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da E. Gasparini, *Il matriarcato slavo*, Firenze 2010 (1973'), p. 696.

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Марина Владимировна Чистякова

Сербский перевод Стишного пролога. К проблеме реконструкции текста на сентябрь

Стишной пролог, календарный сборник сопровождаемых стихами житий, относится к числу переводов, выполненных южнославянскими книжниками в XIV в. Его возникновение связано с переходом южных славян на Иерусалимский богослужебный устав (Пентковский 2004: 162-168). Анализ сохранившихся списков показал существование двух переводов Стишного пролога. Один из них был создан сербскими книжниками (Богдановић 1976), а второй возник в болгарской книжной среде (Петков 2000, 6; Иванова 2003, 409). Не исключено афонское происхождение одного или обоих переводов (Богдановић 1976; Тасева 2006: 170, прим. 7).

Состав чтений свидетельствует о том, что южнославянские переводы Стишного пролога восходят к разным греческим оригиналам. Так, греческий оригинал сербского перевода обладал большим числом памятней и житий в сравнении с оригиналом болгарского перевода. На работу с разными рукописями греческих Синаксарей указывают несовпадения в календарной приуроченности статей. Многочисленные лексические, грамматические и синтаксические различия говорят о том, что книжники, выполнившие данные переводы, работали независимо друг от друга (Тасева 2006, 2009, 2011, 2013).

Для иллюстрации приведу стих и житие мц. Епихарии, поминаемой 27 сентября (см. ТАБЛИЦА 1¹).

Болгарский перевод засвидетельствован большим количеством списков, в том числе древнейших: Ник. 34, 1360-1370 гг. (с 18 октября по 31 декабря); НАБАН 73, 2-я половина XIV в.; Зогр. 80, 3-я четв. XIV в.² Не ранее последней четверти XIV в. болгарский перевод распространился у восточных славян (Турилов 2010: 340). На основе болгарского перевода сформировались восточнославянские редакции Стишного пролога: киевская, новгородская, московская, кирилло-белозерская, рифмованная и их разновидности (Чистякова 2013: 42-53).

¹ Цитируемые сокращенные названия рукописей расшифрованы в конце статьи.

² См. описание прологов УБСМ 16, Ник. 34 (Богдановић 1982, 85, № 1158, 1160). Текст прологов НАБАН 73 и Зогр. 80 издан (Петков, Спасова 2008-2014), см. публикацию проложной статьи мц. Епихарии (Петков, Спасова 2008: 94-95).

ТАБЛИЦА I.

Болгарский перевод НАБАН 73, 2-я пол. XIV в., л. 43-43 об.	Сербский перевод УБСМ 16, 1365-1375 гг., л. 6 об.-7
<p>Стих: Помощника стажавши бѣжтвнѣа блѣтъ. Въ, ѿ, и, ѣ. Епихарїа мечнымъ встрѣемъ оугазвена бытъ :—</p>	<p>Стих: Блѣгосмѣателна Епихарїа въ къ мѣчеви. застоупникымъ богатеци се бѣжтвноу блѣтню: Въ ѿз Епихарїа мѣчемъ скончасе :—</p>
<p>Текст: Епихарїа хѣа мѣнца бѣше въ Римѣ при Диоклитїанѣ цѣри. ата бывши Кесарїомъ епархомъ. и исповѣдавши дръзновенно има хѣо. повѣшена бывши и стрѣгана. таже бѣема съ ммлаты вловѣнными ѿ, ѿ, воинь. иже и мѣтвнами еж дѣгломъ повинени быша. приемши же и тына мечное встѣженїе. каменъ иже бѣше по ногама еж мнѣжество воды исыпѣтъ. ѣазвена же бывши мечемъ ѿ слѣгы. и прѣдѣ Боу блаженѣа своа дѣшѣ :—</p>	<p>Текст: Епихарїа хѣа мѣнца въ въ Римѣ при Диоклитїанѣ цѣри. иета же въ Кесарїемъ епархомъ. и исповѣдавши съ дръзновенїемъ име хѣо. вѣвѣшена въ и стрѣгана. таже вина на въ ммлаты вловѣнными чѣтирми воини, иеже помоливши се сеи, ѿ дѣгла оубинени быше. и приемши сеи мѣчное оусѣбновенїе. каменъ иже бѣ под ногама ие, водоу мнѣжество источи. оугазвенна въ мѣнемъ, и прѣдѣ Боу блѣженноу своа дѣшѣ.</p>

Рукописей сербского перевода сохранилось гораздо меньше. Несколько лет назад мной было просмотрено 80 рукописей Стишного пролога в библиотеках Болгарии и Сербии. В основном *de visu*, но также в цифровых копиях и микрофильмах, см. подробнее (Чистякова 2018a). К болгарскому переводу было отнесено 68 списков, к сербскому переводу всего семь; пять списков оказались комбинированными (одна часть рукописи совпадает с болгарским переводом, другая с сербским); два пролога отражают смешанную редакцию, когда контаминация текстов болгарского и сербского переводов происходит в рамках одного жития³.

Перечень рукописей, отражающих сербский перевод, приведен ниже. Вместе с пятью комбинированными прологами (приведены в конце) в нем сейчас 12 позиций:

1. Деч. 54, декабрь-февраль, 1394 г.⁴
2. УБСМ 16, сентябрь-декабрь, 60-е–70-е гг. XIV в.⁵
3. УБСМ 17, январь-апрель, 60-е–70-е гг. XIV в.
4. Уик. 29, март-август, конец XIV-начало XV в.
5. ЦИАИ 328, январь-февраль, XV в.

³ Подробнее об этой редакции, см. Чистякова 2022.

⁴ Составляет комплект с Деч. 52 (март-май) и Деч. 53 (июнь-август). Изначально комплект был годовым, первый том с чтениями на сентябрь-ноябрь утрачен (Гроздановић-Пајић и др. 1995: 20); о прологах дечанского собрания см. Богдановић и др. 2011.

⁵ Рукописи УБСМ 16 и УБСМ 17 являются частями одного комплекта.

6. F.I.752, декабрь-февраль, XVI в.⁶
7. Деч. 58, 90-е гг. XV в. (часть с 1 января по 28 февраля)
8. Деч. 59, 1-я четверть XVI в. (часть с 1 по 31 декабря)
9. ХАЗУ III с 14, 1572 г. (часть с 5 по 30 ноября)
10. МСПЦ 149, 3-я четверть XVI в. (с 1 марта по 30 апреля)
11. F.I.636, 1621 г. (отрывок, 1 марта)⁷
12. СПб 425, кон. XVII в. (часть с 31 декабря по 28 февраля)

Как видим, список с текстами на первый триместр церковного года всего один и его физическое состояние не самое лучшее. Рукопись УБСМ 16 пострадала от влаги, и в ней утрачено начало, сохранившийся текст начинается с 26 сентября. В попытке отыскать недостающие фрагменты я обратилась к южнославянским служебным минеям, которые после 6-й песни канона содержат проложные чтения⁸. Сплошной просмотр рукописей данного типа показал, что большинство миней дополнено чтениями иных версий Пролога. Тем не менее, отдельные списки миней на сентябрь с сербским переводом Стишного пролога сохранились.

Так, в собрании Национальной и университетской библиотеки святого Климента Охридского в Скопье (Северная Македония) под номером 17 хранится служебная минея с проложными чтениями на сентябрь. Рукопись полная, содержит чтения с 1 по 30 сентября, и ее физическое состояние вполне удовлетворительно. Минея М-17 была переписана сербскими писцами рашской школы в начале XV в. и отражает сербский извод церковнославянского языка. В. Мошиным в описании славянских рукописей в Македонии указаны филигранные и росписи ее состава (Мошин 1971: 44-50).

В пользу того, что рукопись М-17 содержит сербский перевод Стишного пролога, свидетельствуют следующие факты:

1. перевод проложных статей, положенных в прологе УБСМ 16 с 29 по 30 сентября, совпадает с переводом аналогичных статей в М-17;
2. стихи в М-17 на 29-30 сентября соответствуют стихам сербского перевода;

⁶ Интернет-доступ к копии рукописи F.I.752: <http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Serbian_Manuscripts/show_pages.php?i=1c91095d-62c9-4647-8748-7120389d668c&l=1&lang=1> (дата обращения 01-03-2021).

⁷ Интернет-доступ к копии рукописи F.I.636: <<http://nlr.ru/manuscripts/RA1527/elektronniy-katalog?ab=C833FAB4-E07B-45BD-AD3A-50A67B5DEA3F>> (дата обращения 01-03-2021).

⁸ О минеях, дополненных проложными житиями, см. Симић 1974: 74-75; Турилов 2012: 10-22.

3. агиографические тексты в М-17 на 1 (частично)-25, 29-30 сентября ближе чтением болгарского перевода Стишного пролога в сравнении с Простым прологом. При этом их перевод отличен от болгарского перевода;
4. рукописи Хил. 424, Хил. 427⁹, отражающие смешанную редакцию Стишного пролога, в некоторых случаях передают жития сербского перевода без трансформации текста и вставок из болгарского перевода. В этих примерах жития совпадают с чтениями, представленными в минее М-17 (напр. житие мчч. Диодора и Дидима на 11 сент.; житие прп. Петра Атройского на 13 сентября; сказание о Шестом Вселенском соборе на 14 сентября; житие прп. Евмения, еп. Гортинского, 17 сентября и др.);
5. в рукописях смешанной редакции представлены жития и памяти святых, отсутствующие в болгарском переводе Стишного пролога. С большой долей вероятности они относятся к сербскому переводу Стишного пролога. Часть этих материалов представлена в минее М-17 (например, житие мчч. Лукии и Геминиана на 17 сентября; страсть мчч. Евсевия, Неставы и Зинова на 21 сентября; памяти прп. Павла Никейского, мц. Олимпиодора на 13 сентября; мч. Феокла, мч. Валериана на 14 сентября);
6. книжники, заимствовавшие в минею агиографические статьи из Пролога, в ряде случаев выписали не только тексты, но и некоторые предваряющие их краткие стихи (например, стихи сопровождают жития мц. Феклы на 24 сентября, прп. Пафнутия на 25 сентября, прп. Кириака отходника на 29 сентября, сщмч. Григория Армянского на 30 сентября и др.). По содержанию и языку эти стихи отличаются от болгарского перевода Стишного пролога, но совпадают с версиями, представленными в сербском переводе и смешанной редакции. Ср. стих прп. Кириаку отшельнику (ТАБЛИЦА 2).

При работе с этой минеей следует учитывать два нюанса: книжники выписали из Пролога далеко не все имевшиеся там тексты, а сделали выборку. Например, на 8 сентября было выписано всего 2 текста: проложный рассказ о Рождестве пресв. Богородицы и сказание о чуде во Влахернской церкви Богоматери. В болгарском переводе Стишного пролога на эту дату дополнительно представлены краткие памяти святых со стихами, посвященными мч. Севиру, мч. Артемидору, мчч. Руфу и Руфиниану. Вероятно, такие же памяти могли быть и в списке сербского перевода Стишного пролога, но книжники не перенесли их в Минею, ограничившись рассказом о главном празднике дня и сказанием о чуде, произошедшем во Влахернском храме. Такая же ситуация наблюдается и на иные даты. Так, в болгарском переводе на 5 сентября представлены памяти со стихами мц. Раисе, мч. Сарвилу; в минее М-17 подобные материалы отсут-

⁹ См. описание этих прологов: Богдановић 1978: 164 (№ 424, № 427); Турилов, Мошкова 2016: 277-278 (№ 594, № 595).

ТАБЛИЦА 2.

Миняя М-17 (листы не пронумерованы)	Сербский перевод (УБСМ 16, л. 9 об.)	Болгарский перевод (НАБАН 73, л. 45 об.)
Нечѣстѣа ѿстапльши Кыр- дче горестъ. Вькоушеніе слѣко паче змрѣти ѿсудѣ се. Чомь въ снѣ въ. ѿф. вьданы бѣ Кѣракъ.	Нечѣстѣа ѿстоупльши Кѣр- дче горестъ. Вькоушеніе слѣ- ко паче оумрѣти ѿсудѣ се. Псомь въ снѣ въ въ ѿф вьданы бѣ Кѣракъ.	Скръзвно ѿложивъ Кѣраке гор'чинѣ. вьзвеса слѣкаго или змрѣти оспѣдивъ себе. Въ двадесате и деватый прѣвиде Кѣракъ.

ствуют. Анализ чтений дня показал, что в минею М-17 были внесены основные жития и памяти дня, а некоторые краткие памяти были опущены.

Помимо сербского перевода редакторы списка М-17 или его предшественника эпизодически обращались к древнейшему переводу Пролога, возникшему не позднее начала XII в. и вскоре дополненному житиями восточнославянских святых – прп. Феодосия Печерского, мч. кн. Глеба, кн. Ольги, кн. Владимира, кн. Мстислава, мчч. Варягов¹⁰. В конце XII в. древнейший перевод Пролога не менее двух раз был перенесен на Балканы, где возникли болгарская и сербская его редакции. Болгарские книжники дополнили сборник памятными и житиями болгарских святых (прп. Петки Тырновской, прп. Иоанна Рильского, прп. Прохора Пшинского, прп. Гавриила Лесновского, блг. царя Петра I Болгарского, прп. Иоанна Полиотского и др.)¹¹. Сербские книжники включили жития и памяти сербских святых (свт. Арсения Сербского, свт. Саввы Сербского, прп. Симеона Сербского, мч. Стефана Уроша) и произвели последовательную редакторскую правку¹².

В минее М-17 представлено несколько статей из древнейшего перевода Пролога: два проложных жития и две памяти на 1 сентября, а также чтения на 26-28 сентября. На мой взгляд, книжники вряд ли внесли проложные чтения из древнейшего перевода Пролога, реализуя определенный творческий замысел. Скорее всего, они всего лишь восполнили недостающие в основном антиграфе М-17 статьи по имевшемуся у них еще одному списку Пролога. Пословный сопоставительный анализ житий показал, что источником этих небольших вставок послужила сербская редакция Пролога. В качестве примера приведу окончание жития мч. Каллистрата, 27 сентября (таблица 3)¹³.

¹⁰ О восточнославянских памятниках и житиях в древнейшем переводе Пролога см. Павлова 2008; Лосева 2009.

¹¹ См. подробнее Павлова 2008: 133-138.

¹² В основе болгарской и сербской редакций лежат разные восточнославянские списки Пролога (см. подробнее Чистякова 2018б).

¹³ Статья болгарской редакции по списку САНУ 53 издана (Павлова, Желязкова 1999: 43), см. также публикацию этого текста по восточнославянскому списку Синаксаря Соф. 1324 (Крысько 2010: 126).

Таблица 3.

Минея М-17 (листы не пронумерованы)	Сербская ред. Простого пролога (Шук. 38, л. 4)	Болгарская ред. Простого пролога (САНУ 53, л. 25 об.)
Видѣвшѣ и воины. ѿѡ. и чюдѣвшѣ вѣрѡвашѣ хѣвы. и върѣжены быше въ тѣмницѣ, и оучими вѣхоу стѣй Кали- стратѣ. ѡ соудѣ и ѡ въскрѣсени и ѡ дѣи. по семь извѣнь бы ис тѣмнице. съ. ѿѡ. воинь. и поѣли се Боу. и падоше се идо- ли и съкроушише. и видѣвшѣ друоузы воиньи. рѣе. и ти вѣрѡвашѣ въ Хѣ. и тако си оусѣбѣны быше.	Видевше. ѿѡ. воини чюдо и вѣрѡвашѣ хѣвы. и върѣжены бишъ въ тѣмницѡу, и оучими вѣхоу стѣимъ Калистратомъ. ѡ соудѣ и ѡ въскрѣсени и дѣи. по семь извѣнь бы ис тѣмнице съ. ѿѡ. воинь. и поѣли се Боу. и падоше идолы и скроушише се. и видевшѣ друоузы воиньи. рѣе. и ты вѣрѡвашѣ въ Хѣ. и такѡ вси оусѣбѣны быше.	Видѣвшѣи же. ѿ. и. ѡ. чюдо и вѣрѡвашѣ и ти хоу юже не вивъ Персѣнитинь. и върѣже не въ тѣмницѡу. съ стѣимъ Ка- листратомъ. поучени вѣхоу стѣимъ ѡ соудѣ. и ѡ въскрѣсени и ѡ дѣи. по семь извѣнь бы ис тѣмнице. съ. ѿ. и. ѡ. ми воини и поѣлив се поврѣже идолы. видѣвшѣ же и дрѣзы воиньи. р. ѿ. ѣ. и вѣрѡвашѣ и ти. и такѡ и ти оусѣбѣны быше.

Подводя итоги, следует отметить, что служебная минея М-17 воссоздает основной массив чтений сербского перевода Стишного пролога, не засвидетельствованный сохранившимися списками, и является важным источником для истории Пролога.

Приложение. Проложные чтения в составе минеи М-17

Ниже в таблице приведены данные о вошедших в минею М-17 проложных памятях и житиях (сокращение 'СП' обозначает сербский перевод Стишного пролога, 'ПП' – Простой пролог).

