pattern of inversion: as in I. Aksakov, the *russkii* village becomes a social model for the West.

5.8. After the Aksakovs and Herzen: The Wasteland Gains Discursive Currency

5.8.1. Introduction: Verderevskii, Chekhov, and Kliuchevskii

Thus far, I have argued that the image of the *russkii* wasteland emerges in opposition to the *nemets* picturesque, which is reconfigured into the image of the labyrinth. Lazhechnikov's spatial depictions provide the keynote for this image, because he portrays the labyrinth as a consequence of Biron's desire to create a palace – and he thus establishes a causal link between the picturesque model and the space of claustrophobia. I have also argued that these images began as an inversion of the spatial imagery of Chaadaev and the spatial theories of Hegel, but that they developed into commonplaces of landscape depiction in *russkii* spatial discourse. In this Section, I aim to further evidence this claim with an analysis of *russkii* and *nemets* space in a travel narrative and a short story from the second half the 19th century, and an historical treatise from the first decade of the 20th century.

5.8.1. Verderevskii's Re-imagined Siberia (1857)

An extract from E. A. Verderevskii's 1857 travelogue shows the extent to which *russkii* landscape aesthetics had developed in the two decades following Chaadaev's letter. In *From Beyond the Urals to Beyond the Caucasus* (*От зауралья до Закавказья*), Verderevskii's travelling narrator deploys the *russkii* Self Image to describe the semi-

[699] For the prophetic aspect that Herzen shared with Gogol and Dostoevsky, see Herrmann, "Die neue europäische Ordnung," p. 489-490.

exotic space of the Urals – a space Martynov had found impossible to render without utilising Western landscape models. Verderevskii's narrator underlines the boundlessness of the picture and the hidden potential of the land, and he also focuses upon the emotional connection between the landscape and the viewer. This is because the full extent of the *russkii* wasteland is impossible for the viewer to grasp fully, and he or she can only imagine the space through emotions and abstractions:

> Black and white colors predominate in this boundless picture, which can serve as a model of all the winter nature in the Urals – everywhere dark, impoverished in coloration and indistinct, but somehow spreading out all around in front of the viewer. There is something cold, unwelcoming to your soul in this nature; but when you recall the treasures hidden in her innermost depths, you will instinctively realize the immutability of the general rule by which a meager and cold surface everywhere, in things as well as people, contains within itself the truly strong, the truly great and the precious.[700]

Verderevskii's narrator draws attention to the strength that cannot be seen, and the treasures that are out of sight. The winter nature scenery is beautiful because of these factors, and because of its colourlessness and lack of distinct features: while Martynov's Siberia invokes picturesque models, Verderevskii's Siberia relies upon their inversion. Developing the Gogolian trope, Verderevskii's meagre surfaces belie hidden essence beneath the landscape, and this creates a space of boundless potential that is connected metaphorically to the potential of the people.

It is important to add that, even though the anti-picturesque had been established and made commonplace by the early 1850s, Verderevskii's narrator nonetheless finds it necessary to describe the wasteland in terms of a comparison to picturesque space. This aspect illustrates how the *nemets* remains a constitutive aspect of the image of *russkii* space after the inversion: the structure of the aesthetic must be invoked in order to re-establish the positive nature of the anti-picturesque. From this perspective, *russkii* space becomes recognisable on its own terms – but it nonetheless depends upon the image of *what it is not* hanging above each spatial description, as in the hypothetical *nemets* carriage in the *Troika* Passage.

5.8.2. The Labyrinth in Chekhov's "Lady with a Lapdog"

Even though the structures of the *russkii* Self Image and *nemets* Hetero Image become commonplaces, they do not lose their usefulness for producers of "high culture." Chekhov deploys the image of the *nemets* for its metaphorical possibilities in his short

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[700] Ely, p. 144, cites and translates E. A. Verderevskii, *Ot zaural'ia do Zakavkaz'ia* (Moscow, 1857), pp. 43-44.

story, "Lady with a Lapdog."[701] That is, Chekhov does not exploit the image for explicit political or ideological ends, but rather for the image's associative currency. He utilises this currency to add an additional dimension to his story, and to provide motivation for his characters' behaviour.

In the story, the eponymous Lady's domestic life is depicted as unfulfilling, restricted, and limited. The house of her *nemets* husband emerges as a variation upon the labyrinth theme: the space is characterised by an imposing fence that surrounds the property. Metaphorically, the fence stands in for the disconnection between her domestic life and her personal life, and it also emphasises her entrapment.

When the Lady's lover discovers the *nemets* house in the town of S–, he first notices the fence and the windows. While the windows emerge in opposition to the fence, and they provide mediation between interior and exterior space, their appearance pales in comparison to the scope of the fence:

> Gurov walked down Staro-Goncharnaia Street without rushing, searching for the house. Just outside the house stretched a long, grey spiked fence. "You'd run away from a fence like that," thought Gurov, alternately looking at the windows and the fence.[702]

This fence connects to Lazhechnikov's labyrinth, because both represent prohibitive, frightening boundaries. While the image of the *nemets* fence stands in for a metaphor of the Lady's situation, it also motivates her reasons for the extramarital affair: Gurov offers the chaos and the potentiality of escaping the constrictive *nemets* space. The structure of the marriage and the affair thus fall along the oppositional traits between *nemets* and *russkii*: the former categories are restrictive, repressive, and imminently knowable, while the latter categories represent freedom, choice, and mystery. Chekhov thus invokes the *nemets* to bolster the story's descriptive and thematic depth, and to add an additional dimension to the extramarital affair.

It is important to add that, even though Chekhov does not *appear* to add a stereotypical dimension to the spatial depiction, the image nonetheless contains an ideological dimension. This is because the hemmed-in *nemets* house accesses the role of the *nemets* as a Foreign Other (in the tradition of the *Nemetskaia sloboda*), and as a cruel

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[701] A. P. Chekhov, "Dama s sobachkoi," at <http://public-library.narod.ru/Chekhov.Anton/dama.html>, site accessed 5 September 2010.

[702] Chekhov, *Dama*, III: "Гуров не спеша пошел на Старо-Гончарную, отыскал дом. Как раз против дома тянулся забор, серый, длинный, с гвоздями. 'От такого забора убежишь', - думал Гуров, поглядывая то на окна, то на забор."

master – and these represent dehumanising images with a set of political and social stakes.[703] The structure of the Hetero Image is thus reinforced despite its metaphorical deployment, and despite Chekhov's "mistrust of stock formulas of human identity."[704]

5.8.3. Kliuchevskii's Claustrophobia in the West

When the historian Vasilii Kliuchevskii (1841-1911) published a multi-volume account of Russian history in the first decade of the 20th century, he began with an explanation of the distinctiveness of *russkii* space. As Widdis summarises this description, Kliuchevskii recounts the uniqueness of *russkii* space, and "how an imaginary Russian traveller, arriving in the West, feels restricted and hemmed in, recalling his native land."[705] Kliuchevskii depicts this hypothetical *russkii* as dreaming of his own native land, where he sees "the level, empty fields, which seem to curve around the horizon, like a sea, with rare settlements."[706] This image echoes those found in Gogol and Herzen, where the lack of the wasteland shocks the *russkii* traveller – and thus inverts the Marquis de Custine's horror at the endless "graveyard" space of Russia.[707] By the early 20th century, the lens of Mutual Exclusivity had become a commonplace to the degree that it establishes the foundation of Kliuchevskii's *russkii* history.[708]

The lens of Mutual Exclusivity thus provides an attitude inoculation effect for the experience and articulation of *nemets* space. Instead of a being charmed, as was Karamzin, or in need of rationalisation, as was Martynov, the *russkii* observer experiences nausea or claustrophobia – and cannot connect emotionally to the world of objects as he or she can to the *prostor*. The concurrent aspect of this model is for the *nemets* to experience bafflement and a lack of comprehension at the sight of the wasteland – an aspect, I have argued, that remains a constituent component of *russkii* spatial imagery, and which is evidenced by Kostomarov's invocation of the foreigners (инородцы) who will never comprehend his love for unbounded *Rus'*. This inverted set of expectations elucidates the *russkii* Berlin of the 1920s, and it demonstrates why the

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[703] See Sazonova's conclusions regarding the truth content of literary images in Chapter One.
[704] Muza, p. 188. See also Hielscher, "Die absolute Freiheit von Vorurteilen," esp. pp. 633-635, for an argument regarding Chekhov's immunity to all ideologies.
[705] Widdis, p. 39.
[706] Widdis, p. 39, quotes and translates V. O. Kliuchevskii, *Sochineniia*, 8 vols., Vol. I (Moscow, 1956), p. 70.
[707] Widdis suggests this comparison, p. 39.
[708] For a link to the image of "boundlessness" in another 20th century writer, Andrei Bely, see Susanne Fusso, "The Romantic Tradition," in *The Classic Russian Novel,* pp. 171-189, esp. pp. 182-183, where she discusses Pushkinian intertexts with the image of the "icy plain" in the novel *Petersburg.* The image of the "unbounded *Rus* '" has even become a cliché in modern Russian poetry: see the epigraph to this Chapter and Chapter Two.

cityscape was apprehended as a series of locked suitcases, repetitive churches, and iron mazes – and also why the *russkie* experienced and articulated *nemets* space in an entirely different manner than the Western Europeans.

5.9. Conclusion: A Return to Olesha

The paradox that emerged in the 1830s for the lens of Mutual Exclusivity – where the *russkii* Self both requires and opposes the *nemets* Other – continues into the 20th century. Russia can be cast as diametrically opposite to the *nemets* and the "literary *zapad,*" but this process requires the foundations of this superiority to be repeated, reconfigured, and recast through time. This emerges in Kliuchevskii's history, which requires a perambulation through imagined *nemets* space in order to begin a history of the *russkii*. This *nemets* thus emerges simultaneously as that which the *russkii* opposes, and that which the *russkii* will transcend – the same paradoxical pattern noted in Gogol's *nemtsy* from *Dead Souls*.

This paradox established in 19th-century discourse clarifies Olesha's choice of a Soviet-German football match in his 1927 novel, *Envy*. On the surface narrative level, the match illustrates the difference between the athlete and new Soviet man, Makarov, and the updated "superfluous man," Kavalerov.[709] Makarov is able to defeat the *nemets* on an international stage while Kavalerov is paralysed by self-awareness and self-consciousness.[710] But victory over any opponents could draw this distinction: why does a *nemets*, of all other possibilities, appear at this stage of the novel? The *nemets* is a crucial aspect of the match, because he functions as a literary double for Kavalerov, whose "romantic dreams of 'European' glory" parallel the "flamboyant and individualistic style of play" of the *nemets* footballer, as LeBlanc argues.[711] The football match thus embodies the ultimate inversion of roles, because it demonstrates that the *russkii* has nothing left to learn from the *nemets*, and that the Superfluous Man is only crippled by his attachment to Western models (a theme I return to in my discussion of Lermontov in Chapter Six). The match represents a fitting symbol for the overwhelming nature of the new social order, from which Kavalerov is excluded.[712]

The match also demonstrates how the paradox of *russkii* identity emerges as far as the Soviet period: even though the identities of the "new social order" and the "new

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[709] For the contrast between Kavalerov and Makarov, see LeBlanc, p. 60.
[710] LeBlanc, p. 56.
[711] LeBlanc, p. 60.
[712] See K. N. Brostrom, "Yu. K. Olesha," in *The Handbook of Russian Literature,* pp. 322-323.

Soviet man" represent a break with *russkii* traditions, the society still requires an Other with which to construct its identity and against which to posit its transcendence.

In Chapter Six, I analyse another possible depictive strategy that emerges in the wake of Complementarity and in the shadow of Chaadaev's critique of *russkii* culture. Instead of viewing the *nemets* as fundamentally irreconcilable with the *russkii*, this strategy posits the possibility of the two producing Synthesis through the model of the Hegelian dialectic. While the strategy under discussion in this Chapter is structured upon polar oppositions and irreconcilability, the Synthetic lens posits that the *russkii* and *nemets*, while different, can influence one another – and thus Russia can be re-imagined and re-plotted beyond the utopian wasteland of *Rus'*. This strategy thus offers a different version of the "*nemets* within" than that which I develop in this Chapter – one that represents the nascent form of a future Synthesis.

Chapter Six: Synthesis in Lermontov, Turgenev, and Goncharov

Россия – молодая страна, и культура ее – синтетическая культура.

- Aleksandr Blok[713]

...славянский культурно-исторический тип в первый раз представит синтезис всех сторон культурной деятельности...

- Nikolai Danilevskii[714]

6.1. Chapter Five Review and Introduction

In the previous Chapter, I identify one lens for the depiction of the *russkii* vis-à-vis the *nemets* – that of Mutual Exclusivity, where the traits of the respective categories are cast as irreconcilable. This strategy proved useful in post-1836 literary discourse, because it portrayed Russia as not in need of "catching up" to the West, but rather as superior because of its own essential traits. Rejecting the Hegelian timeline of cultural development – where a culture moves along a stable trajectory from barbarism to enlightenment – this strategy positions the West as a harmful alien presence in and outside Russia, and this process inverts the *nemets* structures of valuation, and subverts the *nemets* metrics of analysis. *Russkii* space thus appears as a separate world from the West, and one that is governed by its own set of rules – yet it is paradoxically dependent upon the shape of the *nemets* world for its own structure. Because the *russkii* wasteland emerges as positive in a comparative relationship to the picturesque, the *nemets* labyrinth requires consistent redeployment in the literary context; it is the space against which the *russkii* is compared, and also the space that the *russkii* will transcend.

I argue in the close readings of Chapter Five that the inversion of *nemets* aesthetic models emerges in aspects of *russkii* space. In *Dead Souls* and the poetry of Kol'tsov, *russkii* space is unbounded, and the empty spaces of the *prostor* entail potential and spiritual strength. In Lazhechnikov's *Ice Palace*, Herzen's *Letters from Italy and France,* Sergei Aksakov's Slavophile writing, Chekhov's *Lady with a Lapdog,* and the "*russkii* Berlin," discussed by Dolinin, *nemets* space emerges as an enclosed space, where key metaphors include prisons and high fences. The negative *nemets* Hetero Image thus reinforces the positive nature of its polar opposite, while the process of inversion is

[713] See A. Blok, "Bez bozhestva, bez vdokhnoven'ia" (*Tsekh akmeistov*; 1921), 1, at <http://gumilev.ru/criticism/29/>, site accessed 5 June 2010.
[714] See N. Ia. Danilevskii, *Rossiia i Evropa* (1871-1889), Ch. 17 (*Slavianskii kul'turno-istoricheskii tip; Vmesto zakliucheniia*), at <http://gumilevica.kulichki.net/DNY/dny17.htm>, site accessed 7 June 2010.

encoded into the landscape in the form of the *nemets* who cannot comprehend the *russkii* landscape.

These metaphors also establish social critiques: the openness of the *russkii* landscape in *Dead Souls* is linked to Russia's messianic future and its awesome potential; Biron's labyrinthine house in *Ice Palace* stands in for the minister's cruelty and the harmfulness of Empress Anne's policies; Herzen's tall fences represent the problems inherent in the Western bourgeoisie, and they mark the *russkii* village (русское село) as an ideal model for the future; Aksakov's cramped *nemets* space – and its concomitant restricted potential for the *nemets* – asserts the unsuitable nature of the West as a model for Russia's development; the *nemets* fence in *Lady with a Lapdog* eschews an overtly political reading, but it accesses the discursive currency of Mutual Exclusivity to depict the Lady's family life as constrained and unfulfilled; and the hemmed-in "*russkii* Berlin" reinforces the image of the *nemets* as a dying and exhausted nation, and it cedes the future to the *prostor*.

There emerged another option for writers to depict *nemets* space following the publication of Chaadaev's letter: Synthesis, which was enabled by the "*nemets* within" from Complementarity and by the *nemets*-as-Other from Mutual Exclusivity. While acknowledging the "fact" that the *russkii* and the *nemets* were different, the Synthetic lens views the two categories as able to engage in an Hegelian-style dialectic. Westernisation is cast as an active process rather then a passive reception – and the goal of this interaction is a fusion rather than a complete transformation. Similar to Complementarity, this approach assumes that Russia draws upon aspects of the West for its development. Unlike Complementarity, though, Russia is not assumed to be part of this Western world, and the West does not appear as a model for uncritical imitation, just as education does not provide a linear blueprint for enlightenment (as it did for Grigori). Synthesis thus denies the appearance of the *russkii* as the anti-*nemets*, and it enables individual writers to imagine variations upon the *nemets* as internal aspects of *russkii* culture.

This Chapter is structured chronologically around close readings of three such variations. I move from the early 1840s to the mid 1860s, with a detour into the 20th century. In Section 6.2, I discuss the Synthetic model in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time,* a novel that imagines the external process of Westernisation undertaken in the Southern periphery of the empire – and also the internal process of Westernisation through the experience of the South as mediated through Western models. I argue that

Westernisation appears as ambiguously valued, because the Synthetic process empowers and justifies the external civilising mission in the Caucasus, while it appears as a liability on the internal social level. In Section 6.3, I discuss Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches,* and I argue that Turgenev depicts a Synthetic *russkii-nemets* space where the *nemets* appears as a metaphor for aspects of the internal *russkii* world. In Section 6.4, I return to a question raised in the Introduction: why did Babel (dis)locate two stories that dramatise the Russian Civil War among Volga *nemets* farmers? The aim for this Section is to utilise the conclusions regarding the Synthetic lens in Lermontov and Turgenev to elucidate Babel's texts. In Section 6.5, I move to the primary close reading of this Chapter: a discussion of Andrei Shtol'ts and the *nemets* element in Goncharov's *Oblomov.* I argue that the lenses of Synthesis and Mutual Opposition are deployed from competing perspectives to characterise the *nemtsy* and their relationship to the *russkie.* In Section 6.6, I move to the early 1860s to discuss how the Synthetic discursive current enables the *nemets* element in Bazarov, from Turgenev's *Fathers and Children,* and in Rakhmetov, from Chernyshevskii's *What is to be Done?* In Section 6.7, I conclude the Chapter with a discussion of the paradox of *russkii* identity vis-à-vis the *nemets* in Chekhov's Tuzenbakh, from *Three Sisters.*

There are three goals for this Chapter. First, on the general level, I aim to continue the examination of the effects of the Hegelian identity crisis upon the currency of the *nemets* in Russian literature – begun in Chapter Four – through the isolation of the Synthetic current. This Chapter thus represents an exploration of how the Westernisers sought to reposition Russia in the world vis-à-vis the *nemets*. Secondly, on the theoretical level, I aim to demonstrate how three of the writers I analyse in this Chapter – Lermontov, Turgenev, and Goncharov – engage with the paradox of Mutual Exclusivity, because their *nemtsy* invoke and explore the internalisation of the Western perspective in *russkii* culture.[715] Thirdly, on the specific level, I examine how the Synthesis in the three writers prefigures the *nemtsy* in Babel, Chernyshevskii, and Turgenev's own later work.

6.2. Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*: The *Russkie* as Enlightened Imperialists

6.2.1. Introduction and Context

The aim of this Section is to develop the lens of Synthesis in Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time* (1838-1840),[716] and to analyse the dualistic and ambiguous appearance of

[715] See Chapter Five.

[716] The individual stories were published between 1839 and 1840; see the introduction by translator Paul Foote in Mikhail Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time* (London and New York, 1966), pp. 7-9.

Westernisation. I argue that the depictions of the Savage Southern peoples, as established through the discourse of enlightened colonialism, serve to categorise Russia as a Westernising and civilising force. But, in order to Westernise the periphery, Russia also Westernises itself, because *russkii* expansion into the South is mediated through Western codes of behaviour, political models, and literary modes.[717]

The ambivalence of interaction – as both internal/external, and empowering/crippling – appears in the dual nature of Pechorin, the hero of the novel. He emerges as a hero of Russia's civilising mission, who hunts game alone in the woods (as glorious; славный), but also a self-aware Byronic character, who fears draughty rooms (as strange; странен) [33^{LL}]. While Pechorin also represents, however ironically, the "hero" of his social milieu, he experiences social alienation; this is expressed in his character, because he is not "cut out" for friendship, as he admits in his diary (я к дружбе неспособен), and because he is physically separated from the imperial centre – and the society that represents the implied reader of his literary production. As with many relationships in the novel, Pechorin's dualism is paralleled by his position on the narratological level: he is empowered by his role as author of his dairy, but he is also alienated by his lack of editorial control, because he does not choose which aspects of his life story are published by the narrator-editor.[718]

This ambivalence of interaction also emerges in the portrayal of the South on three levels: the literary level (through Western intertextuality), the descriptive level (through Oriental landscape aesthetics), and the linguistic levels (through foreign phrases to describe *russkii* behaviour). A passage from the story "Princess Mary" that describes the space near Piatigorsk involves all three of these aspects [33^{MM}]. The reader learns that this space has not only been colonised by the *russkie*, but also by the *nemets narod* and the French language: "I [i.e. Pechorin] went out onto the road that goes from Piatigorsk to the *nemets* colony, where spa-goers would go *en piquenique* (on party excursions)."[719] Because Piatigorsk is portrayed as near the *nemets* colony, the exotic space of the South is colonised symbolically by the invocation of an established *nemets*

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[717] On the Romantic hero as model for behaviour in Lermontov's milieu, see Robert Reid, "Lermontov: Romanticism on the Brink of Realism," in *A Companion to European Romanticism,* ed. Michael Ferber (Malden and Oxford, 2005), pp. 309-325, esp. pp. 311-312.

[718] In "Pechorin's Journal," the narrator-editor refers to what he publishes as fragments of a thick journal that contains Pechorin's life story: "Итак, одно желание пользы заставило меня напечатать отрывки из журнала, доставшегося мне случайно… Я поместил в этой книге только то, что относилось к пребыванию Печорина на Кавказе; в моих руках осталась еще толстая тетрадь, где он рассказывает всю жизнь свою. Когда-нибудь и она явится на суд света; но теперь я не смею взять на себя эту ответственность по многим важным причинам."

[719] Paul Foote suggests the translation of "party excursions," in *A Hero of Our Time,* p. 113.

pattern. And, just as these two spaces align to render the unknown into the familiar, the *russkie* engage in *en piquenique*, and so they experience the space through Western-styled diversions. This passage illustrates how the model for colonisation is experienced and articulated in terms of several levels of Western models.

In Section 6.2.2, I continue this argument with an examination of the imperial allusions in *A Hero of Our Time*. I establish how these models reposition the *russkii* in the category of a Westernising force, and I establish the context of the Western allusions before discussing the role of the *nemets*. In Section 6.2.3, I complement my interpretation with two post-colonial discussions of the novel. In Section 6.2.4, I discuss two aspects that establish the ambiguity of Western influence: the *nemets*, and the meta-literary level, where I analyse Pechorin's duality in the context of his hyper-aware Byronism. Section 6.2.5 provides the conclusion to this Section, and I re-examine the stakes of Russia's Synthesis through imperial conquest; while Russia is repositioned with the "historical nations" from the Hegelian perspective, I argue that this process also emerges as a liability on the internal level.

6.2.2. Pechorin's Imperial Models: France, Britain, Rome, and Ancient Greece

How is the experience of the Caucasus – for the characters in the novel and also the narrators of the stories that compose the novel – experienced and articulated through the filter of Western imperialism? As I indicate in the introduction, the novel is permeated with Western allusions, even though it contains multiple genres that are narrated from multiple perspectives.[720] While Lermontov's literary language depends upon Pushkin's Southern imagery,[721] the models that the narrators reference are Western, and most are imperial: French (Balzac, Beaumarchais, Napoleon), British (Byron, Scott, Defoe), Roman (Cicero, Roman poets, Caesar), and Greek (Alexander the Great).[722] Conspicuously missing are overt allusions to *russkii* models: even when Pechorin does

[720] I count four narrators in the novel: (1) The implied author Lermontov from the Preface; (2) The narrator-author of the travelogue, who also functions as an editor of narrators 3 and 4; (3) Maksim Maksimych; (4) and Pechorin.

[721] Pushkin's South emerges in narrative poems such as "Prisoner of the Caucasus," and "Gypsies." For the connection between the representation of women in the Caucasus of Pushkin and Lermontov, see Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. R. G. Suny and T. D. Martin (Oxford and New York, 2000), pp. 23-66, esp. p. 46.

[722] The narrative also contains Italian models in addition to these imperial models. Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (1580) appears in relation to women (p. 143 in the Foote translation). A second Italianate instance occurs during Pechorin's flirtation with his former lover, Vera: they have one of those conversations that "does not make sense on paper" (на бумаге не имеют смысла) (111). Because of this aspect of this dynamic, Pechorin compares the interaction to "an Italian opera" where "the sounds replace and contribute to the meaning of the words" (значение звуков заменяет и дополняет значение слов) (111).

invoke Pushkin in his diary, he does not reference Pushkin's literary works. Rather, he alludes to a reference that was made by Pushkin, and this casts *russkii* culture as constituted by Synthesis, as Danilevskii would argue 50 years later.[723] From this perspective, *russkii* culture also resembles a hall of mirrors – one reference follows another, and the *russkii* is defined by cultural flexibility and the ability to internalise, rather than by its own stabilised traits. This reflects, as I argue in Section 6.2.4.3, how Pechorin is constituted by levels of self-aware parody.

The three French models represent political alignment and literary filters, and they thus illustrate the role of allusions in the novel [34^{NN}]. The first French reference is literary; the narrator-editor of the travelogue labels Pechorin's pampered servant "some kind of Russian Figaro."[724] The second is also literary: the narrator-editor asserts that Pechorin reclines in his chair "like Balzac's thirty-year-old coquette sat in her cushioned armchair after a fatiguing ball."[725] The narrator-editor thus uses Western templates to describe his characters' Western behaviour. In addition to these literary models, Pechorin invokes Napoleon Bonaparte to describe his exhaustion: "I threw myself onto the bed and fell into a deep sleep like Napoleon after Waterloo" (заснул сном Наполеона). Pechorin echoes the narrator-editor, because he compares his own behaviour to a Western code – though he selects the Napoleon stylisation rather than that of the "thirty-year-old coquette." This comparison likens his amorous conquest to both the Napoleonic campaign and to Romantic convention – while it invokes French imperial expansion as a background to Russia's involvement in the Caucasus.

The three British literary references follow this referential pattern [35^{OO}]. First, there exists the Byronic intertext in the characters of Pechorin and Grushnitskii, which has been commented upon extensively.[726] British models also appear when Pechorin

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[723] The Pushkin reference in Lermontov is: "- Где нам, дуракам, чай пить! - отвечал я ему, повторяя любимую поговорку одного из самых ловких повес прошлого времени, воспетого некогда Пушкиным." From "Princess Mary," entry 5 June; Foote suggests "Never a dog's chance for the likes of me," p. 134. For Danilevskii, see the epigraph to this Chapter.

[724] "…нечто вроде русского Фигаро." I label this as a French influence because Figaro appeared in Beaumarchais, though this passage could also refer to Mozart's opera. For this citation, and for the other Western allusions, see the appendix [$^{NN–RR}$].

[725] For "кокетка," Paul Foote suggests "*femme de trente ans,*" pp. 68.

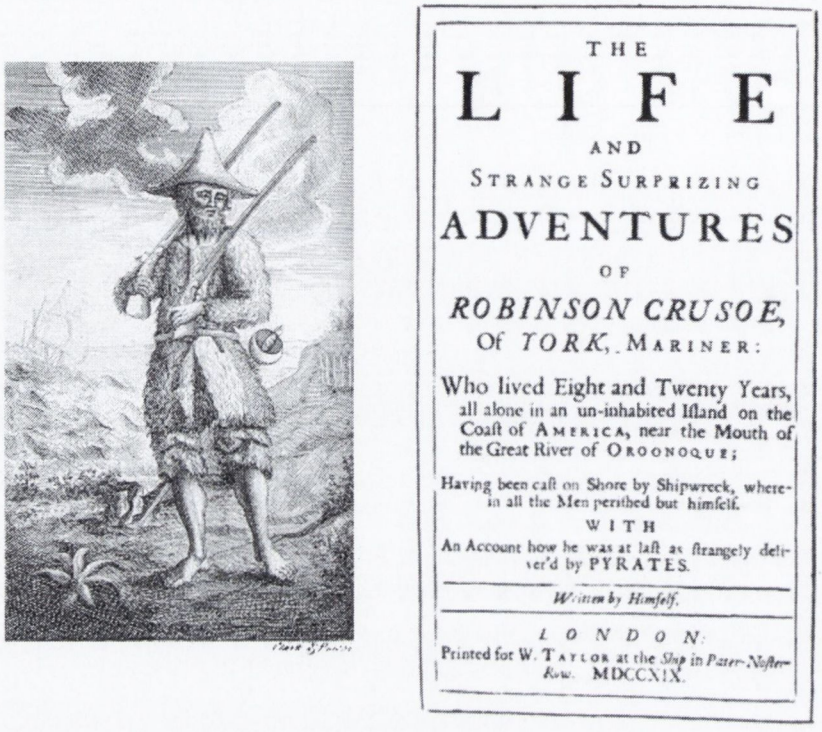
[726] The Byronic influence upon Lermontov was extensive: he had developed a "cult of Byron" when he was thirteen years old; see Mirsky, pp. 88, 137. This autobiographical detail is of significance because of the autobiographical elements in the novel; see for example Rochelle H. Ross, "A Hero of His Time," in *The South Central Bulletin, Vol.* 37, No. 4, *Studies by Members of the SCMLA* (Winter, 1977), pp. 158-161. Reid links the Caucasus landscape to Walter Scott's Highlands and to Lord Byron's Orient; see "Lermontov: Romanticism on the Brink of Realism," pp. 309-325; for Lermontov's personal connection to Scotland through his heritage, see pp. 315-316. For a discussion of the Byronic-demonism in Pechorin's character, see W. J. Leatherbarrow, "Pechorin's Demons: Representations of the Demonic in Lermontov's

reads Walter Scott's *Old Mortality* the night before his duel. This passage serves to add an intertextual dimension to the scene,[727] and it establishes Lermontov's Caucasus in the tradition of Scott's Scotland and Byron's Orient. A third reference appears when Grushnitskii insults the Moscow dandy Raevich's rustic accoutrements, referencing Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[728] This allusion accesses the discourse of the civilised man in uncivilised space, and it also demonstrates how the image of the *russkii* is mediated through the West: Pechorin depicts Raevich's haircut in Franco-Russian terms, as a "прическа à la moujik" and not as a "прическа мужика." Further, because Pechorin compares Crusoe's hair in exotic peripheral space to that of the "*moujik*" in *russkii* space, the Domestic/Foreign confluence represents the dualistic directionality of Westernisation, where Russia colonises itself through Western discursive filters.

'A Hero of Our Time,'" in *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4 (Oct., 2004), pp. 999-1013, esp. pp. 999, 1006. Nabokov argues Lermontov invokes – yet resists – the Byronic myth; for him, Pechorin shoots the "parody of his own self," Grushnitskii, "and incidentally the Byronic idea." See Vladimir Nabokov, "The Lermontov Mirage," in *Russian Review, Vol.* 1, No. 1 (Nov., 1941), pp. 31-39, esp. pp. 32, 39. The connection between Pechorin and the Byronic accesses the Byronism in *Evgenii Onegin*; Peter Struve contextualises the connection between Pushkin and Byron, and he adds a dimension to the Scott allusion in Lermontov: "We know now, owing to the researches of Mr. D. Yakubovich, from [Scott's] The Lady of the Lake Pushkin borrowed the main theme of his fragment *Shumit kustarnik*, with its image of a hart suddenly startled on the top of a mountain. In the draft of a letter to Gnedich (dated 29 April, 1822) Pushkin speaks of the 'poetical panoramas' and 'magic pictures' of Byron and Walter Scott, fearing, with his wonted severity to himself, a comparison between his own pictures of the Caucasus and those 'magic pictures' of theirs." See Peter Struve, "Walter Scott and Russia," in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 11, No. 32 (Jan., 1933), pp. 397-410, esp. pp. 399-400, and 404 for the connection to Lermontov.

[727] See W. J. Entwistle, "The Byronism of Lermontov's A Hero of Our Time," in *Comparative Literature, Vol.* 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1949), pp. 140-146, esp. p. 144.

[728] Grushnitskii depicts Raevich as having a stick (толстая трость), beard (борода), and the "прическа à la moujik" fit for Crusoe.



THE

LIFE

AND

STRANGE SURPRIZING

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Of *YORK*, MARINER:

Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Iſland on the Coaſt of AMERICA, near the Mouth of the Great River of OROONOQUE;

Having been caſt on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perithed but himſelf.

WITH

An Account how he was at laſt as ſtrangely deliver'd by PYRATES.

Written by Himſelf.

LONDON:

Printed for W. TAYLOR at the *Ship* in *Pater-Noſter-Row.* MDCCXIX.

Figure 7.1: Image of the Civilised Man in Exotic Space: First Edition of Robinson Crusoe (1719)[729]



Figure 7.2: A Western Officer in Uniform / A Savage in a Fur Cloak: Lermontov, Self-Portrait (1837-8)[730]

[729] Image from Wikipedia Commons, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Robinson_Cruose_1719_1st_edition.jpg>, site accessed 15 September 2010.

References to the Romans appear three times, and, as with the French and British references, the literary level parallels the political: Roman poetry represents the model for social experience and aesthetic articulation, just as Cicero and Caesar emerge as models for comportment in imperial space [36^{PP}]. In the first allusion, Pechorin and his confidant, Doctor Verner, meet at a ball and exchange meaningful glances just like "the Roman augurs did according to Cicero's account."[731] The two thus share the experience of a Western-style ball as mediated through Western allusions – which prefigures the relevance of the imperial ball in *Russkii Ark*. Further, because Pechorin compares his behaviour to that of the Romans, the novel presents a model of Western influence that opposes that of the Slavophiles, who attacked "Roman" influences between 1838-1848.[732] Read in the context of these emerging Slavophile positions, Lermontov's novel demonstrates the ultimate impossibility of presenting the *russkii* as irreconcilable with the *nemets*, because the Western literary and political influence mediates *russkii* experience. In Lermontov's Synthetic Russia, the image of the anti-*nemets* "pure *Rus* '" is beyond the realm of possibilities.

In the second Roman allusion, Grushnitskii and Pechorin make their way to the site of their duel. When the former slips on the path, the latter remarks, "Don't fall too early. It's a terrible omen. Remember Julius Caesar!" This remark foreshadows Grushnitskii's death in the duel – particularly because he had considered Pechorin to be a comrade, as Caesar had with Brutus – and it emphasises the theme of Pechorin's amorous conquests as modelled upon Western military templates. It also indicates Pechorin's meta-literary position in the story, which I develop in Section 6.2.4.3. In the third Roman reference, when Pechorin inveighs against what he sees as the irrational nature of women, he references the "poets" who had "commended Nero as a demigod." This allusion invokes classical Roman poetry as a model for social expectation and for poetical expression, while it eschews autochthonous exemplars, such as Pushkin or Zhukovskii.[733]

One ancient Greek model also appears [36^{QQ}], which is tied to the Byronic

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[730] Image from "KMV Lain," at <http://kmvline.ru/mesta/index.php>, site accessed 15 September 2010.
[731] "...посмотрев значительно друг другу в глаза, как делали римские авгуры, по словам Цицерона."
[732] See Tolz, p. 83, where she quotes Kireevskii: "The Roman way of thinking amounts to superficial rationality, which takes precedence over (penetration) into [the] internal essence of things... In famous Roman laws the brilliance of external form is logically perfected, but they surprisingly lack any internal justice." Tolz cites and translates *Rannie slavianofily*, N. L. Brodskii, compiler, (Moscow, 1910), pp. 1-50. See also Herrmann, "Die neue europäische Ordnung," p. 491.
[733] Compare to Alexander Herzen's 1847 novel *Who is to Blame?* that references Zhukovskii four times in three separate passages. See A. Gertsen, *Kto vinovat?* <http://az.lib.ru/g/gercen_a_i/text_0010.shtml>, site accessed 21 April 2010; see I:4 ("Zhit'e-byt'e"), I:5 ("Vladimir Bel'tov"), and II:4.

intertext, when Pechorin laments that, "A lot of people begin life expecting to end up like Alexander the Great or Lord Byron, and then they spend the rest of their lives [lit.: 'a whole century'] as minor civil servants." As with the Roman allusions, this passage demonstrates how Pechorin aligns Russia with the classical imperial model, rather than with the political models inherited from Muscovy and Kievan *Rus'*. Lermontov's literary references thus reflect the cultural aspirations to inherit classical imperialism, a project that is evidenced by the utilisation of classical architectural motifs in the 18th century.[734] This passage is also ironic, because Pechorin "ends up" with what was both a Byronic and Alexandrine fate: a death abroad at war while relatively young.[735] But, despite the irony, Pechorin avoids the trap of the civil servant because he is enshrined as the hero of his own novel, complete with a mysterious death at a young age.

These intertexts have four functions. First, they add intertextual dimensions to the scenes, such as the irony of referencing Julius Caesar. Secondly, they demonstrate the internalisation of the Western models in the experience of exotic space, such as the image of the "прическа à la moujik." This stylisation echoes the invocation of the *nemets* colony near Piatigorsk, the *en piquenique* style of diversions, and the "roman augers" at the imperial ball. Thirdly, they establish the meta-literary fabric of the narrative structure. Fourthly, they normalise *russkii* imperial activity by relating it to the Western empires of Ancient Rome, Ancient Greece, Napoleonic France, and the Britain of Byron, Scott, and Defoe.

6.2.4. Lermontov, and Imperial Ideology

This sub-Section develops two scholarly interpretations of the novel's colonial dimension; the aim is to complement my interpretation and to elucidate the ideological stakes of the imperial discourse.[736]

Peter Scotto argues that Lermontov's Southern stories cast the Southern woman in

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[734] For an account of general Roman and Greek symbols in the Empire, see Tolz, *Russia,* p. 41; for classical architecture in the 17th century, see Michael S. Flier, "The Throne of Monomakh: Ivan the Terrible and the Architectonics of Destiny," in *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present,* ed. James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland (Ithaca and London, 2003) pp. 21-33, esp. pp. 27-29; for classical architecture under Catherine the Great, see Dimitri Shvidkovsky, "Catherine the Great's Field of Dreams: Architecture and Landscape in the Russian Enlightenment," in *Architectures*, pp. 51-65, esp. pp. 51-60.

[735] Byron died at age 36 in Missolonghi (Messolonghi), Alexander at age 32 in Babylon; see the "Byron, George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron" entry, and the "Alexander the Great" entry, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (2009), at <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-59254>, and <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9018402>, sites accessed 16 December 2009.

[736] See Peter Scotto, "Prisoners of the Caucasus: Ideologies of Imperialism in Lermontov's 'Bela,'" in *PMLA*, Vol. 107, No. 2 (Mar., 1992), pp. 246-260; for a discussion of the captivity narrative, see Bruce Grant, "The Good Russian Prisoner: Naturalizing Violence in the Caucasus Mountains," in *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 20, Issue 1, (2005), pp. 39-67. For a reading of the colonial in relation to Lermontov's autobiography, see Ross, "A Hero of His Time."

imperialistic terms, where the female body becomes an object that good-hearted *russkii* soldiers are invited to tame.[737] For Scotto, the appearance of the female body is analogous to colonised space, and this involves two aspects of 19th-century imperial discourse. First, the metaphor of sexual domination reinforces the belief that Western enlightenment can civilise the Savages – while positing the West in the dominant role. Secondly, the Orient (or the "South") appears as a libidinous playground where sexual adventures can be undertaken without consequence – and thus exotic, peripheral space is organised according to a different set of rules than the imperial centre.[738]

For Scotto, the project of casting the South as Russia's own Orient justifies imperialist expansion, because this process includes Russia in the category of non-Eastern "enlightened nations of the earth" (analogous to the "historical nations" in Hegel's schema).[739] Scotto argues that European producers of culture of the time widely believed that Savage peoples lacked not only literature, but also a culture and even a history, which means that: "This great cultural and historical vacuum offered Russia – among the enlightened nations of the earth – an arena for realizing its ambitions, energies, and desires."[740] This interpretation elucidates the stakes of spatial emplotment in the context of Chaadaev's letter, which asserts, as I discuss in Chapter Four, that Russia belonged neither to the West nor to the East.[741] By contrasting *russkii* culture to one that has no literature and no history, Russia is emplotted on the world map as an expanding and civilising empire, and it is reinserted into the historical timeline as parallel to the other great Western empires. The Orientalist dimension – such as in the sexual relations between Pechorin and Bela – thus collapses the space between Russia and Europe. For Scotto, the West had its Persia, Africa, and Arabia – Russia, its Caucasus.[742]

It is also appropriate to mention Bruce Grant's contribution to the imperial dimension of the novel. He argues that literary sources served as a means for imagining

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[737] Scotto, pp. 253-254.

[738] See Scotto, pp. 252-255. For a general discussion of imperialism related to male/female domination and conquest, see Shirley Foster, "Colonialism and Gender in the East: Representations of the Harem in the Writings of Women Travellers," in *The Yearbook of English Studies,* Vol. 34: *Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing* (2004), pp. 6-17, esp. p. 6.

[739] Scotto, p. 248. This alignment of Russia as a political entity on a par with Western nations is evidenced by the architecture and city planning of peripheral territories: for an account of how the "new city" of Tashkent was built upon Western aesthetics and within Western frames of perception, see Robert D. Crews, "Civilization in the City: Architecture, Urbanism, and the Colonization of Tashkent," in *Architectures,* pp. 117-132.

[740] Scotto, p. 248.

[741] See Siljak, p. 340, and Chaadaev, *Russian Intellectual History*, pp. 165-166.

[742] Through the naming of Pechorin after a Siberian river, the colonial space of Siberia is also accessed in the novel. For more on the Siberian connection to colonial discourse, see Mark Bassin, "Inventing Siberia," pp. 763-794.

the South as a familiar territory: even though Pushkin had yet to meet an actual Circassian in person when he published the poem "Prisoner of the Caucasus" in 1822, Belinskii would later characterise the poet as the "discoverer of the Caucasus."[743] Grant's arguments clarify another set of stakes for this discourse: the imperial models enable *russkii* producers of culture to de-alienate the imperial fringe, and the South thus becomes a recognisable – albeit imaginary – space for consumers of culture in the imperial centre, where the *russkii* Self is more at home than the native Other.

6.2.4. Empowerment and Impotence: The Ambivalence of Western Models

6.2.4.1. Introduction

These post-colonial interpretations demonstrate the ideological stakes of imperial discourse, and also the political repercussions of spatial description. There is one aspect, however, in which I differ from Grant and Scotto: while I agree that the Western models enable the civilising mission of imperialism, I argue that this is a two-way street. While the imperial dimension justifies colonisation and provides templates for spatial familiarisation, it also affects the *russkii* on an internal level, as I have indicated in my analyses. In this Sub-Section, I develop this assertion with discussions of two ambivalent factors in Russia's Westernising process: the *nemets* element, and the meta-literary level.

6.2.4.2. Alienation and Separation: The Ambivalence of the *Nemets*

The *nemets* element appears in the novel three times, including the appearance of the colony near Piatigorsk [37^{RR}]. The first *nemets* allusion appears in the story "Taman." When Pechorin arrives at a Black Sea port, he becomes involved in a series of possibly supernatural events. The *nemets* element of Pechorin's narration echoes the other Western allusions I have discussed: when he encounters a local girl, he imagines that he has met Goethe's Mignon, "that wondrous product of [Goethe's] *nemets* imagination." The *nemka* thus establishes a model to mediate Pechorin's experience of the fringes of the empire, a space inhabited by Black Sea Cossacks, Crimean Tatars, and Ukrainians. This aspect is paralleled on the intertextual level: Pechorin the hero filters his experience through Western models of perception (i.e. like Goethe's characters), just as Pechorin the narrator deploys *nemets* narrative structures (i.e. Goethe's narrative style and the genre of the story).[744]

Goethe's Mignon, however, only accounts for one aspect of the *nemets* material in

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[743] See Grant, "The Good Russian Prisoner," pp. 47-49.

[744] For a discussion of the cultural currency of Goethe as a "representation of German Romanticism" (along with Schiller), see Jurij Mann, "Aleksandr Puškin über die 'göttingensche Seele,'" in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19. Jahrhunder*, pp. 393-394.

the novel. *Nemets* references are also located twice in the naming of Dr. Verner: in his assumed surname, and in his Faustian nickname, "Mephistopheles," which is given to him by the soldiers.[745] This aspect of Verner's name initially appears to follow the pattern of Western models in the novel; that is, because Verner's character and profession align with presumed *nemets* traits, his character is mediated through the *nemets* label. But while the *nemets* aspects empower Verner, they also alienate him from his fellow soldiers. First, others assume that Verner is a foreigner, which is evidenced by Pechorin's emphasis that he is actually *russkii*.[746] This aspect is dramatised in the story by his role as Pechorin's confidant: Verner's only close relationship is with a character who leaves the military base and dies while abroad. Verner thus emerges as a figure who is even more estranged from society than Pechorin, because he lacks even the superficial relationships of the hero, such as with Princess Mary and Maksim Maksimych. Secondly, the diabolic reference to Verner utilises the demonic currency of the *nemets* Hetero Image, because it accesses the *nemets* Other in Gogol's story "The Night Before Christmas," and Pushkin's "The Undertaker," while creating the intertextual connection to Goethe's *Faust*.

Through Verner and the experience in "Taman," Goethe emerges on three narrative levels: the meta-literary (i.e. as an intertext and as an aesthetic model), the literary (i.e. in Pechorin's experience with "Goethe's Mignon"), and the story-within-the-story (i.e. because the soldiers name Verner "Mephistopheles," not Pechorin). The *nemets* influence thus appears as both constructive for Verner, because it reinforces his professional status as a doctor, and also as destructive, because Verner is portrayed as an outsider among the other *russkie*, and because his character is refracted through layers of parody and irony in the "Mephistopheles" reference. This ambivalence reinforces the meta-literary structure of Pechorin's narrative, because he is aware of the meta-literary levels.

6.2.4.3. The Meta-Literary Commedia

On the level of character traits, Pechorin's Byronism separates him from his fellow soldiers through his appearance as a disaffected outsider. His Byronism also distances him from his own experiences, because he demonstrates awareness of the literary filter that mediates his behaviour and its articulation; that is, while it is Tatiana who discovers Onegin to be a parody in Pushkin's *Onegin*, Pechorin is only too cognisant

[745] For more on the Faustian intertext, see von Gronicka, *The Russian Image of Goethe*, p. 88.
[746] Pechorin poses the rhetorical question: "What is surprising here [with Verner's name]? I once knew a *nemets* named Ivanov" (Что тут удивительного? Я знал одного Иванова, который был немец).

of his literary role throughout his narration.[747] Because he is both hero and author, the other characters represent his social milieu and also his literary creations. The meta-literary layers thus add a second and third level to his separation from society: he is a self-aware Byronic parody, and the author of his own experiences.

The meta-literary element parallels the ambiguity of Verner's *nemets* nature. Just as Pechorin's dual nature establishes him as a heroic neurotic, he is empowered by his awareness of literary convention, because he can anticipate the actions of the other characters – but he is also sapped by it, because he is trapped within the confines of the genres and literary modes. The Grushnitskii subplot illustrates the ambiguity of this dimension: in a reference that bares the Byronic Romantic device, Pechorin refers to himself as the literary hero of the developing story, and claims "heroes need no introduction" (разве героев представляют?).[748] His characterisation of Grushnitskii follows a similar meta-literary level: for Pechorin, he is a person whose goal in life is to become "the hero of a novel," and who has travelled to Caucasus out of "Romantic fanaticism."[749] This depiction thus represents a double layer of irony, because Grushnitskii has, in fact, become a character in a novel, but he is denied the hero status by Pechorin-the-author, who repudiates his heroism in the diary, and by Pechorin-the-character, who kills him in a duel. Meta-literary aspects frame the narration of this event: Pechorin remarks during the escalation of his conflict with Grushnitskii that "the stage is set!" (Завязка есть!) and he refers to the impending duel as the "dénouement of this comedy" (об развязке этой комедии).[750] Upon killing Grushnitskii, Pechorin concludes the dramatic progression from the outset (завязка), to the introduction of the hero, to dramatic foreshadowing (the Caesar reference), to the dénouement (развязка), to the conclusion: "*Finita la commedia.*"[751]

Pechorin's emplotment of the episode as a comedy rather than a tragedy further dislocates Grushnitskii from the hero role; he has been killed as part of the progress of

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[747] Fusso argues that *A Hero of Our Time* is "engaged in a struggle with Romanticism that in its intensity and explicitness goes well beyond the self-conscious play known as 'Romantic irony.'" See Fusso, "The Romantic Tradition," in *The Classic Russian Novel,* pp. 171-173. Fusso, however, includes both Lermontov and Pushkin in this category, while I argue that Lermontov "goes further." For a discussion of how Lermontov distanced himself from a simple parody of Byronic conventions, see Reid, "Lermontov," pp. 316-319, 322-323,

[748] Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time,* p. 103; as above, references in this passage that do not appear in the Appendix refer to the pagination of the Foote translation.

[749] "Его цель - сделаться героем романа," and "Приезд его на Кавказ - также следствие его романтического фанатизма"; Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time,* p. 94.

[750] Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time,* pp. 102-103.

[751] Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time,* p. 167.

another's narrative arc. But while the comedy structure revolves around Pechorin, the comedy lacks the substantive aspect of this narrative mode: Pechorin marries neither Princess Mary, nor his lover, Vera. The *commedia* thus contains a double level of irony: the episode concludes with a murder, and the incident leads to Pechorin's further alienation from his own social milieu and to the disruption of the romantic progression. Therefore, as with Verner's *nemets* layers and Pechorin's role as author (but not editor), the literary model becomes a source of empowerment and impotence; Pechorin emerges victorious in the bounds of the comedy narrative, and he is victorious in his three military campaigns (Bela, Grushnitskii, Princess Mary), yet he remains dissatisfied, he fails to conquer his primary object (Vera), and he leaves *russkii* imperial space to perish in the Orient. Pechorin's death off-stage emphasises the impotence in the narratological scheme, because his death is recorded through rumour following his disillusionment with the literary process (illustrated in his transference of the diary to the narrator-editor before its completion); this parallels how Pechorin relinguishes editorial control of his manuscript, and how his story itself becomes a part of the narrator-editor's own personal experience of the Caucasus.

Pechorin's dualistic nature in the novel – vacillating between passivity and activity, sociability and isolation – can be interpreted as a product of the hyper-awareness of his own position as parody. While at times he appears within his role of the Romantic hero – fighting for the Russian Army in exotic locales, capturing and ravishing the native girl, extending the Imperial borders, triumphing within the bounds of imperial society – he is ultimately crippled by his role as author, who is aware of his source material, but who also lacks the means to tell the entirety of his story. The ambiguous nature of his character is thus indicative of the dual nature of Western influence in Russia: while it provides the framework to condone and express the imperial effort, it is also a force that engenders an anxiety of influence, and the eternal refraction of parody upon parody. As in Verner, Pechorin's name is mediated through bottomless levels of allusions: his patronymic, Aleksandrovich, links him to the imperial tradition of Greece via Alexander the Great, and also to the former tsar, Alexander I. His surname, on the other hand, is derived from a northern Siberian river, the Pechora, which links him to the tradition of Onegin, who also represents a parody of Byronic convention.[752]

6.2.5. Conclusions: A Different Rupture from Complementarity

[752] Paul Foote, *A Hero of out Time,* p. 9.

The value of the Synthesis in which Maksim, Verner, and Pechorin participate is left ambiguous – just like the status of Pechorin as a "hero."[753] While the Western models penetrate *russkii* literature and political culture, and allow for literary development (i.e. Pechorin's stories), history (i.e. as an "enlightened nation"), and empire (i.e. expansion into the Caucasus), the risk is cynicism and social alienation on the individual level (i.e. the awareness of the parody, and the possibility that the Western models cannot express the entirety of the *russkii* story). In Lermontov's literary world, though, there seems to be no choice but to accept this dialogue with the West along with its repercussions. In other words, there exists no Caucasus beyond its Orientalist, Byronic articulation.

Lermontov's novel echoes a number of themes from the Complementarity of Pushkin, such as the focus upon Western elements within Russia, and the implementation of Byronic convention.[754] The point of departure lies in the fact that the connection between *nemets* and *russkii* is not taken for granted; rather, cultural interaction is cast as an active process (применяться), and the *russkii* mind is imagined in terms of its "flexibility" (гибкость) rather than its default hybridity. As the narrator-editor notes when he first meets Maksim Maksimych:

> I was involuntarily struck by the ability of the *russkii* person to conform to the customs of those *narody* among whom he happens to live. I don't know whether this property of the [*russkii*] mind deserves censure or praise, but this does prove its immense flexibility.[755]

The narrator presents a picture of the *russkii* not as the composite of a number of different groups, as in Karamzin's historical writing, but rather as a *narod* that adopts the traits of those with whom it interacts. This passage illustrates how the Foreign appears in the novel: while Pushkin assumes a Western trajectory for Russia (albeit one that was not entirely suitable for the *russkii* cultural context), Lermontov casts Westernisation as a process that the *russkie* perform – and which is simultaneously invigorating and alienating. Maksim Maksimych dramatises the ambivalence, because his adopted Southern traits expedite his travels in exotic space to a military base – a symbol of

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[753] Lermontov the Implied Author writes in the introduction that Pechorin is not a reflection of Lermontov the Author. But, given the ironic nature of the novel, even this argument cannot be taken at face value.

[754] For an analysis of the Byronic apprenticeship myth that Pushkin generated for his writing, see Monika Greenleaf, "Pushkin's Byronic Apprenticeship: A Problem in Cultural Syncretism," in *Russian Review*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Jul., 1994), pp. 382-398, esp. pp. 397-398. For a classical account of the Byronic character, see Entwistle, "Byronism," pp. 140-146.

[755] "Меня невольно поразила способность русского человека применяться к обычаям тех народов, среди которых ему случается жить; не знаю, достойно порицания или похвалы это свойство ума, только оно доказывает неимоверную его гибкость." From "Bela."

imperial power – but they also confer upon him the mannerisms of an Other. Echoing the novel's themes of bipolarity, the *russkii* thus emerges with two contradictory sets of Others: the Southerner (to express external Westernisation) and the *nemets* (to express internal Westernisation). The narrator-editor's own ambivalent feelings emerge in his judgement of *russkii* flexibility, which he is not sure "deserves censure or praise."

In the following Section, I analyse two short pieces by Turgenev, written six years after the appearance of Lermontov's novel and after the crystallisation of the Westerniser-Slavophile debate. Turgenev develops Lermontov's portrayal of the *nemets* as a constitutive aspect of *russkii* cultural trajectory, and also as a symbol of social alienation.

6.3. Synthesis in Turgenev's *Russkii-Nemets* Stories (1847, 1848)

6.3.1. Introduction and Context

In 1964, two short "fragments" from Turgenev – "The *Russkii Nemets*" ("Русский немец") and "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*" ("Реформатор и русский немец") – were published for the first time in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*.[756] These "stories" (as I propose to read them) were written in 1847 and 1848 respectively, a period when Turgenev was publishing the stories that would later form the *Sportsman's Sketches* collection [38[SS]]. They share a number of similarities to the *Sportsman* cycle beyond their dates of composition: they are told from the perspective of an educated gentry hunter, as in "Death" and "Bezhin Lea"; they involve the theme of landlord cruelty and the suffering of the peasantry, as in "The Bailiff" and "The Two Landowners"; and, finally, the *russkii nemets* stories rely upon the appearance of an emotional connection and a degree of understanding between the educated hunter and the peasants, as in "The Singers."

The temporal and thematic proximity of the *russkii nemets* pieces to the *Sportsman* cycle has led to their partial acceptance in the collection.[757] While Freeborn interprets them as embryonic parts meant to eventually inform a single full-length story, I

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[756] *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Vol. 73, Bk. 1; see Ivan Turgenev, *Sketches from a Hunter's Album,* trans. Richard Freeborn, (New York, 1981; 1967), p. 17. For the Russia text, see I. S. Turgenev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v 28 tomakh*, Vol. 13 (*Povesti i rasskazy, Stitsotvoreniia v proze, 1878-1883, Proizvedeniia raznykh godov*) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1967), pp. 307-314.

[757] In the 1967 English-language Penguin edition, Richard Freeborn provides two following reasons for including the two "fragments" in the Appendix: they provide invaluable historical and cultural context for the other *Sportsman* stories and they are two smaller versions of the same story. He characterises the pieces as: "two fragments first published in 1964 which… in combination – it is assumed that Turgenev intended to combine them – would probably have proved to be as outspokenly critical as *Bailiff* or *Two Landowners.* As it is, these fragments are interesting for their terse and pungent thumbnail sketches of two different types of despotic landowner. *The Russian German* perhaps also helps to explain something that may seem puzzling to a twentieth-century English reader – namely, the ease with which Turgenev was able to range far and wide on his hunting trips without any apparent fear of trespassing on other people's property" (17).

contend that these pieces raise a number of questions that qualify them beyond Appendix-level material.[758] I provide a short summary of each story, while the full texts are supplied in Volume II. In Section 6.3.2, I summarise "The *Russkii Nemets,*" and I provide an analysis of Synthetic space in Section 6.3.3. In Section 6.3.4, I summarise "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*," and I provide an analysis of the metaphorical *nemets* in Section 6.3.5.

6.3.2. Summary: "The *Russkii Nemets*" (1847)

"The *Russkii Nemets*" consists of fifteen paragraphs, including dialogue. The story begins with the educated gentry hunter-narrator tracking prey into a buckwheat field. A peasant approaches him and indicates that the field is off-limits for hunting – further, the peasant will be forced to fetch the local bailiff and enforce a fine if the hunter does not leave immediately. The hunter is stunned at this piece of information – for, as he puts it, one is free in his "obliging Fatherland" to wander and hunt wherever he likes, with the exception of the estates owned by a few old women and those landowners with an "English" style of management. When the hunter asks for an explanation to these astonishing rules, the peasant seems sympathetic to the hunter's confusion, and explains that his master is a *nemets*.[759]

A week later, the narrator meets the *nemets* landowner in person; his name is Leberekht Fokhtlender, even though his peasant referred to him as "Makarat Ivanych Shvokhtel'." Fokhtlender comes from Guzbach, a township near Frankfurt, and he served in the civil service before settling in this district. The concluding note of the piece is a sketch of the man and his life, the keynote of which is his "prim haughtiness."[760] The description of his life focuses upon numbers and statistics, reminiscent of the hyper-calculating Shiller from Gogol's "Nevskii Prospect": in addition to being 25 when he entered the service, he occupied various posts for 32.5 years, retained the rank of a 7th grade State Counsellor, and married at 40. Also Gogolian is the juxtaposition of

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[758] While the titles, both containing the term "*Russkii Nemets*," seem to imply that they are two versions of one story, the two *nemtsy* we find in the stories are entirely different characters. In "The *Russkii Nemets*," the *nemets* is a landowner who hails from Germany, outside the Empire. The second story, "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*," contains a landowner who must be a *russkii* – as he is characterised as a type of "Great *russkii*" pedant.

[759] Freeborn renders this: "He replied smiling, like a man who, though he is doing what his master orders, feels for his own part that the orders are in fact ridiculous" (256).

[760] Freeborn renders this: "He was small in stature and on the thin side; he used to sport a brown frock-coat of old-style cut, grey trousers, a small silver watch attached by a string of blue beads and a high white cravat which gathered in folds right up to his ears. He held himself very straight and walked about with a prim haughtiness, now and then turning his small head. He had a small, smooth face, light-blue eyes, a sharp little nose, semicircular sideburns, a forehead covered with tiny wrinkles and thin, tightly-closed lips" (256).

statistical facts with imprecision, because these represent "what rumour had it." Unlike Gogol, however, this character is a *russkii nemets*, and thus he represents a hybrid of the two cultures – as opposed to Gogol's pure *russkie*, and to the members of the upper classes who are disfigured by their encounter with the Foreign.

In the following analysis, I discuss the Synthetic traits of *russkii* space in the story. In 6.3.3.1, I discuss how this landscape accesses traits of the *russkii* Self Image and the *nemets* Hetero Image. In 6.3.3.2, I discuss how the surface appearance of Mutual Exclusivity is undermined by the Synthetic vision of the landscape and by the character of Fokhtlender. In 6.3.3.3, I discuss how my conclusions regarding the interaction between *russkii* and *nemets* space elucidate why the peasant incorrectly refers to his master.

6.3.3. Space in "The *Russkii Nemets*"

6.3.3.1. Connections to the Spatial *Russkii* Self Image

Turgenev accesses the image of the wasteland in the description of the expansiveness, the freedom of access, and the hidden bountifulness of *russkii* space. In addition to these traits, another deep structure of *russkii* space emerges: the inclusion of the *strannik*, or wanderer.[761] There are two ways in which the narrator aligns with this stock character. First, the narrator has freedom to move about the vast territory, and he journeys from one area to another unhindered. Secondly, both the *strannik* and the hunter have a close connection to the peasants – the *strannik* through spirituality, and the hunter in his humanist sensibilities. Just as the tale of the *strannik* is structured around a feat or heroic exploit, the narrator-hunter pursues game through the vast *russkii prostor* – and, on the ideological level, he makes the case for emancipation. Because of these elements, Fokhtlender's estate can be read as quasi-folkloric hostile territory, which appears as a space of alterity found in the "wonder tale," and also in Pirogov's encounter with Shiller in Gogol's "Nevskii Prospekt." This interpretation clarifies why the narrator-hunter is shouted at immediately after stepping into the field ("I hadn't even gone a few steps..."): it is reminiscent of the shift that occurs in folklore upon the transgression of a boundary.[762] The evocation of the *nemets* labyrinth in the field reinforces the alterity of

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[761] See Widdis: "The folkloric adventure is structured around an exploit, a journey, through the adventure space that is the *chistoe pole.* In parallel, the wanderer, or *strannik*, emerges as a kind of spiritual wiseman of Russian religious lore, whose freedom from materialist burdens is symbolised by his perpetual wandering. And the vast territory, of course, provides the space for this" (41).

[762] See Rachel S. Platonov, "Remapping Arcadia: 'Pastoral Space' in Nineteenth-Century Russian Prose," in *The Modern Language Review,* Vol. 102, No. 4, (October 2007), pp. 1105-1121. Platonov particularly emphasises the possibility of death and destruction in crossing borders.

the space: it is constricted, hemmed-in, and it represents a place where understanding and communication break down.

6.3.3.2. Synthetic Space in *Russkii* Territory

At first glance, Turgenev presents a picture similar to Shiller's apartment, because the *nemets* space is cast in opposite terms to the *russkii* space that surrounds it. This reading, however, discounts an important factor: because the title is "The *Russkii Nemets,*" the implication is that this *nemets* represents an internal component of *russkii* society. Turgenev could have titled the story simply "*Nemets*" in order to create an oppositional schema that would have marked the landowner as a foreign Other, analogous to Lazhechnikov's Biron or Gogol's Shiller. The title is especially significant given that this landowner does not fit the pattern of the typical *russkii nemets*, who is born in Russia, speaks Russian fluently, and is Orthodox – such as Chekhov's Sharlotta, Tuzenbakh, or Koren from *The Duel*. Indeed, to consider Gogol's Shiller a *russkii nemets* would undermine his status as a typical *nemets* who displays the traits of precision, predictability, and a compulsion for planning. Fokhtlender's space does not emerge as a foreigner-outsider, but rather a foreigner-within, because his position in Russia is simultaneously estranged and naturalised.

The Synthesis in the character's label as a "*russkii nemets*" and the appearance of his land – as *russkii* territory dominated by a *nemets* – is echoed in the narrative structure. The story opens by addressing two audiences simultaneously: the narrator describes the scene to a foreigner – who does not understand the ways of Russia and to whom the differences between the West and Russia must be explained. The *russkii* also appears as a component of the implied reader, because of the repetition of the personal pronoun "our" (наш) and the narrative's reliance upon generating confusion and sympathy for the phenomenon of an off-limits buckwheat field. For Europeans, the portrayal of expansive freedom provides an explanation as to why the hunter-narrator can travel wherever he likes during the other stories in *Sportsman's Sketches*. For the *russkii*, the portrait reinforces an aspect of the land as characteristically *russkii*: the country, while chained in serfdom, remains freely accessible, and ties to the image of *russkii* space as "unbounded." The plot of the story arises through a violation of this second code: the estate, demarcated by the buckwheat field, is cast as a section of Domestic terrain that has become literally and figuratively alienated in the middle of the empire as a space where the usual rules and characteristics of Russia have been turned upside down.

The simultaneous narrative commitment to these two groups is paralleled in the discussion of violated social mores that are carried out by both the Foreign and the Domestic. The narrator foreshadows the Foreign aspect of the *russkii-nemets* space with reference to the "modern" methods of the "English-style" management – and he foreshadows the Domestic aspect with reference to the "old women." These exceptional groups play another important role in the construction of the narrative, because they show that the narrator contradicts himself when he states: "I would have never in a hundred years imagined that someone might be shouting at me in particular." The narrator has just provided two instances where entering another's property is considered trespassing, and so he is alleging simultaneously that this is a violation both with and without precedent. The space thus appears as recognisable and incomprehensible, as different and yet as a part of an established pattern.