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК	
I сент.	Сказание о начале церковного года Память обретения миасинской иконы Богоматери Память великого пожара в Константинополе Житие прп. Симеона столпника	ПП	
	Успение Иисуса Навина Страсть мчч. Каллисты, Евода, Ермогена Память прп. Марфы, матери Симеона столпника		СП

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК
2 сент.	Страсть мч. Маманта Житие свт. Иоанна постника Память свт. Павла нового Память прав. Елиазара и Финееса Страсть мчч. Аифалы и Аммона	СП
3 сент.	Страсть сщмч. Анфима Антиохийского Страсть сщмч. Анфима Никомидийского Страсть мц. Василиссы Память прп. Феоктиста Память прп. Стефана исповедника Житие сщмч. Аристиона Александрийского	СП
4 сент.	Житие сщмч. Вавилы Никомидийского Житие пророка Моисея Страсть мц. Ермионии Страсть 3628 мчч. Страсть мчч. Феодора, Миана, Иулиана и Киона Память Петрония, Харитины и Сарвила Житие мчч. Фифаила и Февеи	СП
5 сент.	Убиение пророка Захарии Страсть мчч. Урвана, Феодора и Медимна Память св. Петра в Афире Страсть мч. Авдия	СП
6 сент.	Чудо архангела Михаила в Хонах Страсть мчч. Евдоксия, Зинона, Ромила и Макария Память освящения церкви Богородицы в храме св. Анны Память мчч. Фавста и Авива Память мч. Феостирикта Память мчч. Макария и Андрея Память мч. Сарампавона Память мцц. Андропелагии и Феклы Память мч. Кириака аколуфа Страсть мч. Кириака димота	СП
7 сент.	Страсть мч. Созонта Житие апп. Евода и Онисифора Житие сщмч. Стефана Римского Память успения прп. Луки Глубокореченского Страсть мч. Евпсихия Кесарийского	СП
8 сент.	Рождество пресв. Богородицы Чудо во Влахернской церкви Богоматери	СП

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК
9 сент.	Собор прав. Иоакима и Анны Сказание о Третьем Вселенском соборе Страсть мч. Севириана Житие прп. Феофана исповедника	СП
10 сент.	Память поклонения честному Древу в Великой Церкви Страсть мщц. Минодоры, Митродоры и Нимфодоры Память мч. Харитона Страсть мч. Варипсава Житие блг. царицы Пульхерии Житие апп. Апеллия, Лукия и Климента	СП
11 сент.	Стихи прп. Феодоре Александрийской Житие прп. Ефросина Страсть мщ. Ии Страсть мчч. Диодора и Дидима Память мчч. Димитрия, Еванфии и Димитриана Память прп. Петра исповедника <i>*перед памятью прп. Петра, похоже, выписано еще несколько памятей святых, но они здесь не указаны, поскольку этот фрагмент в копии М-17 едва читается</i>	СП
12 сент.	Память поклонения честному Древу в Великой Церкви Страсть сщмч. Автонома Страсть сщмч. Корнута, еп. Иконийского Страсть сщмч. Феодора Александрийского Страсть сщмч. Иулиана Галатийского Память мчч. Македония, Феодула и Татиана Память прп. Даниила в Фасии Память мч. Оксана	СП
13 сент.	Память поклонения честному Древу в Великой Церкви Страсть сщмч. Корнилия сотника Страсть мчч. Кронида, Леонтия, Серапиона и Стратоника Страсть мчч. Гордиана, Макровия, Илии, Зотика, Лукиана и Валериана Память освящения храма св. Христова Воскресения Житие прп. Петра Атройского Память прп. Павла Никейского Память мщ. Олимпиодоры	СП

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК
14 сент.	<p>Воздвижение Креста Господня Память успения свт. Иоанна Златоуста Житие прав. царицы Плакиллы Сказание о Шестом Вселенском соборе Страсть мч. Папия Память мч. Феокла Память мч. Валериана</p>	СП
15 сент.	<p>Страсть вмч. Никиты Житие прп. Филофея чудотворца Страсть мч. Порфирия Память обретения мощей сщмч. Акакия Память мч. Максима Память двух девиц, скончавшихся мечем Память обретения мощей первомч. Стефана</p>	СП
16 сент.	<p>Страсть вмч. Евфимии Страсть сщмч. Мартина Римского Страсть мч. Севастианы Страсть мч. Мелитины</p>	СП
17 сент.	<p>Страсть мчц. Веры, Надежды, Любви и матери их Софии Страсть мчц. Агафоклии Страсть мчч. Максима, Феодота и Асклиады Страсть мчч. Лукии и Геминиана Страсть мчц. Феодотии Память 100 египетских мчч. Страсть 156 палестинских мчч. Память мчч. Харалампия и Пантолеона Память мчч. Ираклида и Мирона Память мчч. Патермуфия и Илии</p>	СП
18 сент.	<p>Житие прп. Евмения, еп. Гортинского Память мчц. Софии и Ирины Страсть мчц. Ариадны Страсть сщмч. Симеона, еп. Иерусалимского Память мч. Кастора Память мчц. Феодоры</p>	СП
19 сент.	<p>Страсть мчч. Трофима, Савватия и Доримедонта Стихи прпмч. Сусанне Страсть сщмч. Ианнуария и дружины его Память мч. Тимофея Газского Память мчч. Агапия и Феклы Память освящения церкви ап. Фомы в Амантии</p>	СП

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК
20 сент.	Страсть вмч. Евстафия Плакиды, жены его Феописты и сыновей Агапия и Феописта Страсть мчч. Ипатия и Андрея Житие свт. Мартина, папы Римского, и Максима исповедника Память мчч. Артемидора и Фала Память прп. Мелетия еп. Память мч. Иоанна Египетского и с ним 40 мчч.	СП
21 сент.	Житие прор. Ионы Житие прп. Ионы Савваита Житие ап. Кодрата и дружины его Страсть мч. Евсевия Страсть мчч. Евсевия, Нестав, Зинова, Вузириса и Нестора Житие свт. Исаакия и Мелетия Страсть мч. Приска Память 6 мчч. при царе Максимиане Память мц. Вассы	СП
22 сент.	Страсть мч. Фоки вертоградара Страсть сщмч. Фоки, еп. Синопского Память мц. Друзиллы Память сщмч. Исаакия Память мч. Мартина Память мчч. Николая и Приска	СП
23 сент.	Зачатие прор. Захарии Страсть мчч. Андрея, Иоанна, Петра и Антонина Страсть мц. Ираиды девы Житие прпп. Ксанфиппы и Поликсении	СП
24 сент.	Страсть вмц. Феклы (со стихом) Житие прп. Коприя Память мц. Говделы	СП
25 сент.	Стихи прп. Ефросинии Измарагде Память прп. Пафнутия, отца Ефросинии (со стихом) Страсть мч. Пафнутия (со стихом) Сказание о великом трусе (со стихом) Страсть мчч. Павла, Татты и чад их (со стихом) Память успения Феофила, еп. Эфесского Память мц. Ии Память прп. Евстафия	СП
26 сент.	Житие ап. Иоанна Богослова	ПП

ДАТА	ПОМИНАЕМЫЕ СВЯТЫЕ И ЦЕРКОВНЫЕ ПРАЗДНИКИ	ИСТОЧНИК
27 сент.	Страсть мч. Каллистрата и дружины его Страсть мц. Епихарии Память мчч. Феликса еп., Ианнуария пресвитера, Фортуняна и Септимия	ПП
28 сент.	Житие прп. Харитона	ПП
29 сент.	Житие прп. Кириака отходника (со стихом) Страсть мчч. в Византии: Урвана и с ним 80 мчч. Память 150 палестинских мчч. Память мчч. Трифона, Трофима и Доримедонта Память мц. Петронии (со стихом) Память мц. Гуделии (со стихом) Память мчч. Каздоя и Каздои (со стихом) Страсть мчч. Дадады, Гаведдая и Каздои (со стихом)	СП
30 сент.	Страсть сщмч. Григория, еп. Арменского (со стихом) Страсть мцц. Рипсимии и Гаиании (со стихом) Память 70 мчч., убитых вместе с Рипсимией Страсть мц. Гуделии Память 2 жен мцц. (со стихом) Память мч. Стратоника Память мч. Мардония (со стихом) Память 1000 мчч., усеченных мечем (со стихом)	СП

Сокращения

Деч. 54:	Стишной пролог из собрания Дечанского монастыря (Дечани, Косово), № 54, на декабрь-февраль, 1394 г.
Деч. 58:	Стишной пролог из собрания Дечанского монастыря (Дечани, Косово), № 58, на январь-март, 90-е гг. XV в.
Деч. 59:	Стишной пролог из собрания Дечанского монастыря (Дечани, Косово), № 59, на сентябрь-декабрь, 1-я четверть XVI в.
Зогр. 80:	Стишной пролог из собрания Зографского монастыря (Афон, Греция), № 80, на март-август, 3-я четверть XIV в.
МСПЦ 149:	Стишной пролог из собрания Музея Сербской православной церкви (Белград, Сербия), № 149, на март-май, 3-я четверть XVI в.
М-17:	Служебная минея на сентябрь из собрания Национальной и университетской библиотеки святого Климента Охридского (Скопье, Северная Македония), № 17, начало XV в.

- НАБАН 73: Конволют, содержащий пространное житие свт. Николая Мирликийского (л. 1-ХIV), Стишной пролог на сентябрь-февраль (л. 1-345), выписки из славянского Синаксаря на март-август (л. 346-399), из собрания Научного архива Болгарской академии наук (София, Болгария), № 73, 2-я половина ХIV в.
- Ник. 34: Стишной пролог из собрания монастыря Николаец (Бело-Поле, Черногория), № 34, на сентябрь-декабрь, 1360-1370 гг.
- САНУ 53: Простой пролог из собрания Сербской Академии наук и искусств (Белград, Сербия), № 53, годовой, 1330 г.
- СПБ 425: Стишной пролог из собрания Белградской патриаршей библиотеки (Сербия), на сентябрь-февраль, конец ХVII в.
- УБСМ 16: Стишной пролог из собрания Университетской библиотеки им. Светозара Марковича (Белград, Сербия), № 16, на сентябрь-декабрь, 60-е-70-е гг. ХIV в.
- УБСМ 17: Стишной пролог из собрания Университетской библиотеки им. Светозара Марковича (Белград, Сербия), № 17, январь-апрель, 60-е-70-е гг. ХIV в.
- ХАЗУ III с 14: Стишной пролог из собрания Архива Хорватской академии наук и искусств (Загреб, Хорватия), № III с 14, на июнь-ноябрь, 1572 г.
- Хил. 424: Стишной пролог из собрания Хиландарского монастыря (Афон, Греция), № 424, на сентябрь-февраль, 1420-1430-е гг.
- Хил. 427: Стишной пролог из собрания Хиландарского монастыря (Афон, Греция), № 427, на сентябрь-февраль, 1430-е гг.
- ЦИАИ 328: Стишной пролог из собрания Церковно-исторического и архивного института при Болгарской патриархии (София, Болгария), № 328, на январь-февраль, ХV в.
- Р.І.636: Стишной пролог из собрания Российской национальной библиотеки, № Р.І.636, на март, отрывок, 1621 г.
- Р.І.752: Стишной пролог из собрания Российской национальной библиотеки, № Р.І.752, на декабрь-февраль, ХVI в.
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Abstract

Marina Chistiakova

Serbian Translation of the Verse Prologue. Towards the Problem of Text Reconstruction for September

The Verse Prologue was translated from Greek into Church Slavonic twice in the first quarter of the 14th century, in connection with the introduction of the Typicon of Jerusalem into the Balkans. One of the translations originated in the Bulgarian book environment, while the other was made by Serbian scribes. The translations were made in the process of translating various Greek originals by scribes working independently from each other. The Bulgarian translation has a large number of transcripts; yet few manuscripts of the Serbian translation have survived. A total of 12 copies of the Serbian translation are known to me, and in three of them only part of the manuscript corresponds to the text of the Serbian translation. Moreover, only one of the said transcripts (UBSM 16) contains readings for the first trimester. The text remaining from this manuscript begins with September 26. In an attempt to find the missing fragments for September 1-25, I turned to the South Slavic liturgical menaia, which contain readings from the Prologue. A comprehensive review of the menaia proved that most of them had been supplemented with readings from other versions of the Prologue. However, a menaion for September with readings from the Prologue of the Serbian translation was discovered in the manuscript collection of the National and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid in Skopje no. 17. The said menaion allows for the reconstruction of the lost readings, but with some reservations. Firstly, the scribes eliminated some brief memories from the Prologue, thus making it a collection of excerpts. Secondly, as a result of the loss of the text in the antigraph of the Serbian translation, the menaion M-17 contains insertions from the oldest translation of the Prologue for September 1 and September 26-28. Any future study of the texts of the Prologue of this menaion must take these features into account.

Keywords

Medieval Literature; Church Slavonic Manuscripts; Translations from Greek to Church Slavonic; Serbian Handwritten Tradition; Verse Prologue; Serbian Menaion no. 17; Text Reconstruction for the Month of September.

Борис Андреевич Успенский

Странная клятва Ивана III

1. В 1488 г. резко обострились отношения между великим князем (Иваном III) и его братом Андреем Васильевичем, князем Угличским. Князю Андрею стало известно о намерении великого князя взять его под стражу. Он хотел было бежать из Москвы, но, не чувствуя за собой вины, решил узнать, в чем дело. Сначала он попытался действовать через посредника, князя Ивана Юрьевича Патрикеева, однако тот отказался от столь опасного поручения; тогда князь Андрей обратился непосредственно к великому князю. Иван III заверил его, что у него и в мыслях подобного не было и поклялся в этом *небом и землею и Богом сильным, Творцом всей твари*. Великий князь стал дознаваться, в свою очередь, откуда у Андрея такие сведения. Выяснилось, что Андрею донес об этом его боярин Образец, желая прислужиться, поскольку тот держал его в немилости; Образцу же поведал о намерении Ивана III великокняжеский сын боярский Мунт Татищев. Мунт сказал это якобы в шутку, но Образец принял рассказ за чистую монету. Великий князь повелел вырвать Мунту язык, но его отмолил митрополит Геронтий; Мунт Татищев был предан торговой казни (бит кнутом)¹.

Эпизод этот хорошо известен: о нем рассказывают Карамзин (1842-1843, VI: 127-128) и Соловьев (1962-1966, III: 53). Источником этого рассказа является летописный свод, сохранившийся в составе Второй Софийской и Львовской летописей и отраженный также в Ермолинской, Типографской и Воскресенской летописях. Вот что здесь говорится:

Въ лѣто 6996. Скоромоли [*т.е.*: донес; *букв.* 'навел крамолу'] князю Андрѣю Васильевичю Углетцкому на великого князя Ивана Васильевича князь Андрѣевъ же бояринъ Образецъ, яко хоцеть князь великий князя Андрѣа поимати. Князь же Андрѣй хотѣ съ Москвы тайно бѣжати, и едва мысль его отвратися, и посла ко князю Ивану Юрьевичю [Патрикееву], вея явити то князю великому, о чемъ [*т.е.*: почему] се хоцеть князь великий надъ нимъ створити; князь Иванъ же отречеса, и онъ же самъ иде исповѣда великому князю. Князь же великий клятса ему небомъ и землею и Богомъ сильнымъ Творцомъ всеа твари, что ни въ мысли у него того не бывало, а обыска, отъ кого слышалъ, – ажно [*т.е.*: оказалось, что] князя великого

¹ Ср. в Воскресенской летописи: "Мунта же князь велики велѣлъ бити кнутием по торгу вода" (ПСРЛ, VIII: 218). То же в Типографской летописи (ПСРЛ, XXIV: 237).

сынъ боярской Мунтъ Татищевъ сплеха пришоде пошутить, и онъ въ правду поворотилъ, хотя князю Андрѣю примолвится, понеже бо преже того князь Андрѣй въ нелюбкахъ его дрѣжалъ. Мунту же князь великій повелѣ дати торговую казнь, и хотя ему языкъ вырезати, митрополитъ [Геронтий] же отпечалова его (ПСРА, XX/1: 353; тот же текст: VI: 238; VI/2: 323-324; XXIII: 185-186; то же с редакционными изменениями: XXIV: 236-237; VIII: 217-218)².

Возможно, рассказ Мунта Татищева не был шуткой: три года спустя, 20-го или, по другим источникам, 5-го сентября 1491 г., великий князь “поимал” (арестовал) своего брата “и дрѣжа его въ велицѣ истомѣ”³; находясь в заточении, 6-го ноября 1493 г. князь Андрей скончался — “преставися [...] въ нужной [т.е.: насильственной] смерти” (ПСРА, XV: 501; см. также: XX/1: 356, 360; VI/2: 331-332, 339; VIII: 223, 227; XII: 231, 237; XXIII: 195; XXIV: 209, 212; XXVII: 362, 365-366)⁴. Одновременно с ним были взяты под стражу его сыновья Иван и Дмитрий (дочери были оставлены на свободе);

² В новейшем издании Второй Софийской летописи (ПСРА, VI/2: 323) вместо *Богомъ силнымъ* стоит “б[о]госилным”, т. е. *бѣгосилным*. Полагаем, что писец имел в виду сочетание *бѣгосилнымъ*, но не дописал выносную букву *м* в первом слове. Таким образом, мы не рассматриваем форму *богосилнымъ* как вариантное чтение к фразе *Богомъ силнымъ*.

³ Яркое описание ареста князя Андрея содержится в Устюжской летописи: “В лето 7000. Приехал на Москъву князь Андрей Угльчскый сентября в 19 день, в понедельник. Князь великий почти его велми вечера того, а на завѣтнее поимал во вторник брата своего Андрея Васильевича Угльчскаго и бояр его. А поимал так. Послал по него дворецкого своего князя Петра Великого князь Васильева сына Шастунова, а велел князя Андрея брата своего звать к себе хлеба ясти. Князь Андрей восхотел о том ему челом ударити брату своему старейшему. И как приде в западню и бил челом великому князю на чти [т.е.: чести]. И князь великий, мало посидев с ним и поговоря мало, и выиде от него в повалушу [холодное помещение], а князю Андрею повеле себя ждати и бояром его повеле итти в столовую гридню. Они же внидоша, и тако поимаша их и разведоша разню. А князя Андрея повеле поимати князю Семену Ивановичю Ряполовскому. И князь Семен Ряполовской со многими князьми и бояры приде в западню ко князю Андрею Васильевичю, и ста пред ним слезен, и не моги слова ясно молвити. И рече слово слезен ко князю Андрею: ‘Государь, князь Андрей Васильевич, поиман еси Богом да государем великим князем Иваном Васильевичем всеа Руси, братом твоим старейшим’. И князь Андрей воста и рече: ‘Волен Бог да государь брат мой старейшии, князь Иван Васильевич, а суд ми с ним пред Богом, что мя неповинна имае’” (ПСРА, XXXVII: 97-98). *Западня* здесь – название горницы (см.: Карамзин 1842-1843, VI: 52, примеч. 333).

День “поимания” князя Андрея (заключения его под стражу) по-разному указывается в летописях: Львовская и Вторая Софийская летописи (ПСРА, XX/1: 356, 360; VI/2: 331) датируют это событие 5-м сентября; другие летописи, цитируемые нами, говорят, что это случилось 20-го сентября. 20-е сентября 1491 г. действительно приходился на вторник, как это и указано в Устюжской летописи.

⁴ По словам Курбского, Иван III “брата единоутробнаго, Андрея Углицкого, мужа зело разумнаго и мудраго, тяжкими веригами въ темнице за малые дни удавилъ, и двухъ сыновъ его [...] многолѣтнымъ заключеніемъ темничнымъ нещадно поморилъ” (Курбский 1913:

один из них скончался в темнице, а другой провел в заточении большую часть жизни⁵. Угличский удел был ликвидирован и присоединен к великому княжеству. Похоже, что именно отнятие удела, а не какие-то другие причины послужили причиной заточения князя Андрея и его сыновей (см.: Карамзин 1842-1843, VI: 129; Соловьев 1962-1966, III: 54); это естественно вызывало подозрение, что клятва, данная Иваном III князю Андрею в 1488 г., не была искренней.

Весной 1498 г., спустя пять лет после смерти князя Андрея, Иван созвал архиереев и принес покаяние в содеянном. Вот как рассказывает об этом Типографская летопись:

Того же лѣта [*пропущено слово 'рече'?*] Симону митрополиту веля емоу быти у себя на дворѣ съ архіепископомъ [Тихоном, архиепископом Ростовским] и съ епископы. И придоша к нему. Князь же великий, вставъ предъ своимъ отцемъ митрополитомъ і архіепископомъ и епископы, начаша бити челою предъ ними съ оумилениемъ и с великими слезами, а прося оу нихъ прощенія о своемъ брате князе Андрѣе Васильевиче, что своимъ грѣхомъ, несторожею, его оумориль, в нужи стоя предъ ними долго время. Митрополить же и архіепископъ и епископы съ испытаниемъ и с великимъ наказаниемъ и понудиша ѥ долго время и едва простиша ѥ и наказаша его впредъ и какъ бы емоу своя душа исправити предъ Богомъ (ПСРА, XXIV: 213-214).

С.М. Соловьев (1962-1966, III: 54) писал по этому поводу: “сыновья Андреевы оставались в заключении, следовательно, Иоанн не раскаивался в полной мере”. Надо полагать, что таким образом великий князь хотел оградить себя от обвинений в смерти своего брата.

Итак, у нас есть основания сомневаться в искренности покаяния Ивана III. Точно так же мы можем сомневаться и в искренности его клятвы. Подобные сомнения могли возникать, очевидно, и у современников великого князя.

2. Клятва Ивана III в том виде, как она читается в летописях, в высшей степени необычна: она не имеет аналогов ни в книжной, ни в устной словесности.