6.3.3.3. Conclusion: The Problem of Naming

The spatial breakdown between hunter and field parallels the social breakdown between the peasant and the landowner – and this series of disconnections is emphasised by the problem of naming, where the peasant calls his master Makarat Ivanych Shvokhtel' instead of Leberekht Fokhtlender. The peasant's mistake illustrates the conflated nature of the Foreign, because the *nemets* adopts a pseudo-Tatar first name, reminiscent of "Marat,"[763] a *russkii* or Russified patronymic (either son of Ivan or son of Johann/Johannes), and a quasi-*nemets* surname, reminiscent of the verb *schwuchteln*.[764] The addition of a *russkii* patronymic emphasises this because of its comical incongruity to the other two names – indeed, when the narrator refers to the *russkii nemets* by his actual name, he does not include a patronymic. This confusion thus heightens the status of the *russkii-nemets* as an outsider, because he has become a general symbol of the Foreign to his peasant, as opposed to a specific human being with a specific personal history.

This series of breakdowns also establishes a violation of the patriarchal culture of the traditional *russkii* estate, where the landowner is meant to function as a smaller-scale tsar and "father" (*batiushka*; батюшка) to his serfs.[765] The *russkii-nemets* estate ruptures the idealised image of gentry order, because the normal structure of the "family" is upset

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[763] The only instance of a Marakat I have come across outside Turgenev's story is the 1951 Egyptian film, *Marakat el hayat*, which suggests the name is an invention of the *muzhik*.

[764] Макарат Иваныч Швохтель; Леберехт Фохтлендер. The German verb, *schwuchteln*, meant "to swing" or "to load" in the 19th century; see the "Schwucht" entry in *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm, Vol.* 15, ed. Moriz Heyne et al. (Leipzig, 1899), p. 2747.

[765] Susan Morrissey, "Patriarchy on Trial: Suicide, Discipline, and Governance in Imperial Russia," in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), pp. 23-58, esp. p. 23.

through the breakdown in naming. The violation of spatial boundaries is thus paralleled on the social and appellative levels.

These aspects seem to indicate that the character represents an Other to the *russkii* Self. It is important to emphasise, however, that the focus is not upon the difference between *nemets* and *russkii* (as all three characters – landowner, hunter, and *muzhik* – are all *russkii* to some extent), but upon the alienation of certain landowners from their surroundings and from their own peasants. Turgenev thus appropriates elements of the *nemets* Hetero Image in order to create the sense of estrangement in *russkii* society – wherein the *nemets* functions metaphorically to portray social disconnection through the oppositional relationship between the *nemets* and *muzhik*. This disconnection emerges between the peasant and the landowner, and between the narrator and the landowner. This metaphor is heightened by the appearance of restricted *nemets* space in the middle the *russkii prostor*.

The metaphorical deployment of the *nemets* re-emerges in the second piece I treat, "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*" – a story that does not contain a single *nemets* from *Germaniia*.

6.3.4. Summary: "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*" (1848)

"The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*" is nearly four times as long as the first piece, and it is also divided into two parts. In the first, the narrator arrives at an inn on the way to Kursk and runs into an old acquaintance, Evgenii Aleksandrych. While the two characters make small talk, "not without a little tenseness," Evgenii introduces his valet, Gans, whom Evgenii commands to fetch his pipe in German. The narrator inquires whether the valet is a *nemets*, and Evgenii replies that is he is a *chukhon*, but speaks German and Russian. Evgenii is depicted as a person that many would describe as a "practical man." He carries himself with an air of importance and urgency no matter what he does, and the narrator draws the reader's attention to his serious seeming – yet ultimately banal – everyday comportment.[766]

Evgenii characterises himself as neither a Slavophile nor a "devotee of the West."[767] Evgenii's plans for reform are expressed in similarly vague terms: they consist of instituting "practical" changes with the goal of instituting an "indigenous, domestic,

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[766] "Seeing him, more than one passer-by would no doubt reflexively exclaim: 'Dear Lord! Where could that man be going?' But Evgenii Aleksandrych would just be going to dinner."

[767] "I don't have any preconceived system before me – I'm not a Slavophile and I'm not some worshipper of the West… And I – I'll say it again – I'm a practical man."

and original" aim for his peasants' future.[768] These plans lead the narrator to compare him to Peter the Great. Echoing the theme established by the title, this section also raises the subject of *narodnost'*: Evgenii is cast as a specifically "*russkii* type" of pedant, not to be confused with a "little *russkii*" (~Ukrainian).[769] This theme categorises the story as the portrait of a social type – and this factor establishes the critique of *russkii* society as the central subject.

In the second part of the story, the narrator stops at the home of Evgenii's discontented peasants, where the portrait of Evgenii's management is one of strenuous effort without results. Reminiscent of the *muzhik* who calls Fokhtlender "Shvokhtel'," there emerges a breakdown on the linguistic level between master and peasant: when Evgenii shouts orders at the peasants, they "cannot catch his drift even though it seems he's speaking Russian."[770] In the final passage of the story, the "wretched" peasants reiterate to the narrator how they cannot comprehend their master.

The second part of the story thus fulfils two foreshadowed elements from the first. First, Evgenii proves to be a superficially practical man: he acts in a vigorous yet unproductive manner, which performs the role of the pedant, whose gift for unnecessary abstraction supersedes his ability at practical affairs. Secondly, Evgenii runs his estate in a cruel and heavy-handed manner, which performs the role of the tyrant, similar to Peter the Great. Because the peasants spend their time on exhausting tasks that they do not understand, Evgenii's surface appearance of practicality is undermined by the uselessness of his "reforms." In the following analysis, I examine the ambiguity of the title (6.3.5.1) and the possibility of the story as an allegory (6.3.5.2) to enable a discussion of how the story deploys the *nemets* image to provide a critique of *russkii* society (6.3.5.3).

6.3.5. Space in "The Reformer and the *Russkii Nemets*"

6.3.5.1. The Ambiguity of the Title

I interpret the title of this story as intentionally ambiguous. On one hand, the history of English-language translation has been consistent in rendering it as "The Reformer and the Russian-German."[771] This implies that there are two eponymous

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[768] "...своя, самобытная, своеобразная, так сказать, будущность."

[769] "He was a type of *russkii* pedant – *russkii*, note well, not Little *russkii*. There is a difference between the two of them, and one should pay all the more attention to it – for, ever since Gogol, these two related, but opposite, *narodnosti* have often been confused with one another."

[770] "...не возьмем мы его в толк, а кажется, по–русски говорит."

[771] This title is used by Freeborn and the summary of the *Sketches* at <http://en.academic.ru>, and also at <http://www.wikipedia.org>. See Turgenev, p. 5, and the websites <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Sportsman's_Sketches> and <http://en.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enwiki/623662>, sites accessed 17 December 2009.

referents: a Reformer and a *russkii nemets*. Such an interpretation is possible because Evgenii intends to reform his estate, and he is accompanied by the German-speaking *chukhon*, Gans. On the other hand, all the terms may refer to a single character, a "*russkii-nemets* Reformer." This interpretation is possible because Gans plays a minor role, and also because the narrator compares Evgenii to the Westernising Peter I. Further, Evgenii contains aspects of the *nemets* Hetero Image, even though it is specified that he represents a *russkii* type: he is a pedant, he does not understand the *narod*, and he is haughty, superficial, and banal.

The ambiguity of the title is indicative of the dual nature of the *nemets* presence in Russia: as the physical presence of foreigners living in the country, embodied by the *chukhon* Gans, and as the presence of the foreign influence in the *russkii* gentry, where the *nemets* represents an aspect of the *russkii* Self. Both roles are cast in ironic terms. First, Gans is not a *nemets* from Germany, and, even though he speaks German, he responds to his master regarding the harnessing of horse: "Ja… sie sind … готовы–с." The addition of the "готовы–с" ("ready, master") implies that Gans is a stronger speaker of Russian than German, because he finishes the sentence in Russian following an ellipsis (готовы), and he adds a verbal sign of submission (–с). These aspects render the German-language conversation between Evgenii and Gans a charade, and they demonstrate the superficial nature of his appropriation of the West: Evgenii undermines his claims of "practicality" by speaking in a language that is foreign to him and his interlocutor. The second ironic element appears in Evgenii's appropriation of Western ideas. Besides his concern for the abstraction of "*reformy*," his only Western aspect is his indulgence in the luxury of pipe smoking, an activity he does in a crude and animalistic manner.[772]

6.3.5.2. The Story as Allegory

This irony of Evgenii's status as a "Reformer," comes into even sharper contrast if we accept the interpretation that he represents a reference to the presiding tsar, Nicholas I. This adds another dimension for the referentiality of the *nemets* within *russkii* society, and it also represents a development of a role of the *nemets* as part of the ruling structure of Russia, as introduced in Chapter Three. I outline six arguments to make this connection:

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[772] Evgenii "grasps the pipe with the side of his mouth, and twists his lips over the amber stem – just like a dog after a hedgehog." For the connection between tobacco and the *nemets*, see Obolenskaja, "Belächelt und Bewundert," p. 54.

1. The fact that the piece was not published during Turgenev's lifetime raises the possibility that it was considered too dangerous for publication – as a direct attack upon the autocrat, rather than just a critique of the landowning system.[773]
2. Evgenii's close association with Gans can be interpreted as an ironic comment upon the close connection between Nicholas I and the Prussian court, as embodied by his wife, Charlotte of Prussia, and his mother, Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg.[774]
3. Evgenii's patronymic is "Aleksandrovich," which could reference Alexander I, whom Nicholas I succeeded to the throne. This reading is reinforced by the fact that Turgenev used the patronymic "Nikolaevich" in an earlier draft, but dropped it in favour of "Aleksandrovich."[775]
4. The very title of "Reformer" can be seen as an ironic dramatisation of the superficial reforms undertaken by Nicholas I, because he was ultimately considered both the "personification of classic autocracy" and "the emperor who froze Russia for 30 years" for his reactionary policies.[776] Further, most of the reforms undertaken by Nicholas I had to do with strengthening the role of central government, as opposed to addressing the needs of the peasantry.[777]
5. As with those who followed Uvarov's "Official *Narodnost'*," Evgenii positions himself neither on the side of the Westernisers nor on the side of the Slavophiles, but seeks to deflate both sides, rather than outline his own plan and means for implementation.[778]
6. The peasants' inability to comprehend their master has two possible interpretations under this lens: as the failure of Uvarov's "Official Nationality" to address the needs of the *russkii* identity crisis, and as a metaphor for the extensive censorship, under

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[773] For the danger in publishing *Sportsman's Sketches,* see Milton Ehre, "I. Turgenev" entry, in *The Handbook of Russian Literature,* pp. 488-489. See also Edmund Wilson, "The Life-Giving Drop," in *Turgenev's Literary Reminiscences and Autobiographical Fragments*, trans. David Magarshack (London, 1984; 1958), pp. 9-59, esp. pp. 12-13, 19.

[774] "Nicholas I" entry, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (2009), at <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9055724>, and "Paul," at <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9058768>, sites accessed 17 December 2009.

[775] Turgenev, *Polnoe sobranie*, p. 518.

[776] "Nicholas I" entry, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, site accessed 17 December 2009.

[777] Cyril E. Black, "Japan and Russia: Bureaucratic Politics in a Comparative Context," in *Social Science History*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Summer, 1978), pp. 414-426; p. 421: "The role of the central government... was reaffirmed and systematized in Russia by the reforms of Nicholas I and Alexander II."

[778] For the failures of "Official *Narodnost'*" to address the concerns of the nascent intelligentsia, see Tolz, pp. 79, 175; Figes, pp. 155, 369; Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, "'Nationality' in the State Ideology during the Reign of Nicholas I," in *Russian Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Jan., 1960), pp. 38-46, esp. pp. 39-43; Gregory L. Freeze, *Russia: A History* (Oxford and New York, 2002; 2000), p. 159; and Lavrin, "Chaadayev," pp. 276-277.

which Turgenev bridled, during Nicholas's rule.[779]

6.3.5.3. Conclusions: Synthesis Enabling *Nemets* as Metaphor

As in the first story, the narrator deploys the currency of the *nemets* as an instrument of self-exploration to critique the alienation that exists between the landowners and the peasants. Evgenii speaks of Slavophile ideals regarding the importance of indigenous character without understanding the *narod,* while he speaks of the West without comprehending *nemets* ideas or institutions. This story can thus function through the strategy of Synthesis as a critique of Nicholas's regime, and also of the inappropriate utilisation of the *nemets* within *russkii* culture. If the West was the place where, as Turgenev would claim, "the source of true knowledge was to be found," Evgenii's implementation can be described as superficial as best.[780] Evgenii's "West," to which he is determined not to bow, emerges as a figment of his imagination – dramatised in his German conversations with a Russian-speaking *chukhon*.

Evgenii's impractical nature leads his serfs to prefer physical violence to the confusion that ensues as a result of the "reforms." One begs, "Master, have mercy! If I am guilty in your eyes, then it's better to punish me with a flogging."[781] The violence of serfdom thus emerges as a self-inflicted, domestic problem, rather than a foreign import – and this counters the Slavophile position that *nemets* influence represented the source of Russia's social problems.[782] While Gogol's *Dead Souls* casts the Westernised *russkie* as foreigners in contrast to the pure *russkie* of *Rus'*, Turgenev casts the process of Westernisation as a force that enables the narrator to establish a genuine relationship with the peasantry, and to articulate their suffering in literary terms.

6.3.6. Turgenev in the Cultural Context of the 1840s

In both stories, the *nemets* is used both allegorically and metaphorically. The allegorical level emerges where the *russkii* landowners – and, by extension, the tsar himself – are shown as disengaged from the realities of the life of the *russkii muzhik* and the peasant village. On the metaphorical level, social alienation is portrayed through the currency of the *nemets* as the polar opposite of the *russkii* – where the *russkii* landowners are like foreigners to their *russkii* serfs. This reading aligns with Turgenev's political

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[779] See Turgenev, *Literary Reminiscences,* pp. 32, 67, 76, 100, 100 (fn.1), 127-128.
[780] See Ehre, "Turgenev," p. 488.
[781] "Батюшка, пощади, – уж коли чем перед тобою виноват, лучше высечь прикажи."
[782] In particular, this could be taken as a refutation of Khomiakov, who, according to Tolz, saw "Russian life as essentially peaceful," which she illustrates with the following quote of his: "We inherited cruelty from the Tatars and the Germans. But soon there will be no trace of it." Tolz, p. 83, cites and translates *Rannie slavianofily,* p. 61.

position as an emerging Westerner in the 1840s:[783] the stories deflate the patriarchal structure of the *russkii* estate, and they portray the relationship between the *muzhik* and *batiushka* as estranged rather than familial.

In the context of the year 1848, Turgenev presents a *nemets* in radically different terms from the images that appears in Sergei Aksakov and Herzen. In the *russkii-nemets* stories, the *nemets* is not a dying, spent force, but rather one that can have a positive impact upon *russkii* culture – if correctly interacted with. An example of this is the narrator of the stories, the gentry hunter who possesses a European-style education, refined sympathies, and also the ability to connect to the peasantry that the *batiushka* lacks. Because the *nemets* is not depicted as a foreign Other, but rather as an aspect of *russkii* culture itself, hope for Russia's future is located in education and civilisation rather than the restrictive confines of the traditional estate.

6.4. Synthesis the 20th Century: Babel's Volga *Nemtsy*

In the Introduction to this thesis, I introduce the puzzle of Babel's *nemtsy* – why did the writer choose the Volga *nemtsy* as subjects for his examination of the Russian Civil War in the 1932 story, "Ivan-da-Mar'ia"?[784] It is possible to revisit the question at this stage, because I have developed the model of the metaphorical *nemtsy*.

How does *nemets* space in this story access the genealogy of Synthesis [42TT]? Katharinenstadt is introduced as "the present capital of the Volga *Nemets* Province, a wonderful region settled by manly, laconic people."[785] The space appears as a *nemets* world within Russia, similar to the *nemets* colony near Piatigorsk and the *nemets* buckwheat field. Because the story is set during the Civil War, the orderly abundance of the Volga steppe represents a foil to the dire situation in Petrograd and the chaos in the rest of the country: overflow instead of shortages, heat instead of cold, and cleanliness instead of filth. The steppe outside the city:

> …is covered with thick, golden wheat, the kind you can only find in Canada. It's covered with sunflowers and oily lumps of black soil. We had come from Petersburg, licked clean by granite flames, to a *russkii*, and therefore all the more unusual, California. A pound of grain cost sixty kopecks in our California, and not ten roubles as in the north.

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[783] See Ehre, "Turgenev," p. 488.
[784] Babel, "Ivan-da-Mari'a," from <http://lib.ru/PROZA/BABEL/story_s.txt>, site accessed 29 March 2010.
[785] "Это теперь столица области немцев Поволжья, прекрасного края, населенного мужественными немногословными людьми."

These black-earth steppe hills deploy the *nemets* Hetero Image as thoroughgoing, efficient, conflated (i.e. as both Canadian and Californian), and predictable, while the depiction adds aspects of the *russkii* Self Image as bountiful, peaceful, and endless. This creates a Synthetic *russkii-nemets* space – a *russkii* California/Canada populated by *nemtsy*. The description of this steppe emphasises the *russkii* aspects precisely because they are absent from Russia proper due to the war.

In accessing these aspects of the Hetero Image, the *nemets* complements the *russkii* to construct a fairytale land of tranquility that is about to be blown apart by war. This aspect had particular resonance in the year it was written, 1932, when famine afflicted the Volga region.[786] As in Turgenev's stories, the Synthetic Model enables social critique by deploying the discursive currency of the *nemets* to analyse *russkii* society – such that the *russkii-nemets* Volga can represent aspects of the *russkii* world that were lost during the Civil War.

6.5. Goncharov's *Oblomov* (1859): Synthesis and Mutual Opposition

6.5.1. Introduction: Rereading Andrei Shtol'ts

In this Section, I return to the 19th century and the chronological progression of Synthesis to analyse Goncharov's *Oblomov*. I argue that the lenses of Mutual Exclusivity and Synthesis compete simultaneously for legitimacy in evaluating the *nemets*. For some characters, the *nemets* is a negatively valued foreigner, opposed to the *russkii* (Section 6.5.2), while for others he[787] functions in a dialogical relationship with the *russkii* (Section 6.5.3). My argument revolves around the character Andrei Shtol'ts; I provide a re-evaluation that challenges the scholarly traditions where he is interpreted as a failed character[788] or as a simple foil to Oblomov.[789] To support this re-evaluation, I argue that

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[786] What started in 1918 as trade between the Bolshevik government and the Volga farmers ended in pillage, and due to lack of grain reserve as well as seeds to plant, further compounded by hot and dry weather, a famine broke out along the Volga in 1921-1922. The population was struck hard. A decade later, in response to resistance toward collectivisation, another famine broke out on the Volga in 1932-1933. See James W. Long, *From Privileged to Dispossessed; The Volga Germans, 1960-19170* (Lincoln, 1988), p. 250; Fred Koch, *The Volga Germans; In Russia and the Americas, from 1763 to the Present* (University Park, 1977), pp. 242-245.

[787] The novel treats mostly male *nemets* characters: The Shtol'tses, the general category of the Burghers, and the neighbouring piano tuner; the exception is the *nemka* governess from Andrei's mother's household, who is only mentioned once.

[788] See Diment, p. 30.

[789] An example of the foil is Monas's assertion that Shtol'ts "represents European competence and efficacy in contrast to Oblomovian sloth." See Monas, p. 84. In What is Oblomovism?" ("Что такое обломовщина?"), Nikolai Dobroliubov argues that, "paying tribute to his times" (отдавая дань своему времени), Goncharov sought to create an "antidote" (противоядие) to Oblomov in Shtol'ts. See N. A. Dobroliubov, "Chto takoe oblomovshchina," in I. A. Goncharov, *Oblomov: roman v chetyrekh chastiakh* (Moscow, 1959), p. 431. For Dobroliubov, such a character could not exist in real Russia at the time

Andrei cannot be considered a diametric opposite to Oblomov, because Andrei represents the culmination of the internal *nemets* and the appearance of a Synthetic *russkii nemets*.[790]

My argument polemicises against these interpretations of Andrei, and it also seeks to contextualise their genealogy within the intellectual climate of the 1850s (Section 6.5.4). This interpretation thus aims to affirm and to modify Milton Ehre's conclusions:

> A reading limited to expounding Oblomov's and Stolz's antithetical opposition not only fails to do justice to the novel's intricacies of thought and experience; it does not even accurately describe what we may call its surface schema – an ideological framework to which experience is occasionally referred but that proves unable to contain it… Stolz, despite his dedication to an ethos of work and activity, is ultimately conceived of as an emblem of synthesis – a figure who will mediate the moral extremes of the novel.[791]

My argument aligns with Ehre's in that I consider Andrei to be a character of Synthesis. I modify Ehre's position of Andrei as a mediator, because I argue that Shtol'ts is perceived in a variety of different ways by other literary characters – which can account for the inconsistency and complexity that some scholars have noted in his character.[792] This means there exists no single moral system whose extremes Andrei can mediate, because he exists simultaneously in different locations within the different systems. This includes the perspective of the narrator: in the last paragraph of the novel, the "writer" of the novel identifies himself as an acquaintance of Andrei, and he identifies Andrei as the narrator who "told [the writer] what is written here."[793] This revelation is unnecessary from the point of view of the plot: the reader does not require an explanation of the narrative structure, and there is no reason why an omniscient, third-person narrator is insufficient. Rather, under my interpretation, this revelation highlights the fact that all the reader knows in the novel is mediated through Andrei's perspective, and it also draws attention to the subjective nature of the pronouncements and descriptions in the novelistic world.

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because "the proper soil does not exist for them [i.e. the Shtol'tses] yet" (но теперь пока для них нет почвы); p. 431.

[790] For an account of how Goncharov *intended* for Shtol'ts to represent Synthesis, but met with mixed success, see Peter Thiergen, "Deutsche und Haldeutsche bei Ivan Gončarov. Eine Skizze," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht – 19./20. Jahrhundert,* pp. 350-365, esp. p. 357. For an account of Shtol'ts as an archetypal *nemets russkii* contradiction, see Pothoff, "Deutsche und Deutschland," pp. 152-153.

[791] Milton Ehre, *Oblomov and his Creator,* p. 197; for a discussion of mutual oppositions, see p. 196.

[792] Thiergen, pp. 361-363.

[793] The novel ends with Shtol'ts and a writer strolling through town. When the writer demonstrates interest in Oblomov's life, Shtol'ts decides to relate everything he can remember about his deceased friend: "'I will tell you in one second, let me just collect my thoughts and memories. You write it down: maybe someone will find it useful.' And he told him what is written here." ("Сейчас расскажу тебе, дай собраться с мыслями и памятью. А ты запиши: может быть, кому-нибудь пригодится." И он рассказал ему, что здесь написано.)

Further, this narratological aspect demonstrates that the depiction of Oblomov, who expresses "Russian provincial stagnation," is mediated through the perspective of the *nemets* element and through a Synthetic narrative structure.[794] Just as in Lermontov's novel, *Oblomov* contains two authors: one who lives and describes the story, and the other who edits the account and adds his own commentary.

6.5.2. The *Nemets* and *Russkii* as Diametric Oppositions

6.5.2.1. Introduction

The *nemets* emerges in terms of Mutual Exclusivity to the *russkii* from four perspectives in the novel, and in this Sub-Section I discuss three of them:[795] Zakhar in relation to the neighbouring *nemtsy*, Andrei's mother in relation to her husband and also the general category of "Burgher *nemtsy*," and Taran'tev in relation to the Shtol'tses. The aspects of the Hetero Image deployed by these characters can be summarised in the following chart:

	Russkii	***Nemets***
	Positive Traits	Negative Traits
1	Open	Hemmed-in (M)
2	Free	Uncontrolled (T)
3	Spontaneous	Predictable (M)
4	Full of Life	Dull (M)
5	Honest	Deceitful (T)
6	Future-Oriented	Past-Oriented (M)
7	Simple	Condescending (T)
8	Noble	Crude, Everyday (M)
9	Dirty	Exceedingly Clean (Z)
10	Spiritual	Demonic (T), (M)
11	Disorderly	Obsessively Orderly (M), (Z)
12	Spiritual	Material (T), (M)
13	Mysterious	Knowable (M), (Z)
14	Generous	Money-Grubbing (T), (M), (Z)

Figure 7.3: Mutual Opposition in Oblomov; Source Key: (Z)=Zakhar, (M)=Mother, (T)=Tarant'ev

In the following Sub-Sections, I discuss these three stereotype-structures. I begin with an analysis of Zakhar's cheap and cruel *nemets*, I follow with Andrei's mother's banal and greedy Burgher, and I finish with Tarant'ev's deceitful and evil *nemets*. To facilitate internal referencing, I underline and parenthesise references to Figure 7.3.

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[794] See Ehre "Goncharov," p. 178, in reference to "Oblomov's Dream."
[795] The fourth perspective emerges from Mukhoiarov, whose contribution is not mentioned here.

6.5.2.2. Zakhar's Cheap and Cruel *Nemets*

Zakhar's contributions to the list (9, 11, 13, 14) emerge from one exchange in the novel [42[UU]]: when Oblomov confronts him regarding the messy state of their apartment, Zakhar defends himself through a comparison to the negatively valued cleanliness of their neighbour, who is a *nemets* piano tuner.[796] Zakhar argues that he could not possibly keep the flat as tidy as they do, because the *nemtsy* live in a spare and cheap manner, as opposed to the abundance of Oblomov's flat:

> "And where are the *nemtsy* to get rubbish from?" shouted Zakhar suddenly. "Just take a look at how they live! The entire family has just one bone to gnaw on for the whole week. And the father passes the coat off his back to his son, and then back to the father. And the wife and the daughters have short little dresses. And then they all cross their legs like geese. Where are they supposed to get rubbish from?"[797]

This passage accesses four aspects of the *nemets* Hetero Image: as clean (9), because their flat lacks rubbish, or anything else; as orderly (11), because they can institute such a structured lifestyle; as money-grubbing (14), because they live off bones for their sustenance, even though the father has a respectable occupation; and as knowable (13), because the extent of their material life is defined, whereas Oblomov's residence is characterised by its clutter and the innumerability of its objects. As with the image of *nemets* space discussed in Chapter Four, to observe the exterior of the *nemtsy* is to understand their character.

Zakhar considers the neighbour to be a typical *nemets*: he raises the individual situation to the general level with the exclamation "Where are the *nemtsy* to get rubbish from?" It is important to emphasise, though, that Zakhar attributes these characteristics to the *nemets* neighbour, but not to Andrei Shtol'ts – and this aspect underlines the role of perspective in the novel. For Zakhar, Andrei appears as a close family friend, and he is thus not subjected to stereotypical thinking. The manner of address reflects this relationship: Zakhar refers to him as "Andrei Ivanych," which uses his first name and patronymic – and he often adds the term for patriarchal respect, *batiushka* (i.e. the

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[796] Zakhar refers to two characters in the course of the novel as *nemtsy* – the first, a piano tuner, and the second, a merchant: "Where are the *nemtsy* going to come up with filth?" (А где немцы сору возьмут?), I:1; "I was first sent off to [work for] a *nemets*, a merchant" (Вот определился было я к немцу, к купцу), IV:11.

[797] "'А где немцы сору возьмут,' вдруг возразил Захар. 'Вы поглядите-ко, как они живут! Вся семья целую неделю кость гложет. Сюртук с плеч отца переходит на сына, а с сына опять на отца. На жене и дочерях платьишки коротенькие: все поджимают под себя ноги, как гусыни... Где им сору взять?' (I:1)"

element that Fokhtlender's estate lacks).[798] Because Zakhar defers to Andrei as he would to other *russkii* gentlemen, he follows *russkii* social conventions, and this excludes Andrei from the category of the money-grubbing, cruel, orderly, and negatively clean Other.

6.5.2.3. The Labyrinth of Burgher Life: *Nemtsy* According to Andrei's Mother

Andrei's *russkii* mother also refers to Andrei with a non-*nemets* version of his name: when the narrator adopts her perspective, he deploys the diminutive form of Andrei, "Andriusha."[799] As with Zakhar, Andrei does not represent a typical *nemets* for her – though, in his youth, she worried that he would become a typical *nemets* Burgher like his father. She feared this outcome because she believes that the *nemets* nature is tied to money, materialism, arrogance, and boredom, and that each *nemets* follows the same pattern as his father and his father's father, *ad infinitum* [43^{VV}]. This image – the excruciating repetition of the *nemets* – appears in the same discursive current as Gogol's Rhineland scenery and Herzen's travels through France, and it prefigures the repetition of churches and streets in Dolinin's account of the *russkii* Berlin. In addition to these traits, Andrei's mother deploys other aspects of the labyrinth – including cruelty and restrictiveness – to characterise the *nemets* essence:

> [Andrei's mother] did not at all like this work-intensive, practical upbringing. She was afraid that her son would become the same kind of *nemets* Burgher as his father's antecedents. She looked upon the *nemets* nation as a one proprietary middle-class crowd. She did not like crudeness, self-reliance, or the arrogance with which the whole *nemets* mass showed off their Burgher rights that they had fashioned over the last thousand years. And they showed them off like cows wear their horns, unable, by the way, to hide them. As far as she saw it, there wasn't a single gentleman among the whole *nemets* nation, nor could there ever be. She could not detect any softness, delicateness, or leniency in the *nemets* character. There wasn't anything that made life pleasant in good society, nothing that could bypass a rule, break with a custom, or not comply with a statute.

This passage accesses ten of the traits under discussion; I provide a brief analysis of each to demonstrate how her *nemets* aligns with the Hetero Image developed in Chapter Five:

1. As Hemmed-in: Andrei's mother refers the *nemets* nation (нация) as a crowd (толпа) and as a mass (масса), which access the *nemets* stereotype as hemmed-in and constricted – and as part of an imaginary, conflated "nation." This aspect of the Hetero Image is

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[798] An example of this is when Zakhar meets Andrei later in life at the very of the novel after falling on hard times: "Oh, oh, father Andrei Ivanych!" (Ах, ах, батюшка, Андрей Иваныч!); IV:11.

[799] The mother's perspective appears in the first chapter of Part Two: "His mother always looked around worriedly when Andriusha disappeared from home" (Мать всегда с беспокойством смотрела, как Андрюша исчезал из дома).

dramatised in the imagination of Andrei's mother by the narrow life allowed to the *nemets* Burgher.

3. As Predictable: The *nemets* Burgher has no choice in the path of his life, and he is incapable of breaking the rules, customs, and statutes of his "nation." There is no leeway for deviation from their pre-determined trajectory, which progresses as though along a line (как по линейке). This aspect emphasises the linear aspect of the labyrinth, which represents a progression from one point to another along the surface of things, with no concern for the deeper aspects of life.

4. As Dull: Without any allowance for deviation along the "line," there is nothing to make life pleasant for the *nemtsy*; thus, the *nemtsy* conduct boringly correct lives (скучную правильность жизни). For Andrei's mother, the dullness of *nemets* life is connected to the harshness of their upbringing, and she despises the practical education and the *nemets* work ethic that Andrei receives from his father. For her, these aspects of *nemets* life are characterised by the image of the *nemtsy* going through life "with their hands turning the millstone" (ворочающими жернова).

6. As Past-Oriented: According to Andrei's mother, the *nemets* future is chained to its past. This emerges in the invocation of the repetitious generations and the 1,000 year-old traditions. From this perspective, the *nemtsy* lack the spontaneity and the improvisational aspects of the *russkii* character.

8. As Crude and Everyday: Andrei's mother believes that the *nemtsy* cannot become gentlemen, nor can they possess the refinement of the *russkii* gentry: rather, they have "big rough hands," and they use "rude speech" (большие грубые руки; грубая речь). Through the repetition of the word "грубый," the lack of refinement and "softness" applies to the structures of *nemets* appearance, character, and spatiality.

10. As Demonic: The demonic aspect emerges in her reference to her husband as a "heathen" in II:2 (А старый-то нехристь хорош!). This accesses the demonic aspect of the *nemets* Hetero Image discussion in Chapters Three and Five, and it also connects to Pechorin's demonic Byronism, and Verner's nickname "Mephistopheles."[800]

11. As Obsessively Orderly: For Andrei's mother, the *nemets* lifestyle does not allow for the slightest deviation from the pattern of Burgher life; thus, their lives and characters are determined by "commonplace order" (пошлый порядок).[801]

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[800] See Leatherbarrow, "Pechorin's Demons,"

[801] For the link between "*poshlust*" (sic), the *nemtsy,* and Gogol's worldview, see Nabokov, *Gogol,* pp. 64-66.

12. As Material: Because the *nemtsy* base their lives upon Burgher structure and values, their only interest lies in accruing material wealth, rather than in developing the spiritual side of their lives. This aspect is also established by the linear metaphor, wherein the *nemets* Burgher only cares about the surface of things. This accesses Herzen's hatred of bourgeois values, and it also prefigures the negative attitude towards the *nemets* accumulation of wealth that emerges in Dostoevsky's *The Gambler* [44^{WW}].[802]

13. As Knowable: For Andrei's mother, *nemets* arrogance and crudeness are as plain as are "horns on cows," which means that they are on prominent display and cannot be hidden. The *nemets* thus lacks key aspects of the *russkii* Self Image: mystery, humility, and hidden potential. As with Zakhar's condemnation of the *nemets* neighbour, to observe the outside of the *nemets* is to understand the inside.

14. As Money-Grubbing: The *nemets* concern for money is so pervasive that the only goal of their lives is "the labour-intensive gaining of money" (трудженическое добывание денег). This emphasises the material aspect of their character, because they only value what can be quantified, and they are willing to sacrifice comfort to increase their accumulation.

Fortunately for Andrei's mother, her son "was raised on *russkii* soil," and not in the "everyday crowd, with the Burgher cow horns."[803] As with Zakhar's deployment of the stereotypical *nemets*, Andrei's mother does not apply the category to Andrei.

6.5.2.4. Tarant'ev's Scheming *Nemets*

Oblomov's acquaintance Tarant'ev, on the other hand, considers Andrei to be a typical condescending *nemets* (7). Tarant'ev exploits the negative stereotypical currency of the *nemets* image in a conversation where he attempts to turn Oblomov against Andrei: he asserts that the *nemets* cannot be trusted because he is uncontrollable (2)[804], demonic (10)[805], and he plans to swindle Oblomov (5)[806]. The following passage elucidates Tarant'ev's position, and it accesses the *nemets* traits of materialism (12) and greed (14):

> A fine lad indeed! Suddenly from his father's forty roubles he's made capital of 300,000, and then he becomes a Court Councillor, and he's even educated.... And

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[802] See also Alexander Gerschenkron, "Time Horizon in Russian Literature," in *The Slavic Review*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Dec., 1975), pp. 692-715; esp. p. 697, where he analyses the *nemets* monologue in the *Gambler* ("I shall not worship the *nemets* method of accumulation of riches...").

[803] "Утешься, добрая мать: твой сын вырос на русской почве - не в будничной толпе, с бюргерскими коровьими рогами, с руками, ворочающими жернова."

[804] Andrei is always in foreign lands, "шатается по чужим землям," and it is unclear where "пострел везде поспел" (I:4).

[805] Andrei is "немец проклятый," (an accursed *nemets*) and his whole set of affairs is "нечисто" (unclean).

[806] Andrei is deceitful because he plans to gouge Oblomov: "немец твой облупит тебя."

> now he's always travelling off somewhere! The little rogue is off everywhere! Are you telling me a genuine, good *russkii* person would ever do that? A *russkii* person would choose something and then go through with it, without rushing. He'd do it nice and easy, but he'd go off and get it done![807]

Tarant'ev thus attempts to convince Oblomov that he should trust a Christian *russkii* and not a *nemets*, whom he casts explicitly and implicitly as a heathen (проклятый; 10). This strategy fails because, as with Zakhar, Oblomov does not view Andrei as an Other; rather, he is "closer than any relation," because they grew up together.[808]

Tarant'ev's assertions are deployed for his own selfish ends, and they prove to be hypocritical in three respects. First, Tarant'ev does not differentiate between foreigners, and the English, French, and *nemtsy* are all the same to him – crooks and bandits.[809] Therefore, it is ultimately arbitrary for Tarant'ev who has influence over Oblomov, as long as they can be cast as an Other. Secondly, Tarant'ev desires to swindle Oblomov; he constantly asks for money, and he steals from Oblomov when he can. Thirdly, at an earlier stage of the conversation cited above, Tarant'ev scolds Oblomov for not providing him with a foreign cigar, and he prefers French snuff and English wine shops to their Domestic equivalents – thus anticipating Turgenev's Slavophile Pavel Kirsanov who reads nothing in Russian while living in Germany.[810] This demonstrates that Tarant'ev's deployment of the *nemets* stereotypes is ultimately mediated through hypocrisy, and that it represents what he picks and chooses based upon utility, rather than a coherent worldview.

6.5.3. Synthesis in Oblomov's Andrei Shtol'ts

6.5.3.1. Introduction: Undermining Mutual Opposition Through the *Shlafrok*

Mutual Exclusivity between the *russkii* and the *nemets* represents an aspect of four characters' perspectives, and only Tarant'ev and Mukhoiarov include Andrei in this category.[811] It is therefore surprising to note that many scholars consider Andrei and Oblomov to be foils or diametric opposites of each other. These critics include David

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[807] "Хорош мальчик! Вдруг из отцовских сорока сделал тысяч триста капиталу, и в службе за надворного перевалился, и ученый... теперь вон еще путешествует! Пострел везде поспел! Разве настоящий-то хороший русский человек станет все это делать? Русский человек выберет что-нибудь одно, да и то еще не спеша, потихоньку да полегоньку, кое-как, а то на-ко, поди!" Magarshack translates "Пострел везде поспел!" as, "The rogue has a finger in every pie!" in Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov,* trans. D. Magarshack (London and New York, 1954), p. 59.

[808] "Ближе всякой родни: я вместе с ним рос, учился."

[809] "В глазах его француз, немец, англичанин были синонимы мошенника, обманщика, хитреца или разбойника."

[810] Tarant'ev prefers the wine from the English shop to the wine from the *nemets* shop: - "Это прежняя-то, от немца? Нет, изволь в английском магазине купить."

[811] Mukhoiarov refers to Andrei as condescending: "You never told me what kind of a *nemets* he was!" ("Не сказал, что это за немец такой!"); IV:7.

Magarshack (1954)[812], V. Skvoznikov (1963)[813], Hugh McLean (1998)[814], and even Milton Ehre (1985)[815]. To be sure, there are many aspects in which Andrei and Oblomov are opposites, particularly in their approaches to work and their relationships with Olga.[816] Andrei has a keen grasp of financial systems, while Oblomov is mystified by all monetary transactions. Andrei's financial vision also extends into the future, while Oblomov prays that the next day will be the same as the previous. But there are also a number of similarities between the two: both are good natured, friendly, and honest. Both are also capable of complete immobility: Oblomov through his sloth, and Andrei when he is in a seated position: "If [Shtol'ts] sat, then he sat calmly, and if he acted, then he used only as many facial expressions as were necessary."[817] The two characters are also portrayed as similar in their childhood, because both enjoy running through Oblomovka – Shtol'ts to the encouragement of his father, and Oblomov to the horror of his mother and nurses.

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[812] Magarshack does not argue that Shtol'ts is a foil in his character traits, but rather that he is the opposite of Oblomov in terms of artistic success. Magarshack asserts that: "With the sole exception of Stolz, who is certainly too good to be true and whom Goncharov himself declared to be 'weak and pale – the idea of him peeping through too nakedly', the main characters of the novel – Oblomov and his servant Zakhar as well as Olga and Mrs Pshenitzyn – remain vitally alive in spite of the fact that the world in which they lived is as dead as a doornail." See Goncharov, *Oblomov,* p. x. This interpretive perspective regarding Shtol'ts as a failure – to the degree that Oblomov is a success – has its roots in scholars such as Marc Slonim, who argued in 1953: "The Russian classics had made impressive exposés of social evils and had excelled in portraying sinners and weaklings, in dealing with foibles and vices, but they had never been too successful in depicting saints, or even simple affirmative characters… Goncharov's man of action, the worthy Stolz, is, as an artistic achievement, infinitely inferior to the unforgettable and superfluous Oblomov, the laziest man in the world." Marc Slonim, *Modern Russian Literature: From Chekhov to the Present* (Oxford and New York, 1953), p. 393.

[813] Skvoznikov emphasises the oppositional elements in Shtol'ts: "Almost all critics [with the exception of Pisarev] from all different schools of thought came together on the understanding of one point that is self-evident to the reader: that the energetic virtue, in opposition to the protagonist, is sketched in a pretentious manner" ("Почти все критики при всех различиях сходились на том самоочевидном для читателя обстоятельстве, что активная добродетель, противопоставленная герою, немечена декларативно"). See V. Skvoznikov's introductory essay, "Roman I. A. Goncharova 'Oblomov'," in I. A. Goncharov, *Oblomov* (Moscow, 1963), p. 5.

[814] McLean introduces Shtol'ts as the antithesis to Oblomov. While Oblomov's "'Russian' indolence" is "all too palpable," the "'German' virtues" embodied by Shtol'ts "are never actually exhibited as manifested in agriculture, and indeed throughout the novel the Stolz side of the contrast remains largely a theoretical abstraction." See Hugh McLean, "The Countryside," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Classic Russian Novel*, p. 50.

[815] While Ehre ascribes an important role for Shtol'ts in the novel, and breaks with critical tradition by asserting the need to consider Shtol'ts as more than a simple foil to Oblomov, he still regards the character as one of the two "weak points" in the novel: "[Stolz] is everything Oblomov is not – active, energetic, sensible, and practical. Presented as a didactic counter to lazy Oblomov, he turns out to lack precisely those virtues that Oblomov embodies – tenderness and imagination. As in the insistence of Pyotr and Aleksandr Aduev, each is a foil to the other. Stolz is wooden and unconvincing, but his relationship with Oblomov is complex and contributes much to the novel's range of implications." See Milton Ehre, "I. Goncharov" entry, in *The Handbook of Russian Literature,* p. 179.

[816] See Gerschenkron, "Time Horizon," and Larry R. Andrews, "The Spatial Imagery of Oblomovism," in *Neophilologus* 72 (1988), pp. 321-334.

[817] "Если он сидел, то сидел покойно, если же действовал, то употреблял столько мимики, сколько было нужно" (II:2).

Oblomov and Andrei also had similar plans in their youth to implement academic study for self-improvement: both committed to work hard, to live poetically, and to develop Russia's "inexhaustible resources" (неистощимые источники). In the passage that describes this period, Oblomov and Shtol'ts are compared in similar terms rather than as opposites: "Shtol'ts's youthful ardour infected Oblomov, and he was dying of thirst for work, and for a distant yet fascinating goal."[818] Even though this mental state would prove to be temporary for Oblomov, this does not diminish the fact that they shared a common vision of the future. Andrei reminds Oblomov of this when he exhorts Oblomov to action in the beginning of Part II.[819] The two can be considered literary doubles, but this does not extend to diametric opposition. Ironically, Sazonova's condemnation of Shtol'ts as obsessed with money and profit no matter the cost would apply more aptly to Tarant'ev than to Andrei.[820] In this regard, Tarant'ev emerges as a more suitable foil for Oblomov – he is dishonest, active, and his mercenary materialism is in diametric opposition to Oblomov's unconcerned passivity.

Many commentators ascribe the role of the "East" to Oblomov and the "West" to Shtol'ts, citing the Oriental dressing gown as the proof of Oblomov's Easternness and Andrei's surname and father as proof of his Westernness.[821] This reading, however, disregards the *nemets* associations of the dressing gown when it is first introduced in the second paragraph of the novel: "The lack of concern passed from his face into the posture of his entire body, even into the folds of his *shlafrok*."[822] Instead of using the more common term, *khalat*, the narrator here chooses a German word, the barbarism

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[818] "Юношеский жар Штольца заражал Обломова, и он сгорал от жажды труда, далекой, но обаятельной цели" (I:6).

[819] Andrei reminds Oblomov of his words "to serve, while I have the strength, because Russia needs hands and heads to extract her inexhaustible resources. To work in order to rest the more sweetly. And the rest will be to live a different life, an artistic and elegant kind of life – the life of artists and poets." (...служить, пока станет сил, потому что России нужны руки и головы для разработывания неистощимых источников (твои слова); работать, чтоб слаще отдыхать, а отдыхать - значит жить другой, артистической, изящной стороной жизни, жизни художников, поэтов); II:4.

[820] For Sazonova, Shtol'ts "is decent, honorable, and as practical and active as his friend Oblomov is the opposite. But however high Goncharov tries to raise him in our opinion, for some reason or other we do not like Stolz, and we do like Oblomov, to whom Goncharov in spite of himself gave an irresistible charm. Stolz is still the same sort of precise German that we have met in Lazhechnikov; he likes money, like Leskov's Schultz or Gogol's Schiller – except that he needs to get in ten years not 50,000 rubles, but a great deal more. Stolz has a good-natured disdain for Russians, although everything he has comes from them. He has the regular German conceit, and in his relations with Oblomov he maintains the superior attitude of the man who has the power" (65).

[821] See Galya Diment, "Goncharov" entry, in *Russian Novelists in the Age of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky,* ed. J. A. Ogden and J .E. Kalb (Farmington Hills, 2001), pp. 90-106, esp. p. 100.

[822] "С лица беспечность переходила в позы всего тела, даже в складки шлафрока" (I:1).

shlafrok.[823] This word is rare enough for it to be listed in the *Oxford Russian Dictionary* (2000) as obsolete, and the term required an explanatory note in a 1959 Soviet publication of the novel.[824] Later in the first Chapter, the *shlafrok* is re-cast as an Eastern *khalat*, which bears "no mark of the West whatsoever" [44^{XX}]. On one hand, as a *khalat*, the dressing gown emerges as the opposite of the West, and appears to align Oblomov with the East. On the other hand, as a *shlafrok*, it emerges as a style of behaviour that is mediated through the *nemets*. From this perspective, it represents an imitated Western model – analogous to the "прическа à la moujik" in Lermontov. The *shlafrok/khalat* becomes a symbol of the paradox of *russkii* identity, because it represents how the anti-*nemets* is mediated through the *nemets* perspective. It thus demonstrates the internalisation of the *nemets* within *russkii* culture, because it marks the *nemets* element in Oblomov in a symbol that appears to bear "no mark of the West whatsoever." This aspect illustrates the Synthetic lens in the narrative, and also the impossibility of dividing Andrei and Oblomov along the lines of clear diametric opposites.[825]

6.5.3.2. Andrei Shtol'ts as the Product of Synthesis

Opposition between Oblomov the *russkii* and Andrei the *nemets* is undermined because Oblomov's *russkii* nature involves this paradox, and also because Andrei is not categorised as a *nemets*, as I have indicated in my discussion of Zakhar and Andrei's mother. I have also indicated how Andrei's Synthetic character emerges on the familial level: Andrei has a *russkii* mother, and he is "closer than any relative" to Oblomov. This familial level extends to the linguistic level: Oblomov refers to his close friend most often as "Andrei," a *russkii* name that does not introduce the distance of Otherness between the characters, and which reflects their brotherly relationship. Indeed, Oblomov refers to him as "Brother Andrei" twice in the novel.[826] Overall, Oblomov refers to or addresses his friend 72 times; of those, Oblomov uses the name "Shtol'ts" nine times and the name "Andrei" 63 times – which includes the formal "Andrei Ivanych," used with Olga and

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[823] In a google.com search of the Russia literature website www.az.lib.ru, that contains most classical Russian novels, the term *"shlafrok"* returns 104 hit as opposed to 977 hits for "*khalat*." This is from a www.google.com search of "халат site:az.lib.ru" versus "шлафрок site:az.lib.ru," search performed 7 March 2009. In Oblomov, *khalat* is used 30 times, while *shlafrok* is used four times.

[824] See the *Oxford Russian Dictionary* (2000), p. 576, and the 1959 "Biblioteka shkol'nika" version of *Oblomov,* p. 3 (n. 2).

[825] Further complicating the relationship between Oblomov and Shtol'ts (and destabilising an interpretation of one as *russkii* and the other as *nemets*), Thiergen argues that Oblomov demonstrates aspects of the philistine, including Oblomov's characterisation as a peaceful observer, and the narrowness of his life; see Thiergen, pp. 362-363.

[826] Two occurrences of "брат Андрей" appear in II:3: when Andrei inquires after Andrei's health, Oblomov replies: "'Oh, no, brother Andrei, it's going poorly,' Oblomov said, sighing. 'Poor health indeed!'" ("Ох, нет, плохо, брат Андрей, - вздохнув, сказал Обломов, - какое здоровье!").

Zakhar. Oblomov's stylisation of Andrei's name thus reflects the naming styles that emerge in Zakhar and Andrei's mother, because it includes Andrei in his In Group.

But is Andrei not referred to as a *nemets* in the novel from sources besides Tarant'ev and Mukhoiarov? If true, this would undermine the levels of Synthesis, because it would confer upon Andrei a more stable *nemets* identity. The narrator does refer to Andrei as "Shtol'ts," and he even depicts Andrei as a *nemets* three times – though each appears under qualified circumstances. The first appears when the narrator describes Andrei's background at the beginning of Part Two: "Shtol'ts was only a *nemets* by half, from his father's side."[827] Despite its awkward ring, I translate "немец только вполовину" as "only *nemets* by half."[828] This is because Andrei is a qualified kind of *nemets*, rather than exactly one half of a *nemets* – this distinction is important, because Andrei's identity appears as the product of cultural interaction, rather than as the composite of two Complementary identities.[829]

The second qualified depiction is of Andrei as a "*nemets* boy" (немецкий мальчик), which also appears during the description of his childhood. While this initially seems to characterise Andrei as a *nemets*, the context of the utterance undermines the stability of the categorisation: the narrator deploys this term during a discussion of how Andrei was influenced by *russkii* factors such as the "kind, greasy, *russkii* caresses."[830] These two traits – the greasiness (жирный also connotes thickness and richness) and kindness – oppose the image of the *nemets* Hetero Image in the novel, such as the cruelty and meanness of the *nemets* piano tuner. Therefore, Andrei's status as a "*nemets* boy" is one of the factors in his developing personality, but not his essential nature. The label can also be read ironically: the narrator refers to him as a "*nemets* boy" just as he explains the factors that prohibit the boy from becoming a *nemets*.

The third instance appears in Part IV of the book, where the narrator offers the following explanation for Andrei's proclivity towards rationality: "Either because of his *nemets* nature or because of some other reason, he was not able to hold back from conclusions."[831] But while the image of a "*nemets* nature" is introduced for Andrei, it is

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[827] "Штольц был немец только вполовину, по отцу." The description of Shtol'ts's upbring appears in II:1.

[828] Magarshack translates this passage differently from my rendering: "Stolz was only half German; on his father's side" (153). Magarshack's version is more elegant, but it effaces the "вполовину" element from the original.

[829] The word "вполовину" (by half) is a colloquial term, as opposed to "на половину" (half of). *Oxford Russian Dictionary,* (2000), p. 57.

[830] "...русские, добрые, жирные ласки" (II:2).

[831] "...по немецкой своей натуре или по чему-нибудь другому, не мог удержаться от вывода" (IV:8).

undermined by the narrator's indeterminacy: Andrei's behaviour can be explained by his *nemets* instincts, or it could be "because of some other reason." An essential reading is offered, but not endorsed – just as multiple perspectives emerge in the "Easternness" of Oblomov's *shlafrok/khalat*. Therefore, the narrator does not once refer to Andrei as a "*nemets*" in an unqualified manner. Rather, Andrei is a product of a *russkii* mother and *nemets* father and the dialogue between these two cultural forces.

The familial and linguistic levels are paralleled by Andrei's education: his instruction from his father consists of geographical maps, grammatical lessons, Biblical verses, Herder, and Wieland. His instruction from his mother consists of reading the Saints' lives, Krylov's fables, and Fénelon's "The Adventures of Telemachus."[832] Regarding his lifestyle, his father educates him in the *nemets* tradition of strict Burgher values, while his mother educates him in the *russkii* gentry tradition of tenderness. It is important to add that even the "*russkii*" side of Andrei's upbringing includes a Western element, in Fénelon. Therefore, even the ostensibly pure *russkii* maternal influence includes foreign mediation and the process of cultural translation.

The key metaphors for Andrei's development are tactile (i.e. through the soft *russkii* caresses and the rough *nemets* hands), and they are also spatial, which emerge in three passages. First, during the description of Andrei's childhood, the narrator deploys a spatial metaphor to demonstrate how the *russkii* elements widened the possibilities of Andrei's life from the narrow path of the crude and limited *nemets* Burgher: they "turned the narrow little *nemets* rut into such a wide road."[833] Andrei overcomes the restrictive space due to his interaction with the "open road" chronotope. The narrator thus continues the pattern set by Andrei's mother in his deployment of the *nemets* labyrinth – a space from which Andrei escapes.

A second spatial metaphor appears when the narrator asserts that Andrei did not become a dull and crude Burgher because he was born on the "*russkii* soil" and that "nearby there was Oblomovka, where there was an eternal holiday!"[834] The botanical metaphor – where the soil augments the development of a plant – marks the effect of *russkii* space upon Andrei: it prevents his *nemets* traits from taking root. *Russkii* space thus forms the Thesis (i.e. disorderly, emotional, wide-open) while the *nemets* space

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[832] Goncharov, *Oblomov,* II:1.
[833] "...обратят узенькую немецкую колею в такую широкую дорогу" (II:1).
[834] "...твой сын вырос на русской почве... Вблизи была Обломовка: там вечный праздник!" (II:1).

forms the Antithesis (i.e. orderly, rational, constricted) from which a Synthesis is achieved through the dialogic process of Andrei's interaction with the two forces.

The third spatial metaphor functions on two levels: as an articulation of Andrei's abstract influences, and as a concrete space that Andrei encounters during his upbringing. The influence of the "wide-open freedom of lordly life" combines with the indolence of Oblomovka, and these *russkii* forces counter-balance the primness of his *nemets* house: "On one hand, there was Oblomovka, and on the other was the prince's manor with the wide-open freedom of lordly life, and these met with the *nemets* element, and from this Andrei became neither a good *Bursch,* nor even a philistine."[835] As Oblomovka exerts a greater influence over Andrei than the Oblomov family, he emerges as a product of his environment in a literal sense – in addition to the layers of metaphors.

Andrei therefore embodies Synthesis on a number of different levels: familial, as he has a *nemets* father and *russkii* mother; educational, as he receives sentimental poetry and logic from his father and fairy tales and Orthodox reading from his mother; biological, as he has a *nemets* nature but was raised on the *russkii* soil; and spatial, as he is a product of interaction with two opposing environments. His professional life reflects this Synthesis, because he spends part of his time in Russia, and part of it conducting business in Western Europe. This aspect also elucidates the relationship between Oblomov and Andrei in the novel: they are not opposites, but rather Andrei is a product of dialogue between Oblomov's world (of which his mother is a part), and his father's world. This model also shows the futility of attempting to ascribe a valuation system to these characters, because they exist in a system of reciprocal influence. According to this interpretation, Oblomov's son, Andrei – who is to be raised by Andrei Shtol'ts – represents the continuation of Synthesis in *russkii* culture, as opposed to its establishment.[836]

6.5.3.3. The Critical Tradition Regarding Andrei Shtol'ts

I have argued thus far that Andrei is not a character who *is meant* to be positive and *prove* Oblomov to be negative, because Andrei is dependent upon Oblomov's world for his own Synthetic character. Without Oblomovka and the influence of this *russkii*

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[835] "С одной стороны, Обломовка, с другой - княжеский замок, с широким раздольем барской жизни, встретились с немецким элементом, и не вышло из Андрея ни доброго бурша, ни даже филистера" (II:1).

[836] For an example from Oblomov scholarship that regards Andrei Oblomov as a representative of a "dual inheritance" of Shtol'ts and Oblomov, who are interpreted as opposites, see Christine Borowec, "Time after Time: The Temporal Ideology of Oblomov," in *The Slavic and East European Journal, Vol.* 38, No. 4 (Winter, 1994), pp. 561-573, esp. p. 571.

soil, Andrei would have become a Burgher – the worst fate possible from the perspective of Andrei's mother, and the embodiment of the *nemets* labyrinth.

My analysis examines the range of possibilities in the deployments of the *nemets* Hetero Image, and it also serves a polemical aim: to challenge the scholarly tradition of Andrei as a simple foil because of his one-dimensionality. This emerges in its clearest form in Sazonova's essay discussed in Chapter One, because she argues that Shtol'ts is not the positive one, but rather he is Oblomov. Further, she interprets every one of Oblomov's traits as opposed diametrically to those of Shtol'ts, including his *russkii* kindness and generosity. Such a reading, however, ignores the possibility that the two interact in a dialectic system, and that they demonstrate mutual dependence: Oblomov upon Andrei as the narrator of his story, and Andrei upon Oblomov for the narrative material. This dependence also emerges in their social relationship: Andrei depends upon Oblomov for acceptance into the familial In Group, and Oblomov depends upon Andrei for the arrangement of his practical affairs (including the raising of his son). According to my interpretation, the position that Andrei is a simple foil of Oblomov reflects the discourse of Mutual Exclusivity rather than the dynamism of Goncharov's novel. Because the *russkii* and *nemets* are assumed to be opposites, and because any comparison between the two categories represents an ideologically loaded proposition, this lens posits that one of the characters must be positive (as a model) while the other must be negative (as a point of criticism).

Another tradition interprets Andrei as a failed character. This began with Dobroliubov's critical response in 1859, and it has been endorsed by Goncharov, Mirsky[837], Skvoznikov[838], and Diment.[839] Dobroliubov criticises Andrei as an unrealistic

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[837] Mirsky writes in his *History of Russian Literature* that Shtol'ts embodies Goncharov's shortcomings as an artist, and even takes the author to task for "moral insufficiency": "It is here [i.e. in Shtol'ts] that Goncharov's intellectual and moral insufficiency comes out: Stolz is hopelessly uninteresting and flat. Of course the whole of the author's subconscious and imaginative sympathy is with Oblomov, but Goncharov, the bureaucrat and the littérateur, in trying to endow the hero of work, Stolz, with all he could imagine of efficient virtue, only revealed his own smallness" (192).

[838] For Skvoznikov, Shtol'ts represents the ideals of pre-Soviet bourgeois society that Oblomov rejects through his inertness and refusal to take part in the world. For him, Andrei's failure is more of an ideological than artistic problem: "The 'dove-like soul' of Oblomov decisively rejects the world of false activity, which is hostile to man, life, and nature – and most of all he rejects the world of active bourgeois 'business'" ('Голубиная душа' Обломова решительно отрицает мир фальшивой активности, враждебной человеку, жизни, природе, – прежде всего мир активного буржуазного 'дела'). See p. 22 of the introductory essay.

[839] Diment suggests that the purpose for Andrei's inclusion is as "the ultimate prototype for the future Russian heroes who would carry out the best that the West and the East can offer." But Andrei fails to achieve this task as a character because, "as many critics point out, Stolz as a character is too schematic, unconvincing, and probably 'un-Russian' to embody this ideal role to Goncharov's – or his readers' – satisfaction" (30).

character, because, in his view, there was no "soil" for such a person to exist in *russkii* society in the late 1850s.[840] He develops this criticism into a reproach to the author, who, he argues, has described an unrealistic social phenomenon: "Regarding [Andrei], we must repeat once more our recurring position that literature should not run too far ahead of life itself."[841] While Dobroliubov had other purposes in mind than the analysis of literature in his essay, it is clear from this assertion that he does not view *russkii* society as capable of producing an Andrei at that point in time.[842] It is appropriate to remark that, even though this interpretation disregards the importance of Andrei in the narrative, the argument applies the Synthetic lens – Dobroliubov conceives of this type arriving "with *russkii* names" (под русскими именами), but in the future tense, rather that the contemporary social world of 1859. For the critic, Synthesis follows social change, not the other way around.

Dobroliubov therefore takes issue not with substance of the character (as subsequent critics would), but rather with the timeframe. Indeed, if Dobroliubov were to take this character as possible in the present tense, his argument would collapse, because he reads the novel as a social document, just as Belinskii does with Gogol's *Dead Souls.*[843] If he admits the possibility of Andrei's existence in Russia, there would be no foundations to portray Oblomovism as a general social ill pervasive across Russia – and as an inevitable result of serfdom. In Dobroliubov's polemical world, because Andrei represents the purpose of social reform rather than the means, the character must be considered an impossibility in the present tense.

6.6. Synthesis Visions of the 1860s: Bazarov and Rakhmetov

6.6.1. Introduction

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[840] "...теперь пока для них нет почвы." N. A. Dobroliubov, "Chto takoe oblomovshchina?" from <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Что_такое_обломовщина%3F_(Добролюбов)>, site accessed 24 March 2010.

[841] "Но по поводу этого лица мы должны еще раз повторить наше постоянное мнение – что литература не может забегать слишком далеко вперед жизни." Dobroliubov, "Chto takoe oblomovshchina?"

[842] Alfred Kuhn argues that Dobroliubov's essay had many goals, and that "none of [them] were strictly literary." One goal was to attack Herzen's interpretation of the "superfluous man," because: "Most, if not all, of Dobroliubov's remarks on strictly literary topics have a similar functional or strategic orientation. He chose his theoretical and critical comments on the basis of their polemical efficacy. Consequently, it would be a step in the wrong direction, and many Soviet critics have taken it, to marshal Dobroliubov's diverse and often contradictory statements about art into a coherent theory of literature." See Alfred Kuhn, "Dobroliubov's Critique of Oblomov: Polemics and Psychology," in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Mar., 1971), pp. 93-109, esp. p. 97.

[843] For an account of Dobroliubov's belief in his position as Belinskii's successor, and the argument for his reading of *Oblomov* as a "social document," where the critic reads the novelistic character "as if this figure were a real person reacting to an actual environment," see R. H. Stacy, " N. Dobrolyubov" entry, in *The Handbook of Russian Literature,* p. 101.

In the early 1860s, Turgenev and Chernyshevskii accepted Dobroliubov's challenge, and they offered variations upon Andrei Shtol'ts with *russkii* names – Bazarov and Rakhmetov. Both emerge as products of interaction with the West, and they represent the Synthesis of the two cultural structures. They thus represent visions whereby the *nemets* can be reconciled with the *russkii,* though to different degrees of success: the process is valued ambiguously in Turgenev, and unequivocally positive in Chernyshevskii.

6.6.2. Turgenev's Bazarov (1862)

Turgenev's *Fathers and Children* explores the character of Bazarov, a radical self-proclaimed "nihilist." Bazarov has received a Western education, dramatised in the novel by the location of his studies (Petersburg) and its subject (medicine). He also maintains a connection to the lower classes, typified in his humble origins as the son of an army doctor. Bazarov demonstrates Synthesis in these aspects of his background, and also in his approach to medicine: he studies *nemets* science in order to become a better doctor. In addition to his professional capacity, his Western alignment carries a social dimension: he intends to apply imported social and scientific ideas to *russkii* culture and to deflate the authority of conservative *russkii* social institutions.

Bazarov's ideological orientation emerges explicitly in his conflict with Pavel Kirsanov – a character who embodies the gentry values and sense of entitlement of the previous generation. Pavel takes an instant dislike to Bazarov, and he exploits Bazarov's humble origins to bolster his negative evaluation: for Pavel, he is the son of a "healer" (*lekar'*, not *vrach* or *doktor*).[844] In addition to ridiculing Bazarov's lowly status, Pavel insults his affinity to "Germanic" physicists.[845] Bazarov responds that he considers the *nemtsy* to be teachers in this scientific field, and, because of this, he respects the *nemtsy* as "scholars who are an efficient people."[846] Pavel becomes angry and responds: "I do not like the *nemtsy*, sinner that I am. As for the *russkie nemtsy,* we already know what kinds of people they are. But even the *nemets nemtsy* rub me the wrong way."[847] This exchange posits two radically different worldviews against one another. Bazarov follows utility,

[844] The term "лекарь" carries the connotation of being untrained; see the "Lekar'" entry in Vladimir Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' russkogo iazyka: sovremennoe napisanie* (Moscow, 2005), p. 331. Pavel's derision appears in classist terms: once Nikolai announces to him that Bazarov will be staying, also in Ch. 5, Pavel replies, "That shaggy fellow?" (Этот волосатый?).

[845] Pavel intentionally uses the term *germantsy* rather than *nemtsy* for the sake of irony, though no one catches his meaning; it is possible that he chooses to not deploy the term "*nemets*," because, as I argue in my analysis of *Dead Souls*, it carries the value of a conflated insult.

[846] "...немцы в этом наши учители..." and "Тамошние ученые дельный народ" (Ch. 6).