Клятва эта неоднократно привлекала к себе внимание исследователей так называемой ереси жидовствующих, и это вполне понятно. Как известно, Иосиф Волоцкий об-

112). *Единоутробный* брат означает здесь: ‘родной брат’: князь Андрей был как единоутробным, так и единокровным братом Ивана III.

⁵ Оба брата почитаются как святые. Иван Андреевич (ок. 1480-1522) известен как св. Игнатий Прилуцкий (Игнатий – его схимническое имя). С Дмитрия Андреевича (1483-1544) оковы были сняты в 1540 г. Св. Игнатий изображался на иконах держащим хартию со словами, обращенными к его брату: “Не скорби, брате, от темницы и от уз сих, Бог стряпу нашему и государю о нас тако известил подати полезная душам нашим: понеже учини нам о свете сем суетнем не пещися, но помолимся Господу Богу, дабы Господь Бог милость свою нам послал, да с радостию претерпим во имя Его и избавимся вечныя муки” (Фартусов 1910: 287).

вина Ивана III в склонности к этой ереси или, во всяком случае, в покровительстве ее приверженцам⁶. Я.С. Лурье охарактеризовал клятву Ивана III как “странную, не находящую соответствия в других памятниках и едва ли не еретическую” (Лурье 1960: 143, 239; ср.: Казакова, Лурье 1955: 111, 206)⁷, связав ее с тем, что сообщает о великом князе Иосиф Волоцкий. “Каковы были религиозные воззрения Ивана III, нам неизвестно, – писал Лурье в последней своей книге, – но приведенную [...] независимым летописным сводом странную клятву Ивана III своему брату: “небом и землею и Богом сильным, творцом всея твари” – едва ли можно считать ортодоксально-церковной” (Лурье 1994: 214). О “неортодоксальности” клятвы Ивана III говорит и новейший исследователь ереси жидовствующих, А.И. Алексеев (2012: 469; 2017: 167, *passim*); в отличие от Я.С. Лурье, который отрицал связь “жидовствующих” с иудаизмом, А.И. Алексеев трактует “жидовство” новгородских и московских еретиков буквально и, насколько можно понять, склонен видеть в этой клятве иудейские корни.

В этой связи обращает на себя внимание выражение *Бог сильный* (“Князь же великий кляется ему [...] Богомъ сильнымъ, Творцомъ всеа твари”). Это, несомненно, габраизм, хотя он и не имеет отношения к ереси жидовствующих. Это выражение встречается в восточнославянских списках Библии, а именно, в Книге Бытия, где Господь говорит Иакову: “Азъ есмь Б[ог]ъ силенъ расти и множиса” (Бт. 35:11, по списку БАН, Арх. Д17, л. 92; о других списках с этим выражением см.: Успенский 2014: 40). Между тем в завещании Иакова (Бт. 49:25) мы встречаем соответствующее определение в дат. падеже – *Бог силам* (ср.: “И поможет[ъ] ти Б[ог]ъ мои Б[ог]ъ силамъ. и бл[аго]с[ло]вит[ъ] тл” (ГИМ, Муз. № 358, л. 148; см.: Успенский 2014: 41); дат. или род. падеж определения в церковнославянском языке может коррелировать с со-

⁶ В послании архимандриту Андрониковского монастыря Митрофану, бывшему духовнику Ивана III (1504 г.), Иосиф Волоцкий передает слова великого князя: “почял говорити о новгородцких еретикех, да молвил мне так: ‘И яз, деи, ведал новгородцких еретиков, и ты мя прости в том’ [...]. Да и сказал ми, которую дръжал Алексей протопоп ересь, и которую ересь дръжал Феодор Курицин” (Иосиф Волоцкий 1959: 175-176). О потворстве Ивана III еретикам Иосиф упоминает также в *Сказании о новоявившейся ереси* (введению к *Просветителю*, 1502-1504 гг.): “Толико же дръзновение тогда имеаху к державному протопоп Алексей и Феодор Курицин, яко никто же ин...”; протопоп Алексей “своим вольхованиемъ подоиде дръжавнаго, да поставит на великом престоле святительском скверного съсуда сатанина, его же онъ напои яда жидовскаго” [речь идет о митрополите Зосиме]; здесь же говорится, что митрополит Геронтий не препятствовал распространению еретического учения, “или грубостию съдръжимъ, или не радяше о сих [еретиках], или бояшеса дръжавнаго” (Казакова, Лурье 1955: 471-472); см. в этой связи: Печников 2018: 185-186; 2020: 216-217. Обвинения Иосифа в адрес великого князя были высказаны, когда Иван III был фактически отстранен от власти.

⁷ “Обычной формой присяги в древней Руси было целование креста; в более ответственных случаях употреблялась формула: ‘Не будет... милости Божией и пречистой его матери и великих чудотворцев’. У Ивана III вместо Христа, Богоматери и чудотворцев упоминаются только ‘Бог сильный’ да еще земля и небо” (Лурье 1960: 143, примеч. 238).

ответствующей формой прилагательного⁸, таким образом выражения *Бог сильный* и *Бог силам* предстают как синонимичные. Слова *силенъ* и *силамъ* в этих выражениях появляется на месте евр. *šadday*, которое не отражено в греческом тексте Септуагинты; эти слова представляют собой непосредственный перевод с еврейского. Появление этих слов в восточнославянских списках Книги Бытия объясняется сверкой славянского текста Библии с еврейской Торой, которая была осуществлена на Руси еврейскими книжниками (см. подробнее: Успенский 2014). Деятельность этих книжников никак не связана с ересью жидовствующих в том смысле, в каком говорят о ней Геннадий Гонзов и Иосиф Волоцкий (см. в этой связи: Алексеев А.А. 1999: 182-185). Во всяком случае это выражение было легитимировано употреблением в славянской Библии, которое и отразилось, по-видимому, в клятве Ивана III.

Выражение *Бог сильный* может сближаться также с наименованием Господа Саваофа (евр. *yahveh tseba'ot*), которое означает 'господин воинств' и часто передается как *Господь сил* или *Господь силам* (см.: Успенский 2014: 43). Согласно молдавской летописи, молдавский господарь Стефан Великий в 1471 г. одержал победу над валашским господарем Раду Красивым "Божиею милостию и помощью силнаго Саваофа Бога" (СМЛ: 27; см.: Алексеев А.И. 2012: 468-469; 2017: 169)⁹. Стефан Великий был отцом Елены Волошанки, которую обвиняли в ереси жидовствующих¹⁰, однако упоминание *сильного Саваофа Бога*, скорее всего, обусловлено этимологией имени *Саваоф* и не содержит в себе ничего еретического (см.: Петрухин 2015: 161). Отметим еще, что выражение *Бог сильный* в клятве Ивана III соответствует по смыслу определению Бога как "крепкого" в Трисвятом ("Святой Боже, святой крепкий..."), которое восходит к славословию Саваофа у пророка Исаяи (Ис. 6:3). Во всех этих случаях речь идет о Боге Отце.

Итак, упоминание *Бога сильного* в клятве Ивана III не может служить свидетельством его неортодоксальности.

3. При всем том клятву Ивана III никак нельзя признать ортодоксальной: она прямо и недвусмысленно противоречит заповеди Христа, который запрещал клясться небом и землей. Ср. слова Христа в Нагорной проповеди:

⁸ Ср. варьирование форм *Душе истинны* и *Душе истинный* (о св. Духе), *Солнце правды* и *Солнце праведное* (о Христе), см.: Успенский 2002: 455-456. О соотношении дат. и род. падежа определения см. там же: 451 (ср. вариантыные формы молитвы св. Василия Великого: *Боже и Господи силам – Боже и Господи сил*).

⁹ А.И. Алексеев, обнаруживший эту цитату, считает, что выражение благодарности с упоминанием Бога Саваофа могла употребляться в случае победы над единоверцами, тогда как благодарность Христу воздавалась в случае победы над мусульманами. Вопрос о религиозной принадлежности Раду Красивого, противника Стефана Великого, является предметом дискуссии: возможно, он был мусульманином.

¹⁰ Андрей Курбский называет ее "святой" (Курбский 1913: 112).

Еще слышали вы, что сказано древним: не преступай клятвы, но исполняй пред Господом клятвы твои. А я говорю вам: не клянись вовсе, ни небом, потому что оно престол Божий, ни землею, потому что оно подножие ног Его [...]. Но да будет слово ваше “да, да”; “нет, нет”; а что сверх этого, то от лукавого (Мф. 5:33-37).

Эти слова повторяются в послании апостола Иакова:

Прежде всего братия моя, не клянитесь ни небом, ни землею, и никакою другою клятвою; но да будет у вас “да, да” и “нет, нет”, дабы не подпасть осуждению (Иак. 5:12)¹¹.

Клятва великого князя, как она представлена в летописи, непосредственно соотносится со словами Христа и вместе с тем явным образом им противопоставлена; это перевернутая клятва, лже-клятва. Понятно, что Иван III не мог произнести такую клятву. Если даже вообразить, что Иван III был еретиком, невозможно себе представить, чтобы им была произнесена клятва, отрицающая слова Христа: такая клятва теряла свой смысл – она никак не могла демонстрировать благонамеренность великого князя, на что, очевидно, она была рассчитана. Итак, слова о клятве небом и землей не могут принадлежать Ивану III: они принадлежат летописцу, который выражал таким образом свое отношение к поведению великого князя; иначе говоря, они имеют разоблачительный характер.

Летописец вкладывает в уста Ивана III слова, которые выглядят как кощунственное анти-поведение. Понятно, что имеется в виду: Христос говорит, что нельзя клясться небом и землей, но великий князь, по словам летописца, делает противоположное; вопреки сказанному, он клянется именно небом и землей. Христос говорит, что “да” должно быть “да”, а “нет” – “нет”; но если великий князь клянется небом и землей, то и слова его имеют перевернутый смысл: “да” у него не означает “да”, и “нет” не означает “нет”, его клятва – это ложная клятва.

Очевидно, что летописец оценивает клятву Ивана III, исходя из последующих событий, которые он прямо с ней связывает, – заточения и гибели князя Андрея Большого; он описывает этот эпизод *post factum*, в перспективе уже известного ему финала¹². Трагическая участь князя Андрея, с его точки зрения, была предопределена этой клятвой. В глазах летописца, это была ложная клятва: она нарушала заповедь Христа, по слову которого “да” должно означать “да”, а “нет” – “нет”. Поскольку Иван III поклялся именем Бога, она нарушала также библейскую (ветхозаветную) заповедь, за-

¹¹ Параллели из Священного Писания к клятве Ивана III исчерпывающим образом собраны в работах А.И. Алексеева (см.: Алексеев А.И. 2012: 468; 2017: 167-168). Наша интерпретация этих соответствий отличается от трактовки Алексеева.

¹² Как справедливо замечает М.В. Печников (2018: 186, примеч. 13), “летописец вряд ли сам присутствовал при разговоре Ивана III с удельным князем и наверняка знал только его примерное содержание из устного рассказа, передающего эмоционально окрашенную устную речь”.

прещавшую поминать имя Бога все (Исх. 20:7; Вт. 5:11) и особенно оговаривавшую это запрещение при произнесении клятвы: “Не клянитесь именем моим во лжи, и не бесчести имени Бога твоего. Я Господь Бог Ваш”, говорит Господь Моисею (Лв. 19:11).

Итак, Иван III не клялся небом и землей: эти слова вложил в его уста летописец, чтобы показать, что его клятва была ложной: поступая таким образом летописец стремился представить клятву великого князя в ее онтологически подлинном виде. Он передает не то, что реально сказал Иван III, а то, что тот должен был сказать. Используя заповедь Христа, летописец обнажает истинный смысл этой клятвы.

Но что же реально произнес Иван III в 1488 г.?

Полагаем, что он поклялся именем Бога Отца, *Творца неба и земли*; так Он именуется в Символе веры¹³, и это наименование, по-видимому, присутствовало в клятве. Поскольку клятва была воспринята как ложная, упоминание неба и земли было поставлено в связь с тем, что говорит о клятве Христос; соответственно, слова о *небе и земле* были перенесены из наименования Бога в объект клятвы как таковой.

В свое время А.Н. Насонов предположил, что общий протограф Второй Софийской и Львовской летописей – т. е. именно тех летописей, в которых говорится о клятве Ивана III, – имеет оппозиционный характер по отношению к великому князю (см.: Насонов 1930: 714-721; 1969: 305-307, 369-376). Этот вывод был поддержан другими историками, в частности, Я.С. Лурье (см.: Лурье 1973, *passim*; 1976: 211-212, 239-240; 1988: 109-110). Наши наблюдения, как кажется, подтверждают этот вывод.

По мнению А.Н. Насонова, эти летописи написаны с позиции митрополита Геронтия; в них отражается сочувствие к Геронтию, отношения которого с великим князем были далеко не безоблачными. Соответственно, А.Н. Насонов говорит о митрополичьем летописном своде (отразившемся в этих летописях), датируя его 1489 г. – годом смерти Геронтия, который скончался 28 мая 1489 г. Я.С. Лурье указал, однако, что оппозиционный летописный свод был составлен в конце XV в. уже после смерти Геронтия; по его предположению, составление свода должно быть отнесено ко времени, когда митрополия оставалась вакантной, — до поставления митрополита Зосимы 26 сентября 1490 г. (см. Лурье 1973: 417).

Между тем, оппозиционный характер этого свода наблюдается и после поставления Зосимы. Если наши соображения верны, он мог быть составлен именно при митрополите Зосиме (1490-1494 гг.). В самом деле, летописное известие о клятве Ивана III в том виде, в каком оно дошло до нас в обеих летописях, могло появиться, по-видимому, не ранее ареста князя Андрея (произошедшего 5 или 20 сентября 1491 г.) или, что более вероятно, после его “нужной” смерти (последовавшей 6 ноября 1493 г.).

Я.С. Лурье считал свод конца XV в. не митрополичьим, а монастырским; в любом случае он появился в церковных кругах. Впоследствии известие о клятве Ивана III попадает в другие летописи, в том числе в великокняжескую Воскресенскую лето-

¹³ Ср.: “Верую во единого Бога Отца, Творца неба и земли, видимым же всем и невидимым...”

пись (ПСРА, VIII: 217-218). Составитель Воскресенской летописи, по-видимому, уже не отдавал себе отчета в особом подтексте, который имела эта клятва в более ранних летописях, послуживших ему источником.

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Abstract

Boris Andreevič Uspenskij
A Strange Oath of Ivan III

The article is devoted to a strange oath of Ivan III, the Grand Prince of all Rus', in 1488, registered in some Russian chronicles. The oath is very unusual and sometimes is regarded as heretical. Some scholars even associate it with the heresy of the Judaizers. Was the oath really heretical? Why did Ivan III choose such provocative language? The author attempts to answer these and contiguous questions.

Keywords

Ivan III; Oaths; Swearing; Perjury; Heresy of the Judaizers; Russian Chronicles; Anti-Behavior.

Maksym Yaremenko

The Sacralisation of the Battle of Poltava in the Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire*

1. Introduction

The calendars published in the late eighteenth-century Russian Empire, and assigning one date (or several dates) out of the year for each and every canonised saint to be remembered (*svjatsy*), included over 600 non-movable feasts. Among these, the one dated 27 June appears rather intriguing – “a feast about the victory over the Swedish king Charles XII at Poltava given by God to the All-Russian autocrat Peter the Great in the year 1709 from Incarnation”¹. Notably, the “victory” (*pobeda*) mentioned therein was the only non-religious commemoration included in the Church calendar of the time. It goes without saying that appealing to God for His help neither turns a profane into a sacredly charged event nor can transform it into a Church feast, and even more so in the premodern period. Moreover, it can be understood from the passage above that the celebration for the success of Poltava was not being commemorated because of the work of the heavenly Powers (as, for example, in the case of the miraculous appearance of icons and the alike), but essentially as a strategic victory reaffirming tsarist authority.

In considering the arrangement and mechanisms beyond the lists of holy days, historians have long drawn attention to the political implications of the canonisation process (see, for instance, Chorošev 1986). The spread of cults, as Gary Marker has shown in respect to the cult of St. Catherine which in the Russian Empire was used to support and consolidate the newly established power of a (female) Empress, played an important part in state ideology (Marker 2007). The present paper analyses the way by which a secular event such as the battle of Poltava has been invested with religious meaning. More precisely, I investigate the reasons why during Catherine II's reign this military event acquired its own specific entry into the Church calendar, thereby embodying the features which Zitser attributed to what he calls ‘political theology’ of the Russian imperial throne (Zitser 2008). I also examine

* I would like to thank Nikolaos Chrissidis and Giovanna Brogi, who have been attentive readers of this text since its first drafts, for their useful remarks and generous help with proofreading. I am also grateful to Alex Petrocchi (University of Oxford) for her skillful copyediting and valuable comments.

¹ The original is in capital letters and reads: “праздникъ ѿ побѣдъ бѣгомъ дарованной Всероссійскому Самодержцу Петру великому надъ шведскимъ королемъ кароломъ вторымъ-надесятъ подь полтавою лѣта ѿт воплощеніа гсѣна аѿѿ” (See *Mesjasoslov* added to: sl 1795: 231 v.).

the circumstances that led the Synodal Church to the sacralisation of the very victory over the Swedes at Poltava. For purposes of this study, I use the term ‘sacralisation’ to refer to the adaptation process which transforms and legitimises, with the consent of the Church hierarchy, a profane (either social or political) into a sacred event that reveals God’s active participation and consequently becomes an object of religious and ritual worship. In other words, ‘sacralisation’ is the process of becoming or making ‘sacred’. A key feature related to veneration and worship, in addition to Church authorisation and liturgical service, is the inclusion of the event in question in the Church Menologion (if a person is being canonised, an icon has to be painted). The analysis of the objectification and institutional concretisation of the ‘victory’ at Poltava as a sacred symbol has been mainly disregarded by historians. This paper aims to bridge this knowledge gap and demonstrate that such an investigation allows us to better comprehend the ‘mobilising role’ of Church holidays in the eighteenth-century Russian imperial policy: these proved to be, in fact, powerful and effective strategies for motivating and engaging the Orthodox population.

2. *Commemorating the Battle of Poltava: Its Entry in the Church Calendars*

In what follows, I first analyse the calendars appended to liturgical books (Gospels, Service books, books of Needs, and so forth) which were available to every parish. Such calendars were usually called ‘Menologions’ (*mesjaceslovy*), also referred to as *soborniki* or *svjatcy*, and included short lists of non-movable Church feasts (generally devoted to the saints) for every day of the year. They differed from the other types of Menologions which were published in the Russian Empire starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century. A Menologion was usually part of liturgical books used by the clergy, and was not printed separately. It contained lists of saints and sacred events, their status (solemn, ordinary, and so forth), and often a concise note regarding the format of their liturgical commemoration. Another type of Menologion was a kind of small publication providing details such as calendric information, business recommendations, astronomical data, weather forecasts, and so on addressed to a wide range of readers among the educated public. From 1726 the Holy Synod had been prohibited from printing these calendars, on the basis that their printing was not a Church affair (Pogosjan 2001: 337)². This type of calendars (which were originally called *mesjaceslovy*, hereafter for convenience I will refer to them as ‘civil’ Menologions) contained, along with information about public state holidays, the lists of non-movable Church feasts of the liturgical year. Their information was second-hand and extremely concise compared to the Church calendars as only the most important dates were included. The civil Menologions contained also the lists of the state holidays, for instance the anniversaries of coronations, victories, birthdays of the members of the imperial family (so called “*vysokotoržestvennye i tabelnye dni*”). By contrast, these dates were not included

² Notably, some pages earlier the author claims that in 1729-1730 the printing of calendars finally became the prerogative of the Academy of Sciences (*Ibidem*: 328).