[847] "...я немцев, грешный человек, не жалую. О русских немцах я уже не упоминаю: известно, что это за птицы. Но и немецкие немцы мне не по нутру" (Ch. 6).

and therefore imagines an ideal world as one where Russia imports *nemets* technology and scientific knowledge for the sake of enlightenment. Arkadii Kirasanov dramatises Bazarov's position in this debate when he removes his father's Pushkin and replaces it with a *nemets* book, a gesture that implies scientific *nemets* utility supersedes *russkii* poetry – and the foundation of the older generation's worldview.[848] Because Pavel supports gentry ideals and privileges, he finds Bazarov's respect for *nemets* sciences distasteful – for Pavel, as for Tarant'ev and many scholars who interpret *Oblomov*, the bolstering of the *nemets* can only happen at the expense of the *russkii*.[849] Bazarov thus views cultural interaction through Synthesis, and Pavel does so through Mutual Exclusivity.

The value of the *nemets* influence remains ultimately ambiguous: Bazarov dies at the end of the novel in mundane circumstances. Bazarov's own judgement regarding *nemets* sources expresses this ambiguity: he picks and chooses from *nemets* influence according to utility. He denigrates Schiller and Goethe, and he also dislikes foreign imports in the Russian language: "Aristocracy, liberalism, progress, principles – just think how many useless foreign words there are! A *russkii* does not need them at all."[850] Bazarov therefore opposes foreign influence that represents status symbols in *russkii* culture – because, for him, they reinforce the status quo, they inflate empty authority, and they lack usefulness. For Pavel Kirsanov, however, the respectable *nemtsy* were the poets of the Romantic era, those whose ideas do not challenge his social position in the present day. Pavel's appropriation of the *nemets* reflects the paradox of Mutual Exclusivity: he admires the *nemets* poets, but disdains the banality of *nemets* scientists and the *nemsty* in Russia. From this perspective, it is appropriate that his positive *nemtsy* come from the intellectual climate that preceded Chaadaev's letter.[851]

In each of these positions, there exists a coherent worldview based upon the position of the *nemets* in relationship to the *russkii*. For Bazarov, the two cultures form a dialogue, from which a superior Russia can be formed if the West is appropriated in a correct manner. For Pavel, the *nemets* is an unwelcome and harmful intrusion into *russkii*

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[848] Nikolai tells Pavel: "А вот почему. Сегодня я сижу да читаю Пушкина... помнится, 'Цыгане' мне попались... Вдруг Аркадий подходит ко мне и молча, с этаким ласковым сожалением на лице, тихонько, как у ребенка, отнял у меня книгу и положил передо мной другую, немецкую... улыбнулся, и ушел, и Пушкина унес" (Ch. 10).

[849] When Bazarov mentions that the *nemtsy* are "scholars who are an efficient *narod,*" Pavel asks him whether this means he has a low opinion of *russkii* scientists (Ну, а об русских ученых вы, вероятно, но имеете столь лестного понятия?); Ch. 6.

[850] "- Аристократизм, либерализм, прогресс, принципы… подумаешь, сколько иностранных... и бесполезных слов! Русскому человеку они даром не нужны" (Ch. 10).

[851] Goethe had died in 1832.

culture, which is typified in his valuation of the *russkie nemtsy* as worse than the *nemets nemtsy*. Further, the characters spar verbally and physically to show their positions to be on the side of the *russkii narod*, and thus as the correct path for the future. Pavel challenges Bazarov's low opinion of *russkii* scientists, while Bazarov argues that Pavel's use of barbarisms is "useless to the *russkii*." This process is dramatised by the characters' duel, an act that takes place over a former peasant girl, Fenochka. The duel not only accesses the literary genealogy of Lermontov's novel through the act itself, but it also represents an updated form of exoticism: rather than subjugating sexually the Other at the periphery, the characters battle for the new Other, the newly freed peasantry.

Pavel's position, as I have argued, is ultimately ironic, and it further undermines his defence of Fenochka: at the end of the novel, he moves to Germany where he adopts Slavophile views while associating with English gentlemen. The comparative structure of *Fathers and Children* thus mirrors that of the *shlafrok/khalat* in *Oblomov*. The first pole of the comparison (Andrei, Bazarov) is composed of the Foreign, but also emerges as the product of Synthesis with the *russkii*. The second pole (Oblomov, Pavel) is composed of the Domestic, but it is mediated through Western structures. And, as with the *khalat* aspect of Oblomov's *shlafrok,* Pavel depends upon the *nemets* image in order to position himself as an anti-*nemets*.

6.6.3. Chernyshevskii's Rakhmetov (1863)

Chernyshevskii represents a response to – and modification of – Bazarov and Andrei Shtol'ts in his character, Rakhmetov, from the novel *What is to be Done?* (*Что делать,* 1863). Chernyshevskii makes the connection to *Father and Children* explicit, because he co-opts the surname Kirsanov for one of his positive heroes.[852] Unlike Bazarov, Rakhmetov and his Synthetic aspects appear unambiguously positive. While Bazarov never completely connects to the *narod*, Rakhmetov does, and he accomplishes this because he unites *nemets* traits with those of a *russkii* folk hero and a holy Orthodox Saint. The folk hero emerges in two respects: he is similar to a *bogatyr*, because of his enormous physical strength, and also to a *strannik* wanderer, because of his extensive travels through unbounded space.[853] He embodies the traits of the Orthodox saint with his

[852] Kirsanov accesses the Kirsanov family in *Fathers and Children*. For more on this connection, see F. B. Randall, "N. G. Chernyshevsky," in the *Handbook of Russian Literature,* pp. 81-82. See N. G. Chernyshevskii, *Chto delat'?* at <http://az.lib.ru/c/chernyshewskij_n_g/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 28 March 2010.

[853] Rakhmetov receives the nickname "Nikitushka Lomov" after a famous Herculean barge hauler on account of his strength (Никитушка Ломов, бурлак, ходивший по Волге лет 20-15 тому назад, был гигант геркулесовской силы); Ch. 29. Rakhmetov disappears for three years and wanders through Russia

renunciation of luxuries (with the exception of quality beef and cigars), his sexual abstinence, and his self-imposed masochistic trials, such as when he sleeps on a bed filled with nails.[854] These *russkii* traits are tempered by his self-education in *nemets* and French books, in which he immerses himself at the suggestion of Kirsanov.[855] Synthesis also emerges in his wanderings through the *nemets* lands of Europe. He thus emerges as a *strannik* in *Germaniia*, and a saint enriched in *nemets* philosophy.[856]

Rakhmetov also embodies a modification of Andrei Shtol'ts in terms of Dobroliubov's criticism. The narrator specifies that the subjects of his novel, the "new types" of heroes, are related to people he knows from the real *russkii* social world.[857] This novel thus does not just offer an interpretation as a social document, but demands it. While Chernyshevskii's novel was written in the early 1860s and published in 1863, it is set in the previous decade – the very period when the action in *Oblomov* takes place, and when Dobroliubov claimed that an Andrei Shtol'ts was impossible in *russkii* society. This temporal setting represents a significant factor for the ideological position of the novel: Chernyshevskii could have depicted a world where Kirsanov, Lopukhov, Vera, and Rakhmetov are only possible following the abolition of serfdom – instead, he sets the story within Andrei's timeframe to assert that such people *have existed* in *russkii* society. This presents a radically different picture of progress than in Dobroliubov's essay: for Chernyshevskii, social change is possible through the transformative work of individuals – particularly through those who embody the superior traits of the *russkii* combined with

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and the Germanic lands. For another account of Rakhmetov's genealogy that includes the revolutionary sectarian Kelsiev, see Alexander Etkind, "Whirling with the Other: Russian Populism and Religious Sects," in *Russian Review*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), pp. 565-588, esp. p. 576 (fn. 50).

[854] Kirsanov arrives at his friend's house to find blood running from under the door to his flat; Ch. 29. When the door opens, Kirsanov sees a bleeding Rakhmetov: "в войлоке были натыканы сотни мелких гвоздей шляпками с-исподи, остриями вверх, они высовывались из войлока чуть не на полвершка; Рахметов лежал на них ночь." The self-inflicted pain is reminiscent of the self-flagellation undertaken by Father Theodosius, the Orthodox saint, who girded his loins with an iron chain. See Monk Nestor, "Life of our Blessed Father Theodosius, Abbot of the Crypt Monastery," in *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, ed. S. A. Zenkovsky (New York and London, 1974; 1963), pp. 116-134, esp. pp. 118-124.

[855] Rakhmetov goes to the "*nemets* and French bookstore" and then reads for three days straight with no interruptions: "Он на другой день уж с 8 часов утра ходил по Невскому, от Адмиралтейской до Полицейского моста, выжидая, какой немецкий или французский книжный магазин первый откроется, взял, что нужно, и читал больше трех суток сряду, - с 11 часов утра четверга до 9 часов вечера воскресенья, 82 часа; первые две ночи не спал так, на третью выпил восемь стаканов крепчайшего кофе, до четвертой ночи не хватило силы ни с каким кофе, он повалился и проспал на полу часов 15" (Ch. 29).

[856] Rakhmetov travels through the entirety of Northern Germany, Southern Germany, the "*nemets* provinces" of Austria, Bavaria, and also Switzerland before turning to France and England: "объехал и обошел северную Германию, оттуда пробрался опять к югу, в немецкие провинции Австрии, теперь едет в Баварию, оттуда в Швейцарию, через Вюртемберг и Баден во Францию, которую объедет и обойдет точно так же, оттуда за тем же проедет в Англию и на это употребит еще год" (Ch. 29).

[857] The narrator asserts that Kirsanov and Lopukhov constitute a new type that "appeared recently in Russia" (Недавно зародился у нас этот тип); Ch. 8.

the *nemets*, such as Rakhmetov.[858] Further, Synthesis is presented as a consistent aspect of *russkii* society: it carries from the past and leads to the bright, rational future.

6.7. Conclusion: The Synthetic in Chekhov's *Three Sisters*[859]

It is appropriate to end this Chapter with a picture of Synthesis at the end of the century: Anton Chekhov's 1901 play, *Three Sisters.* The play is organised around the Prozorov sisters' desire to leave the countryside and return to Moscow. The *nemets* influence in the dramatic world is extensive: two sources of memory – the urban space of Moscow[860] and the sisters' education[861] – are connected to the *nemets*. Thus, the sisters' imagined Moscow, and the goal of their actions through the play, is mediated through *nemets* associations.

The *russkii nemets* character Tuzenbakh provides the clearest link between the Prozarov family and the *nemets* in their everyday life in the country. He also represents the culmination of Mutual Exclusivity and Synthesis after sixty year of coexistence in the discursive realm, and emerges as a figure who mediates between the ambiguity of the two. On one hand, he is a hybrid Orthodox *russkii nemets*, which emerges in his *russkii* name and patronymic and his three *nemets* surnames;[862] on the other, he denies the *nemets* aspect, and this belies the conviction that he can possess only one identity of the two. Tuzenbakh also aligns himself with the discursive tradition of the Shtol'ts-Bazarov-Rakhmetov characters, because he is influenced by the *nemets* work ethic – yet this is undermined by his ultimate lack of useful activity through the play. The following dialogue between Tuzenbakh and Vershinin illustrates the series of paradoxes at the centre of his character [46[YY]]:

> **Tuzenbakh**. After many years, you say, life on this Earth will be beautiful, amazing. This is true. But in order to take part in that now, even from a distance, you need to get ready for it, you need to work…
> **Vershinin**. (Stands). Yes. But then, how many flowers you have here! (Glancing back). And the apartment is wonderful. I envy you! And all my life I've just gone

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[858] This model of individuals driving social change is dramatised in the sewing shop that Vera opens – through implementing communal social theories in practice, she convinces her workers that the Socialist system is the fairest and the most productive system.

[859] A. P. Chekhov, *Tri sestry,* from <http://lib.ru/LITRA/CHEHOW/sestry.txt>, site accessed 28 March 2010.

[860] The *nemets* influence reminds the sisters of ties to the Sisters' Moscow residence; during a discussion of their Moscow life in Act I, Vershinin relates how he lived on German Street: "Одно время я жил на Немецкой улице. С Немецкой улицы я хаживал в Красные казармы. Там по пути угрюмый мост, под мостом вода шумит. Одинокому становится грустно на душе."

[861] Andrei Prozorov links the study of foreign languages to his father in Act I, particularly their knowledge of French, English, and German: "Благодаря отцу я и сестры знаем французский, немецкий и английский языки, а Ирина знает еще по-итальянский. Но чего это стоило!"

[862] His full name is Baron Nikolai L'vovich Tuzenbakh-Krone-Al'tshauer.

around my apartments with two chairs, a couch, and stoves that are always smoking. These flowers are exactly what my life has been missing… (Rubs his hand). Well, there you go!
Tuzenbakh. Yes, you need to work. You probably are thinking: the *nemets* has grown soft! But, honestly, I'm a *russkii* and don't even speak German. My father was Orthodox…[863]

Tuzenbakh is aware that the invocation of work ethic makes him appear to be a typical *nemets*. To counter this, he asserts that he is not a *nemets*, but a *russkii* – and in doing so, portrays the paradox of *russkii* identity as caught between being constructed in opposition to the *nemets*, and in terms of the *nemets*. He seems unaware, however, that identity as an Insider or Outside of a group is always conferred upon one by other, and his insistence that he is part of the *russkii* group only serves to separate him further[864] – just as his instance upon the importance of work demonstrates his uselessness. In this sense, he represents both the paradox of *russkii* identity construction, and also the metaphorical *nemets* within the *russkii*: he is caught between two interconnected worlds, yet is not a part of either, and his awareness of the empty set of his identity only causes greater alienation. It is perhaps due to this contradiction within a contradiction that leads Tuzenbakh to challenge Solenyi to a duel, an event that he, unlike Bazarov and Pechorin, does not survive.

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[863] Tuzanbakh echoes this sentiment later in the play when he tells Irina that he is *russkii* like her, and he has very little of the *nemets* – only the traits of patience and obstinacy: "У меня тройная фамилия. Меня зовут барон Тузенбах-Кроне-Альтшауер, но я русский, православный, как вы. Немецкого у меня осталось мало, разве только терпеливость, упрямство, с каким я надоедаю вам. Я провожаю вас каждый вечер."

[864] Hielscher argues that no other character considers Tuzenbakh to be a *nemets* (Hielscher, "Die absolute Freiheit von Vorurteilen," p. 634), as does Muza, p. 185. This interpretation, however, ignores that the other characters refer to and addresses Tuzenbakh as "the Baron," as in Act II: "Я против вас, барон, никогда ничего не имел" (Solenyi), and "Барон пьян, барон пьян, барон пьян!" (Masha). Further, there is the level of dramatic foreshadowing: following the sound of the shot that kills Tuzenbakh from off-stage (Act IV), Masha and Kulygin discuss the *nemets* teacher of German at the school: "*Кулыгин.* Вчера в третьем классе у одного мальчугана я отнял вот усы и бороду... (Надевает усы и бороду.) Похож на учителя немецкого языка... (Смеется.) Не правда ли? Смешные эти мальчишки. *Маша.* В самом деле похож на вашего немца."

Conclusion: A Return to Siniavskii's Graube

— Поднимем наши рюмки! — воскликнул ты очень громко и по возможности весело.— Пусть за серебряной свадьбой воспоследует золотая! Ура!!

- Siniavskii

Германия снова хочет сделать Россию восточной колонией?

- Recent Newspaper Headline[865]

Немцы с русскими никогда не сойдутся. Народы абсолютно разные. Были они 1000лет врагами No1 так и останутся.

- Comment on the article

Очень даже не плохо с немцами дело имели. Уж кого, кого, а немцев в России всегда пруд пруди были.

- Response to previous comment

The appearance of a *nemets* in Russian literature always involves a paradox, the extreme manifestation of which appears in Siniavskii's "You and I." The *nemets*, Graube, is the ideal representation for the narrator's ambiguous relationship in the *russkii* world, because he both symbolises the Other, which emphasises the theme of surveillance from without, and also the Self, which represents the narrator's alienation from society (and, as a paranoid schizophrenic, even himself). On the side of the Other, the *nemets* links to the tradition of the Foreign Other against which the *russkie* can define a stable and coherent Self. The genealogy for this image includes Gogol's *nemets* who cannot comprehend the *troika* image, Dostoevsky's condescending *nemets* tollbooth operator, and Sazonova's violent pseudo-historical *russkii*-hating *nemets*. On the side of Self, Graube accesses the metaphorical *nemets*, who emerges in Lermontov's Verner and in Turgenev's Synthetic *russkii-nemets* estates. Graube also links to the pairings of *russkie* and *nemtsy* in the discourse of the superfluous man: Onegin/Lenskii, Pechorin/Verner, the Superfluous Man/Rikman, Oblomov/Shtol'ts, Bel'tov/Krutsiferskii, Ranevskaia/Sharlotta, and, to add a pair that emerges in the conclusion to Chapter Five, Kavalerov/Getske. This duality is reflected in Graube's patronymic: it links him to the Mutual Opposition of Dostoevsky's Krest'ian Ivanovich from *The Double,* and Luiza

[865] This is the headline to an article at www.newsland.ru by Andrei Polunin (15 May 2010), at <http://www.newsland.ru/News/Detail/id/502936/cat/94/>, site accessed 30 May 2010. The comments are reproduced as they appear on the website without edits.

Ivanovna in *Crime and Punishment*, and also to the Synthesis of Andrei Ivanovich in Goncharov's *Oblomov.*

One passage in particular emphasises this dichotomy. During the Silver Wedding Anniversary, Graube's wife makes an off-the-cuff remark regarding the availability of food in Moscow shops, and Graube's observation of the narrator's response is described as "sniper-like" and "microscope-like."[866] While this description heightens the dramatic effect of the scene, it also accesses both aspects of the *nemets* image. First, there is the depiction of the *nemets* as a sniper, a description that in post-war literature references image of the *nemets* Nazi Other, such as in Mikhail Sholokhov's *Fate of Man* (*Судьба человека*, 1956-1957) [46^{ZZ}]. This accesses the invasive *nemets* Other, who penetrates the enclosure and threatens the security of *russkii* space. Secondly, there is the *nemets* as a scientist, a depiction that echoes Bazarov's *nemtsy* in Turgenev's *Fathers and Children,* and Pavel Kirsanov's derision of the *nemtsy* as "chemists" and "materialists."[867] The first depiction posits the *nemets* as an Outsider, and sets the *russkii* at the end of his riflescope, while the second posits the *nemets* as internalised influence, linking to the tradition of importing *nemets* science and technology – and also, on the meta-literary level, to the fantastic tradition of Hoffmann. Siniavskii thus invokes both aspects of the post-1836 *russkii-nemets* relationship: *nemets* as Mutually Exclusive, standing in for an externality, and also as Synthetic, standing in for a social critique of the Self and Domestic society. Graube both accentuates the narrator's paranoia, and he implicates the society as responsibly for his schizophrenia.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the *russkii* in Pushkin's "The Undertaker" visits a Silver Wedding Anniversary hosted by a *nemets* and populated by *nemtsy*; Siniavskii's narrator, on the other hand, visits a Silver Wedding Anniversary hosted by a *nemets* and populated by *russkie*. This dynamic dramatises his estranged position: the *nemets* Other – who is entirely fantastical – appears to fit more comfortably among the *russkie* than the *russkii* second-person narrator. And this emphasises the stakes of the question: who is the Other in this story, the fantastical *nemets*, or the narrator himself? Further, Pushkin's story ends with the *russkii's* return to the world of the living, while the encounter with Graube sends Siniavskii's narrator into social isolation, which leads to the death of the first-person side of his personality. The extreme of alienation is achieved, because not even the Self remains.

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[866] "Взгляд Генриха Ивановича, снайперский, микроскопийный, рыскал по твоему лицу."
[867] "А теперь пошли все какие-то химики да материалисты..."

Graube the *nemets* appears in the story because he complements the narrator's psychological and social breakdowns. The narrator attempts to come to grips with some sense of self, and some sense of position within his own society. What better way to dramatise failure on both fronts than in his attempt to anchor his identity to the *nemets* – a hallucinated figure who offers no ultimate stability?

Siniavskii's Graube, just as the other *nemtsy* discussed in this thesis, is an open structure, and part of a constantly regressing system. While I divide the images into two discursive currents, each manifestation represents a hall of mirrors, analogous to Pechorin's awareness of his own parody. If the *nemets* is the Other, than there must exist a pure *russkii*, who inhabits an insular and hermetically-sealed *Rus'*. Because no such space exists, and because the *nemets* always exposes the fault lines of *russkii* self-definition, this relationship ultimately collapses. But if the *nemets* references the Self, then this calls into question the stability of the term "*russkii*," because there is no anchor for the meaning of the *russkii* traits. Thus, the terms "*russkii*" or "*nemets*," while mutually dependent, can never achieve an established meaning other than the ephemeral appearance of the *différance*, or through a metaphorical connection which is itself paradoxical: this strategy subverts the lens of Mutual Exclusivity, while it relies upon the polar opposites that this lens establishes. Because the *nemets* image answers and challenges simultaneously the questions of *russkii* identity in both configurations, it must be constantly re-imagined, reconfigured, and redeployed – which clarifies the recurrence of *nemtsy* as literary doubles.

It is appropriate to conclude this thesis with an 1859 passage from Herzen that expresses these series of paradoxes [47^{AAA}]. For Herzen, there existed two kinds of *nemtsy* in Russia: the Russified *nemtsy*, and the Germanised *russkie*. Both are cast as negative influences upon Russia, and incapable of understanding the *russkii narod*:

> "Historians are made – while poets are born," goes the Latin maxim. Our governing *nemtsy* have the advantage over both the historians and the poets, because they *are made* and *are born*. They are born of Russified *nemtsy*, and they are made by Germanised *russkie*... Of all the governing *nemtsy* – it goes without saying – the *russkie nemtsy* are the worst. The *nemets nemtsy* in government are at times naïve and stupid, and they sometimes condescend as to barbarians, whom they must make human (очеловечить). The *russkii nemets* is clever in a limited manner, and he looks upon the *narod* with the disgust of an embarrassed relative. Both the one and the other feel infinite superiority to [the *narod*], and both the one and the other despise deeply everything that is *russkii*. They are certain that you cannot do anything with our brothers without involving a stick. The *nemets* does not always demonstrate this, but he always goes on with the beatings. The *russkii*, though, beats and then brags about it.

The paradox that Herzen evokes, but cannot overcome, is that he defines the *russkie* either in terms of the *nemets*, or as opposed to the *nemets*. So what exists of *russkii* identity beyond that which the *nemets* generates? And what is the *nemets* beyond a projection that establishes the Self Image? Herzen's own biography dramatises these quagmires of identity.[868] Even though he is a *russkii nemets* with a *nemets* name and a *russkii* father, he distances himself from the *They* through his identification with the *We*. His criticism of the *nemets* thus creates two illusions: that he is a member of the *russkii narod* – and that both the category and his categorisation are entirely unproblematic.

[868] See Herrmann, "Aleksandr Herzens Probleme mit den Deutschen," pp. 873-937, for a discussion of Herzen's conflicted relationship to the *nemtsy* in his oeuvre.

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

– INTRODUCTION –

[A] Andrei Siniavskii, "You and I," I

[From <http://smartfiction.ru/prose/you_and_i/>, site accessed 20 July 2010.]

С самого начала эта история имела странный оттенок. Под предлогом серебряной свадьбы Граубе, Генрих Иванович, пригласил к себе на квартиру четырех сослуживцев и тебя в том числе, причем тебя в тот вечер он звал так настоятельно, как будто твое присутствие было главной заботой сборища.

— Если вы не придете, я смертельно обижусь! — сказал он с ударением и навел на тебя глаза, подобные выпуклым линзам.

Там гипнотически вздрагивали ледянистые икринки зрачков.

Понимая, что нельзя преждевременно выказывать свои подозрения, иначе он догадается и примет меры, тобою не учтенные и наверняка еще более хитростные, ты вежливо согласился. Ты даже поздравил Граубе с фиктивным его юбилеем. Для каких целей он тебя зазывал, было неизвестно, но сердце твое сжалось от дурного предчувствия.

Действительно: едва ты вошел — гости повскакали со стульев, на которых они притаились в ожидании твоего появления. Два твоих сослуживца — Лобзиков и Полянский — обрадованно перемигнулись.

— Вот и он!

— Пора начинать!!

Тем самым они обнаружили свои коварные умыслы, и хозяин, Генрих Иванович, чтобы запутать следы, был вынужден дать сигнал всем садиться за стол. Но ты и вида не показал, что придаешь значение угрожающей фразе — "Пора начинать!!" Как будто в ней, в этой фразе, оброненной подручными Граубе, не заключалось ничего подозрительного, а всего лишь невинный свадебный план: выпивать и закусывать.

— Поднимем наши рюмки! — воскликнул ты очень громко и по возможности весело.— Пусть за серебряной свадьбой воспоследует золотая! Ура!!

Все подняли рюмки и чокнулись, а ты, учтя обстановку, выплеснул водку под стол — в тот благоприятный момент, когда они, закатив глаза, тянули жидкость в честь Генриха Ивановича Граубе и его мнимой супруги.

Да! в этой компании жена и хозяйка дома была ни тем и ни другим, а подставной фигурой. Скорее всего это был переодетый мужчина. Его тщательно вымыли, напудрили, припомадили и теперь выпускали за даму с двадцатипятилетним стажем. Именно этим фактом объяснялась брезгливая мина, с какою Генрих Иванович в знак семейного счастья поцеловал публично ее, то бишь — его — в протянутые мускулистые губы. На какие жертвы не шли эти люди, чтобы завлечь тебя в сети и погубить!

Тут было одних бутылок — рублей на 280, не считая жареных уток, грибов, осетрины. Да еще, вероятно, к чаю были куплены ореховый торт, печенье разных жанров, конфеты — на худой конец — фруктовые, по двадцать два рубля, дешевле не обошлось. А масло? сахарок? хлебные изделия?..

Итого восемь сотен по меньшей мере уплачено. Или — десять тысяч, если принять во внимание, что мужчинам, исполняющим дамские функции (у Лобзикова и Полянского жены тоже наверняка подложные), потребовались туалеты и всякие душистые специи, хотя белье на них — свое, казенное, а может — опять покупное, колоритное, в кружевах: для полного правдоподобия — если придется кокетничать...

И вся эта крупная сумма в размере пятнадцати тысяч была вынута из банков ради тебя одного. Ты отчасти гордился, подсчитывая расходы, но помнил ежеминутно, что дело твое плохо, раз уж смета утверждена и финансы отмуслены.

[B] Personal Correspondence with Hugo Wormsbecher

(*Г. Г. Вормсбехер - писатель, бывший председатель Союза немцев СССР*)

21.4.2008.

Добрый день, Джошуа!

О том, как я попал в Москву.

В 1965 году российские немцы направили две делегации в Москву - в январе и летом - чтобы поставить перед руководством страны вопрос о восстановлении АССР немцев Поволжья. Я был в составе обеих этих делегаций. Республику нам тогда не восстановили, но решили всё же что-то сделать для улучшения положения

российских немцев. Одним из таких решений было создание в Казахстане ежедневной немецкой газеты "Фройндшафт"; другим - разрешение центральной газете советских немцев "Нойес лебен" (редакция была в Москве, при издательстве "Правда") пригласить на работу в редакцию пять человек из российских немцев, т.к. в редакции газеты для российских немцев практически не было сотрудников из российских немцев (это тоже пример того, что немцам в Москву переехать было фактически невозможно).

Я был принят сначала в редакцию газеты "Фройндшафт" (1965 год, находилась в г. Целинограде - сегодня это г.Астана, Казахстан), а в 1970-м меня пригласили на работу в редакцию "Нойес лебен" в Москву - на основании соответствующего постановления ЦК КПСС об укреплении редакции национальными кадрами. Так я стал одним из пяти российских немцев, приглашенных на работу в редакцию в Москву.

О немцах в Средней Азии. Туда мало кто попал в результате депортации, но когда был отменен режим спецпоселения (Указ 1955 года), то многие немцы, которые раньше вынуждены были оставаться там, где работали во время войны в трудармии (Урал, Сибирь, центральный Казахстан) или куда их выселили в 1941 году, стали переезжать в южные регионы - Киргизию, Узбекистан, Таджикистан, Южный Казахстан - где было намного теплее, чем в Сибири и на Урале, где было легче прожить, и где было лучше с питанием - овощи, фрукты.

Успехов Вам!

С уважением – Г.Вормсбехер

– CHAPTER ONE –

[C] Anton Chekhov, "Cherry Orchard," from Act II

[From <http://public-library.narod.ru/Chekhov.Anton/vishnevy.html>, site accessed 20 June 2010.]

Шарлотта, Яша и Дуняша сидят на скамье: Епиходов стоит возле и играет на гитаре; все сидят задумавшись, Шарлотта в старой фуражке; она сняла с плеч ружье и поправляет пряжку на ремне.

Шарлотта *(в раздумье)*. У меня нет настоящего паспорта, я не знаю, сколько мне лет, и мне все кажется, что я молоденькая. Когда я была маленькой девочкой, то мой отец и мамаша ездили по ярмаркам и давали представления, очень хорошие. А

я прыгала salto mortale и разные штучки. И когда папаша и мамаша умерли, меня взяла к себе одна немецкая госпожа и стала меня учить. Хорошо. Я выросла, потом пошла в гувернантки. А откуда я и кто я - не знаю... Кто мои родители, может, они не венчались... не знаю. (Достает из кармана огурец и ест.) Ничего не знаю.

Пауза.

Так хочется поговорить, а не с кем... Никого у меня нет.

[D] **Aleksandr Pushkin, *Queen of Spades***

[From <http://public-library.narod.ru/Pushkin.Alexander/pikovaya.html>, site accessed 20 June 2010.]

- А каков Германн! - сказал один из гостей, указывая на молодого инженера, - отроду не брал он карты в руки, отроду не загнул ни одного пароли, а до пяти часов сидит с нами и смотрит на нашу игру!

- Игра занимает меня сильно, - сказал Германн, - но я не в состоянии жертвовать необходимым в надежде приобрести излишнее.

- Германн немец: он расчетлив, вот и всё! - заметил Томский. - А если кто для меня непонятен, так это моя бабушка графиня Анна Федотовна.

- Как? что? - закричали гости.

– CHAPTER TWO –

[E] **Nikolai Gogol, *Dead Souls*, Ch. 11 (See also Text HH)**

[From < http://az.lib.ru/g/gogolx_n_w/text_0140.shtml>, site accessed 5 August 2010.]

Что пророчит сей необъятный простор? Здесь ли, в тебе ли не родиться беспредельной мысли, когда ты сама без конца? Здесь ли не быть богатырю, когда есть место, где развернуться и пройтись ему? И грозно объемлет меня могучее пространство, страшною силою отразясь во глубине моей; неестественной властью осветились мои очи: у! какая сверкающая, чудная, незнакомая земле даль! Русь!..

– CHAPTER THREE –

[F] **Ivan Turgenev, "The Russian Language"**

[I. S. Turgenev, "*Russkii iazyk*" (June 1882), in *Izbrannoe* (Moscow, 1979), at http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/authors/turgenev/vo-dni-somnenij.html>, site accessed 6 August 2010.]

Во дни сомнений, во дни тягостных раздумий о судьбах моей родины,- ты один мне

поддержка и опора, о великий, могучий, правдивый и свободный русский язык! Не будь тебя - как не впасть в отчаяние при виде всего, что совершается дома? Но нельзя верить, чтобы такой язык не был дан великому народу!

[G] 2.3. Nikolai Gogol, from "Nevsky Prospekt" (See also Text FF)

[From <http://feb-web.ru/feb/gogol/texts/ps0/ps3/ps3-007-.htm>, site accessed 15 June 2010.]

Шиллер был совершенный немец, в полном смысле всего этого слова. Еще с двадцатилетнего возраста, с того счастливого времени, в которое русский живет на фу-фу, уже Шиллер размерил всю свою жизнь и никакого, ни в каком случае, не делал исключения. Он положил вставать в семь часов, обедать в два, быть точным во всем и быть пьяным каждое воскресенье.

[H] 2.3. Ivan Goncharov, from *Oblomov*, I:1. (See also Text UU)

[From <http://az.lib.ru/g/goncharow_i_a/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

- Отчего ж у других чисто? - возразил Обломов. - Посмотри напротив, у настройщика: любо взглянуть, а всего одна девка...

- А где немцы сору возьмут, - вдруг возразил Захар. - Вы поглядите-ко, как они живут! Вся семья целую неделю кость гложет. Сюртук с плеч отца переходит на сына, а с сына опять на отца. На жене и дочерях платьишки коротенькие: все поджимают под себя ноги, как гусыни... Где им сору взять?