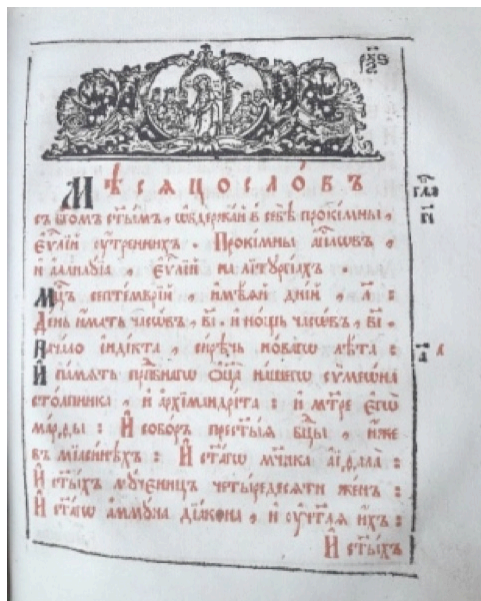


FIGURE 1

The title page of a Church Menologion
(*Služebnik*, Moskva 1763)



FIGURE 2

The title page of 1727 Kyiv civil Menologion

in the Church calendars. In this article, for practical reasons and as basis for comparison I use Church Menologions printed by different church typographies in the Russian Empire; the main focus remains, however, on the Moscow editions, since they were meant to serve as a model for other printing houses (cf. FIGURES 1 and 2).

The practice of liturgical celebration of important political events (including international ones) and military battles was widespread in the eighteenth-century Russian Empire; for example, in response to a verbal order by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, in September 1757 the Synod ordered that a service accompanied by pealing of bells be held on 19 August yearly in all dioceses in memory of the victory over the Prussian army³. Similarly, an order of 13 July 1776 deemed it necessary to include the date of July 10, which was the day of the conclusion of peace with the Ottoman Porte, into the list of highly solemn and victorious days, and to serve a thanksgiving prayer (*“blagodarstvennoe molebstvie”*) with bell-ringing in all churches every year⁴. On the contrary, only the commemoration of the ‘victory’ at Poltava – an important event in the politics of imperial memory – had been included in the Church Menologions.

³ PSPP IV: 346-347 (N° 1612).

⁴ PSPP II: 160-161 (N° 837).

In order to understand the wide implications of the inclusion of the Poltava battle in the Church calendar, it should be emphasised that the Church Menologion commemorates only the saints, miraculous icons, and events that are considered as sacred in themselves. Canonisation was the prerequisite for individuals to be included in the *svjatcy*; nevertheless, the commemoration of events which were considered as reflecting divine intervention required a somehow less strict procedure. In Russia, both Church authorities and monarchs had this very power; for instance, the celebration of the Appearance of the icon of the Kazan' Mother of God in Moscow on 22 October and the protection of the city "against Lithuania" ("от Литвы" as mentioned in the Kyivan Church calendar of 1798)⁵ was sanctioned in Muscovy by Tsar Michail Fedorovič in 1613 and confirmed by Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1649⁶. Including the Poltava 'victory' in the *svjatcy* meant to elevate it to a status equal to that of other events of sacred history.

Despite sustained interest in the battle of Poltava, the fact and the way by which it has been added to the Church calendars has largely escaped the attention of scholars who, even when mentioning it, dedicate only one or two vague sentences to this important phenomenon. By way of illustration, Richard Wortman argues that in the Church calendars Peter I's victories were marked as feasts illustrating a new heroic history and also that Peter's greatest victories had been inserted in the Church calendar (Wortman 2002: 79, 95); the author, however, neither refers to primary sources nor provides any details to prove his claims convincingly. It remains, in fact, unclear what kind of calendars and 'victories' Wortman referred to; it seems likely that he mixed up commemorations in *svjatcy* and lists of "highly solemn" or "*tabelnye*" days in civil Menologions. Examining in detail the creation of a solemn calendar of events in the Russian state during the first half of the eighteenth century, Elena Pogosjan notes that sometime before 1712 Peter I mentioned the battle of Poltava in connection with the feast of St. Sampson, whose day of remembrance was 27 June. Notably, after 1712 this addendum (the reference to the battle of Poltava) to a religious event (that is to say the feast of St. Sampson) lost its relevance. The tsar celebrated 'victory' every year despite the circumstances (such as the death of tsarevich Aleksej Petrovič in 1718 on the eve of the forthcoming anniversary of the battle), but the Poltava day did not acquire a steady ideological signification until 1718, and only later "came to represent a 'Russian rebirth' for Peter. It was the anniversary of a military victory, much like the Old Testament holiday of Easter, and was invested with the significance of an event worthy of inclusion in the Church calendar. This explains the reason why the commemoration of the battle at Poltava acquired the right to become an independent *annual holiday*" (italics by Pogosjan, M.Y.). Unfortunately, Pogosjan does not elaborate further to tell us whether the 'victory' day eventually became part of the Church Menologion; she only notes that the commemoration of the battle became a 'new center' for civil calendars compiled from 1719 onwards (Pogosjan 2001: 116-124, cit. 124). A.N.

⁵ AK 1798: 310.

⁶ ASBA: 61 (N° 40).

Kazakevič alludes to the insertion of the battle of Poltava in the Church Menologion in the early eighteenth-century very briefly and without references to sources or historical facts; also, despite the fact that his article's title mentions the commemoration of the battle by the Church, the author focuses instead on the construction of several churches and monasteries (Kazakevič 2009: 330). No less vague is N. Bolotina's assertion that from the first celebration of the victory in Moscow up to the end of 1709 "the holiday in commemoration of the Poltava victory entered the calendar of annual church celebrations": further in her account it becomes evident that she is concerned merely with public prayers and Church services (Bolotina 2009: 346; 2010: 292). The literature review here discussed demonstrates not only that all these brief and unsatisfactory statements clarify nothing about the inclusion of the battle of Poltava in the Church calendars, but also that they obscure the sacralisation process at the heart of the 'victory'.

The first step of the analytical approach I propose involves determining when the reference to the 1709 victory over the Swedes was first mentioned in the calendars. My investigation reveals that the time it took to insert 'victory' in the Church Menologions was longer compared to its inclusion in the civil calendars, which took place shortly after the event itself and was located in various rubrics. There is no need here for me to underline the ideological significance of commemorating the battle of Poltava which, perhaps not surprisingly, later came to serve as a starting point for calculating time. No reference to Poltava in the short list of Church feasts contained in the civil Menologion for the year 1710 is found but, when considering how to divide the year 1710, the compilers used the date of the battle, which had recently occurred, as a reference point: "[It is] the seventh month since the victory of Peter I over the Swedish king Charles XII at Poltava"⁷. There is no 'victory' in the laconic list of the June Church feasts in a similar edition for the year 1711⁸; it is only in the calendar published in November 1711 for the year 1712 that the "victory" appear in brackets under June 27 after the reference to St. Sampson: "[On this day occurred the victory over the Swedes at Poltava]"⁹. By the time of the appearance of the civil Menologion for the year 1718, the standard phrase commonly found had been: "[Memory] of rev. Sampson and of the feast on the victory over the Swedes"¹⁰.

No 'victory' is mentioned in the calendars by the St. Petersburg press for the years between 1718 and 1721, 1728, and 1731¹¹, but it was included in the 1722 Moscow civil Menolo-

⁷ "Отъ вѣкторіи полученія надъ свѣіскіміъ королемъ каролусомъ, 12. подъ Полтавою, 7. мѣсяцъ" (КМЧ 1710: с.п. [2, 7 в.]). This is the second calendar of this type in Russia (the first appeared in 1708 and was meant for the year 1709) and the first in which the victory at Poltava is mentioned as one of the calendar starting points (Pogosjan 2001: 146).

⁸ КМЧ 1711: с.п. (7 в.).

⁹ "[Въ сѣи день бѣ побѣда на шведа подъ полтавою]" (КМЧ 1712: с.п. [7 в.]).

¹⁰ "Преп: сампсона, и прѣзд: о побѣдѣ надъ шведы" (КМЧ 1718: с.п. [7 в.]).

¹¹ КІМ 1718: с.п. (12 в.); КІМ 1719: с.п. (12 в.); КІМ 1720: с.п. (12 в.); КІМ 1721: с.п. (12 в.); КІМ 1728: с.п. (11 в.); КМІГ: с.п. (11 в.).

gion¹² and in the 1728 last Moscow edition. One finds ‘victory’ back in the main part of Petersburg’s civil calendars only in 1733 (Pogosjan 2001: 333, 343). A similar situation is found in editions of Menologions-manuals with prognostication published separately in Kyiv; we find an entry for Poltava under 27 June in the calendar published in 1713; after the reference to the feast of St. Sampson the sentence “Victory over the Swedes” is found¹³. By contrast, in the 1727 Lavra’s calendar the battle was used to guide readers through a chronological list of events and historical processes which included the Creation of the world, Noah’s flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the beginning of the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman ‘monarchies’, the Exodus (“исхождѣніа Ісраїлтескаго”), the baptism of Old Rus’ prince Volodymyr, the invention of gun powder and printing, the coronation of Empress Catherine Alekseevna, the birth of her grandson prince Peter, the beginning of the Russian fleet and, finally, the Poltava “victory” (“от Викторіи полученныа надъ свѣйскіимъ Королемъ Каролусомъ вторымънадесять, подъ Полтавою”)¹⁴. However, the Poltava battle is neither mentioned in the list of Church feasts of Lavra’s Menologion for year 1727¹⁵ nor in the edition for 1730¹⁶.

In the Russian civil Menologions, after that the Academy of Sciences took over the printing, it became standard to present the monthly calendric information over two pages: the left page provided information on the Church feasts, while the right covered instructions for biblical readings and a list of official public holidays (Pogosjan 2001: 331). In such type of calendars St. Sampson is mentioned on the left page under June 27, while the “triumphant remembrance of the victory near Poltava” (“торжественное воспоминовение побѣды подъ Полтавою”) appears on the right page. Yet this was not always the case: for example, the battle was absent from the 1728 civil Menologion but present in the 1736 edition¹⁷. This inconsistency not only confirms scholarly observations about changes in the way the anniversaries of the battle were celebrated in the eighteenth century but also proves that the very inclusion of such a celebration in the *svyatcy* did not immediately turn into the established practice. In the extremely concise lists of Church feasts published in the so-called “curious Menologions” (“любопытные месяцесловы”) of the second half of the eighteenth century, such as the one compiled by Vasylij Ruban in 1776, no reference to ‘victory’ is found. The sixty-seventh anniversary of the “victory near Poltava” is mentioned therein only in an extensive list of tens of various secular and Church events in the “chronicle of matters worth remembering for 1776”. This section, for example, refers to the Creation of the world, the founding of Rome, the invention of powder and guns, the be-

¹² КМЧ 1722: s.n. (7 v.)

¹³ “Побѣда надъ Шведъ” (КМЧ 1714: s.n.)

¹⁴ КіМ 1727: s.n. (2).

¹⁵ КіМ 1727: s.n. (7 v.).

¹⁶ КіМ 1730: s.n. (5).

¹⁷ Comp. КіМ 1728: s.n. (11 v.-12) and КМІ: s.n. (11 v.-12).

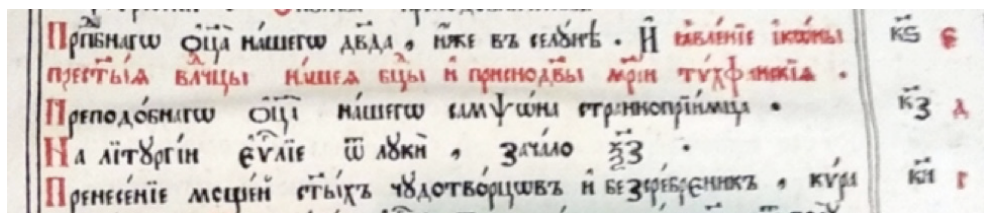


FIGURE 3

A fragment of the Church Menologion lacking a reference to the Poltava ‘victory’.
(*Svjaščennoe Evangelie*, Moskva 1779).

ginning of carriage rides, the shaving of beards, the foundation of schools in Kyiv and – last on the list – a year since the “destruction of the Zaporozhian Sič”¹⁸.

While the civil Menologions of the first decades of the eighteenth century included the battle with the Swedes in 1709 (as a starting point in a chronology, as a public holiday, and sometimes as an entry in a short list of Church feasts), one finds a completely different situation in the *svjatcy* which was added to liturgical books. The new feast of the Poltava ‘victory’ was not entered in the Church calendars of the Moscow liturgical editions published after 1709 nor in those which appeared in the following decades¹⁹ (cf. FIGURE 3). This means that, according to what the analysis of the Church calendar tells us, it was not part of the sacred symbols sanctified by the Church and ideologically remained a profane, secular holiday. The ‘victory’ was neither included in the Kyivan Menologions which were printed in 1741, 1765, 1773, 1775²⁰ nor in the Černihiv Church calendars (for instance in the *Apostle* of 1770²¹).

Notably, the battle with the Swedes started to be recorded in the *svjatcy* in the 1780s; for example, in the 1783 Kyiv *sobornik* there is an entry related to this event on 27 June²². Not only did this feast, which was observed until the end of the eighteenth century, occurred in the Kyiv and Moscow Church calendars²³, but following the annexation of the Right-Bank Ukraine to the Russian Empire as a result of the partition of the Polish-Lithu-

¹⁸ MLM: 14, 21-24.

¹⁹ See, e. g. КА 1713: 252; EV: 451 v.; ТТ 1761: 336; СІ 1763: 213.

²⁰ MLM: 14, 21-24.

²¹ КА 1770: 237 v.

²² “And a holiday about the victory given by God to the All-Russian autocrat Peter the Great over the Swedish king Charles XII at Poltava, the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1709” (“И праздниѣ ѿ побѣдѣ бгомъ дарованной Всероссійскому Самодержцу Петру Великому, надъ шведскимъ королемъ кароломъ вторымнадесятъ подѣ полтавою, лѣта ѿм воплощеніа г҃дна аѣѿ”, АК 1783: 328 v.).

²³ See, e. g., Bib: 120 v.; КА 1790: 302 v.-303; АК 1798: 323 v.; СІ 1793: 89; СІ 1794: 221 v.-222; СІ 1795: 231 v.

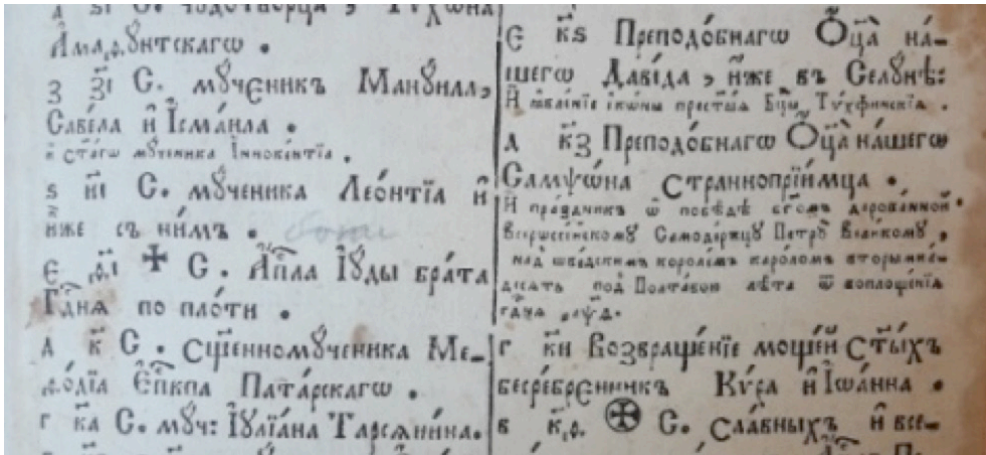


FIGURE 4

A fragment of the Uniate Church Menologion mentioning the ‘victory’ of Poltava
(*Akafisty različnyji*, Počajiv 1798)

anian Commonwealth, it was incorporated into the Počajiv Uniate Church Menologies²⁴ (cfr. FIGURE 4).

I have not found any explicit synodal decree demanding a reference to the battle of Poltava in Church calendars. I believe that its inclusion in Menologions was prompted

²⁴ AR: s.n. (the 7th folio of the calendar). It is difficult to establish whether the inclusion of the battle of Poltava in the Uniate liturgical books was a result of state coercion or an independent decision by the Počajiv typography, in an attempt to adapt to new political circumstances. Poltava is not mentioned in the extremely popular practical calendars of the Carmelite printing house of Berdyčiv (for example in the calendar for 1802) – neither in the list of church feasts (those calendars contained a very laconic Orthodox *svjatcy*), nor in the rubrics “*Epoki znakomitsze*” (“Most famous epochs”) and “*Dni uroczyscie obchodzone w Imperium Rossyiskim, i wolne od zabaw publicznych*” (“Days solemnly celebrated in the Russian Empire and free from public occupations”. The last rubric also contained church holidays, see KRR). There is no mention of the battle of Poltava in other civil calendars published at the beginning of the 19th century in the Russian Empire’s periphery, for instance in Warsaw (see KPRG: s.a.). It should be borne in mind that civil calendars differed from Church calendars in structure and contents, and in the latter the Church Menologion was too short to provide detailed references and information. However, it is evident that the Carmelite printing house could not completely avoid mentioning the ‘victory’; in the list of June Church feasts, no reference to the Poltava ‘victory’ in the calendar for 1845 is found, but it did appear in the list of the “Lord’s Holidays and state solemn days” (“Remembrance of the Poltava victory”). It is interesting to note that the event was not considered as a day off for government agencies and educational institutions (see KG: s.n. [16]), and a “memory of the battle near Poltava” in the Vilnius calendar for 1848 is mentioned in the special rubric “Days on which there is a thanksgiving prayer for victories” (see MCh: s.n. [32]).

by the Holy Synod decree of 27 March 1778 which concerned, however, not the *svjatcy* but liturgical books in general. According to the decree, the editions containing the order of services should include a cross 'with a semicircle' under 27 June on the field facing the 'victory' entry. The instructions did not specify the colour of the sign but there are good reasons to suppose that it was red. Placing red crosses in the texts was common practice; on the other hand, the synodal order of 27 March 1778 declared that the celebrations for the 'victory' of Poltava were to be equal to the level of veneration for Alexander Nevskij, whose remembrance days were just marked by a red sign²⁵. It cannot be excluded that the Holy Synod marked the date of the battle of Poltava with the very same sign which was commonly employed in Church calendars, thereby stimulating its steady presence in the Church Menologions. This process did not happen all of a sudden: the Menologion that is attached to the Moscow Gospel of 1779 (an edition that served as the standard for other Church publishing houses) does not mention the battle of Poltava²⁶.

Interestingly, the Church Calendars that were published in the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth century marked the level of the solemnity of 'victory' in different ways (Menologions provided lists of fixed holidays for each day of the year and usually marked their significance with special signs or colours). In the aforementioned 1783 Kyiv calendar and Uniate Počajiv calendar of 1798, the reference to the 'victory' event is marked as an ordinary feast. In the 1784 Moscow edition, holidays are not accompanied by any signs, and the battle of Poltava is only highlighted with a slightly darker font (similarly to the feast of Saints Peter and Paul). However, the 1798 Lavra edition followed the synodal order of 1778 – here the Poltava 'victory' is marked with a black cross in a semicircle, which indicates the status of medium solemnity of a Church holiday. In the Moscow Menologion of 1793 and 1795 (cfr. FIGURE 5), the entry was also marked as medium. On the contrary, in the Moscow edition of 1794 the battle of Poltava was considered one of the greatest feasts and marked in the same way as, for example, Christmas. In this latter case, we are probably dealing with a typo: in the synodal editions no special marks were used and the level of the feasts' solemnity was indicated by cinnabar ink; it cannot be ruled out that a typographer had bad control over colour values. By the end of the eighteenth century, the 'victory' at Poltava had become a Church holiday and one, according to the calendar markers, with a medium status equal to feasts such as the Feast of St. Michael (8 November), the feasts of the Apostles Matthew (16 November) and Mark (25 April), Andrew the First-called (30 November), Gregory the Theologian (25 January), John the Baptist (24 February, 25 May), the Cathedral of the Twelve Apostles (30 June), Elijah the Prophet (20 July), and several others.

²⁵ The decree requires that a red mark should be printed on the calendar field opposite the memory of Alexander Nevskij on 23 November and, according to the synodal order of 5 March 1778, the cinnabar cross in the field was to mark the memory of the transfer of the relics of the saint on 30 August (PSPR II: 202 [N° 876]).

²⁶ SE 1779: 244.

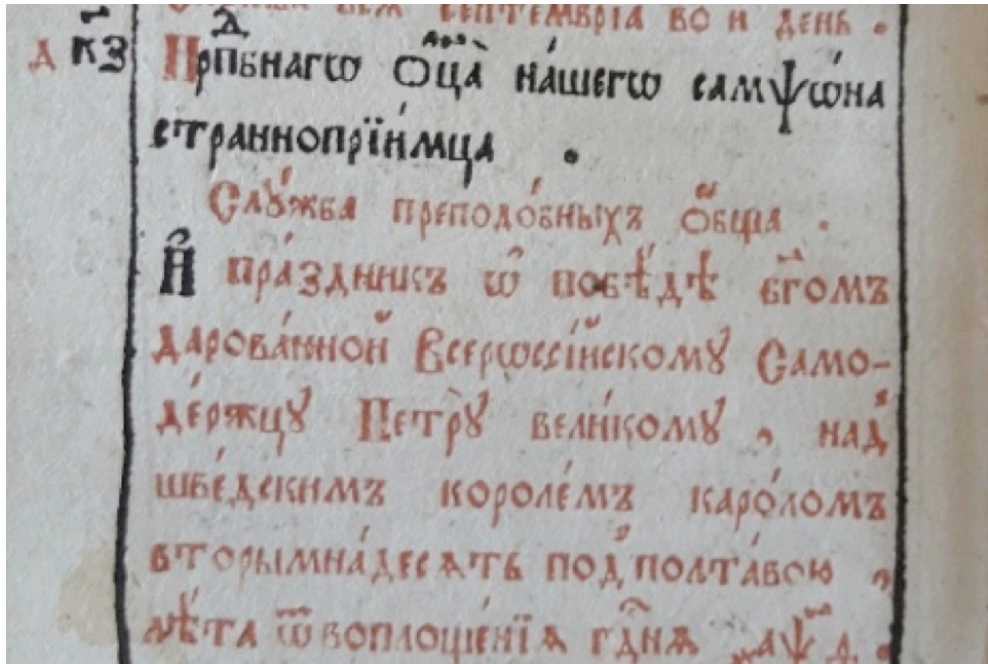


FIGURE 4

A fragment of the Church Menologion referring to the ‘victory’ at Poltava
(*Služebnik*, Moskva 1795)

Why was the battle of Poltava not included in Church calendars during the reign of Peter I? What can be said about the fact that only in the late 1770s its entry is found? There are several factors to consider in answering these questions. The sacralisation of the ‘victory’ of Poltava in the last decades of the eighteenth century during Catherine II’s reign should not be surprising. Before entering further into the discussion, I shall turn to the internal and external circumstances that contributed to the transformation of the battle into a feast of the liturgical calendar.

3. *The Battle of Poltava: Sacralisation and Celebration*

It is well-known that Catherine II presented herself as Peter I’s follower and, more precisely, as his ideological successor (Uortman 2002: 227). It is this image of the sovereign as the ‘granddaughter’ of the first emperor that was present in 1760s and 1770s Russian literature. Claiming the role of Peter I’s successor was a crucial ideological strategy for corroborating Catherine’s usurpation of the imperial throne and her right to hold monarchical power and the deriving divine legitimacy. Already during the coup, she had changed into the older uniform model worn by the Preobraženskij Regiment at the time of Peter I (her portrait in this very uniform appeared in the Throne Hall of the Peterhof Palace already

in 1773; smaller replicas were also made thereafter, cfr. Ivleva 2020: 91²⁷). Vasilij Majkov compared the image of Catherine (during the coup) with Peter I (in the battle of Poltava) in his *Ode on the Occasion of the Election of Deputies to Compose a Draft of the New Code of 1767* (*Ода на случай избрания депутатов для сочинения проекта Нового Уложения 1767 года*) – she paraded in front of the troops like Peter did: “Such was Peter great in glory, / When during the battle at Poltava / He was hurling thunder at the audacious Swedes”²⁸.

The empress’s achievements were presented as strengthening and continuing her ‘grandfather’s’ actions. At the beginning of Catherine II’s reign, ‘Peter’s legacy’ was positioned as sacred; the empress was proclaimed the restorer of Peter’s ideological inheritance, the heiress of his wisdom and knowledge, and the one who completed the work he had begun. By the end of the 1760s the activities of the first emperor had become a ‘respectable background’ for emphasising Catherine’s own merits. This is well testified, for instance, by the history of the construction of a new monument dedicated to Peter I in St. Petersburg. The empress proposed this endeavour already in 1763, and also considered several other projects. Work on the monument began in 1767 and was completed in 1782. According to Vera Proskurina, the monument to Peter was actually seen as a celebration to the achievements of Catherine II herself. This was by no means the only commemorative object honoring the legacy of her ‘grandfather’. In 1768 the construction of St. Isaac’s Cathedral began, which was to replace the church of the same name founded by Peter I. In 1770 a triumphal column was erected near the burial of the first emperor in honour of his own and his ‘granddaughter’s’ naval victories, symbolically connecting the two reigns; Catherine II’s victory over the Turks at Chesma in 1770 was presented as a continuation of Peter I’s deeds, and on that occasion a prayer service was held for the first emperor (Uortman 2002: 176); in the same year Aleksej Antropov painted Peter’s ceremonial portrait (Ivleva 2020: 105). The literature also presented these events and the relevant ideological constructions (Proskurina 2006: 36-37, 110-114, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127). It was only in the early 1780s that Catherine II began to dissociate herself from Peter’s ‘past age’ and progressively delete Peter’s myth (Proskurina 2017: 97-101).

As until the early 1780s Catherine II proclaimed herself the successor of the first emperor and associated her own accomplishments with his efforts, the insertion of the Poltava ‘victory’ in the Church calendar in the late 1770s can be seen not only as a reminder of

²⁷ Analysing the descriptions of Catherine II’s clothing in 1762, the visual images of Russian emperors from portraits and other artworks, and the history of the Semenovskij and Preobraženskij regiments’ uniforms, Victoria Ivleva argues that Catherine II’s uniform (which actually was the same worn by the Semenovskij Regiment and which was mistakenly understood to be similar to the one worn by the Preobraženskij Regiment) emphasised the legitimacy and longevity of power coming not only from the first emperor but also from her other predecessor, namely Elizabeth. Ivleva interprets Catherine’s change of dress from the perspective of political theology (Ivleva 2020: 106-107).

²⁸ “Таков был Петр велик во славе, / Когда на брани при Полтаве / Бросал на дерзких шведов гром” (Proskurina 2006: 23-25, 33, 71-74; cit.: 38).

recent military achievements (for instance, the victory in the war with the Turks in 1768-1774) but also as the completion of a further plan. Indeed, under Peter I there was a plan (although never realised) to raise the victory over the Swedes to the level of a sacred event, the significance of which was not limited to an imperial ideological symbol. In particular, sporadic references to the battle in the short lists of Church holidays in the civil Menologies published in the first decades of the eighteenth century pointed towards such an intention. As also shown by Nadieszda Kizenko the liturgical veneration of Poltava during Peter's time confirms the implied sacralisation process of the battle; Kizenko has drawn attention to the uniqueness of the "victory" commemoration in the liturgical practice of the imperial era. It was the first special, full-length service of this type (and not just a service of thanksgiving); rather than being connected with saints, icons, or the cross that gave patronage and support in battle, it was related to specific historical figures and, finally, it was replete with unprecedented political allegories. This liturgical celebration did not link the event to human reality but "to the level of Church time", "raised to the honour accorded to saints", to "cosmic and permanent liturgical time". According to Kizenko, for the first time since the Christianisation of Rus' in the late tenth century, a secular ruler made such a dramatic intervention in the liturgical sphere. However, after the end of the Great Northern War Peter I himself proposed to soften the emphasis in the service devoted to the Poltava 'victory', removing the designation of the Swedes as heretics and the allusions to Charles XII as "the devil" and "Pharaoh". In 1736 the Holy Synod was ordered to edit again the text in order to soften its hostile position against the Swedes. Despite this, between 1741 to 1913 it was the original, unedited version of the service which was printed (Kizenko 2009-2010: 227-228, 230, 234, 238-239).

Kizenko examines "all traditional forms of commemoration" used by Peter I and the Church hierarchy (such as the construction of a new church in St. Petersburg dedicated to St. Sampson who was commemorated on 27 June, as well as sermons and prayers) and the unprecedented step of compiling a special service. She does not discuss, however, the inclusion of Poltava in the Church calendar. This is not surprising because under Peter I, despite the raising of the battle through liturgical practice to 'the level of Church time', the last step for its sacralisation had not yet been taken: 'victory' was not put in the Church Menologion. This was finalised under the 'ideological successor' of the first emperor, that is to say Catherine II. The following episode, which is found in historical literature, suggests that the empress drew her attention to the 'victory': allegedly, after her ascent to the throne in 1766, a celebration was established in honour of the Kapluniv Icon of the Mother of God (September 11) which, according to legend, helped Peter I near Poltava. Subsequently, the empress granted the request of the Ochtyrka authority and in 1772 allowed the church in Kaplunivka to be exempt from paying taxes and instead use the saved funds for the building of a new stone church (Čugreeva 2009a: 447; 2009b: 306-307). It has not been possible for me to document Catherine's decree about the celebration to honour the icon on 11 September, there is no corresponding order in the published collections of decrees and synodal resolutions. It is safe to assume that such a resolution might have concerned

only local veneration because there is no mention of the Virgin of Kapluniv in the *svjatcy* on 11 September.

Let us now look at some external circumstances that under Catherine II may have drawn attention – at least partially – to the battle of Poltava. The Russian Empire was not in overt conflict with Sweden at the time of the inclusion of ‘victory’ in the Church Menologion, a circumstance which could have favoured a ‘calendar’ sacralisation of the battle. Nevertheless, St. Petersburg’s relations with Stockholm were not good. Russia had lost its influence over Sweden, which strengthened the army with outside support. The desire of the empire to control the Swedish throne was well reflected in the treaty with Prussia in 1769. As was put in a secret clause of the treaty, St. Petersburg and Berlin stated that they considered it necessary to maintain the current form of government in Sweden, that is, weak royal power. If the Swedish king regained his unlimited powers, Prussia was supposed to invade Swedish Pomerania at Russia’s request. Earlier, in 1766, the preservation of weak royal power was agreed upon in the treaty between Russia and Denmark which was renewed in 1774. According to the treaty of 1773, in the event of a Swedish-Russian war, Denmark had to support Russia with arms. Acting more directly, St. Petersburg strongly influenced part of the Swedish nobility and hindered political reforms.

Gustav III, Catherine II’s cousin, not only aspired to revive Swedish power, but from the beginning of his reign in 1771 was successful in dispelling Russian influence on Sweden and, going against the Russian hopes, in 1772 he restored a strong monarchy. The king was supported by France, which, after the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, even managed to get London to demand from St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin that Sweden be saved from a similar fate. France and Britain also agreed that in the event of a Russian attack on Sweden, France would support the Swedish navy and army in every possible way and Britain would offer no assistance to Catherine II. After the 1772 revolution in Sweden, the Russian empress described Gustav negatively. In a letter to Johanna Bielke dated August 24, 1772, she wrote: “The laws of no country have ever been so violated as in Sweden on this occasion, and I can assure you that this king is as much a despot as my neighbor, the Sultan”²⁹. In December of the same year, recalling Swedish policy in Norway, Catherine II once again remarked: “I can see that he [Gustav III, M.Y.] has little respect for his assurances and, were I to say it as it is, there is nothing sacred for him”³⁰.

After the events of 1772, the diplomatic relations between Sweden and Russia cooled off and rumours of a possible war between them spread through Europe. Both St. Petersburg and Copenhagen strengthened the border garrisons, and Catherine II refused to accept a diplomatic agent sent by Gustav III. The conflict was avoided in 1772, and the Swedish king

²⁹ “Никогда законы ни в какой стране не были так нарушаемы, как в Швеции при этом случае, и я вам ручаюсь, что этот король такой же деспот, как сосед мой, султан” (*Pis'ma Ekateriny II k Ioganne Dorotee B'el'ke*, cf. EFZ: 337).

³⁰ “я по всем вижу, что он мало уважает свои заверения и, если нужно сказать напрямик, для него нет ничего святого” (EFZ: 338).

predicted a Russian attack the following year. Catherine II also wrote in a letter to Voltaire in October 1772 about a possible war had Sweden taken over Norway. Already in the mid-1770s, Gustav III conceived the idea of conquering Norway and attacking Russia. In October 1775 he wrote that Catherine II postponed the war with him only because of her activities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Turkish affairs; he should thus prepare for defence and first attack Russia in order to end the confrontation as soon as possible. Gustav III's visit to Russia in 1777 allegedly eased tensions between the two states; nonetheless, as the Swedish envoy in Paris reported shortly after the visit, Catherine II's assurances of friendship were insincere and she did not believe in the sincerity of Stockholm's assurances. Despite the achieved peace, in the following years both parties observed each other with some caution, and without fully leaving behind their original intentions³¹.

Another issue to be addressed is whether Gustav III's visit to Russia and the contacts with Catherine II prompted in the following year the Holy Synod to issue an order to mark the Poltava 'victory' with a cross in a semicircle in the liturgical books, before entering it in the *svjatcy*. For example, the Swedish Foreign Minister count Ulrich Schaeffer, who accompanied the king on the trip, considered that the monarch not only had not come close to establishing friendly relations with the empress but also failed to impress Catherine II favourably. He attributed the success of the visit to St. Petersburg to his own efforts, and not to Gustav III's (Grot 1901: 231-232). It is interesting to note that some associate the Swedish king's trip to the Russian Empire with tsarevich Pavel Petrovič's joining of the Masonic lodge. This action, in turn, was disapproved by Catherine, who distrusted and fought against any form of Freemasonry. The empress was not fond of Russian lodges and disliked their contacts with Gustav III, but in 1779 she learned that Pavel had become a member of the lodge and that Freemasons had criticised the monarch, and Catherine began to openly rebuke Freemasonry. The theme of Freemasonry was then targeted by her satirical pen and repeatedly reported in literary works of the 1780s (Proskurina 2006: 91-92; 2017: 121-127).

It seems likely that the aforementioned circumstances (Catherine's perceived continuity of her 'grandfather' Peter I's affairs, the attempts to symbolically combine her own military victories with past accomplishments, the mostly strained relations with Sweden, and the empress's dislike of king Gustav III) stimulated the entry of the commemoration of the battle of Poltava in the Church Menologion and finally determine its status as a sacred symbol at the end of the 1770s. Unfortunately, the lack of details about what happened behind the scenes (for example, the persons involved, specific orders, discussions, and so forth), which could provide helpful data to understand some aspects related to the entry of Poltava in the Church calendar, has forced me to only consider broader contexts in the analysis. It is not my intention to relate the final sacralisation of the battle with any particular internal secular or ecclesiastic event of the time (such as the specific measures of political unification of the empire or the correction of the liturgical books). Without accu-

³¹ Here I rely on the analysis of the Russia-Sweden relationships during the reign of Catherine II expounded by Brikner (1869: 9-11, 14, 19-27) and Grot (1901: 217-221, 231-232).

rate and reliable data, any conclusion about other issues, such as the relationship between secular and Church authorities, remains at a theoretical level. There is one point, however, that I believe must not be overlooked: in the process of uniting the empire and shaping a common social, ecclesiastical, and political imperial space, the Poltava 'victory' was to emphasise the importance and the strength of unity, to bolster cohesion and contribute to the need to support the central power, while also warning potential opponents of Catherine's reforms. It is plausible that achieving imperial unification was the main stimulus for granting the status of sacred symbol to the event commemorating the victory over the Swedes. Previous monarchs do not seem to have used similar mass mobilisation strategies.

My concluding remarks about the process of sacralisation of the battle invite the reader to embrace a wider perspective and to consider two broader issues: eighteenth-century aspects related to the celebration of the Russian victory over the Swedes in 1709, and the role of Church symbols in imperial politics. In historiography there are two opposing views on the celebration of the Poltava battle in the Russian state; incidentally, it should be noted that until now scholars have considered Poltava mostly as a *vysokotoržestvennyj* and *viktorialnyj* day, as a state or court holiday rather than as a Church feast. Annual secular celebrations on the occasion of 'victory' were introduced straight after: the first anniversary was celebrated in 1710. In addition to this battle Peter I established six other memorable events of the Great Northern War. The nature of their celebration varied from court banquets to *molebens* (services of entreaty) to fireworks. The anniversaries of Poltava and the Peace of Nystad were most solemn. Straightaway after the battle and in the following years, the commemoration of the victory over the Swedes was to be celebrated by relying on two mechanisms used by the Church: worship and sermons (Ageeva 2009: 265-266). From the 1730s the celebration of the 'victory' started to lose its power. As already mentioned, the liturgical celebration also changed, and only a prayer of thanksgiving was held instead of a special full-length service. Elena Pogosjan noted that under Anna Ioannovna the battle of Poltava was not publicly celebrated at court despite its presence in the civil calendar. In the early 1740s, Poltava was included among the holidays in which one-day rest from public works was stipulated (as well as for the other 'state holiday', Pogosjan 2001: 359, 361, 389). In the following decades one of the most notable festivities was a local celebration in Poltava itself, with Catherine II's participation in 1787³². During her reign, according to Alexander Kamenskii, the commemoration of the battle was sidelined by new victories and its memory was blunted, at least at the court (Kamenskii 2009-2010: 198-200). N. Bolotina claims, by contrast, that Catherine's reign was marked by a surge of interest in the battle of Poltava. Her conclusion is not based on new facts, as the author refers to the events which are

³² Later in the nineteenth-century commemorative practices and celebrations of the anniversary of the battle mostly took place in Poltava itself. It was only in 1909 that the celebration of the 200th anniversary became an all-imperial and ideologically informed endeavor – the circumstances of the time required patriotic mobilisation of society for which purpose the anniversary was used (Ageeva 2009: 268-271).

discussed by the opposing view. In her article Bolotina gives examples of local celebrations dedicated to the battle; among them the most interesting is a three-day visit by Catherine II to Poltava on 7-9 June 1787. On this occasion, for the first time in Russian history, a historical battle reenactment was carried out on the field of Peter I's victory over Charles XII (Bolotina 2009: 345-355; 2010: 292-301). It can be observed that these scholarly arguments are concerned with public celebrations, which at the time of Catherine II's reign were really few. Yet the Poltava 'victory' was finally transformed into a sacred Church feast during her reign, continuing to be an important instrument of ideology. The liturgical celebration of this event in parish churches remained clearly solemn; for example, according to the sexton Fedor Kirnec'kyj from Chovzovka village (*Hluchiv ujezd*) on 27 July 1788 "vesper's service and morning thanksgiving prayer for the victory over the Swedes in 709 near Poltava [were held]. The thanksgiving *moleben* was held after liturgy with bell-ringing"³³. Notably, in this case not only was a *moleben* held (which was usual in the case of military victories) but also a full-length service.