[I] 2.4. Aleksandr Herzen, "Who is to Blame?"

[From <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Кто_виноват%3F_(Герцен)/Часть_1/III._Биография_Дмитрия_Яковлевича>, site accessed 10 August 2010.]

Жизнь лекаря Круциферского была огромным продолжительным геройским подвигом на неосвещенном поприще, награда — насущный хлеб в настоящем и надежда не иметь его в будущем. Он учился на казенный счет в Московском университете и, выпущенный лекарем, прежде назначения женился на немке, дочери какого-то провизора; приданое ее, сверх доброй и самоотверженной души, сверх любви, которую она, по немецкому обычаю, сохранила на всю жизнь, состояло из нескольких платьев, пропитанных запахом розового масла с ребарбаром.

[J] Exemplars of the "Simple *Russkii* Person"

- Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Notes from the House of the Dead,* II (Continuation)

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/61/p.14/index.html>, site accessed 10 August 2010.]

Надо признаться, много лекарей на Руси пользуются любовью и уважением простого народа, и это, сколько я заметил, совершенная правда. Знаю, что мои слова покажутся парадоксом, особенно взяв в соображение всеобщее недоверие всего русского простого народа к медицине и к заморским лекарствам. В самом деле, простолюдин скорее несколько лет сряду, страдая самою тяжелою болезнию, будет лечиться у знахарки или своими домашними, простонародными лекарствами (которыми отнюдь не надо пренебрегать), чем пойдет к доктору или лежать в госпитале.

- Anton Chekhov, "Attack of Nerves," II

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/1189/p.2/index.html>, site accessed 10 August 2010.]

Так же, как и в первом доме, в передней с дивана поднялась фигура в сюртуке и с заспанным лакейским лицом. Глядя на этого лакея, на его лицо и поношенный сюртук, Васильев подумал: "Сколько должен пережить обыкновенный, простой русский человек, прежде чем судьба забрасывает его сюда в лакеи? Где он был раньше и что делал? Что ждет его? Женат ли он? Где его мать и знает ли она, что он служит тут в лакеях?"

- Maksim Gorkii, "Childhood," II

[From <http://gorkiy.lit-info.ru/gorkiy/proza/detstvo/detstvo-2.htm>, site accessed 10 August 2010.]

Но правда выше жалости, и ведь не про себя я рассказываю, а про тот тесный, душный круг жутких впечатлений, в котором жил, — да и по сей день живет, — простой русский человек.

- Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov,* IV:9 (Oblomov's Dream)

[From <http://az.lib.ru/g/goncharow_i_a/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

Немец был человек дельный и строгий, как почти все немцы. Может быть, у него Илюша и успел бы выучиться чему-нибудь хорошенько, если б Обломовка была верстах в пятистах от Верхлёва. А то как выучиться? Обаяние обломовской атмосферы, образа жизни и привычек простиралось и на Верхлёво; ведь оно тоже было некогда Обломовкой; там, кроме дома Штольца, все дышало тою же первобытною ленью, простотою нравов, тишиною и неподвижностью.

[K] Exemplars of "святая Русь" (Holy *Rus'*)

- Aleksandr Pushkin, "Count Nulin"

[From <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Граф_Нулин_(Пушкин)>, site accessed 3 August 2010.]

Идут за стол; вот он садится,
К ней подвигает свой прибор
И начинает разговор:
Святую Русь бранит, дивится,
Как можно жить в ее снегах,
Жалеет о Париже страх.
"А что театр?" — О! сиротеет,
C'est bien mauvais, ça fait pitié.

- Kondratii Ryleev, from fragments of "Nalyvaiko"

[From <http://az.lib.ru/r/ryleew_k_f/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

"Ты прав, мой друг, люблю родных,
Мне тяжко видеть их в неволе,
Всем жертвовать готов для них,
Но родину люблю я боле.
Нет, не одна к ясене любовь
Мой ум быть осторожней учит, -
Нередко дума сердце мучит,
Не тщетно ли прольется кровь?
Что, если снова неудача?
Вот я чего, мой друг, боюсь, -
Тогда, тогда святая Русь
Навек страною будет плача".

- Nekrasov, "A Feast for the Whole World" ("Пир на весь мир")

[From <http://az.lib.ru/n/nekrasow_n_a/text_0320.shtml>, site accessed 1 August 2010.]

"Кушай тюрю, Яша!
Молочка-то нет!"
— Где ж коровка наша? —
"Увели, мой свет!
Барин для приплоду
Взял ее домой".
Славно жить народу
На Руси святой!

— Где же наши куры? —

Девчонки орут.

“Не орите, дуры!

Съел их земский суд;

Взял еще подводу

Да сулил постой...”

Славно жить народу

На Руси святой!

- Dostoevsky, “On the Events in Europe, 1854,” Lines 21-30.

[From <http://az.lib.ru/d/dostoewskij_f_m/text_0680.shtml>, site accessed 1 August 2010.]

Страдала Русь в боях междоусобных,

По капле кровью чуть не изошла,

Томясь в борьбе своих единокровных;

Но живуча святая Русь была!

Умнее вы, - зато вам книги в руки!

Правее вы, - то знает ваша честь!

Но знайте же, что и в последней муке

Нам будет чем страданье перенесть!

Прошедшее стоит ответом вам, -

И ваш союз давно не страшен нам!

- Blok, “The Twelve,” Stanza 2

[From <http://public-library.narod.ru/Blok.Alexander/12.html>, site accessed 5 August 2010.]

Кругом — огни, огни, огни...

Оплечь — ружейные ремни...

Революцьонный держите шаг!

Неугомонный не дремлет враг!

Товарищ, винтовку держи, не трусь!

Пальнем-ка пулей в Святую Русь —

В кондовую,

В избяную,

В толстозадую!

Эх, эх, без креста!

[L] Nikolai Gogol, "A Terrible Vengeance," VI

[From <http://books.rusf.ru/unzip/add-on/xussr-xx/gog002.htm?10/18>, site accessed 6 August 2010.]

В глубоком подвале у пана Данила, за тремя замками, сидит колдун, закованный в железные цепи; а подале над Днепром горит бесовский его замок, и алые, как кровь, волны хлебещут и толпятся вокруг старинных стен. Не за колдовство и не за богопротивные дела сидит в глубоком подвале колдун: им судия Бог; сидит он за тайное предательство, за сговоры с врагами православной Русской земли — продать католикам украинский народ и выжечь христианские церкви. Угрюм колдун; дума черная, как ночь, у него в голове.

[M] Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Devils,* I:7

[From < http://az.lib.ru/d/dostoewskij_f_m/text_0080.shtml>, site accessed 29 August 2010.]

— Я не к себе просил у вас уважения, начиная разговор; с вашим умом вы бы могли понять это, — в негодовании пробормотал Шатов.

— Я не встал с первого вашего слова, не закрыл разговора, не ушел от вас, а сижу до сих пор и смирно отвечаю на ваши вопросы и... крики, стало быть, не нарушил еще к вам уважения.

Шатов прервал, махнув рукой:

— Вы помните выражение ваше: 'Атеист не может быть русским, атеист тотчас же перестает быть русским', помните это?

— Да? — как бы переспросил Николай Всеволодович.

— Вы спрашиваете? Вы забыли? А между тем это одно из самых точнейших указаний на одну из главнейших особенностей русского духа, вами угаданную. Не могли вы этого забыть? Я напомню вам больше, — вы сказали тогда же: 'Не православный не может быть русским'.

–Я полагаю, что это славянофильская мысль.

[N] Exemplars of *Nemets* Devils

- Nikolai Gogol, "Night Before Christmas"

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/1088/p.24/index.html>, site accessed 8 August 2010.]

Спереди совершенно немец: узенькая, беспрестанно вертевшаяся и нюхавшая все,

что ни попадалось, мордочка оканчивалась, как и у наших свиней, кругленьким пятачком, ноги были так тонки, что если бы такие имел яресковский голова, то он переломал бы их в первом козачке. Но зато сзади он был настоящий губернский стряпчий в мундире, потому что у него висел хвост, такой острый и длинный, как теперешние мундирные фалды; только разве по козлиной бороде под мордой, по небольшим рожкам, торчавшим на голове, и что весь был не белее трубочиста, можно было догадаться, что он не немец и не губернский стряпчий, а просто черт, которому последняя ночь осталась шататься по белому свету и выучивать грехам добрых людей. Завтра же, с первыми колоколами к заутрене, побежит он без оглядки, поджавши хвост, в свою берлогу.

- Mikhail Lermontov, *Hero of Our Time* (See also Text RR2)

[From <http://lib.ru/LITRA/LERMONTOW/geroi.txt>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

Вернер был мал ростом, и худ, и слаб, как ребенок… Молодежь прозвала его Мефистофелем; он показывал, будто сердился за это прозвание, но в самом деле оно льстило его самолюбию.

- Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Double*

[From <http://az.lib.ru/d/dostoewskij_f_m/text_0140.shtml>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

Глухо заныло сердце в груди господина Голядкина; кровь горячим ключом била ему в голову; ему было душно, ему хотелось расстегнуться, обнажить свою грудь, обсыпать ее снегом и облить холодной водой. Он впал наконец в забытье... Когда же очнулся, то увидел, что лошади несут его по какой-то ему незнакомой дороге. Направо и налево чернелись леса; было глухо и пусто. Вдруг он обмер: два огненные глаза смотрели на него в темноте, и зловещею, адскою радостию блестели эти два глаза. Это не Крестьян Иванович! Кто это? Или это он? Он! Это Крестьян Иванович, но только не прежний, это другой Крестьян Иванович! Это ужасный Крестьян Иванович!..

- Bulgakov, *Master and Margarita*

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/459/p.1/index.html>, site accessed 2 August 2010.]

Раньше всего: ни на какую ногу описываемый не хромал, и росту был не маленького и не громадного, а просто высокого. Что касается зубов, то с левой стороны у него были платиновые коронки, а с правой — золотые. Он был в дорогом сером костюме, в заграничных, в цвет костюма, туфлях. Серый берет он лихо заломил на ухо, под мышкой нес трость с черным набалдашником в виде головы пуделя. По виду — лет сорока с лишним. Рот какой-то кривой. Выбрит гладко.

Брюнет. Правый глаз черный, левый — почему-то зеленый. Брови черные, но одна выше другой. Словом — иностранец.

Пройдя мимо скамьи, на которой помещались редактор и поэт, иностранец покосился на них, остановился и вдруг уселся на соседней скамейке, в двух шагах от приятелей.

"Немец", — подумал Берлиоз.

[O] Tiutchev, "*Russkii* Geography"

[From <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Русская_география_(Тютчев)>, site accessed 29 May 2010.]

Москва и град Петров, и Константинов град-
Вот царства русского заветные столицы...
Но где предел ему? и где его границы-
На север, на восток, на юг и на закат?
Грядущим временам судьбы их обличат...

Семь внутренних морей и семь великих рек...
От Нила до Невы, от Эльбы до Китая,
От Волги по Евфрат, от Ганга до Дуная...
Вот царство русское... и не прейдет вовек,
Как то провидел Дух и Даниил предрек.

[P] Nilolai Gogol, "At Long Last, the Essence of *Russkii* Poetry" (1846)

[From <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/encSlov/7/22.htm>, site accessed 29 May 2010.]

[Русский язык] беспределен и может, живой, как жизнь, обогащаться ежеминутно, почерпая, с одной стороны, высокие слова из языка церковно-библейского, а с другой стороны, выбирая навыбор меткие названья из бесчисленных своих наречий...

[Q] Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov* I:1

В Гороховой улице, в одном из больших домов, народонаселения которого стало бы на целый уездный город, лежал утром в постели, на своей квартире, Илья Ильич Обломов.

Это был человек лет тридцати двух-трех от роду, среднего роста, приятной наружности, с темно-серыми глазами, но с отсутствием всякой определенной идеи, всякой сосредоточенности в чертах лица. Мысль гуляла вольной птицей по лицу, порхала в глазах, садилась на полуотворенные губы, пряталась в складках лба, потом совсем пропадала, и тогда во всем лице теплился ровный свет беспечности. С лица беспечность переходила в позы всего тела, даже в складки шлафрока.

[R] A. P. Chekhov, "Lady with a Lapdog," 2[R]

[From <http://lib.ru/LITRA/CHEHOW/d.txt>, site accessed 14 August 2010.]

Потом, когда они вышли, на набережной не было ни души, город со своими кипарисами имел совсем мертвый вид, но море еще шумело и билось о берег; один баркас качался на волнах, и на нем сонно мерцал фонарик. Нашли извозчика и поехали в Ореанду.

- Я сейчас внизу в передней узнал твою фамилию: на доске написано фон Дидериц, - сказал Гуров. - Твой муж немец??

- Нет, у него, кажется, дед был немец, но сам он православный.

В Ореанде сидели на скамье, недалеко от церкви, смотрели вниз на море и молчали. Ялта была едва видна сквозь утренний туман, на вершинах гор неподвижно стояли белые облака.

– INTERLUDE –

[S] I. S. Turgenev, "The Singers"

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/1204/p.17/index.html>, site accessed 17 August 2010.]

Итак, рядчик выступил вперед, закрыл до половины глаза и запел высочайшим фальцетом. Голос у него был довольно приятный и сладкий, хотя несколько сиплый; он играл и вилял этим голосом, как юлою, беспрестанно заливался и переливался сверху вниз и беспрестанно возвращался к верхним нотам, которые выдерживал и вытягивал с особенным стараньем, умолкал и потом вдруг подхватывал прежний напев с какой-то залихватской, заносистой удалью. Его переходы были иногда довольно смелы, иногда довольно забавны: знатоку они бы много доставили удовольствия; немец пришел бы от них в негодование. Это был русский tenore di grazia, ténor léger. Пел он веселую, плясовую песню, слова

которой, сколько я мог уловить сквозь бесконечные украшения, прибавленные согласные и восклицания, были следующие:

Распашу я, молода-молоденька,
Землицы маленько;
Я посею, молода-молоденька,
Цветика аленька.

[T] I. S. Turgenev, *Asia*, IV

[From <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Ася_(Тургенев)>, site accessed 19 August 2010.]

Помнится, я шел домой, ни о чем не размышляя, но с странной тяжестью на сердце, как вдруг меня поразил сильный, знакомый, но в Германии редкий запах. Я остановился и увидал возле дороги небольшую грядку конопли. Ее степной запах мгновенно напомнил мне родину и возбудил в душе страстную тоску по ней. Мне захотелось дышать русским воздухом, ходить по русской земле. "Что я здесь делаю, зачем таскаюсь в чужой стороне, между чужими?" — воскликнул я, и мертвенная тяжесть, которую я ощущал на сердце, разрешилась внезапно в горькое и жгучее волнение. Я пришел домой совсем в другом настроении духа, чем накануне. Я чувствовал себя почти рассерженным и долго не мог успокоиться. Непонятная мне самому досада меня разбирала. Наконец, я сел, и, вспомнив о своей коварной вдове, (официальным воспоминанием обо этой даме заключался каждый мой день), достал одну из ее записок. Но я даже не раскрыл ее; мысли мои тотчас приняли иное направление. Я начал думать… думать об Асе. Мне пришло в голову, что Гагин в течение разговора намекнул мне на какие-то затруднения, препятствующие его возвращению в Россию… "Полно, сестра ли она его?" — произнес я громко.

[U] F. M. Dostoevsky, *Crime and Punishment*

1:I. А между тем, когда один пьяный, которого неизвестно почему и куда провозили в это время по улице в огромной телеге, запряженной огромною ломовою лошадью, крикнул ему вдруг, проезжая: "Эй ты, немецкий шляпник!" -- и заорал во всё горло, указывая на него рукой, -- молодой человек вдруг остановился и судорожно схватился за свою шляпу. Шляпа эта была высокая, круглая, циммермановская, но вся уже изношенная, совсем рыжая, вся в дырах и пятнах, без полей и самым безобразнейшим углом заломившаяся на сторону. Но не стыд, а

совсем другое чувство, похожее даже на испуг, охватило его.

2:1. Никакой шум и драки у меня не буль, господин капитэн, -- затараторила она вдруг, точно горох просыпали, с крепким немецким акцентом, хотя и бойко по-русски, -- и никакой, никакой шкандаль, а они пришоль пьян, и это я всё расскажит, господин капитэн, а я не виноват... у меня благородный дом, господин капитэн, и благородное обращение, господин капитэн, и я всегда, всегда сама не хотель никакой шкандаль. А они совсем пришоль пьян и потом опять три путилки спросил, а потом один поднял ноги и стал ногом фортепьян играль, и это совсем нехорошо в благородный дом, и он ганц фортепьян ломаль, и совсем, совсем тут нет никакой манир, и я сказаль. А он путилку взял и стал всех сзади путилкой толкаль. И тут как я стал скоро дворник позваль и Карль пришоль, он взял Карль и глаз прибиль, и Генриет тоже глаз прибиль, а мне пять раз щеку биль. И это так неделикатно в благородный дом, господин капитэн, и я кричаль. А он на канав окно отворяль и стал в окно, как маленькая свинья, визжаль; и это срам. И как можно в окно на улиц, как маленькая свинья, визжаль; и это срам. Фуй-фуй-фуй!

[v] B. L. Pasternak, "Petersburg," I

[From <http://www.kostyor.ru/poetry/poem26.html>, site accessed 17 August 2010.]

Как в пулю сажают вторую пулю
Или бьют на пари по свечке,
Так этот раскат берегов и улиц
Петром разряжен без осечки.

О, как он велик был! Как сеткой конвульсий
Покрылись железные щеки,
Когда на Петровы глаза навернулись,
Слезя их, заливы в осоке!

И к горлу балтийские волны, как комья
Тоски, подкатили; когда им
Забвенье владело; когда он знакомил
С империей царство, край - с краем.

Нет времени у вдохновенья. Болото,
Земля ли, иль море, иль лужа, -
Мне здесь сновиденье явилось, и счеты
Сведу с ним сейчас же и тут же.

Он тучами был, как делами, завален.
В ненастья натянутый парус
Чертежной щетиною ста готовален

Врезалася царская ярость.

В дверях, над Невой, на часах, гайдуками,
Века пожирая, стояли
Шпалеры бессонниц в горячечном гаме
Рубанков, снастей и пищалей.

И знали: не будет приема. Ни мамок,
Ни дядек, ни бар, ни холопей.
Пока у него на чертежный подрамок
Надеты таежные топи.

[w] Andrei Bely, *Petersburg:* Nevskii as European (from the Prologue)

[From <http://az.lib.ru/b/belyj_a/text_0040.shtml>, site accessed 20 August 2010.]

Невский Проспект прямолинеен (говоря между нами), потому что он -- европейский проспект; всякий же европейский проспект есть не просто проспект, а (как я уже сказал) проспект европейский, потому что... да...

Потому что Невский Проспект -- прямолинейный проспект.

Невский Проспект -- немаловажный проспект в сем не русском -- столичном -- граде. Прочие русские города представляют собой деревянную кучу домишек.

[x] I. S. Turgenev, "Diary of a Superfluous Man"

[From <http://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Дневник_лишнего_человека_(Тургенев)>, site accessed 3 May 2010.]

Рос я, как уже сказано, очень дурно и невесело. Братьев и сестёр у меня не было. Воспитывался я дома. Да и чем бы стала заниматься моя матушка, если б меня отдали в пансион или в казённое заведение? На то и дети, чтоб родители не скучали. Жили мы большей частью в деревне, иногда приезжали в Москву. Были у меня гувернёры и учители, как водится; особенно памятным остался мне один худосочный и слезливый немец, Рикман, необыкновенно печальное и судьбою пришибенное существо, бесплодно сгоравшее томительной тоской по далёкой родине. Бывало, возле печки, в страшной духоте тесной передней, насквозь пропитанной кислым запахом старого кваса, сидит небритый мой дядька Василий, по прозвищу Гусыня, в вековечном своём казакине из синей дерюги, — сидит и играет в свои козыри с кучером Потапом, только что обновившим белый, как кипень, овчинный тулуп и несокрушимые смазные сапоги, — а Рикман за перегородкой поёт:

Herz, mein Herz, warum so traurig?

Was bekümmert dich so sehr?
S'ist ja schön im fremden Lande —
Herz, mein Herz, — was willst du mehr?

– CHAPTER FOUR –

[Y] Aleksandr Pushkin, from "Fragments from Onegin's Journey"

[From <http://lib.ru/LITRA/PUSHKIN/p4.txt>, site accessed 23 September 2010.]

Иные нужны мне картины:
Люблю песчаный косогор,
Перед избушкой две рябины,
Калитку, сломанный забор,
На небе серенькие тучи,
Перед гумном соломы кучи
Да пруд под сенью ив густых,
Раздолье уток молодых;
Теперь мила мне балалайка
Да пьяный топот трепака
Перед порогом кабака.
Мой идеал теперь - хозяйка,
Мои желания - покой,
Да щей горшок, да сам большой.

[Z] Nikolai Karamzin, *Letters of a Russian Traveller*, 1 June 1789

[From <http://az.lib.ru/k/karamzin_n_m/text_0320.shtml>, site accessed 23 August 2010.]

Удивляюсь еще, как я в таких торопях ничего не забыл в трактире. Наконец все было готово, и мы выехали из ворот. Тут простился я с добродушным Ильею - он к вам поехал, милые! - Начало смеркаться. Вечер был тих и прохладен. Я заснул крепким сном молодого путешественника и не чувствовал, как прошла ночь. Восходящее солнце разбудило меня лучами своими; мы приближались к заставе, маленькому домику с рогаткою. Парижский купец пошел со мною к майору, который принял меня учтиво и после осмотра велел нас пропустить. Мы въехали в Курляндию - и мысль, что я уже вне отечества, производила в душе моей

удивительное действие. На все, что попадалось мне в глаза, смотрел я с отменным вниманием, хотя предметы сами по себе были весьма обыкновены. Я чувствовал такую радость, какой со времени нашей разлуки, милые! еще не чувствовал. Скоро открылась Митава. Вид сего города некрасив, но для меня был привлекателен! "Вот первый иностранный город",- думал я, и глаза мои искали чего-нибудь отменного, нового. На берегу реки Аа, через которую мы переехали на плоту, стоит дворец герцога курляндского, не малый дом, впрочем, по своей наружности весьма не великолепный. Стекла почти везде выбиты или вынуты; и видно, что внутри комнат переделывают. Герцог живет в летнем замке, недалеко от Митавы. Берег реки покрыт лесом, которым сам герцог исключительно торгует и который составляет для него немалый доход. Стоявшие на карауле солдаты казались инвалидами. Что принадлежит до города, то он велик, но нехорош. Домы почти все маленькие и довольно неопрятны; улицы узки и худо вымощены; садов и пустырей много.

[AA] ***Letters of a Russian Traveller*, 19 June 1789**

Вчера в семь часов утра приехал я сюда, любезные друзья мои, и стал вместе с своим сопутником в трактире у Шенка.

Кенигсберг, столица Пруссии, есть один из больших городов в Европе, будучи в окружности около пятнадцати верст. Некогда был он в числе славных ганзейских городов. И ныне коммерция его довольно важна. Река Прегель, на которой он лежит, хотя не шире 150 или 160 футов, однако ж так глубока, что большие купеческие суда могут ходить по ней. Домов считается около 4000, а жителей 40 000 - как мало по величине города! Но теперь он кажется многолюдным, потому что множество людей собралось сюда на ярмарку, которая начнется с завтрашнего дня. Я видел довольно хороших домов, но не видал таких огромных, как в Москве или в Петербурге, хотя вообще Кенигсберг выстроен едва ли не лучше Москвы. Здешний гарнизон так многочислен, что везде попадаются в глаза мундиры. Не скажу, чтобы прусские солдаты были одеты лучше наших; а особливо не нравятся мне их двуугольные шляпы. Что принадлежит до офицеров, то они очень опрятны, а жалованья получают, выключая капитанов, малым чем более наших. Я слыхал, будто в прусской службе нет таких молодых офицеров, как у нас; однако ж видел здесь по крайней мере десять пятнадцатилетних. Мундиры синие, голубые и зеленые с красными, белыми и оранжевыми отворотами.

Вчера обедал я за общим столом, где было старых майоров, толстых капитанов, осанистых поручиков, безбородых подпоручиков и прапорщиков человек с тридцать. Содержанием громких разговоров был прошедший смотр. Офицерские шутки также со всех сторон сыпались. Например: "Что за причина, господин ритмейстер, что у вас ныне и днем окна закрыты? Конечно, вы не письмом занимаетесь? Ха! ха! ха!" - "То-то, фон Кребс! Все знает, что у меня делается!" - и проч. и проч. Однако ж они учтивы. Лишь только наша француженка показалась, все встали и за обедом служили ей с великим усердием. - Как бы то ни было, только в другой раз рассудил я за благо обедать один в своей комнате, растворив окна в сад, откуда лились в мой немецкий суп ароматические испарения сочной зелени.

[BB] Pushkin, *Evgenii Onegin,* Chapter One

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/436/p.2/index.html>, site accessed 18 August 2010.]

XXXV

Что ж мой Онегин? Полусонный
В постелю с бала едет он:
А Петербург неугомонный
Уж барабаном пробужден.
Встает купец, идет разносчик,
На биржу тянется извозчик,
С кувшином охтенка спешит,
Под ней снег утренний хрустит.
Проснулся утра шум приятный.
Открыты ставни; трубный дым
Столбом восходит голубым,
И хлебник, немец аккуратный,
В бумажном колпаке, не раз
Уж отворял свой *васисдас*.

XXXVI

Но, шумом бала утомленный
И утро в полночь обратя,
Спокойно спит в тени блаженной
Забав и роскоши дитя.
Проснется за полдень, и снова
До утра жизнь его готова,
Однообразна и пестра.
И завтра то же, что вчера.
Но был ли счастлив мой Евгений,
Свободный, в цвете лучших лет,
Среди блистательных побед,
Среди вседневных наслаждений?
Вотще ли был он средь пиров
Неосторожен и здоров?

[CC] *Evgenii Onegin*, Chapter Two

VI

В свою деревню в ту же пору
Помещик новый прискакал
И столь же строгому разбору
В соседстве повод подавал:
По имени Владимир Ленской,
С душою прямо геттингенской,
Красавец, в полном цвете лет,
Поклонник Канта и поэт.
Он из Германии туманной
Привез учености плоды:

Вольнолюбивые мечты,
Дух пылкий и довольно странный,
Всегда восторженную речь
И кудри черные до плеч.

[DD] **Nikolai Gogol, Introduction, "Nevskii Prospekt"[DD]**

[From <http://public-library.narod.ru/Gogol.Nikolai/nevskiy.html>, site accessed 26 August 2010.]

Нет ничего лучше Невского проспекта, по крайней мере в Петербурге; для него он составляет все. Чем не блестит эта улица - красавица нашей столицы! Я знаю, что ни один из бледных и чиновных ее жителей не променяет на все блага Невского проспекта. Не только кто имеет двадцать пять лет от роду, прекрасные усы и удивительно сшитый сюртук, но даже тот, у кого на подбородке выскакивают белые волоса и голова гладка, как серебряное блюдо, и тот в восторге от Невского проспекта...

В двенадцать часов на Невский проспект делают набеги гувернеры всех наций с своими питомцами в батистовых воротничках. Английские Джонсы и французские Коки идут под руку с вверенными их родительскому попечению питомцами и с приличною солидностью изъясняют им, что вывески над магазинами делаются для того, чтобы можно было посредством их узнать, что находится в самых магазинах. Гувернантки, бледные миссы и розовые славянки, идут величаво позади своих легеньких, вертлявых девчонок, приказывая им поднимать несколько выше плечо и держаться прямее; короче сказать, в это время Невский проспект - педагогический Невский проспект. Но чем ближе к двум часам, тем уменьшается число гувернеров, педагогов и детей: они наконец вытесняются нежными их родителями, идущими под руку с своими пестрыми, разноцветными, слабонервными подругами…

С четырех часов Невский проспект пуст, и вряд ли вы встретите на нем хотя одного чиновника. Какая-нибудь швея из магазина перебежит через Невский проспект с коробкою в руках, какая-нибудь жалкая добыча человеколюбивого повытчика, пущенная по миру во фризовой шинели, какой-нибудь заезжий чудак, которому все часы равны, какая-нибудь длинная высокая англичанка с ридикюлем и книжкою в руках, какой-нибудь артельщик, русский человек в демикотоновом сюртуке с талией на спине, с узенькою бородою, живущий всю жизнь на живую нитку, в котором все шевелится: спина, и руки, и ноги, и голова, когда он учтиво проходит по тротуару, иногда низкий ремесленник; больше никого не встретите вы на Невском проспекте.

[EE] **"Nevskii Prospekt," Pirogov Breaches *Nemets* Space**

Итак, Пирогов не переставал преследовать незнакомку, от времени до времени занимая ее вопросами, на которые она отвечала резко, отрывисто и какими-то неясными звуками. Они вошли темными Казанскими воротами в Мещанскую улицу, улицу табачных и мелочных лавок, немцев-ремесленников и чухонских нимф. Блондинка бежала скорее и впорхнула в ворота одного довольно запачканного дома. Пирогов - за нею. Она взбежала по узенькой темной лестнице и вошла в дверь, в которую тоже смело пробрался Пирогов. Он увидел себя в большой комнате с черными стенами, с закопченным потолком. Куча железных винтов, слесарных инструментов, блестящих кофейников и подсвечников была на столе; пол был засорен медными и железными опилками. Пирогов тотчас смекнул, что это была квартира мастерового. Незнакомка порхнула далее в боковую дверь. Он было на минуту задумался, но, следуя русскому правилу, решился идти вперед. Он вошел в комнату, вовсе не похожую на первую, убранную очень опрятно, показывавшую, что хозяин был немец. Он был поражен необыкновенно странным видом.

Перед ним сидел Шиллер, - не тот Шиллер, который написал "Вильгельма Телля" и "Историю Тридцатилетней войны", но известный Шиллер, жестяных дел мастер в Мещанской улице. Возле Шиллера стоял Гофман, - не писатель Гофман, но довольно хороший сапожник с Офицерской улицы, большой приятель Шиллера. Шиллер был пьян и сидел на стуле, топая ногою и говоря что-то с жаром. Все это еще бы не удивило Пирогова, но удивило его чрезвычайно странное положение фигур. Шиллер сидел, выставив свой довольно толстый нос и поднявши вверх голову; а Гофман держал его за этот нос двумя пальцами и вертел лезвием своего сапожнического ножа на самой его поверхности. Обе особы говорили на немецком языке, и потому поручик Пирогов, который знал по-немецки только "гут морген", ничего не мог понять из всей этой истории. Впрочем, слова Шиллера заключались вот в чем.

"Я не хочу, мне не нужен нос! - говорил он, размахивая руками.- У меня на один нос выходит три фунта табаку в месяц. И я плачу в русский скверный магазин, потому что немецкий магазин не держит русского табаку, я плачу в русский скверный магазин за каждый фунт по сорок копеек; это будет рубль двадцать копеек; двенадцать раз рубль двадцать копеек - это будет четырнадцать рублей

сорок копеек. Слышишь, друг мой Гофман? на один нос четырнадцать рублей сорок копеек! Да по праздникам я нюхаю рапе, потому что я не хочу нюхать по праздникам русский скверный табак. В год я нюхаю два фунта рапе, по два рубля фунт. Шесть да четырнадцать - двадцать рублей сорок копеек на один табак. Это разбой! Я спрашиваю тебя, мой друг Гофман, не так ли? - Гофман, который сам был пьян, отвечал утвердительно.- Двадцать рублей сорок копеек! Я швабский немец; у меня есть король в Германии. Я не хочу носа! режь мне нос! вот мой нос!"

FF **"Nevskii Prospekt," Essentialist *Nemets* Character**

Я почитаю не излишним познакомить читателя несколько покороче с Шиллером. Шиллер был совершенный немец в полном смысле всего этого слова. Еще с двадцатилетнего возраста, с того счастливого времени, в которое русский живет на фу-фу, уже Шиллер размерил всю свою жизнь и никакого, ни в каком случае, не делал исключения. Он положил вставать в семь часов, обедать в два, быть точным во всем и быть пьяным каждое воскресенье. Он положил себе в течение десяти лет составить капитал из пятидесяти тысяч, и уже это было так верно и неотразимо, как судьба, потому что скорее чиновник позабудет заглянуть в швейцарскую своего начальника, нежели немец решится переменить свое слово. Ни в каком случае не увеличивал он своих издержек, и если цена на картофель слишком поднималась против обыкновенного, он не прибавлял ни одной копейки, но уменьшал только количество, и хотя оставался иногда несколько голодным, но, однако же, привыкал к этому. Аккуратность его простиралась до того, что он положил целовать жену свою в сутки не более двух раз, а чтобы как-нибудь не поцеловать лишний раз, он никогда не клал перцу более одной ложечки в свой суп; впрочем, в воскресный день это правило не так строго исполнялось, потому что Шиллер выпивал тогда две бутылки пива и одну бутылку тминной водки, которую, однако же, он всегда бранил. Пил он вовсе не так, как англичанин, который тотчас после обеда запирает дверь на крючок и нарезывается один. Напротив, он, как немец, пил всегда вдохновенно, или с сапожником Гофманом, или с столяром Кунцом, тоже немцем и большим пьяницею. Таков был характер благородного Шиллера, который наконец был приведен в чрезвычайно затруднительное положение. Хотя он был флегматик и немец, однако ж поступки Пирогова возбудили в нем что-то похожее на ревность. Он ломал голову и не мог придумать, каким образом ему избавиться от этого русского офицера. Между тем Пирогов, куря трубку в кругу своих товарищей, -

потому что уже так провидение устроило, что где офицеры, там и трубки, - куря трубку в кругу своих товарищем, намекал значительно и с приятною улыбкою об интрижке с хорошенькою немкою, с которою, по словам его, он уже совершенно был накоротке и которую он на самом деле едва ли не терял уже надежды преклонить на свою сторону.

[GG] **The Primary Chronicle, Year 6370 (862), Trans. D. Likhachev**

[From <http://lib.ru/HISTORY/RUSSIA/povest.txt>, site accessed 25 August 2010.]

Изгнали варяг за море, и не дали им дани, и начали сами собой владеть, и не было среди них правды, и встал род на род, и была у них усобица, и стали воевать друг с другом. И сказали себе: "Поищем себе князя, который бы владел нами и судил по праву". И пошли за море к варягам, к руси. Те варяги назывались русью, как другие называются шведы, а иные норманны и англы, а еще иные готландцы, - вот так и эти. Сказали руси чудь, словене, кривичи и весь: "Земля наша велика и обильна, а порядка в ней нет. Приходите княжить и владеть нами". И избрались трое братьев со своими родам, и взяли с собой всю русь, и пришли, и сел старший, Рюрик, в Новгороде, а другой, Синеус, - на Белоозере, а третий, Трувор, - в Изборске. И от тех варягов прозвалась Русская земля. Новгородцы же - те люди от варяжского рода, а прежде были словене. Через два же года умерли Синеус и брат его Трувор. И принял всю власть один Рюрик, и стал раздавать мужам своим города - тому Полоцк, этому Ростов, другому Белоозеро. Варяги в этих городах - находники, а коренное население в Новгороде - словене, в Полоцке - кривичи, в Ростове - меря, в Белоозере - весь, в Муроме - мурома, и над теми всеми властвовал Рюрик. И было у него два мужа, не родственники его, но бояре, и отпросились они в Царьград со своим родом. И отправились по Днепру, и когда плыли мимо, то увидели на горе небольшой город. И спросили: "Чей это городок?". Те же ответили: "Были три брата, Кий, Щек и Хорив, которые построили городок этот и сгинули, а мы тут сидим, их потомки, и платим дань хазарам". Аскольд же и Дир остались в этом городе, собрали у себя много варягов и стали владеть землею полян. Рюрик же княжил в Новгороде.

– CHAPTER FIVE –

[HH] **N. V. Gogol, *Dead Souls*, Ch. Eleven.**

[From <http://az.lib.ru/g/gogolx_n_w/text_0140.shtml>, site accessed 3 September 2010.]

Русь! Русь! вижу тебя, из моего чудного, прекрасного далека тебя вижу: бедно, разбросанно и неприютно в тебе; не развеселят, не испугают взоров дерзкие дива природы, венчанные дерзкими дивами искусства, города с многооконными высокими дворцами, вросшими в утесы, картинные дерева и плющи, вросшие в домы, в шуме и в вечной пыли водопадов; не опрокинется назад голова посмотреть на громоздящиеся без конца над нею и в вышине каменные глыбы; не блеснут сквозь наброшенные одна на другую темные арки, опутанные виноградными сучьями, плющами и несметными миллионами диких роз, не блеснут сквозь них вдали вечные линии сияющих гор, несущихся в серебряные ясные небеса. Открыто-пустынно и ровно все в тебе; как точки, как значки, неприметно торчат среди равнин невысокие твои города; ничто не обольстит и не очарует взора. Но какая же непостижимая, тайная сила влечет к тебе? Почему слышится и раздается немолчно в ушах твоя тоскливая, несущаяся по всей длине и ширине твоей, от моря до моря, песня? Что в ней, в этой песне? Что зовет, и рыдает, и хватает за сердце? Какие звуки болезненно лобзают, и стремятся в душу, и вьются около моего сердца? Русь! чего же ты хочешь от меня? какая непостижимая связь таится между нами? Что глядишь ты так, и зачем все, что ни есть в тебе, обратило на меня полные ожидания очи?.. И еще, полный недоумения, неподвижно стою я, а уже главу осенило грозное облако, тяжелое грядущими дождями, и онемела мысль пред твоим пространством. Что пророчит сей необъятный простор? Здесь ли, в тебе ли не родиться беспредельной мысли, когда ты сама без конца? Здесь ли не быть богатырю, когда есть место, где развернуться и пройтись ему? И грозно объемлет меня могучее пространство, страшною силою отразясь во глубине моей; неестественной властью осветились мои очи: у! какая сверкающая, чудная, незнакомая земле даль! Русь!..

II ***Dead Souls*, Ch. 6; Pliushkin's Garden**

В стороне, у самого края сада, несколько высокорослых, не вровень другим, осин подымали огромные вороньи гнезда на трепетные свои вершины. У иных из них отдернутые и не вполне отделенные ветви висели вниз вместе с иссохшими листьями. Словом, всё было как-то пустынно-хорошо, как не выдумать ни природе, ни искусству, но как бывает только тогда, когда они соединятся вместе, когда по нагроможденному, часто без толку, труду человека пройдет окончательным резцом своим природа, облегчит тяжелые массы, уничтожит грубоощутительную

правильность и нищенские прорехи, сквозь которые проглядывает нескрытый, нагой план, и даст чудную теплоту всему, что создалось в хладе размеренной чистоты и опрятности.

[JJ] 20 *Nemets* References in *Dead Souls*: 14 Passages

– Chapter Two

JJ1: The narrator explains his narrative approach.

Для читателя будет не лишним познакомиться с сими двумя крепостными людьми нашего героя. Хотя, конечно, они лица не так заметные, и то, что называют второстепенные или даже третьестепенные, хотя главные ходы и пружины поэмы не на них утверждены и разве кое-где касаются и легко зацепляют их, — но автор любит чрезвычайно быть обстоятельным во всем и с этой стороны, несмотря на то что сам человек русский, хочет быть аккуратен, как немец. Это займет, впрочем, не много времени и места, потому что не много нужно прибавить к тому, что уже читатель знает, то есть что Петрушка ходил в несколько широком коричневом сюртуке с барского плеча и имел, по обычаю людей своего звания, крупный нос и губы.

– Chapter Three

JJ2: Selifan scolds the piebald horse.

Этот чубарый конь был сильно лукав и показывал только для вида, будто бы везет, тогда как коренной гнедой и пристяжной каурой масти, называвшийся Заседателем, потому что был приобретен у какого-то заседателя, трудился от всего сердца, так что даже в глазах их было заметно получаемое ими от того удовольствие. “Хитри, хитри! вот я тебя перехитрю! — говорил Селифан, приподнявшись и хлыснув кнутом ленивца. — Ты знай свое дело, панталонник ты немецкий! Гнедой — почтенный конь, он сполняет свой долг, я ему с охотою дам лишнюю меру, потому что он почтенный конь, и Заседатель тож хороший конь... Ну, ну! что потряхиваешь ушами? Ты, дурак, слушай, коли говорят! я тебя, невежа, не стану дурному учить. Ишь куда ползет!” Здесь он опять хлыснул его кнутом, примолвив: “У, варвар! Бонапарт ты проклятый!” Потом прикрикнул на всех: “Эй вы, любезные!” — и стегнул по всем по трем уже не в виде наказания, но чтобы показать, что был ими доволен.

JJ3: Chichikov interacts with Karobochka.

— Здравствуйте, батюшка. Каково почивали? — сказала хозяйка, приподнимаясь с места. Она была одета лучше, нежели вчера, — в темном платье и уже не в спальном чепце, но на шее все так же было что-то завязано.

— Хорошо, хорошо, — говорил Чичиков, садясь в кресла. — Вы как, матушка?

— Плохо, отец мой.

— Как так?

— Бессонница. Все поясница болит, и нога, что повыше косточки, так вот и ломит.

— Пройдет, пройдет, матушка. На это нечего глядеть.

— Дай Бог, чтобы прошло. Я-то смазывала свиным салом и скипидаром тоже смачивала. А с чем прихлебнете чайку? Во фляжке фруктовая.

— Недурно, матушка, хлебнем и фруктовой.

Читатель, я думаю, уже заметил, что Чичиков, несмотря на ласковый вид, говорил, однако же, с большею свободою, нежели с Маниловым, и вовсе не церемонился. Надобно сказать, что у нас на Руси если не угнались еще кой в чем другом за иностранцами, то далеко перегнали их в умении обращаться. Пересчитать нельзя всех оттенков и тонкостей нашего обращения. Француз или немец век не смекнет и не поймет всех его особенностей и различий; он почти тем же голосом и тем же языком станет говорить и с миллионщиком, и с мелким табачным торгашом, хотя, конечно, в душе поподличает в меру перед первым. У нас не то: у нас есть такие мудрецы, которые с помещиком, имеющим двести душ, будут говорить совсем иначе, нежели с тем, у которого их триста, а с тем, у которого их триста, будут говорить опять не так, как с тем, у которого их пятьсот, а с тем, у которого их пятьсот, опять не так, как с тем, у которого их восемьсот, — словом, хоть восходи до миллиона, всё найдутся оттенки.

– Chapter Four

JJ4: Chichikov bargains with Nozdrev

Чичиков поблагодарил за расположение и напрямик отказался и от серого коня и от каурой кобылы.

— Ну так купи собак. Я тебе продам такую пару, просто мороз по коже подирает! брудастая, с усами, шерсть стоит вверх, как щетина. Бочковатость ребр уму непостижимая, лапа вся в комке, земли не заденет.

— Да зачем мне собаки? я не охотник.

— Да мне хочется, чтобы у тебя были собаки. Послушай, если уж не хочешь собак, так купи у меня шарманку, чудная шарманка; самому, как честный человек, обошлась в полторы тысячи: тебе отдаю за девятьсот рублей.

— Да зачем же мне шарманка? Ведь я не немец, чтобы, тащася с ней по дорогам, выпрашивать деньги.

— Да ведь это не такая шарманка, как носят немцы. Это орган; посмотри нарочно: вся из красного дерева. Вот я тебе покажу ее еще! — Здесь Ноздрев, схвативши за руку Чичикова, стал тащить его в другую комнату, и как тот ни упирался ногами в пол и ни уверял, что он знает уже, какая шарманка, но должен был услышать еще раз, каким образом поехал в поход Мальбруг. — Когда ты не хочешь на деньги, так вот что, слушай: я тебе дам шарманку и все, сколько ни есть у меня, мертвые души, а ты мне дай свою бричку и триста рублей придачи.

– Chapter Five

JJ5: The narrator explains the *muzhik's* love of spectacles.

На такую сумятицу успели, однако ж, собраться мужики из деревни, которая была, к счастию, неподалеку. Так как подобное зрелище для мужика сущая благодать, все равно что для немца газеты или клуб, то скоро около экипажа накопилась их бездна, и в деревне остались только старые бабы да малые ребята. Постромки отвязали; несколько тычков чубарому коню в морду заставили его попятиться; словом, их разрознили и развели.

JJ6: Chichikov arrives at Sobakevich's estate.

Деревня показалась ему довольно велика; два леса, березовый и сосновый, как два крыла, одно темнее, другое светлее, были у ней справа и слева; посреди виднелся деревянный дом с мезонином, красной крышей и темно-серыми или, лучше, дикими стенами, — дом вроде тех, как у нас строят для военных поселений и немецких колонистов. Было заметно, что при постройке его зодчий беспрестанно боролся со вкусом хозяина. Зодчий был педант и хотел симметрии, хозяин — удобства и, как видно, вследствие того заколотил на одной стороне все отвечающие окна и провертел на место их одно маленькое, вероятно понадобившееся для темного чулана. Фронтон тоже никак не пришелся посреди дома, как ни бился архитектор, потому что хозяин приказал одну колонну сбоку выкинуть, и оттого очутилось не четыре колонны, как было назначено, а только три. Двор окружен был крепкою и непомерно толстою деревянною решеткой. Помещик, казалось, хлопотал

много о прочности. На конюшни, сараи и кухни были употреблены полновесные и толстые бревна, определенные на вековое стояние. Деревенские избы мужиков тож срублены были на диво: не было кирчёных стен, резных узоров и прочих затей, но все было пригнано плотно и как следует. Даже колодец был обделан в такой крепкий дуб, какой идет только на мельницы да на корабли. Словом, все, на что ни глядел он, было упористо, без пошатки, в каком-то крепком и неуклюжем порядке.

JJ7: Sobakevich discusses *nemets* doctors.

— Что ж, душа моя, — сказал Собакевич, — если б я сам это делал, но я тебе прямо в глаза скажу, что я гадостей не стану есть. Мне лягушку хоть сахаром облепи, не возьму ее в рот, и устрицы тоже не возьму: я знаю, на что устрица похожа. Возьмите барана, — продолжал он, обращаясь к Чичикову, — это бараний бок с кашей! Это не те фрикасе, что делаются на барских кухнях из баранины, какая суток по четыре на рынке валяется! Это все выдумали доктора немцы да французы, я бы их перевешал за это! Выдумали диету, лечить голодом! Что у них немецкая жидкостная натура, так они воображают, что и с русским желудком сладят! Нет, это все не то, это всё выдумки, это всё...

JJ8: The narrator discusses *russkii* wit and the *russkii* word.

Выражается сильно российский народ! и если наградит кого словцом, то пойдет оно ему в род и потомство, утащит он его с собою и на службу, и в отставку, и в Петербург, и на край света. И как уж потом ни хитри и ни облагораживай свое прозвище, хоть заставь пишущих людишек выводить его за наемную плату от древнекняжеского рода, ничто не поможет: каркнет само за себя прозвище во все свое воронье горло и скажет ясно, откуда вылетела птица. Произнесенное метко, все равно что писанное, не вырубливается топором. А уж куды бывает метко все то, что вышло из глубины Руси, где нет ни немецких, ни чухонских, ни всяких иных племен, а всё сам-самородок, живой и бойкий русский ум, что не лезет за словом в карман, не высиживает его, как наседка цыплят, а влепливает сразу, как пашпорт на вечную носку, и нечего прибавлять уже потом, какой у тебя нос или губы, — одной чертой обрисован ты с ног до головы!

Как несметное множество церквей, монастырей с куполами, главами, крестами, рассыпано на святой, благочестивой Руси, так несметное множество племен, поколений, народов толпится, пестреет и мечется по лицу земли. И всякий народ, носящий в себе залог сил, полный творящих способностей души, своей яркой

особенности и других даров Бога, своеобразно отличился каждый своим собственным словом, которым, выражая какой ни есть предмет, отражает в выраженье его часть собственного своего характера. Сердцеведением и мудрым познаньем жизни отзовется слово британца; легким щеголем блеснет и разлетится недолговечное слово француза; затейливо придумает свое, не всякому доступное, умно-худощавое слово немец; но нет слова, которое было бы так замашисто, бойко так вырвалось бы из-под самого сердца, так бы кипело и животрепетало, как метко сказанное русское слово.

– Chapter Seven

JJ9: Chichikov considers the memorandum of Maksim Teliatinkov.

Максим Телятников, сапожник. Хе, сапожник! "Пьян, как сапожник", говорит пословица. Знаю, знаю тебя, голубчик; если хочешь, всю историю твою расскажу: учился ты у немца, который кормил вас всех вместе, бил ремнем по спине за неаккуратность и не выпускал на улицу повесничать, и был ты чудо, а не сапожник, и не нахвалился тобою немец, говоря с женой или с камрадом. А как кончилось твое ученье: "А вот теперь я заведусь своим домиком, — сказал ты, — да не так, как немец, что из копейки тянется, а вдруг разбогатею". И вот, давши барину порядочный оброк, завел ты лавчонку, набрав заказов кучу, и пошел работать. Достал где-то втридешева гнилушки кожи и выиграл, точно, вдвое на всяком сапоге, да через недели две перелопались твои сапоги, и выбранили тебя подлейшим образом. И вот лавчонка твоя запустела, и ты пошел попивать да валяться по улицам, приговаривая: "Нет, плохо на свете! Нет житья русскому человеку, всё немцы мешают".

– Chapter Eight

JJ10: The narrator discusses the pronunciation of foreign languages.

Виноват! Кажется, из уст нашего героя излетело словцо, подмеченное на улице. Что ж делать? Таково на Руси положение писателя! Впрочем, если слово из улицы попало в книгу, не писатель виноват, виноваты читатели, и прежде всего читатели высшего общества: от них первых не услышишь ни одного порядочного русского слова, а французскими, немецкими и английскими они, пожалуй, наделят в таком количестве, что и не захочешь, и наделят даже с сохранением всех возможных произношений: по-французски в нос и картавя, по-английски произнесут, как следует птице, и даже физиономию сделают птичью, и даже посмеются над тем,

кто не сумеет сделать птичьей физиономии; а вот только русским ничем не наделят, разве из патриотизма выстроят для себя на даче избу в русском вкусе. Вот каковы читатели высшего сословия, а за ними и все причитающие себя к высшему сословию! А между тем какая взыскательность! Хотят непременно, чтобы все было написано языком самым строгим, очищенным и благородным, — словом, хотят, чтобы русский язык сам собою опустился вдруг с облаков, обработанный как следует, и сел бы им прямо на язык, а им бы больше ничего, как только разинуть рты да выставить его. Конечно, мудрена женская половина человеческого рода; но почтенные читатели, надо признаться, бывают еще мудренее.

– Chapter Nine

JJ11: The rumour of the "dead souls" spreads.

Все вдруг отыскали в себе такие грехи, каких даже не было. Слово "мертвые души" так раздалось неопределенно, что стали подозревать даже, нет ли здесь какого намека на скоропостижно погребенные тела, вследствие двух не так давно случившихся событий. Первое событие было с какими-то сольвычегодскими купцами, приехавшими в город на ярмарку и задавшими после торгов пирушку приятелям своим устьсысольским купцам, пирушку на русскую ногу с немецкими затеями: аршадами, пуншами, бальзамами и проч. Пирушка, как водится, кончилась дракой. Сольвычегодские уходили насмерть устьсысольских, хотя и от них понесли крепкую ссадку на бока, под микитки и в подсочельник, свидетельствовавшую о непомерной величине кулаков, которыми были снабжены покойники.

– Chapter Ten

JJ12: The *chinovniki* gather at the police station.

Вообще мы как-то не создались для представительных заседаний. Во всех наших собраниях, начиная от крестьянской мирской сходки до всяких возможных ученых и прочих комитетов, если в них нет одной главы, управляющей всем, присутствует препорядочная путаница. Трудно даже и сказать, почему это, видно, уже народ такой, только и удаются те совещания, которые составляются для того, чтобы покутить или пообедать, как-то: клубы и всякие воксалы на немецкую ногу. А готовность всякую минуту есть, пожалуй, на все. Мы вдруг, как ветер повеет, заведем общества благотворительные, поощрительные и невесть какие. Цель будет прекрасна, а при всем том ничего не выйдет. Может быть, это происходит оттого, что мы вдруг удовлетворяемся в самом начале и уже почитаем, что все сделано.

– Chapter Eleven

JJ13: Chichikov considers his harsh fate.

После всего того, что бы достаточно было если не убить, то охладить и усмирить навсегда человека, в нем не потухла непостижимая страсть. Он был в горе, в досаде, роптал на весь свет, сердился на несправедливость судьбы, негодовал на несправедливость людей и, однако же, не мог отказаться от новых попыток. Словом, он показал терпенье, пред которым ничто деревянное терпенье немца, заключенное уже в медленном, ленивом обращении крови его. Кровь Чичикова, напротив, играла сильно, и нужно было много разумной воли, чтоб набросить узду на все то, что хотело бы выпрыгнуть и погулять на свободе. Он рассуждал, и в рассуждении его видна была некоторая сторона справедливости: 'Почему ж я? зачем на меня обрушилась беда? Кто ж зевает теперь на должности? — все приобретают. Несчастным я не сделал никого: я не ограбил вдову, я не пустил никого по миру, пользовался я от избытков, брал там, где всякий брал бы; не воспользуйся я, другие воспользовались бы. За что же другие благоденствуют, и почему должен я пропасть червем? И что я теперь? Куда я гожусь? какими глазами я стану смотреть теперь в глаза всякому почтенному отцу семейства? Как не чувствовать мне угрызения совести, зная, что даром бременю землю, и что скажут потом мои дети? Вот, скажут, отец, скотина, не оставил нам никакого состояния!'

JJ14: The *Troika Passage.*

Эх, тройка! птица тройка, кто тебя выдумал? знать, у бойкого народа ты могла только родиться, в той земле, что не любит шутить, а ровнем-гладнем разметнулась на полсвета, да и ступай считать версты, пока не зарябит тебе в очи. И не хитрый, кажись, дорожный снаряд, не железным схвачен винтом, а наскоро живьем с одним топором да долотом снарядил и собрал тебя ярославский расторопный мужик. Не в немецких ботфортах ямщик: борода да рукавицы, и сидит черт знает на чем; а привстал, да замахнулся, да затянул песню — кони вихрем, спицы в колесах смешались в один гладкий круг, только дрогнула дорога, да вскрикнул в испуге остановившийся пешеход — и вон она понеслась, понеслась, понеслась!.. И вон уже видно вдали, как что-то пылит и сверлит воздух.

Не так ли и ты, Русь, что бойкая необгонимая тройка несешься? Дымом дымится под тобою дорога, гремят мосты, все отстает и остается позади. Остановился пораженный Божьим чудом созерцатель: не молния ли это, сброшенная с неба? что

значит это наводящее ужас движение? и что за неведомая сила заключена в сих неведомых светом конях? Эх, кони, кони, что за кони! Вихри ли сидят в ваших гривах? Чуткое ли ухо горит во всякой вашей жилке? Заслышали с вышины знакомую песню, дружно и разом напрягли медные груди и, почти не тронув копытами земли, превратились в одни вытянутые линии, летящие по воздуху, и мчится вся вдохновенная Богом!.. Русь, куда ж несешься ты? дай ответ. Не дает ответа. Чудным звоном заливается колокольчик; гремит и становится ветром разорванный в куски воздух; летит мимо все, что ни есть на земле, и, косясь, посторанивaются и дают ей дорогу другие народы и государства.

[KK] Iu. M. Lotman, "Siuzhetnoe protstranstvo russkogo romana XIX stoletiia"

[From <http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Literat/lotm_shk/09.php>, site accessed 5 June 2010.]

'Панталонник немецкий' — для Гоголя совсем не бессмысленное, а исполненное значения словосочетание. Полковник Кошкарев убежден, 'что если только одеть половину русских мужиков в немецкие штаны, — науки возвысятся, торговля подымется, и золотой век настанет в России' (VII, 63). 'Панталонник немецкий' — это цивилизатор на манер Петра Великого. Наименование чубарого коня Бонапартом и Петром Великим одновременно дает этому образу хотя и шуточную и пародийную, но достаточно значительную перспективу. Особый смысл получает и перенесение ассоциаций этой клички на 'петербургского героя' Раскольникова. Показательно, что для Кошкарева высшим авторитетом служит 'пример Англия и сам даже Наполеон' (VII, 64). Признак 'сухой рационализм' выстраивает в единый парадигматический ряд власть денег, власть расчета, власть буквы закона, власть бюрократии и бездушной бумаги. Все это умещается в символическом образе Запада. В кличке, которую Селифан давал чубарому, видимо, отразились и бытовые впечатления от народных толков. Так, одна из дам (Воейкова) в мемуарах 1812 г. писала: 'Мы слушали, как ямщики, запрягая лошадей, кричали на них: 'Куда пятиш<ь>ся, Барклай проклятый!' (ЦГАЛИ, ф. 1337, оп. № 2, ед. хр. 90, л. 3 об.). Образы 1812 г. входят в бранную лексику народа: 'Бонапарт' — тот, кто хитрит, с помощью обмана стремится к своей выгоде ('чубарый конь был сильно лукав', VI, 40), 'Барклай' — тот, кто пятится. Между чубарым и Чичиковым Селифан, видимо, находит сходство: 'Если бы Чичиков прислушался, то узнал бы много подробностей, относившихся лично к нему' (VI, 41).

– CHAPTER SIX –

[LL] Pechorin's Dual Nature: M. Iu. Lermontov, *A Hero of Our Time,* from "Bela"

[From <http://ilibrary.ru/text/12/p.6/index.html>, site accessed 20 September 2010.]

Его звали... Григорием Александровичем *Печориным*. Славный был малый, смею вас уверить; только немножко странен. Ведь, например, в дождик, в холод целый день на охоте; все иззябнут, устанут — а ему ничего. А другой раз сидит у себя в комнате, ветер пахнет, уверяет, что простудился; ставнем стукнет, он вздрогнет и побледнеет; а при мне ходил на кабана один на один; бывало, по целым часам слова не добьешься, зато уж иногда как начнет рассказывать, так животики надорвешь со смеха... Да-с, с большими был странностями, и, должно быть, богатый человек: сколько у него было разных дорогих вещиц!..

[MM] From "Princess Mary," entry 16 May

Я думаю, казаки, зевающие на своих *вышках*, видя меня скачущего без нужды и цели, долго мучились этой загадкой, ибо, верно, по одежде приняли меня за черкеса. Мне в самом деле говорили, что в черкесском костюме верхом я больше похож на кабардинца, чем многие кабардинцы. И точно, что касается до этой благородной боевой одежды, я совершенный денди: ни одного галуна лишнего; оружие ценное в простой отделке, мех на шапке не слишком длинный, не слишком короткий; ноговицы и черевики пригнаны со всевозможной точностью; бешмет белый, черкеска темно-бурая. Я долго изучал горскую посадку: ничем нельзя так польстить моему самолюбию, как признавая мое искусство в верховой езде на кавказский лад. Я держу четырех лошадей: одну для себя, трех для приятелей, чтоб не скучно было одному таскаться по полям; они берут моих лошадей с удовольствием и никогда со мной не ездят вместе. Было уже шесть часов пополудни, когда вспомнил я, что пора обедать; лошадь моя была измучена; я выехал на дорогу, ведущую из Пятигорска в немецкую колонию, куда часто водяное общество ездит *en piquenique* . Дорога идет, извиваясь между кустарниками, опускаясь в небольшие овраги, где протекают шумные ручьи под сенью высоких трав; кругом амфитеатром возвышаются синие громады Бешту, Змеиной, Железной и Лысой горы. Спустясь в один из таких оврагов, называемых на здешнем наречии *балками*, я остановился, чтоб напоить лошадь; в это время

показалась на дороге шумная и блестящая кавалькада: дамы в черных и голубых амазонках, кавалеры в костюмах, составляющих смесь *черкесского с нижегородским*; впереди ехал Грушницкий с княжною Мери.

[NN] French Allusions, *A Hero of Our Time*

1. *Russkii* Figaro: from "Maksim Maksimych"

Так сидели мы долго. Солнце пряталось за холодные вершины, и беловатый туман начинал расходиться в долинах, когда на улице раздался звон дорожного колокольчика и крик извозчиков. Несколько повозок с грязными армянами въехало на двор гостиницы и за ними пустая дорожная коляска; ее легкий ход, удобное устройство и щегольской вид имели какой-то заграничный отпечаток. За нею шел человек с большими усами, в венгерке, довольно хорошо одетый для лакея; в его звании нельзя было ошибиться, видя ухарскую замашку, с которой он вытряхивал золу из трубки и покрикивал на ямщика. Он был явно балованный слуга ленивого барина — нечто вроде русского Фигаро.

— Скажи, любезный, — закричал я ему в окно, — что это — оказия пришла, что ли?

Он посмотрел довольно дерзко, поправил галстук и отвернулся; шедший подле него армянин, улыбаясь, отвечал за него, что точно пришла оказия и завтра утром отправится обратно.

2. Balzac's Coquette; from "Maksim Maksimych"

Когда он опустился на скамью, то прямой стан его согнулся, как будто у него в спине не было ни одной косточки; положение всего его тела изобразило какую-то нервическую слабость: он сидел, как сидит бальзакова тридцатилетняя кокетка на своих пуховых креслах после утомительного бала. С первого взгляда на лицо его я бы не дал ему более двадцати трех лет, хотя после я готов был дать ему тридцать. В его улыбке было что-то детское. Его кожа имела какую-то женскую нежность; белокурые волосы, вьющиеся от природы, так живописно обрисовывали его бледный, благородный лоб, на котором, только по долгом наблюдении, можно было заметить следы морщин, пересекавших одна другую и, вероятно, обозначавшихся гораздо явственнее в минуты гнева или душевного беспокойства. Несмотря на светлый цвет его волос, усы его и брови были черные — признак породы в человеке, так, как черная грива и черный хвост у белой лошади.

3. Napoleon; from "Princess Mary," entry 16 June.

Все к лучшему! это новое страдание, говоря военным слогом, сделало во мне счастливую диверсию. Плакать здорово; и потом, вероятно, если б я не проехался верхом и не был принужден на обратном пути пройти пятнадцать верст, то и эту ночь сон не сомкнул бы глаз моих.

Я возвратился в Кисловодск в пять часов утра, бросился на постель и заснул сном Наполеона после Ватерлоо.

oo **British Allusions**

1. The (Byronic) English; from "Bela"

Я отвечал, что много есть людей, говорящих то же самое; что есть, вероятно, и такие, которые говорят правду; что, впрочем, разочарование, как все моды, начав с высших слоев общества, спустилось к низшим, которые его донашивают, и что нынче те, которые больше всех и в самом деле скучают, стараются скрыть это несчастье, как порок. Штабс-капитан не понял этих тонкостей, покачал головою и улыбнулся лукаво:

— А все, чай, французы ввели моду скучать?

— Нет, Англичане.

— А-га, вот что!.. — отвечал он, — да ведь они всегда были отъявленные пьяницы!

2. Robinson Crusoe; from "Princess Mary," entry 11 May

— Бедная шинель! — сказал я, усмехаясь, — а кто этот господин, который к ним подходит и так услужливо подает им стакан?

— О! — это московский франт Раевич! Он игрок: это видно тотчас по золотой огромной цепи, которая извивается по его голубому жилету. А что за толстая трость — точно у Робинзона Крузоэ! Да и борода кстати, и прическа *à la moujik* .

— Ты озлоблен против всего рода человеческого.

— И есть за что...

3. Walter Scott; from "Princess Mary," entry 16 June

Как же прошедшее ясно и резко отлилось в моей памяти! Ни одной черты, ни одного оттенка не стерло время!

Я помню, что в продолжение ночи, предшествовавшей поединку, я не спал ни минуты. Писать я не мог долго: тайное беспокойство мною овладело. С час я ходил по комнате; потом сел и открыл роман Вальтера Скотта, лежавший у меня на столе: то были "Шотландские пуритане"; я читал сначала с усилием, потом забылся,

увлеченный волшебным вымыслом... Неужели шотландскому барду на том свете не платят за каждую отрадную минуту, которую дарит его книга?..

[PP] Roman Allusions

1. Cicero; from "Princess Mary," entry 13 May

Все нашли, что мы говорим вздор, а, право, из них никто ничего умнее этого не сказал. С этой минуты мы отличили в толпе друг друга. Мы часто сходились вместе и толковали вдвоем об отвлеченных предметах очень серьезно, пока не замечали оба, что мы взаимно друг друга морочим. Тогда, посмотрев значительно друг другу в глаза, как делали римские авгуры, по словам Цицерона, мы начинали хохотать и, нахохотавшись, расходились довольные своим вечером.

Я лежал на диване, устремив глаза в потолок и заложив руки под затылок, когда Вернер взошел в мою комнату. Он сел в кресла, поставил трость в угол, зевнул и объявил, что на дворе становится жарко. Я отвечал, что меня беспокоят мухи, — и мы оба замолчали.