The reputation of the enlightened monarch did not prevent Catherine II's from relying on Church's ideological strategies – not all of her actions were, in fact, secular in nature as her contemporaries thought (Proskurina 2006: 213). An undated note concerning measures to help the masses ("Helping the public in adversity" – "Помощь народу в бедствиях"), such as easing laws, reducing taxes, and prohibiting the splendour of funeral pomp, contained what follows: "to issue a decree about prayers, fasts and alms"³⁴. In addition, it is well-known that the first and only person canonised in the Russian Empire for general veneration in the eighteenth century was Dmytrij, the Metropolitan of Rostov (Golubinskij 1998: 158-159, 170-172). He was included among the saints during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna. In addition to the new saint, two more entries appeared in the Church calendar in the eighteenth century. The first was entered under Peter I and is also indirectly connected with the victory over the Swedes: in 1723 the relics of Alexander Nevskij were transferred from Vladimir to St. Petersburg on 30 August – just in time for the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Nystad in 1721. The corresponding reference at the end of the summer appeared in the Church Menologion in the first half of the eighteenth century³⁵ (after that, the Church calendar of the synodal era was replenished with the mention of the Metropolitan of Rostov). The second entry is the date of the Poltava 'victory', which came to be included in the Church calendar under Catherine II, and the specific ecclesiastical strategies which I mentioned above were used by the monarchy during the entire eighteenth century. This was predictable, because they were the easiest expedient for the authorities to exert power and for the masses the most acceptable way to accept, or at least to start changing attitude towards, imperial rule.

³³ ŠAFK: 57.

³⁴ "издать указ о молебствиях, постах и пожертвованиях" (ZE: 666 [*zametka*]).

³⁵ See, for instance, АК 1741: 338 v.

4. *Concluding Remarks*

In the liturgical calendars, references to the 1709 victory over the Swedes outlasted the ‘long eighteenth century’. In addition, in the nineteenth century this commemoration was included not only in the calendars added to liturgical books but also in the Menologies addressed to a wider audience, which appeared outside of the Church printing presses, as well as in special synodal publications of the full lists of saints venerated by the Orthodox Church. One finds the “feast of the victory granted by God” to Peter I over Charles XII in the full Orthodox Menologies of the first decades of the nineteenth century. Yet the indication of the solemnity of the battle’s commemoration differed; for example, in the calendar published by the Holy Synod in 1818 it remained as medium in status³⁶. The battle was marked by a feast of an ordinary level of solemnity in the full Church Menologion of the next decade³⁷. In the few later lists of the “Lord’s feasts and state solemn days” it was set up as a holiday during which government agencies and schools were open (unlike the birthdays and namedays of some members of the imperial family)³⁸. The great Orthodox Menologion compiled by the college assessor Ivan Kosolapov and published with the permission of Church censorship in 1874 did not fail to remember Poltava. Here there was an entry under June 27: “The holiday about the victory given by God to the All-Russian Autocrat *Peter the Great* [italics in edition, M.Y.] over the Swedish king Charles XII near Poltava”. The compiler decided to explain the presence of such a position among the lists of saints and sacred events; at the bottom of the page and in a smaller font, he clarified the ecclesiastical significance of the feast as follows: “In 1709. ‘We have ordained that this notable day be kept as a festival, that another generation might know, even the sons about to be born, that they in turn might arise and declare them unto their sons, that they might set their hope in God and not forget the works of God, but seek His commandments.’ Sessional hymn after the first kathisma”³⁹. The ‘victory’ did not disappear from civil reference Menologies, which included short lists of Church feasts among others rubrics; one of these for the year 1875 mentioned St. Sampson in the rubric “Orthodox Menologion” on June 27 and then added in parentheses in italics: “(Иам. nob. Полт.)”⁴⁰ (“*Memory of the Poltava Victory*”). The proximity of commemoration of Poltava to the names of canonised ascetics and miraculously sanctified icons or events was not unexpected for nineteenth-century scholars. In the full Eastern Menologion by Archimandrite Sergij, on 27 June ‘victory’ coexists side by side with the martyrs, the most revered, the blessed, the apostles, myrrh-bearers, and so forth (Sergij 1876: 169 [č. 1]).

³⁶ PChM: 94.

³⁷ PM 1827: 44.

³⁸ PM 1829: 412.

³⁹ MPKC: 153. I used the Sessional hymn’s translation by N. Kizenko (2009–2010: 252).

⁴⁰ MSSK: 17.

It can be noted that in Church Menologions the commemoration of the victory over the Swedes was also included in the liturgical books of the beginning of the twentieth century; for instance, Poltava was marked as a medium feast, not an ordinary one, in the calendar included in the Typicon⁴¹. The commemoration of the 1709 battle survived the Russian Empire not only as a state holiday but also as a Church feast, and is found in the Menologions of the Russian Orthodox Church published in the second half of twentieth century; just to mention an example, the 'victory' is not an ordinary feast in the calendar added to the *Apostle* of 1985⁴². Not only, in fact, in the Soviet Union the myth of the Poltava 'victory' did not disappear, but it was remembered with renewed vigour; the museum dedicated to this event was restored in the middle of the twentieth century with apparent ideological emphasis in the exposition. Opened in 1909, the museum remained active until 1918, and a new remarkable state institution was established in 1950; in 1981 the museum became part of the state-protected monument conservation area (Piskova 2011: 321). The anniversaries of the battle also continued to be celebrated in Soviet times – it was a somewhat local feast in 1939, but was celebrated under All-Union government supervision in 1949. The establishment of the State Republican Museum of the History of the Battle of Poltava in 1950 was, in fact, authorised by a resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (Saľnikova 2009: 417-419). It comes as no surprise then that the very event of the battle was included in the Church books of the time and held in high regard.

Abbreviations

AK 1741:	<i>Akafisty s kanony</i> , Kyjiv 1741.
AK 1765:	<i>Akafisty s kanony</i> , Kyjiv 1765.
AK 1783:	<i>Akafisty s kanony</i> , Kyjiv 1783.
AK 1798:	<i>Akafisty s kanony</i> , Kyjiv 1798.
AP:	<i>Apostol</i> , Moskva 1985.
AR:	<i>Akafisty različnyji</i> , Počajiv 1798.
ASBA:	<i>Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekach i arhivach Rossijskoj imperii Archeografičeskoju ekspediciju Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk</i> , IV, Sankt-Peterburg 1836.
Bib:	<i>Biblija</i> , Moskva 1784.

⁴¹ The initial pages of this typicon of the early twentieth century with accurate bibliographic information have not survived, as noted on the website of the *Library of the Holy Father's Literature* where can be accessed (T: 336 v., cfr. <<http://www.orthlib.info/Typikon/T48-j.pdf>>, accessed on 08.02.2021).

⁴² AP: 249 v.

- EFZ: A. Kamenskij (sost.), *Ekaterina II. Fasad i zadvorki imperii*, Moskva 2007.
- EV: *Evangelie Iisusa Christa*, Moskva 1716.
- KA 1713: *Kniga dejanij i poslanij svjatyh Apostol*, Moskva 1713.
- KA 1770: *Kniga dejanij svjatyh Apostol*, Černihiv 1770.
- KA 1790: *Kniga dejanij svjatyh Apostol*, Kyjiv 1790.
- KG: *Kalendarz Gospodarski ułożony podług starego stylu na Rok Pański MDCCCXLV*, Berdyczów s.a.
- KiM 1718: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa, 1718*, Sankt-Peterburg 1717.
- KiM 1719: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa, 1719*, Sankt-Peterburg 1718.
- KiM 1720: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa, 1720*, Sankt-Peterburg 1719.
- KiM 1721: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa, 1721*, Sankt-Peterburg 1720.
- KiM 1727: *Kalendar' ili Misjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Hospoda našego Iisusa Christa 1727*, Kyjiv 1726.
- KiM 1728: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa 1728*, Sankt-Peterburg 1727.
- KiM 1730: *Kalendar' ili Misjacoslov na... 1730*, Kyjiv s.a.
- KMCh 1710: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov. Christianskij po staromu štilju, ili izčisleniju. Na leto ot voploščeniija Boga Slova 1710*, Moskva 1709.
- KMCh 1711: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov. Christianskij po staromu štilju, ili izčisleniju. Na leto ot voploščeniija Boga Slova 1711*, Moskva, 1710.
- KMCh 1712: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov christianskij. Po staromu štilju, ili izčisleniju. Na leto ot voploščeniija Boga Slova 1712*, Moskva 1711.
- KMCh 1714: *Kalendar' ili Misjacoslov christianskij, po staromu štilju, ili izčisleniju. Na Leto ot Voploščeniija Boha Slova 1714*, Kyjiv 1713.
- KMCh 1718: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov christianskij. Po staromu štilju, ili izčisleniju. Na leto ot voploščeniija Boga Slova, 1718*, Moskva 1717.
- KMCh 1722: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov christianskij. Po staromu štilju ili izčisleniju. Na leto ot voploščeniija Boga Slova, 1722*, Moskva 1721.
- KMI: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov istoričeskij na leto ot Roždestva Christa 1736*, Sankt-Peterburg s.a.
- KMIG: *Kalendar' ili mesjacoslov istoričeskij i genealogičeskij na leto ot Roždestva Gospoda našego Iisusa Christa 1731*, Sankt-Peterburg s.a.

- KPRG: *Kalendarz Polski, Ruski i Gospodarski na Rok Pański 1812*, Warszawa s.a.
- KRR: *Kalendarz Rzymski i Ruski na Rok Panski MDCCCII*, Berdyczów s.a.
- MCh: *Mesjaceslov Chozjajstvennyj na 1848 god*, Viľno s.a.
- MLM: *Moskovskij ljubopytnyj mesjaceslov na 1776 god, i na vse vysokosnyja leta, krome prostych, pokazujuščij čisla, ili dni mesjacov po staromu i novomu stilju, to est' greko-rossijskago i gregorianskago, nemcami i vseju počti Evropoju upotrebljaemago, takož drevnjago rimskago kalendnago, ili nynešnjago učenago mesjaceslova: S priobščeniem letočislenija i drugih dostopamjatnostej istoričeskich, geografičeskich i pročich. Izdal v svet Vasilij Grigor'evič Ruban, kolležskoj assessor i Vol'nago Rossijskago sobranija pri Imperatorskom Moskovskom universitete člen, Moskva [1775].*
- MPKC: I. Kosolapov, *Mesjaceslov pravoslavnoj kafoličeskoj cerkvi, s priloženiem polnogo indiktiona, tridcati pjati tablic čtenij iz Evangelija i Apostola na každuju nedelju goda i alfavitnogo ukazatelja imen svjatyh, upominaemyh v mesjaceslove*, Kazan' 1874.
- MSSK: *Mesjaceslov, svjatcy i spravočnaja knižka na 1875 god*, Sankt-Peterburg 1874.
- PChM: *Polnyj christianskij mesjacoslov vseh svjatyh, prazdnuemyh Pravoslavnoju Grekovostočnoju Cerkoviju, s kratkim istoričeskim i chronologičeskim opisaniem ich žizni i končiny, i s označeniem vseh Gospodskich i Bogorodičnych prazdnikov, toržestvennyh i viktorial'nych dnej, krestnyh chodov i carskich panichid; sodержaščij pri každom mesjace na 30 let služšačija raznyja tablicy o rjadovyh i prechodjaščich cerkovnyh prazdnikach, takže o voschoždenii i zachoždenija solnca i o lunnom tečenii; s prisovokupleniem polnogo alfavita i tolkovanija imen Svjatyh, kratkogo izjasnenija Paschalii i paschal'nych znakov, i trech respisej, vsem nachodjaščimsja v obeich stolicach i drugih mestach Rossii dostopamjatnym sobornym, monastyrskim, ružnym i prichodskim cerkvam, s pokazaniem načala i postroenija onych; sobrannyj iz dostovernych istočnikov*, Moskva 1818.
- PM 1827: *Polnyj mesjacoslov vseh prazdnuemyh Pravoslavnoju Grekovostočnoju Cerkoviju svjatyh, sobrannyj iz moskovskich i kievskich svjatcov iz prologa i Čet'-Minej, s priobščeniem k nemu na konce tolkovanija imen po alfavitu*, izd. 13-e, Sankt-Peterburg 1827.
- PM 1829: *Polnyj mesjacoslov vseh prazdnuemyh Pravoslavnoju Grekovostočnoju Cerkoviju svjatyh, sobrannyj iz moskovskich i kievskich svjatcov iz prologa i Čet'-Minej, s priobščeniem k nemu na konce tolkovanija imen po alfavitu; Podrobnoe i vernoe opisanie monastyrej nachodjaščichsja v Rossijskoj imperii, raspoložennoe po azbučnomu porjadku i izvlečennoe iz novejšich otečestvennyh pisatelej [v odnom pereplete]*, Moskva, 1829.

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- SE 1773: *Svjaščenne Evangelie*, Kyjiv 1773.
- SE 1779: *Svjaščenne Evangelie*, Moskva 1779.
- SE 1763: *Služebnik*, Moskva 1763.
- sl 1775: *Služebnik*, Kyjiv 1775.
- sl 1793: *Služebnik*, Moskva 1793.
- sl 1794: *Služebnik*, Moskva 1794.
- sl 1795: *Služebnik*, Moskva 1795.
- T: *Tipikon*, s.l. s.a.
- Tr 1761: *Trebnik*, Moskva 1761.
- Tr 1775: *Trebnik*, Kyjiv 1775.
- ZE: *Zapiski imperatricy Ekateriny Vtoroj*, Sankt-Peterburg 1907.

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Abstract

Maksym Yaremenko

The Sacralisation of the Battle of Poltava in the Eighteenth-Century Russian Empire

Shortly after its completion, the Battle of Poltava became a key symbol of Russian imperial ideology. Yet the successful completion of the military campaign in Poltava acquired the status of a sacred event only in the last decades of the 18th century. In this article I investigate both the reasons why during Catherine II's reign this military event was granted its own entry in the Church calendar and the internal and external affairs that encouraged the process of sacralisation of the victory over the Swedes by the synodal Church. I argue that the analysis of the Poltava victory as a sacred symbol, which has been largely disregarded by historians, allows us, inter alia, to better assess the mobilising role of the Church feasts in the 18th-century Russian imperial policy.

Keywords

Battle of Poltava; Russian Imperial Ideology; Church Calendar (Menologion); Catherine II.

Леонид Геннадьевич Каяниди

Вячеслав Иванов между Данте и Дионисом. Визионерский опыт поэта 1908 года и проблема тройственных союзов*

1. *‘Младший символизм’ и ‘визионерная эстетика’*

Настоящая статья посвящена историко-литературному анализу мифологического и художественного субстрата визионерского опыта Вячеслава Иванова, с особым вниманием к влиянию этого опыта на его поэтическое творчество и жизнетворческие практики (тройственные союзы).

Проницательный исследователь темы ‘Иванов-мистик’, Г.В. Обатнин приходит к выводу о том, что творчество Иванова, как младосимволиста и последователя Вл. Соловьева, может быть отнесено к ‘визионерной эстетике’ (Wagner-Egelhaaf 1989). “Вл. Соловьев, ее родоначальник в модернизме (и в этом смысле, первый ‘младший символист’), канонизировал опыт визионера в качестве материала для литературы”, а символисты придали “визионерскому опыту исключительно серьезный характер, а перипетиям его поиска, достижениям, удачам и неудачам на этом пути – статус основных в литературе” (Обатнин 2000: 177).

Склонность к мистицизму необыкновенно характерна для Вячеслава Иванова. Она сформировалась под влиянием лично-семейных и социально-культурных факторов. Мать поэта, Александра Дмитриевна Иванова (Преображенская), которая оказала на формирование духовного облика сына “всецело определяющее влияние”, “черты душевного склада” которой он, по собственному признанию, унаследовал, “была пламенно религиозна; ежедневно, в течение всей жизни, читала Псалтирь, обливаясь слезами; выдывала в знаменательные эпохи вещие сны и даже наяву имела видения; в жизнь вглядывалась с мистическим проникновением” (Иванов 2016: 16, 18). Интерес же Иванова к мистико-эзотерическим доктринам (теософии, антропософии, масонству, герметизму, розенкрейцерству) был продиктован кризисом позитивистского мировоззрения и традиционного конфессионального сознания.

Собственно визионерский опыт Иванова был инспирирован переживаниями, связанными со смертью его второй жены Лидии Зиновьевой-Аннибал в октябре 1907 года. Первое явление покойной жены Иванов пережил зимой 1907 года. Наи-

* Подробно о визионерском опыте Иванова см. (Обатнин 2000: 35-102); о влиянии теософии А.Р. Минцловой на Иванова в те годы см. (Богомолов 1999: 46-55).

более интенсивно видения посещали поэта в 1908 году¹, спорадически они возникали и позже, например, в 1912 году, во время совместной жизни с Верой Шварсалон во Франции (Шор 1971: 136).

2. Видение Иванова как симбиоз дантовской и мистико-дионисийской символики

В центре нашего внимания будет дневниковая запись Иванова от 15 июня 1908 года, содержащая одно из самых известных и широко обсуждаемый в ивановедении видений поэта. Это видение неоднократно интерпретировалось в исследовательской литературе, но мы рискуем предложить его новую трактовку, которая, не отменяя прежних, дополняет и расширяет их.

Лидию видел с огромными лебедиными крыльями. В руках она держала пылающее сердце, от которого мы оба вкусили: она – без боли, я – с болью от огня. Перед нами лежала, как бездыханная, Вера. Лидия вложила ей в грудь огненное сердце, от которого мы ели, и она ожила; но, обезумев, с кинжалом в руках, нападала в ярости на нас обоих. Потом вдруг смягчилась и обняла нас обоих и, прижимаясь к Лидии, говорила про меня: “он мой?” Тогда Лидия взяла ее в себя, и я увидел ее, поглощенную, в стеклянно прозрачной груди ее матери (Иванов 1974: 772)².

По мнению Памелы Давидсон, это ивановское видение есть перифраз видения Данте, описанного в третьей главе книги *Новая жизнь*: “Ivanov evidently knew this particular passage of the *Vita Nuova* closely; in fact he subsequently translated it and made it the basis of one of his essays on Symbolist aesthetics” (Davidson 1989: 195-197).