2. Caesar; from "Princess Mary," entry 16 June

— Я вам удивляюсь, — сказал доктор, пожав мне крепко руку. — Дайте пощупать пульс!.. О-го! лихорадочный!.. но на лице ничего не заметно... только глаза у вас блестят ярче обыкновенного.

Вдруг мелкие камни с шумом покатились нам под ноги. Что это? Грушницкий споткнулся, ветка, за которую он уцепился, изломилась, и он скатился бы вниз на спине, если б его секунданты не поддержали.

— Берегитесь! — закричал я ему, — не падайте заранее; это дурная примета. Вспомните Юлия Цезаря!

3. Nero and the Poets; from "Princess Mary," entry 11 June

Что, если когда-нибудь эти записки попадут на глаза женщине? 'Клевета!' — закричит она с негодованием.

С тех пор, как поэты пишут и женщины их читают (за что им глубочайшая благодарность), их столько раз называли ангелами, что они в самом деле, в простоте душевной, поверили этому комплименту, забывая, что те же поэты за деньги величали Нерона полубогом...

[QQ] The Greek Allusion: Alexander; from "Princess Mary," entry 5 June

Через полчаса и я отправился. На улице было темно и пусто; вокруг собрания или трактира, как угодно, теснился народ; окна его светились; звуки полковой музыки

доносил ко мне вечерний ветер. Я шел медленно; мне было грустно... Неужели, думал я, мое единственное назначение на земле — разрушать чужие надежды? С тех пор как я живу и действую, судьба как-то всегда приводила меня к развязке чужих драм, как будто без меня никто не мог бы ни умереть, ни прийти в отчаяние! Я был необходимое лицо пятого акта; невольно я разыгрывал жалкую роль палача или предателя. Какую цель имела на это судьба?.. Уж не назначен ли я ею в сочинители мещанских трагедий и семейных романов — или в сотрудники поставщику повестей, например, для "Библиотеки для чтения"?.. Почему знать?.. Мало ли людей, начиная жизнь, думают кончить ее, как Александр Великий или лорд Байрон, а между тем целый век остаются титулярными советниками?..

[RR] ***Nemets* Allusions**

1. Goethe; from "Taman"

Решительно, я никогда подобной женщины не видывал. Она была далеко не красавица, но я имею свои предубеждения также и насчет красоты. В ней было много породы... порода в женщинах, как и в лошадях, великое дело; это открытие принадлежит Юной Франции. Она, то есть порода, а не Юная Франция, большею частью изобличается в поступи, в руках и ногах; особенно нос много значит. Правильный нос в России реже маленькой ножки. Моей певунье казалось не более восемнадцати лет. Необыкновенная гибкость ее стана, особенное, ей только свойственное наклонение головы, длинные русые волосы, какой-то золотистый отлив ее слегка загорелой кожи на шее и плечах и особенно правильный нос — все это было для меня обворожительно. Хотя в ее косвенных взглядах я читал что-то дикое и подозрительное, хотя в ее улыбке было что-то неопределенное, но такова сила предубеждений: правильный нос свел меня с ума; я вообразил, что нашел Гетеву Миньону, это причудливое создание его немецкого воображения, — и точно, между ими было много сходства: те же быстрые переходы от величайшего беспокойства к полной неподвижности, те же загадочные речи, те же прыжки, странные песни…

2. Mephistopheles (and Byron); from "Princess Mary," entry 13 May

Вернер был мал ростом, и худ, и слаб, как ребенок; одна нога была у него короче другой, как у Байрона; в сравнении с туловищем голова его казалась огромна: он стриг волосы под гребенку, и неровности его черепа, обнаруженные таким образом, поразили бы френолога странным сплетением противоположных наклонностей. Его

маленькие черные глаза, всегда беспокойные, старались проникнуть в ваши мысли. В его одежде заметны были вкус и опрятность; его худощавые, жилистые и маленькие руки красовались в светло-желтых перчатках. Его сюртук, галстук и жилет были постоянно черного цвета. Молодежь прозвала его Мефистофелем; он показывал, будто сердился за это прозвание, но в самом деле оно льстило его самолюбию. Мы друг друга скоро поняли и сделались приятелями, потому что я к дружбе неспособен: из двух друзей всегда один раб другого, хотя часто ни один из них в этом себе не признается; рабом я быть не могу, а повелевать в этом случае — труд утомительный, потому что надо вместе с этим и обманывать; да притом у меня есть лакеи и деньги! Вот как мы сделались приятелями: я встретил Вернера в С... среди многочисленного и шумного круга молодежи; разговор принял под конец вечера философско-метафизическое направление; толковали об убеждениях: каждый был убежден в разных разностях.

[SS] Two Turgenev Pieces

[I. S. Turgenev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem v 28 tomakh*, Vol. 13 (*Povesti i rasskazy, Stitsotvoreniia v proze, 1878-1883, Proizvedeniia raznykh godov*) (Moscow and Leningrad, 1967), pp. 307-314.]

РЕФОРМАТОР И РУССКИЙ НЕМЕЦ

Я сидел в так называемой чистой комнате постоялого двора на большой Курской дороге и расспрашивал хозяина, толстого человека с волнистыми седыми волосами, глазами навыкате и отвислым животом, о числе охотников, посетивших в последнее время Телегинское болото,— как вдруг дверь растворилась и вошел в комнату проезжий, стройный и высокий господин в щегольском дорожном платье. Он снял шапку... «Евгений Александрыч!— вскричал я.— Какими судьбами?..» — «А ***!» — воскликнул он в свою очередь. Мы пожали друг другу руки... «Как я рад, как я рад»,— пролепетали мы оба, не без напряженья...

— Куда вас бог несет? — спросил я наконец.

— В Курск... Я наследство получил.

— Тетушка ваша скончалась? — проговорил я с кротким участьем.

— Скончалась...— отвечал он с легким вздохом.— Хозяин! — прибавил он громким голосом.— Самовар — да поскорей! Да,— продолжал он, снова обращаясь ко мне.— Скончалась. Вот теперь еду наследство получать.

Вошел слуга Евгения Александрыча, рыжеватый молодой человек, одетый егерем.

— Hans! — промолвил мой знакомый.— Geben Sie mir eine Pfeife [1].

Hans вышел.

— У вас камердинер из немцев? — спросил я.

— Нет... из чухонцев...— отвечал Евгений Александрыч с расстановкой.— Но по-немецки понимает.

[1] Ганс! <...> Дайте мне трубку *(нем.)*.

— А по-русски говорит?

Евгений Александрыч помолчал немного...

— Да, говорит!

Hans вернулся, почтительно поднес чубук прямо к губам барина, положил на трубку четырехугольный клочок белой бумаги и приставил к бумажке свечку. Барин начал курить, принимаясь боком и кривя губами за янтарь, словно собака за ежа. Хозяин внес шипящий и кипящий самовар. Я сел подле Евгения Александровича и вступил с ним в разговор.

Я знавал Евгения Александровича Ладыгина в Петербурге. Он был высокого роста, видный мужчина с светлыми большими глазами, орлиным носом, решительным выраженьем лица. Все его знакомые и многие незнакомые отзывались о нем как о человеке «практическом». Он изъяснялся не красноречиво, но сильно; выслушивая чужие речи, от нетерпенья стискивал челюсти и пускал игру по щеке, выступал с уверенностью, ходил по улицам стремительно, не шевеля ни руками, ни головой и быстро поводя кругом глазами. Глядя на него, вероятно, не один прохожий невольно воскликнул: «Фу ты, боже мой! Куда идет этот человек?» А Евгений Александрыч просто шел обедать. Вставая из-за стола, он, бывало, застегивал свой сюртук доверху с такой холодной и сосредоточенной решимостью... как будто сейчас отправлялся на поединок и уже завещанье подписал. И между тем — хвастовства в нем и признака не замечалось; человек он был упрямый, настойчивый и односторонний, но не глупый и не злой, всем прямо глядел в глаза, любил справедливость — правда, поколотить притеснителя ему было бы гораздо приятнее, чем избавить притесненного,— но о вкусах спорить нельзя. Служил он в полку года четыре, а остальное время своей жизни страшно был занят — чем? — спросите вы... да ничем, разными пустяками, за которые принимался всегда с лихорадочною деятельностью и систематическим упорством. Это был тип русского педанта, заметьте, русского, не малороссского... Между тем и другим разница страшная, на которую тем более следует обратить внимание, что со времени Гоголя

часто смешивают эти две родные, но противуположные народности.

— И надолго едете вы в деревню? — спросил я Ладыгина.

— Не знаю — может быть, надолго,— отвечал он мне с сосредоточенной энергией, равнодушно глянув в сторону, как человек сильного характера, который принял непреклонное решенье, но, впрочем, готов в нем дать отчет.

— У вас наверное множество планов в голове? — заметил я.

— Планов? Смотря по тому, что вы называете планами. Вы не думаете ли,— прибавил он с усмешкой, — что я принадлежу к числу молодых помещиков, которые, с трудом различая овес от гречихи, бредят английскими веялками, молотильными машинами, плодопеременным хозяйством, свеклосахарными заводами и кирпичными избами с садиками на улицу? Могу вас уверить: с этими господами у меня нет ничего общего. Я человек практический. Но у меня точно множество мыслей в голове... Не знаю, удастся ли мне исполнить все мои намеренья,— прибавил он с гордой скромностью,— во всяком случае попытаюсь.

— Вот видите ли,— продолжал он, с достоинством передавая чубук из правой руки в левую и благородно пустив дым сквозь усы,— пора нам, помещикам, за ум взяться. Пора вникнуть в быт наших крестьян и, поняв однажды их потребности, с твердостью повести их по новой дороге к избранной цели...— Он почтительно помолчал перед собственной фразой.— Вот вам моя основная мысль,— заговорил он снова.— Должна же быть у России вообще, а следовательно, и у русского крестьянского быта своя, самобытная, своеобразная, так сказать, будущность. Не правда ли? Должна? — В таком случае старайтесь угадать ее и так уж и действуйте в ее духе. Задача трудная, но даром нам ничего не дается. Я с охотой возьмусь за это дело... я свободен и сознаю в себе некоторую твердость характера. У меня нет никакой наперед принятой системы: я не славянофил и не поклонник Запада... Я, опять-таки скажу,

я человек практический — и умею... умею заставлять!

— Всё это очень хорошо,— возразил я,— вы, если смею так выразиться,— вы хотите быть маленьким Петром Великим вашей деревни.

— Вы смеетесь надо мной,— с живостью подхватил Евгений Александрыч.— Впрочем,— прибавил он, помолчав немного,— в том, что вы сказали, есть доля истины.

— Желаю вам всевозможных успехов— заметил я.

— Спасибо за желанье...

Слуга Евгения Александровича вошел в комнату.

— Sind die Pferde angespannt, Hans? [1] — спросил мой знакомый.

— Ja... Sie sind... [2] готовы-с,— отвечал Hans.

Евгений Александрович поспешно допил чай, встал и надел шинель.

— Я не смею вас звать к себе,— промолвил он,— до моей деревни более ста верст... однако ж, если вздумается...

Я поблагодарил его... Мы простились. Он уехал.

В теченье целого года я ничего не слыхал об моем петербургском приятеле. Раз только, помнится, на обеде у предводителя один красноречивый помещик, отставной бранд-майор Шептунович, между двумя глотками мадеры упомянул при мне об Евгенье Александровиче как о дворянине мечтательном и увлеченных свойств. Большая часть гостей немедленно согласилась с бранд-майором, а один из них, толстый человек с лиловым лицом и необыкновенно широкими зубами, смутно напоминавший какую-то здоровую корнеплодную овощь, прибавил тут же от себя, что у него, Ладыгина, тут (указав на лоб) что-то не совсем того — и с сожаленьем покачал своей замечательной головой. Кроме этого случая, никто даже не произнес при мне имени Евгенья Александрыча. Но как-то раз, осенью, случилось мне, переезжая с болота на болото, далеко отбиться от дому... Страшная гроза застала меня на дороге. К счастью, невдалеке виднелось село. С трудом добрались мы до околицы. Кучер повернул к воротам крайней избы, кликнул хозяина... Хозяин, рослый мужик лет сорока, впустил нас. Изба его не отличалась опрятностью, но в ней было тепло и не дымно. В сенях баба с остервененьем крошила капусту.

Я уселся на лавке, спросил горшок молока, хлеба. Баба отправилась за молоком.

— Чьи вы? — спросил я мужика.

— Ладыгина, Евгения Александрыча.

— Ладыгина? Да разве здесь уже Курская пошла губернья?

— Курская, как же. От самого Худышкина Курская пошла.

Баба вошла с горшком, достала деревянную ложку, новую, с сильным запахом деревянного масла, проговорила: «Кушай, батюшка ты мой, на здоровье»,— и вышла, стуча лаптями. Мужик хотел было отправиться вслед за ней, но я его остановил. Мы понемногу разговорились. Мужики большей частью не слишком охотно беседуют с господами, особенно, когда у них неладно; но я заметил, что иные крестьяне, когда им больно плохо приходится, необыкновенно спокойно и холодно высказывают всякому проезжему «барину» всё, что у них на сердце, словно речь идет о другом,— только плечом изредка поводят или потупятся вдруг... Я со второго слова моего хозяина догадался, что мужичкам Евгенья Александровича житье плохое...

— Так недовольны вы вашим барином? — спросил я.

— Недовольны,— решительно отвечал мужик.

— Что ж — он притесняет вас, что ли?

— Замотал вовсе, заездил как есть.

— Как же так?

— Да вот как. Господь его знает, что за барин такой! Такого барина и старики не запомнят. И ведь не то, чтобы разорял крестьян; с оброчных даже оброку сбавил. А плохо приходится вот как, не приведи бог. Приехал он к нам прошлой осенью, под самый Спас, ночью приехал. На другое утро — где, солнышко еще

[1] Запряжены ли лошади, Ганс? *(нем.)*.

[2] Да... они ... *(нем.)*.

только что выглянуло, а уж он вскочил, оделся духом да и побежал по дворам. Ведь он такой у нас проворный: прыток больно; словно лихорадка его колотит. Вот и пошел он по дворам. «Хозяина,— говорит,— сюда со всей семьей!» А сам по самой середине избы стоит, не шевельнется и книжечку в руках держит, так и озирается, словно ястреб. Глаза-то у него такие славные, светлые. Вот и спрашивает у хозяина: «Как тебя зовут? Сколько тебе лет?» Ну, мужик, разумеется, отвечает, а он записывает. «А жену зовут как? Детей? Сколько лошадей? овец? свиней? поросят? кур, гусей? Телег? А плугов, борон? овса собрано? ржи? муки? — Квасу мне подай отведать! Хомуты мне покажи! А сапоги есть? Горшков сколько? мисок? ложек? Тулупов сколько, рубашек? Ей-богу, и про рубашки спрашивал! И всё записывает, словно на допросе.— Чем, говорит, ты промышляешь? В город ездишь? Часто? А именно, сколько раз в месяц? А вино любишь пить? Жену бьешь? Детей бьешь тоже? К чему тебе сердце лежит?.. Да, ей-богу же, спрашивал,— прибавил мужик, в ответ на мою невольную улыбку... И все дворы обошел как есть. Тита старосту совсем истомил, даже в ноги ему Тит повалился— говорит: «Батюшка, пощади,— уж коли чем перед тобою виноват, лучше высечь прикажи». На другой день опять до зари поднялся и всех как есть крестьян на сходку собрать приказал. Вот мы пришли. К нему на двор. Он вышел к нам на крыльцо, поздоровался и начал говорить. Уж говорил он, говорил, говорил. Что за диво — не возьмем мы его в толк, а кажется, по-русски говорит. Всё, говорит, у вас не так, неладно, я, мол, говорит, вас иначе поведу, впрочем, я не хочу вас принуждать — а вы, говорит, у меня... А тяглости все сполнять должны; как будете сполнять, хорошо; а не будете сполнять — я ни на что не погляжу. А что сполнять — бог его знает.

Ну, говорит, вы теперь поняли меня. Ступайте по дворам. А дело у меня с завтрашнего дня начнется. Вот мы и пошли. Пошли мы... Дошли до села. Поглядели друг на друга, поглядели друг на друга — да побрели по дворам.

РУССКИЙ НЕМЕЦ

Однажды я вслед за моей собакой вышел в гречишный клин, нисколько мне не принадлежащий. В любезном нашем отечестве всякий волен стрелять где хочет, на своей земле и на соседской. Кроме немногих старых и сварливых баб да усовершенствованных помещиков на английский лад, никто и не думает запрещать чужим охотиться в своих владеньях. Не успел я ступить несколько шагов, как услышал позади себя громкие крики. Мне никак в голову не могло прийти, что кричат-то собственно на меня, и я преспокойно продолжал со всею тщательностью добросовестного охотника прохаживаться взад и вперед по полю, пока наконец явственно не расслышал слов: «Да что же это вы, барин, гречиху-то топчете?.. Нельзя, не приказано». Я обернулся и увидал мужика в армяке, с необыкновенно живописной и волнистой бородой. Он шел прямо на меня и сильно размахивал руками. Я остановился. «Не след вам ходить по гречихе. А вот я, постойте, вас к бурмистру сведу, за это штраф положен и приказ на то есть»,— говорил на ходу мужик, потряхивая головой. Наконец он подошел ко мне. Я извинился. Он поворчал. Но запрещение ход〈ить〉 по греч〈ихе〉 показалось мне до того странн〈ым〉 у нас в благодатной России, да еще в степной губернии, что я не мог не спросить мужика: кто ему дал такой приказ? «Кто? — возразил с неудовольствием мужик.— Кто? Сам барин».— «А кто ваш барин?» Мужик помолчал и осунул кушак... «Макарат Иваныч Швохтель».— «Как?» — Мужик повторил имя своего барина. «А что,— прибавил он,— табачком не маракуете?» — «Нет, не маракую, а вот возьми на табак». Мужик поблагодарил, снял шапку и повеселел. «Так запрещено?» — спросил я его.— «Запрещено»,— возразил он, улыбаясь, как человек, который хотя и исполняет приказ своего начальника, но сам, однако, чувствует, что приказ-то в сущности пустой. «Оно, конечно,— продолжал он,— гречиха не горох; что к ней

[1] Начало другой (ранней) редакции.

приставлять сторожа-то — сырую-то ее кто же станет есть... Да у нас уж барин такой... На папиросе, прости господи, рожь молотит...

На этой же неделе довелось мне познакомиться именно с этим барином. Г-н Леберехт Фохтлендер родился, по слухам, в славном <?> немецком городке Гуцбахе, на 25 году поступил на российскую службу, состоял в разных должностях 32 года с половиной и вышел в отставку с чином надворного советника и орденом святой Анны. На сороковом году женился. Роста он был небольшого, худощав; носил коричневый фрак старого покроя, серые узенькие брюки, серебряные часы на голубом бисерном шнурке, высокий белый галстух и брыжжи до ушей. Он держался очень прямо, ходил бодро, изредка поворачивая небольшую головку. Лицо у него было маленькое и гладенькое, глаза голубые, носик острый, бакенбарды полукруглые, лоб, покрытый тонкими морщинами, губки сжатые,— *<Не закончено.>*

TT Isaak Babel, "Ivan-da-Mar'ia"

[From <http://lib.ru/PROZA/BABEL/story_s.txt>, site accessed 22 September 2010]

Перегрузка заняла неделю. В июльское утро "Тупицын", вываливая жирные клубы дыма, потащил нас вверх по Волге, к Баронску. Немцы называли его Катариненштадт. Это теперь столица области немцев Поволжья, прекрасного края, населенного мужественными немногословными людьми. Степь, прилегающая к Баронску, покрыта таким тяжелым золотом пшеницы, какое есть только в Канаде. Она завалена коронами подсолнухов и масляными глыбами чернозема. Из Петербурга, вылизанного гранитным огнем, мы перенеслись в русскую и этим еще более необыкновенную Калифорнию. Фунт хлеба стоил в нашей Калифорнии шестьдесят копеек, а не десять рублей, как на севере. Мы накинулись на булку с ожесточением, которого теперь нельзя передать; в паутинную мякоть вонзались собачьи отточившиеся зубы. Недели две после приезда нас томил хмель блаженного несварения желудка. Кровь, потекшая по жилам, имела - так мне казалось - вкус и цвет малинового варенья.

UU Ivan Goncharov, *Oblomov*, from I:1

[From <http://az.lib.ru/g/goncharow_i_a/text_0020.shtml>, site accessed 15 September 2010]

На лице Захара выразилась недоверчивость, или, лучше сказать, покойная уверенность, что этого не бывает.

- У меня всего много, - сказал он упрямо, - за всяким клопом не усмотришь, в щелку к нему не влезешь.

А сам, кажется, думал: "Да и что за спанье без клопа?"

- Ты мети, выбирай сор из углов - и не будет ничего, - учил Обломов.

- Уберешь, а завтра опять наберется, - говорил Захар.

- Не наберется, - перебил барин, - не должно.

- Наберется - я знаю, - твердил слуга.

- А наберется, так опять вымети.

- Как это? Всякий день перебирай все углы? - спросил Захар. - Да что ж это за жизнь? Лучше бог по душу пошли!

- Отчего ж у других чисто? - возразил Обломов. - Посмотри напротив, у настройщика: любо взглянуть, а всего одна девка...

- А где немцы сору возьмут, - вдруг возразил Захар. - Вы поглядите-ко, как они живут! Вся семья целую неделю кость гложет. Сюртук с плеч отца переходит на сына, а с сына опять на отца. На жене и дочерях платьишки коротенькие: все поджимают под себя ноги, как гусыни... Где им сору взять?

У них нет этого вот, как у нас, чтоб в шкафах лежала по годам куча старого, изношенного платья или набрался целый угол корок хлеба за зиму... У них и корка зря не валяется: наделают сухариков, да с пивом и выпьют!

Захар даже сквозь зубы плюнул, рассуждая о таком скаредном житье.

- Нечего разговаривать! - возразил Илья Ильич, ты лучше убирай.

[vv] ***Oblomov,*** **II:1**

Четырнадцати, пятнадцати лет мальчик отправлялся частенько один, в тележке или верхом, с сумкой у седла, с поручениями от отца в город, и никогда не случалось, чтоб он забыл что-нибудь, переиначил, не доглядел, дал промах.

- Recht gut, mein lieber Junge! - говорил отец, выслушав отчет, и, трепля его широкой ладонью по плечу, давал два-три рубля, смотря по важности поручения. Ей не совсем нравилось это трудовое, практическое воспитание. Она боялась, что сын ее сделается таким же немецким бюргером, из каких вышел отец. На всю немецкую нацию она смотрела как на толпу патентованных мещан, не любила грубости, самостоятельности и кичливости, с какими немецкая масса предъявляет везде свои тысячелетием выработанные бюргерские права, как корова носит свои рога, не умея, кстати, их спрятать.

На ее взгляд, во всей немецкой нации не было и не могло быть ни одного джентльмена. Она в немецком характере не замечала никакой мягкости, деликатности, снисхождения, ничего того, что делает жизнь так приятною в хорошем свете, с чем можно обойти какое-нибудь правило, нарушить общий обычай, не подчиниться уставу.

[ww] F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Gambler*, Ch. 4

[From <http://az.lib.ru/d/dostoewskij_f_m/text_0050.shtml>, site accessed 15 September 2010]

- А я лучше захочу всю жизнь прокочевать в киргизской палатке, -- вскричал я, -- чем поклоняться немецкому идолу.

- Какому идолу? -- вскричал генерал, уже начиная серьезно сердиться.

- Немецкому способу накопления богатств. Я здесь недолго, но, однако ж, все-таки, что я здесь успел подметить и проверить, возмущает мою татарскую породу. Ей богу, не хочу таких добродетелей! Я здесь успел уже вчера обойти верст на десять кругом. Ну, точь-в-точь то же самое, как в нравоучительных немецких книжечках с картинками: есть здесь везде у них в каждом доме свой фатер, ужасно добродетельный и необыкновенно честный. Уж такой честный, что подойти к нему страшно. Терпеть не могу честных людей, к которым подходить страшно. У каждого эдакого фатера есть семья, и по вечерам все они вслух поучительные книги читают. Над домиком шумят вязы и каштаны. Закат солнца, на крыше аист, и всё необыкновенно поэтическое и трогательное...

[xx] *Oblomov:* The Khalat/Shlafrok

I:1

Это был человек лет тридцати двух-трех от роду, среднего роста, приятной наружности, с темно-серыми глазами, но с отсутствием всякой определенной идеи, всякой сосредоточенности в чертах лица. Мысль гуляла вольной птицей по лицу, порхала в глазах, садилась на полуотворенные губы, пряталась в складках лба, потом совсем пропадала, и тогда во всем лице теплился ровный свет беспечности. С лица беспечность переходила в позы всего тела, даже в складки шлафрока.

…

Как шел домашний костюм Обломова к покойным чертам лица его и к изнеженному телу! На нем был халат из персидской материи, настоящий

восточный халат, без малейшего намека на Европу, без кистей, без бархата, без талии, весьма поместительный, так что и Обломов мог дважды завернуться в него. Рукава, по неизменной азиатской моде, шли от пальцев к плечу все шире и шире. Хотя халат этот и утратил свою первоначальную свежесть и местами заменил свой первобытный, естественный лоск другим, благоприобретенным, но все еще сохранял яркость восточной краски и прочность ткани.

Халат имел в глазах Обломова тьму неоцененных достоинств: он мягок, гибок; тело не чувствует его на себе; он, как послушный раб, покоряется самомалейшему движению тела.

I:2:

- А, Волков, здравствуйте! - сказал Илья Ильич.

- Здравствуйте, Обломов, - говорил блистающий господин, подходя к нему.

- Не подходите, не подходите: вы с холода! - сказал тот.

- О баловень, сибарит! - говорил Волков, глядя, куда бы положить шляпу, и, видя везде пыль, не положил никуда; раздвинул обе полы фрака, чтобы сесть, но, посмотрев внимательно на кресло, остался на ногах.

- Вы еще не вставали! Что это на вас за шлафрок? Такие давно бросили носить, - стыдил он Обломова.

- Это не шлафрок, а халат, - сказал Обломов, с любовью кутаясь в широкие полы халата.

- Здоровы ли вы? - спросил Волков.

II:4:

- Ну вот, встал бы утром, - начал Обломов, подкладывая руки под затылок, и по лицу разлилось выражение покоя: он мысленно был уже в деревне. - Погода прекрасная, небо синее-пресинее, ни одного облачка, - говорил он, - одна сторона дома в плане обращена у меня балконом на восток, к саду, к полям, другая - к деревне. В ожидании, пока проснется жена, я надел бы шлафрок и походил по саду подышать утренними испарениями; там уж нашел бы я садовника, поливали бы вместе цветы, подстригали кусты, деревья. Я составляю букет для жены. Потом иду в ванну или в реку купаться, возвращаюсь – балкон уж отворен; жена в блузе, в легком чепчике, который чуть-чуть держится, того и гляди слетит с головы... Она ждет меня. "Чай готов", - говорит она. - Какой поцелуй! Какой чай! Какое покойное кресло!

– CONCLUSION –

[YY] A. P. Chekhov, *Three Sisters*, from Act I

[From <http://lib.ru/LITRA/CHEHOW/sestry.txt>, site accessed 22 September 2010.]

Ирина (со вздохом). Право, все это следовало бы записать...

(Андрея нет, он незаметно ушел.)

Тузенбах. Через много лет, вы говорите, жизнь на земле будет прекрасной, изумительной. Это правда. Но, чтобы участвовать в ней теперь, хотя издали, нужно приготовляться к ней, нужно работать...

Вершинин (встает). Да. Сколько, однако, у вас цветов! (Оглядываясь.) И квартира чудесная. Завидую! А я всю жизнь мою болтался по квартиркам с двумя стульями, с одним диваном и с печами, которые всегда дымят. У меня в жизни не хватало именно вот таких цветов... (Потирает руки.) Эх! Ну, да что!

Тузенбах. Да, нужно работать. Вы, небось, думаете: расчувствовался немец. Но я, честное слово, русский и по-немецки даже не говорю. Отец у меня православный...

Пауза.

Вершинин (ходит по сцене). Я часто думаю: что если бы начать жизнь снова, притом сознательно? Если бы одна жизнь, которая уже прожита, была, как говорится, начерно, другая - начисто! Тогда каждый из нас, я думаю, постарался бы прежде всего не повторять самого себя, по крайней мере создал бы для себя иную обстановку жизни, устроил бы себе такую квартиру с цветами, с массою света... У меня жена, двое девочек, притом жена дама нездоровая и так далее, и так далее, ну, а если бы начинать жизнь сначала, то я не женился бы... Нет, нет!

[ZZ] Mikhail Sholokhov, *Fate of Man*

[From <http://lib.ru/PROZA/SHOLOHOW/sudbache.txt>, site accessed 18 September 2010]

В комендантской - цветы на окнах, чистенько, как у нас в хорошем клубе. За столом - все лагерное начальство. Пять человек сидят, шнапс глушат и салом закусывают. На столе у них початая здоровенная бутыль со шнапсом, хлеб, сало, моченые яблоки, открытые банки с разными консервами. Мигом оглядел я всю эту жратву, и - не поверишь - так меня замутило, что за малым не вырвало. Я же

голодный, как волк, отвык от человеческой пищи, а тут столько добра перед тобою... Кое-как задавил тошноту, но глаза оторвал от стола через великую силу. Прямо передо мною сидит полупьяный Мюллер, пистолетом играется, перекидывает его из руки в руку, а сам смотрит на меня и не моргнет, как змея. Ну, я руки по швам, стоптанными каблуками щелкнул, громко так докладываю: "Военнопленный Андрей Соколов по вашему приказанию, герр комендант, явился". Он и спрашивает меня: "Так что же, русс Иван, четыре кубометра выработки - это много?" - "Так точно, - говорю, - герр комендант, много". - "А одного тебе на могилу хватит?" - "Так точно, герр комендант, вполне хватит и даже останется".

[AAA] Aleksandr Herzen, "*Russkie Nemsty* and *Nemets Russkie*"

[From <http://az.lib.ru/g/gercen_a_i/text_0180.shtml>, site accessed 28 September 2010.]

"Историки делаются - поэты родятся", - говорит латинская сентенция. Наши правительствующие немцы имеют ту выгоду против историков и поэтов, что они и делаются и родятся. Родятся они от обруселых немцев, делаются из онемечившихся русских. Плодородие это - спору нет - дело хорошее, но чтоб они не очень гордились этим богатством путей нарождения, мы им напомним, что только низшие животные разводятся на два, на три манера, а высшие имеют одну методу, зато хорошую.

Из всех правительственных немцев - само собою разумеется - русские немцы самые худшие. Немецкий немец в правительстве бывает наивен, бывает глуп, снисходит иногда к варварам, которых он должен очеловечить. Русский немец ограниченно умен и смотрит с отвращением стыдящегося родственника на народ. И тот и другой чувствуют свое бесконечное превосходства над ним, и тот и другой глубоко презирают все русское, уверены, что с нашим братом ничего без палки не сделаешь. Но немец не всегда показывает это, хотя и всегда бьет; а русский и бьет, и хвастается.

Собственно немецкая часть правительствующей у нас Германии имеет чрезвычайное единство во всех семнадцати или восьмнадцати степенях немецкой табели о рангах. Скромно начинаясь подмастерьями, мастерами, гезелями, аптекарями, немцами при детях, она быстро всползает по отлогой для ней лестнице - до немцев при России, до ручных Нессельродов, цепных Клейнмихелей, до одноипостасных Бенкендорфов и двуипостасных Адлербергов (filiusque - и сына -

лат.). Выше этих гор и орлов ничего нет, то есть ничего земного... над ними олимпийский венок немецких великих княжон с их братцами, дядюшками, дедушками.

Все они, от юнейшего немца-подмастерья до старейшего дедушки из снеговержцев зимнего Олимпа, от рабочей сапожника, где ученик заколачивает смиренно гвозди в подошву, до экзерциргауза, где немец корпусный командир заколачивает в гроб солдата, - все они имеют одинакие зоологические признаки, так что в немце-сапожнике бездна генеральского и в немце-генерале пропасть сапожнического; во всех них есть что-то ремесленническое, чрезвычайно аккуратное, цеховое, педантское, все они любят стяжание, но хотят достигнуть денег честным образом, то есть скупостью и усердием, - это дает им их черствый, холодный, осторожный и бесстрастный характер. Воруя на службе, можно еще быть добродушным плутом; наживать честным образом - все же будешь плутом, но злым и беспощадным, например, исполняя с точностью безумные приказы самовластья.

Сверх этих общих признаков, все правительствующие немцы относятся одинаким образом к России, с полным презрением и таковым же непониманием.

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