Вот перевод дантовского видения, на который указывает Давидсон и который становится в статье *О границах искусства* отправной точкой для собственных мистико-эстетических концепций Иванова:

Убедив в уединение своей горницы, предался я думам о милостивой; и в размышлениях о ней застиг меня приятный сон, и чудное во сне возникло видение. Мне снилось, будто застлало горницу огнецветное облако, и можно различить в нем образ владыки, чей вид ужаснул бы того, кто б на него воззреть посмел; сам же он веселится и ликует; и дивно то было. И мнилось, будто слышу его глаголы, мне непонятные, кроме немногих, меж коими я уловил слова: “Аз властелин твой”. И будто на руках его спящую вижу жену нагую, едва прикрытую тканью кроваво-алую; и, вглядываясь, узнаю в ней жену благого привета, ту, что удостоила меня в день оный благопожелания приветного. И в одной руке, мнилось, он держит нечто пылающее

¹ Подробно о визионерском опыте Иванова см. Обатнин 2000: 35-102; о влиянии теософии А.Р. Минцловой на Иванова в те годы см. Богомолов 1999: 46-55.

² Текст дневниковой записи Иванова сверен и исправлен по рукописи, представленной в Римском архиве Иванова и доступной на сайте Исследовательского центра Вячеслава Иванова в Риме, см. ИВИДЗ.

пламенем, и будто говорит слова: “Узри сердце твое”. И некоторое время пребывал он так, а потом, мнилось, будил спящую, и неволил ее принуждением воли своей, и нудил вкусить от того, что держал в руке, и она ела робко. После чего вскоре веселье его обратилось в горький плач; и с плачем поднял он на руки жену, и с нею, мнилось, возлетел к небу. А на меня навело сие боязнь и тоску такую, что легкий сон мой не мог вместить ее, но она рассеяла его, и я проснулся (Иванов 1974: 628).

В комментариях к *Новой жизни* Томмазо Казини указывает на то, что образ поедаемого сердца является “delle più diffuse nelle leggende medioevali e procede in parte da superstizioni popolari, in parte da fatti storici” (Casini 1920: 17). Однако Данте придает этому образу аллегорический смысл: “l’anima sua si fosse compenetrata per forza d’amore con quella di Beatrice, la quale, sebbene renitente, pur aveva finito per cibarsi del cuore di lui” (Casini 1920: 17).

Важнейшим источником образа поедаемого сердца в *Новой жизни* Алессандро Д’Анкона считает *Плач на смерть Блакаца* трубадура Сорделя, который удостоивается чести стать проводником Данте и Вергилия в *Чистилище*. В *Плаче* Сордель сокрушается, что вместе с Блакацем погибла всякая человеческая доблесть, и единственный выход видит в том, чтобы трусливые бароны питались сердцем Блакаца (D’Ancona 1884: 32). Однако, как отмечает Джованни Мелодиа, до Данте сердце не подалось при таких обстоятельствах и с той же целью, что у него (Melodia 1905: 29)³.

Памела Давидсон соотносит ивановское видение с дантовским:

The two dreams are remarkably similar. In Ivanov’s dream Lidiya Dimitrievna appears in place of Amor, holding a glowing (pylayushchee) or fiery (ognennoe) heart which she consumes part of with Ivanov. Vera, like Beatrice, lies motionless, but revives when the glowing heart is placed in her breast. In the same way as Dante’s dream seems to indicate that Beatrice is to possess his heart, Ivanov’s dream suggests that Vera will take over from Lidiya Dimitrievna and rule the poet’s heart (Ivanov was already obsessed with this thought by this date). Lidiya Dimitrievna’s final gesture – gathering Vera into her arms – recalls the way in which Amor gathers Beatrice into his embraces, and perhaps in a similar way hints at the future death of the poet’s beloved (Davidson 1989: 195).

Итак, Давидсон интерпретирует ивановское видение сквозь призму дантовского визионерского опыта, описанного в *Новой жизни*⁴. При этом Лидия отождествляется с дантовским Эросом, а Вера – с Беатриче. Исследовательница утверждает, что смысл обоих видений одинаков: дантовское указывает на то, что Беатриче должна

³ За указание на комментарии соответствующего места из *Новой жизни* приносим благодарность Кристине Ланда и А.Б. Шишкину.

⁴ Укажем, что в лекциях о Данте, читанных Ивановым в 1921 году в Бакинском университете, дана очень знаменательная и значимая в нашем контексте характеристика *Новой жизни* как именно визионерской книги: “Что есть ‘Vita nuova’: биография или описание символических видений?” (Иванов 2017: 348).

завладеть сердцем Данте, а ивановское – на то, что Вера займет место Лидии и будет властвовать над сердцем поэта.

Г.В. Обатнин солидаризуется с трактовкой Давидсон данного мистического видения Иванова, считая, что “поедание вместе с Лидией ‘пылающего сердца’” является “прямой цитатой из *Новой жизни Данте*” (Обатнин 2000: 79). А.Б. Шишкин также считает, что “Вяч. Иванов увидел во сне то самое видение, которое описал Данте в третьей главе *Новой жизни*” (Шишкин 1996: 335).

Не подвергая сомнению дантовский слой визионерского опыта Иванова 1908 года, описанный Давидсон, укажем, однако, на то, что видение из *Новой жизни* не покрывает весь объем ивановского видения и не может служить единственным ключом к интерпретации данного текста, тем более невозможно считать его тем же самым видением, что и у Данте.

Достаточно сравнить дантовское и ивановское видение, чтобы обнаружить несколько моментов у Иванова, которые не могут быть удовлетворительно истолкованы в свете *Новой жизни*. Во-первых, если Лидия есть только Эрос, а не Беатриче, то она не могла вкусить от огненного сердца, поскольку дантовский Эрос есть тот, кто дает вкусить, а Беатриче – та, кто вкушает, между тем Иванов описывает, что от огненного сердца вкусили и он, и Лидия. Во-вторых, у Данте пламенеющее сердце понимается как принадлежность поэта (“Узри сердце твое”), у Иванова же оно не принадлежит ни Лидии, ни Вячеславу, но есть нечто общее для них, чему они оба причащаются, а затем причащают и Веру. В-третьих, обращает на себя внимание, что у Данте причащение огненному сердцу происходит только с Беатриче, а у Иванова – со всеми тремя акторами видения (Вячеслав и Лидия непосредственно вкушают сердце, в случае же с Верой это сердце помещается внутрь ее). В-четвертых, после причащения огненного сердца у Данте метаморфозы происходят с Эросом, а не с Беатриче (радость сменяется “горьким плачем”, за которым следует вознесение); у Иванова же результатом мистического причащения становится преобразование Веры: сначала она приходит в ярость, а затем умиротворяется. Причем, в-пятых, после этого успокоения происходит событие, которое не имеет аналога у Данте: Лидия берет Веру к себе и заключает ее у себя в груди; у Данте же мы имеем только восхищение Эросом Беатриче на небо.

Давидсон не схватывает динамический момент ивановского видения. Отождествление Лидии с Эросом, а Веры – с Беатриче не позволяет уяснить последовательность действий в ивановском видении. Исходя из дантовского контекста остается совершенно непонятно, почему Вера, приняв в себя огненное сердце, начинает буйствовать, а затем оказывается заключенной в своей матери.

Итак, очевидно, что ивановское видение опирается на дантовское, но не исчерпывается им. Иванов словно добавляет к дантовскому субстрату еще одну составляющую, которая усложняет сюжетную структуру из *Новой жизни*. На наш взгляд, такой составляющей визионерского опыта Иванова является дионисийско-мистериальный, орфический миф о растерзании Диониса титанами. В предисловии к трагедии *Прометей* Иванов назовет его “основоположным” (Иванов 1919: XI). И надо сказать,

что мы не одиноки в такой интерпретации. Так, в многокомпонентной символике пламенеющего сердца⁵, охватывающей также интересующее нас ивановское видение, А.Б. Шишкин (1996: 340-342) выделяет дионисийский слой, который понимает аналогически⁶, как средство восхождения к христологическому смыслу: сердце Диониса есть языческий прообраз жертвы Христовой.

Мистериально-дионисийские смыслы проступают в событийной канве видения. Само огненное сердце у Иванова предстает как дионисийский символ⁷. Дионисийскими являются действия с ним самим и действия, им спровоцированные. Его поглощают или вкладывают внутрь другого существа. Это сердце провоцирует дионисийское, менадическое поведение: “обезумев, с кинжалом в руках, нападала в ярости на нас обоих”. Примечательно также, на наш взгляд, употребление “дионисийского” причастия “поглощенная” по отношению к Вере, которую Лидия вмещает в свою грудь.

⁵ Памела Давидсон выделяет четыре слоя в символике пламенеющего сердца у Иванова: античный (гомеровская Андромаха “с сильно бьющимся сердцем”), евангельский (встреча апостолов с воскресшим Христом на пути в Эммаус, при которой у спутников Христа ‘горят’ сердца), католико-литургический (сердца Иисуса и Марии как знак жертвенной любви) и дантовский (сердце, опаленное любовью к Беатриче): “The image of the burning heart is a typical example of Ivanov’s syncretic use of imagery. It functions on several different levels which all have one thing in common: the idea of passionate love and its intrinsic connection with suffering and death. Andromache’s heart beats stronger when she hears of her husband’s death, the apostles’ hearts are set alight by their love of Christ when they hear him speak of the mysteries of death and resurrection, the hearts of Jesus and Mary are emblems of their suffering love, and Dante’s heart is consumed with love of Beatrice, intensified by the presentiment of her death. In this way, through the image of the burning heart, Ivanov succeeds in uniting the worlds of pagan antiquity, Biblical Christianity, Catholic liturgy and medieval love poetry” (Davidson 1989: 200). В дополнение к перечню Давидсон Майкл Вахтель приводит еще один подтекст эпиграфического дистиха к книге *Cor ardens* с образом пламенеющего сердца. Оказывается, образ ‘гость земли’ является отсылкой к стихотворению Гете *Selige Sehnsucht*, “a mystical poem on death and resurrection” (Wachtel 1998: 197). Этот подтекст усиливает семантику единства любви и смерти, которое как раз и является ядром ивановского образа.

⁶ Герменевтическую идею толкования смысла художественного текста на четырех смысловых уровнях (буквальном, символическом, моральном и аналогическом) развивал Данте в трактате *Пур.* Она оказалась созвучна Иванову, который упоминает о ней в черновых записях (Иванов 1996: 10) и во время лекций о Данте в Бакинском университете в 1921 году (Иванов 2017: 350).

⁷ Дионисийский характер огненного сердца подтверждается как научными, так и поэтическими текстами Иванова. Ср.: “Титаны поглощают растерзанные части бога, только сердце его, спасенное Афиною Палладой, достается Зевсу, который его проглатывает: это – росток будущего Диониса, долженствующего родиться от Семелы” (Иванов 2014: 97); “Сердце ж твое огневое, Загрей, нераздельное сердце – / Змий, твой отец, поглотил и лицом чело-векоподобным / В недрах ночных воссиял, и нарек себя Зевс Дионисом, / Сам уподобясь во всем изначальному образу Сына” (Иванов 1974: 298).

В связи с мистериальностью ивановского видения небезынтересно привести наблюдение итальянского исследователя Париде Чистони о том, что действия Данте в видении из *Новой жизни* отсылают к таинству Евхаристии:

L'idea del cuore mangiato sia stata ispirata dal mistero dell'Eucarestia. E invero non racconta il Vangelo che Gesù offrì pane e vino agli apostoli collo mistiche frasi: "Accipite, comedite: hoc est corpus meum... Bibite... hic est sanguis meus?" (Sec. Matthaicum, XXVI, 26-28). E non fu venerato, quantunque molto più tardi, il culto dei sacri cuori di Cristo e di Maria, posti loro in mezzo al petto o in una mano, fiammegianti di amore pei loro fedeli? (Chistoni 1903: 74).

Евхаристическая семантика дантовского видения, восходящая, по мнению Чистони, к культу Святого Сердца Христа и Девы Марии, усиливается Ивановым именно с помощью мистериально-дионисийского сюжета, который проступает в видении 1908 года и предстает у Иванова как прообраз жертвенного кеносиса (истощения) Христа и таинства Причащения.

3. Видение Иванова в свете мистериально-дионисийского метатекста (поэма Сон Мелампа)

В книге *Иванов-мистик* Г.В. Обатнин показывает, как летом 1908 года Иванов начинает осмыслять свой визионерский опыт в поэтическом творчестве (Обатнин 2000: 56-94). Мы предполагаем, что одновременно с этим шел и обратный процесс – экстраполяция поэтической образности в визионерский опыт. Видение 15 июня 1908 года представляет собой как раз такой случай. Непосредственное, наивное переживание, каковым, в сущности, должно быть видение, пропитывается разнообразными литературными и мистическими подтекстами, не только дантовскими, но и дионисийскими. 'Наивность' в случае с Ивановым выглядит как максимальная литературность" (Обатнин 2000: 174).

В конце сентября 1907 года, незадолго до скоропостижной кончины Лидии, Иванов создает один из самых значительных своих текстов – поэму *Сон Мелампа*. На наш взгляд, это произведение занимает в творчестве Иванова ключевое место, возможно, не оцененное еще должным образом. Ее значение заключается в том, что здесь Иванов впервые в своем творчестве разворачивает мистериально-дионисийскую мифологему растерзания Диониса-Загрея титанами, которая является фундаментальной как для орфизма – одного из мощнейших религиозно-мистических течений, в лоне которого эта мифологема образовалась, так и для Иванова, в чьем творчестве эта мифологема используется для конструирования мистериально-дионисийского метатекста.

Источником сведений Иванова по орфической теогонии и антропгонии главным образом была монография известного классическая филолога Августа Лобека

*Aglaophamus*⁸, в которой собраны все античные материалы по орфизму. Первое печатное упоминание Ивановым орфического мистериального мифа – автокомментарий к интерполированному Ивановым пиндаровскому образу “тень сна” в стихотворении *Pietà* из книги *Кормчие звезды*: “По орфическому мифу, люди возникли из праха Титанов, испеленных Зевсом за растерзание и пожрание Диониса” (Иванов 1971: 861). Как показывают комментаторы книги *По звездам*, Иванов впервые изложил миф о Дионисе-Загрее в лекциях “Эллинская религия страдающего бога”, которые были опубликованы в виде цикла статей в журнале “Новый путь” (1904) и “Вопросы жизни” (1905) (Иванов 2018: 83-84). Наиболее целостно и системно дионисийско-мистериальный сюжет выражен впервые именно в поэме *Сон Мелампа*, а затем в трагедии *Прометей* и в ‘экзегетическом’ предисловии к ней.

В данном месте нет смысла излагать этот мистериально-дионисийский сюжет полностью, тем более что это уже не раз было сделано нами в ряде публикаций (Каяниди 2009, 2018, 2019). Здесь же отметим только те моменты, которые важны для понимания ивановского видения.

Меламп, мифический основатель дионисийского культа в Элладе⁹, удостоивается мистического посвящения в награду за то, что он спас змей-медяниц. Это посвящение происходит во время инициального сна, в ходе которого Меламп прозревает таинственную структуру мироздания. В трансцендентной, метафизической сфере бытия разворачивается первая мистерия: Дионис-Загрей, сын Зевса и Персефона, убивается своими братьями – титанами. Однако его сердце, символ его неистребимой сущности, спасается Зевсом, в результате чего Зевс трансформируется в Зевса-Диониса, лик которого проступает на мистическом, астральном небе. Целью дальнейшего космогонического процесса, в котором непосредственное участие должен принять уже посвященный Меламп, объявляется соединение небесного и земного начала, плодом которого должна стать эпифания Диониса обновленного.

В *Сне Мелампа* дионисийское начало предстает как божественное и жертвенное, а титаническое – как жреческое. Применение категорий дионисийского и титанического как раз и позволяет объяснить те моменты ивановского видения, которые не понятны в свете видения Данте, описанного в *Новой жизни*.

Лидия и Вячеслав причащаются огненному сердцу Диониса: Лидия – безболезненно, так как она наделена бестелесной, ангельской природой (лебединые крылья), а Вячеслав – с болью, в силу своей телесности. Стало быть, Вячеслав и Лидия ста-

⁸ Труд Лобека назван в письме к О.А. Шор от 22 ноября 1928 г. книгой “ценности исключительной” (Кондюрина и др. 2001: 335).

⁹ “Меламп, – говорит Диодор, – занес из Египта очищения, приписываемые Дионису, и предание о богоборстве Титанов, и всю вообще священную легенду о страстях богов” (Иванов 2014: 8). Мелампа “Геродот считает первоучителем религии Дионисовой и установителем ее обрядов” (Иванов 1923:12).

новятся носителями дионисийского принципа: только Лидия – в небесной сфере, а Вячеслав – в земной.

Вера сама по себе предстает как носительница титанических энергий. На это недвусмысленно указывает ее буйство после того, как она вместила в себя огненное сердце. Однако она не остается только титаническим существом. С ней происходит метаморфоза: будучи поглощенной Лидией, она усмиряется и становится, как и Лидия, носительницей дионисийского принципа.

Впервые на проекцию сюжета *Сна Мелампа* в визионерский опыт, связанный с покойной женой и падчерицей, указал В.В. Петров. По мнению исследователя, “поэт и его покойная жена предстают Зевсом и Прозерпиной, а Вера сначала жертвой – Дионисом-Загреем, а затем сердцем-Вакхом” (Петров 2017: 25). Петров отождествляет, таким образом, Веру с Дионисом-Загреем и сердцем-Вакхом, самого Иванова – с Зевсом, а Лидию – с Персефой. С такой трактовкой нельзя согласиться. В видении Иванова фиксируется тот момент мистериально-дионисийского сюжета, который разыгрывается не в метафизической, а в мистической сфере, поскольку именно в мистической сфере, где пребывает Меламп, получая посвящение змей-мистагогов, речь заходит о мистическом браке между небом (Зевсом-Дионисом, хранящим в себе сыновнее сердце) и землей, плодом которого становится Дионис обновленный. Этот брак должен примирить бытийные антиномии:

Будет: на матернем лоне прославится лик Диониса
 Правым обличем – в тот день, как родителя лик изнеможет.
 Браков святыня спаяет разрыв, и вину отраженья
 Смочет, и отчее сердце вопьет Дионис обновленный.
 Ибо сыновнее сердце в Отце: и свершится слиянье
 В Третьем вас разлученных, о Зевс-Персефона и Жертва!...

(Иванов 1974: 298)

Вера в видении предстает в роли титанов, которые поглотили сердце Диониса, или, что то же, Диониса, поглощенного титанами (в этом смысле Петров прав, фиксируя связь между Верой и Дионисом-Загреем), а Лидия – в роли Зевса-Диониса, который укрыл в себе прошедшую сквозь титаническое начало дионисийскую сущность: Вера с огненным сердцем внутри сама оказывается в груди Лидии. Поскольку Вера и Лидия в духовном смысле суть одно, мы бы сказали, Вера есть эмпирическое воплощение трансцендентной Лидии, то сочетание браком с Верой должно мыслиться как аналог теургического акта, с помощью которого Иванов утверждает нерасторжимую связь небесного и земного, дионисийского и титанического. Вернее будет сказать так: подобно тому как, вмещая в себя Веру, Лидия утверждает двуединство дионисийского и титанического в трансцендентной сфере, так Иванов своим браком с Верой утверждает это двуединство в эмпирической действительности. Иванов (земное, а стало быть, титаническое существо, но причастное дионисийскому началу)

через брак с Верой воссоединяется с Лидией. Иванова в этом случае следует если не отождествить, то сблизить с Дионисом обновленным из *Сна Мелампа*: с помощью брака с Верой он ликвидирует разрыв между небесно-трансцендентным и эмпирически земным, точнее говоря, сам этот брак и есть сакральный акт соединения земного и небесного. А Вера есть то самое сердце Диониса, которое пребывает общим для Зевса-Диониса (= Лидии) и Диониса обновленного (= Иванова). Как Дионис обновленный должен вобрать в себя сердце Зевса-Диониса, так Иванов должен сочетаться с трансцендентной Лидией; но в сердце Лидии пребывает Вера, поэтому союз с трансцендентной Лидией облекается в эмпирическом мире в союз с Верой¹⁰.

4. *Видение Иванова и символика микрокосма и макрокосма* (Сон Матери-Пустыни. Духовный стих)

Отмеченный нами выше мотив поглощения Веры Лидией, заключения дочери в материнскую грудь, является отличительной особенностью ивановского видения, не имеющей аналога в дантовском видении из *Новой жизни*. Этот мотив вызывает в памяти известный духовный стих Иванова *Сон Матери-Пустыни*.

“В творческом сознании Иванова духовные стихи – это жанр, исключительно связанный с образом Богородицы” (Топорков 2015: 21). *Сон Матери-Пустыни* тоже построен на богородичной символике. С Пречистой Девой здесь иконографически соотносится Мать-Пустыня. Из ее сердца вырастает красный цветок (Христос), который вырывается рукой, простертой с неба (Христос страдает, исполняя волю Отца небесного). Мать-Пустыня “горько тужит, / Не о боли, о цвете жалеет” (мотив плача Богородицы). После своей смерти Мать-Пустыня попадает на “лазоревое небо”, где солнце оказывается святым престолом, на котором стоит потир, над которым кружит голубь с красным цветком. Природно-языческая образность (Пустыня, алый цветок) сменяется христианско-литургической (потир – литургический образ Богородицы, голубь – Дух Святой, красный цветок в клюве голубя – Христос). В земном мире Пустыня = Мать-сыра-земля¹¹ = Богородица предстает в материнской ипостаси, а в небесном – как Невеста.

¹⁰ В свете сказанного трудно согласиться с трактовкой Н.К. Бонецкой: “Вера в этом видении, как и в жизни, скрыто враждебно противостоит матери и Иванову в их гармоничном единстве; однако собственной, отличной от их, жизни у нее нет, и в конце концов она – в глазах Иванова – сливается с матерью, сохраняя при этом подчиненное положение” (Бонецкая 2016: 384). При всей своей рациональности толкование Бонецкой не только грешит отсутствием пронизательности и эмпатии, но и страдает явной предвзятостью и тенденциозностью, не говоря уже о том, что оно вступает в противоречие с рядом документированных свидетельств о семейных отношениях между Ивановым и Верой Шварсалон.

¹¹ “Судя по колоссальным размерам Матери-Пустыни, она напоминает Мать-сырую землю духовных стихов и народных верований” (Топорков 2015: 19).

А.Л. Топорков подробно разбирает фольклорные и апокрифические источники ивановского духовного стиха. Больше всего стихотворение Иванова обязано *Сну Богородицы*, откуда взята сама ситуация сна, в котором Дева Мария видит рождение и крестное страдание Христа (первая часть ивановского стихотворения, в сущности, следует за древним духовным стихом, только облекает мотив рождения, распятия Христа и плача Богородицы в природно-символическую форму).

Особенностью текста является то, что в нем образ Матери-Пустыни как бы двоятся: из нее выделяется душа, которая действует самостоятельно, но при этом является частью ее личности.

Упадал тут с лазорева неба
Лазоревый камень, бирюзовый;
Западал в белы груди, до сердца,
И залег тяжелый в самом сердце.
Тяготит камень грудь, распирает;
Свою душеньку зовет Пустыня,
Воздыхает смертным воздыханьем:
“Войди мне в сердце, малое чадо,
В мое сердце, в лазоревый камень;
А уж тело мое каменеет”.
Пошла душа в лазоревый камень,
А входит в лазоревое небо,
В голубые, светлые чертоги.
Алеется в чертоге последнем,
Ровно солнце, престол светозарный;
Стоит чаша на святом престоле,
А над чашей кружит белый голубь,
Держит голубь розов цвет червленьный.
Хочет кликнуть душа Мать-Пустыню,
А она тут сама у престола,
Облаченная в белую ризу;
“Днесь я”, – молвит, – “не Мать, а Невеста”.
И горлицей душа к ней прильнула

(Иванов 1974: 465-466)

С рассматриваемым ивановским видением это произведение сближает четыре пункта. 1) Пустыня предстает как Мать (аналог Лидии), а ее душа – как дочь (“малое чадо”; аналог Веры). 2) Душа Пустыни, подобно Вере в видении, заключается внутрь существа Матери-Пустыни, в ее грудь. Причем с этим отождествлением или взаимопроникновением души-дочери и Матери-Пустыни связано 3) умиротворение (“И горлицей душа к ней прильнула”), которое испытывает Вера, будучи поглощенной своей матерью. 4) Пустыня совмещает две роли – Матери и Невесты, подобно Лидии в видении.

Мотив вхождения души внутрь Матери-Пустыни и обретения там нового мира (“Пошла душа в лазоревый камень, / А входит в лазоревое небо”) есть одна из многочисленных вариаций магистрального для Иванова мотива отождествления микрокосма и макрокосма. Этот мотив явственно присутствует и в видении Иванова. Он легко интегрируется с мистериально-дионисийским сюжетом, поскольку категории макрокосма и микрокосма тождественны дионисийскому и титаническому началу соответственно. При таком условии смысл ивановского видения может быть выражен таким образом. Микрокосм, вместивший макрокосм (Вячеслав как Дионис обновленный, т.е. такая ипостась дионисийского начала, которая, вмещая в себя титаническое, преобразует его в земной сфере), совмещается с макрокосмом, вместившим в себя микрокосм (Лидия, заключающая в себе Веру, как Зевс-Дионис, т.е. такая ипостась дионисийского, которая, вмещая в себя титаническое, преобразует его в трансцендентной сфере).

5. *Проблема тройственных союзов и визионерский опыт Иванова*

Видение Иванова, датированное 15 июня 1908 года, занимает особое место в его визионерском опыте, поскольку оно следует сразу после смутных признаний в зарождающейся любовной страсти к падчерице, дочери Лидии Вере Шварсалон:

Три нити, кажется, привязывают меня к земле. Одна – общая нам с Лидией – дело. Другая – быть может, необходимость исполнить озаменованное тайными и темными предвестиями большое, неожиданное, невероятное. В непрестанном ожидании первых исполнений этого таинственного будущего я живу непрестанно. И есть третья нить – глухая неутоленность одного единственного темного и рокового желания (Иванов 1974: 772).

Это одно из первых, если вообще не первое свидетельство эротического влечения Иванова к своей падчерице, завершившегося в конце концов браком и рождением сына Димитрия Иванова. Это соседство позволяет поставить ивановское видение в контекст его жизнетворческих практик, в частности так называемых тройственных союзов.

Дадим сначала характеристику концепции тройственных союзов, а затем укажем на их связь с видением Иванова.

Проблеме тройственных союзов уделялось внимание в ряде иванововедческих публикаций и исследований. Так, О. Шор (1971: 94-105) донесла до нас восходящее к самому Иванову понимание этого явления. Н.А. Богомолов (2009: 199-206; 1995: 74, 83-84, 95-96), А.Б. Шишкин (2012: 317-324) и Г.В. Обатнин (2000, 2021a, 2021b) опубликовали ряд ценных архивных материалов, которые проливают свет на конкретные жизненные обстоятельства формирования и изживания тройственных союзов. Значительная часть этих свидетельств систематизирована Ю. Зобниным в *Материалах к летописи жизни и творчества Вяч. И. Иванова* (2011). О. Шор, М. Михайловой (2018)

и Е. Баркер (2003) принадлежат попытки концептуально осмыслить житнетворческие практики Иванова и Зиновьевой-Аннибал.

Тройственные союзы связаны с ‘башенным’ периодом жизни Иванова (1905-1907). Увлечение Иванова С.М. Городецким приходится на лето – осень 1906 года, а попытка тройственного союза с Маргаритой Сабашниковой-Волошиной – на зиму-весну 1907 года.

Началом тройственного союза с Городецким можно считать признание Иванова в письме к Зиновьевой-Аннибал от 8 июля 1906 года:

“Он был очарователен, и я счастлив. [...] Было бы божественно (слишком даже слепительно для этой жизни) любить тебя и своего юношу (почему не именно его? он был прекрасен)”. С этого момента Иванов начинает “добиваться от судьбы счастья втроем”, полагая в этом житнетворческом эксперименте практическое оправдание своей идеи “мистической соборности” (Зобнин 2011: 88-89).

Этот утопический проект является закономерным следствием мистико-анархических мировоззренческих установок Иванова: критики индивидуализма, утверждения соборности как отражения идеала всеединства в духовно-общественной сфере, признание за августиновским трансценсусом средства выхода из индивидуалистического уединения личности к соборному всеединству.

Индивидуация становится отправной точкой и негативным условием для тройственных союзов. Включение третьего лица в семейный союз оказывается средством трансценсуса. Освящает же этот трансценсус идеал соборного единства душ.

Традиционный семейный союз принимается в этом случае за исходное единство, монаду, и его замкнутость отождествляется с процессом индивидуации. Полнота семейного счастья отъединяет личность от вселенской духовной общности, замыкает в себе. “Две души стали одной душой. Двуетиной душе этой надлежит преодолеть искушение и прельщение самодовлеющей насладительной уединенности” (Шор 1971: 97). В письме от 2 марта 1907 года А.Р. Минцловой Зиновьева-Аннибал дает наиболее глубокую мистико-психологическую интерпретацию идеи тройственных союзов:

Обретя вновь свой пакирожденный брак с Вячеславом, я устремляла свою светлую волю изжить до последнего конца любовь *двоих*, и знала, что еще и еще растворяться будут перед нами двери нашего Эроса прямо к Богу. Это прямой путь, жертва на алтарь, где *двое* в *совершенном* слиянии переступают *непосредственно* грань отъединения и взвивается дым прямо в Небеса. Но жизнь подрезала корни у моего Дерева Жизни в том месте, где из них вверх тянулся ствол любви Двоих. И насадила другие корни. Это впервые *осуществилось* только теперь, в январе этого года, когда Вячеслав и Маргарита полюбили друг друга *большую настоящую* любовью. И я полюбила Маргариту *большой и настоящей* любовью, потому что из *большой*, последней ее глубины проник в меня ее истинный свет. Более истинного и более настоящего в духе брака тройственного я не могу себе представить, потому что последний наш свет и последняя наша воля – тождественны и едины (Богомоллов 1995: 95-96).

Развитие индивидуума связано с трансценсусом – способностью выходить за рамки собственной ограниченности и соприкасаться со стихией всеобщего. Границы брака должны быть, следовательно, разомкнуты и дополнены третьим членом союза.

Погружение в “целое и всеобщее” В[ячеслав] И[ванов] непосредственно пережил в опыте большой любви; он узнал, что обретение своей души получается путем ее отдачи, что собственное *я* ощущается целостным и подлинным, только будучи утверждено в другом. Но этого мало: В[ячеслав] И[ванов] пишет в 1904 г: – “Если любящие чудесно обрели друг друга, они уже не принадлежат только друг другу”. А Лидия требует: “Не надо жалеть тесных, милых колечек... Океану Любви – наши кольца любви” (Шор 1971: 97).

Непонятные и странные для современников Иванова попытки распространить соборность на сферу интимных чувств и переживаний, построить семью нового типа были не просто практическим экспериментом по проверке на “жизненность” проповедуемых философских идей. Откровение другого “я”, признание другого существа как целостности первичной по отношению к собственному “я” Вяч. Иванов и Л.Д. Зиновьева-Аннибал непосредственно пережили в опыте большой любви. [...] Двое, преодолевшие искушение самодостаточной уединенности, должны были заложить основы будущего царства “Единой”, “Всеобщей” Любви (Баркер 2003: 55-56).

Итак, цель тройственных союзов не сексуальная эмансипация, не утверждение перверсивных практик¹², а своеобразная лампадедромия, духовная эстафета передачи дионисийского пламенника от души к душе, практическое утверждение идеала соборного всеединства. В этом смысле обязательным элементом тройственного союза должно было стать педагогическое, образовательное влияние наставника на душу третьего члена союза. Из биографических документов мы узнаем, что, действительно, Иванов относился к Городецкому и Сабашниковой как к ученикам, обучал их греческому языку, правилам версификации и проч.

Жизнетворческие эксперименты Иванова с Городецким и Сабашниковой провалились. “Ни тот, ни другой не смогли быть на высоте поставленных задач – устремленности к высшему. Городецкий оказался по-житейски приземлен, а Маргарита настолько серьезно увлеклась Ивановым, что своею настойчивой влюбленностью не на шутку испугала его, и он поспешил достаточно резко отстраниться от нее” (Михайлова 2018: 64). Однако их плодом стала книга стихов Иванова *Эрос* (первоначальное название – *Триглав*), вышедшая сначала отдельным изданием, а затем включенная в книгу *Cor ardens*.

¹² С.С. Аверинцев характеризует тройственные союзы, культивируемые в башенном быту, как “эксцесс” и “изживание утопии”: “дело шло о психологических эксцессах и срывах вокруг исконно символистской проблемы общения и общности, об изживании утопии невиданного, небывалого приближения адептов новой ‘соборности’ друг к другу, при котором все естественные межличностные дистанции будто бы сами собой исчезают” (Аверинцев 2001: 80).

В стихотворении *Зодчий* Иванов наиболее откровенно выражает идею тройственности любовного союза: “Я башню безумную зижду / Высоко над мороком жизни, / Где трем нам представится вновь, / Что в древней светилось отчизне, / Где нами прославится трижды / В единственных гимнах любовь. [...] сплавь огнежалым перуном / Три жертвы в алтарь триедин!” (Иванов 1974: 380).

Архивные изыскания Г.В. Обатнина свидетельствуют, что Иванов связывал с этим текстом идею эротической тройственности. На это указывает то, что на беловом автографе стихотворения была изображена буква Г с титлом, которая обозначала цифру три, имя Городецкого и “глагол” (с отчетливой ассоциацией с пушкинским заветом из стихотворения *Пророк*: “глаголом жги сердца людей”) (Обатнин 2021b: 134).

Один из лейтмотивов книги *Эрос* – ночное небо, усыпанное мириадами звезд: “Я – звездный сев над лонами / Желающих низин!” (*Истома*, Иванов 1974: 379); Эрос “конницей многоочитой / Ведет сопряженные звезды / Узлами пылающих узд” (*Зодчий*, Иванов 1974: 380); “Горних сил ликующему реянию, / Сердце-гроб, откликнись, и живи!” (*Утешитель*, Иванов 1974: 382). Образ звездного неба обозначает множество, пронизанное единой дионисийской энергией. Этот образ протягивает нить между книгой *Эрос* и *Сном Мелампа*, где концентрированно представлен мистериально-дионисийский сюжет. В ивановской эзотерической поэме в облике звездного неба предстает Зевс-Дионис, вобравший в себя сыновнее сердце после того, как им причастились титаны:

В небо глубокое очи вперил бестрепетно вещей:
Лик несказанный увидел, наполнивший темное небо.
Мирообъятною тучей клубились пламени-змии
Окрест святого чела и в бесчисленных звездах горели,
И содрогалась вся Нива горящих мужей лицезреньем
(Иванов 1974: 298)

Зевс-Дионис, как мы установили, соотносится в визионерском опыте Иванова с Лидией, как бы ‘вбирающей’ внутрь себя Веру (Диониса-Загрея) и соединяющейся с Вячеславом (Дионисом обновленным).

Отношения Иванова с Лидией и Верой еще при жизни второй жены поэта воспринимались как тройственный союз. 9 августа 1907 года, за два месяца до безвременной кончины Лидии, по пути в Коктебель Маргарита Сабашникова в последний раз навестила чету Ивановых и оставила воспоминание, в котором назвала Веру третьим членом союза: “Я чувствовала недоброжелательное отношение к себе со стороны старшей дочери Лидии – Веры – и ее воспитательницы. Вера, восемнадцатилетняя красивая блондинка, была, казалось, теперь третьим членом союза. В здравомыслии Веры Ивановы находили глубокую мудрость и видели в ней ‘меру вещей’” (Сабашникова 2015: 217-218).

Стоит, однако, отметить, что это единственное прямое указание на любовный треугольник 'Вячеслав – Лидия – Вера', принадлежащее лицу, далекому от близкого круга Иванова, и отнесенное к эпохе, значительно отстоящей от описываемых событий. Знание их результата (женитьба Иванова на Вере Шварсалон) могло повлиять на мемуаристку, вызвав у нее убежденность в тройственном союзе, которого не было.

Единственный документ, позволяющий заподозрить у Зиновьевой-Аннибал нечто большее, чем просто материнские чувства к Вере, и относящийся к той же эпохе, что и описываемые в нем события, – это дневниковая запись Зиновьевой-Аннибал от 21 августа 1906 года. Эта запись пропитана чувственной экзальтацией, выходящей за рамки чисто материнских чувств: "До последней минуты все мысли были там, у оставленной Веры. Я была в плену. Разве это – материнство? Целовала газету, в которую она своими руками завернула мои туфли. Она прекрасна и вызывает уважение со страхом, и влюбленность в каждую линию, в звук голоса и эти светлые, гордые и прямые страшно глаза, которые не горят, но светятся" (Зиновьева-Аннибал 2009: 793).

Ивановское видение 15 июня 1908 года, на наш взгляд, находится в концептуальном поле тройственных союзов. Брак с Верой Шварсалон, желанность которого выражается как напрямую, так и в визионерской форме, воспринимается как союз не двух, а трех. При этом Вера выступала как земное воплощение, своеобразная реинкарнация ушедшей в трансцендентные сферы Лидии¹³, и брак с Верой становится способом утверждения побеждающей смерть любовной связи с Лидией. Подобный тройственный союз нельзя полностью отождествить с отношениями с Городецким или Сабашниковой. Он является средством преодоления не индивидуации, а смерти, разделяющей человеческих существ на пребывающих во времени и пребывающих в вечности, но цель его та же – достижение мистического всеединства, но не столько в духовно-социальном плане, сколько в космическом, теургическом – воссоединение трансцендентно-духовного с эмпирически реальным.

Веру Шварсалон Иванов мистически связывал с Лидией и мифологически отождествлял с Персефоной:

В[ячеслав] И[ванов] видел в дочери Лидии – дочь Деметры, Персефону Элевсинских мистерий. Стихи, которые он в разные периоды жизни, обращал к Вере, носили общее заглавие: "Ее Дочери". [...] Летом 1910 г. В[ячеслав] И[ванов] жил в Италии, собирал материалы для книги о Дионисе. Вера приехала к нему из Греции. Она рассказывала, как затерялась в Корикийской пещере и чудом из нее выбралась: будто в самом деле Персефона на время взяла ее к себе и потом милостиво отпустила (Шор 1971: 134).

В письме М.М. Замятниной Вера Шварсалон писала:

¹³ Ср. запись слов Лидии в дневнике Иванова: "Отец волит в нас другое. Отец дает воскресение в теле мне. Отец волит твоего воскресения в Духе. Дар мой тебе дочь моя, в ней приду – Oga Sempre" (Иванов 1974: 775).

Вячеслав перенес на меня, на земле то чувство, которое он имел к маме. [...] Я как-то почувствовала это уже тогда, 17 октября 1907 когда, тотчас после смерти Мамы, он целовал меня рыдая, но так целовал как я не могла ему отвечать, так что к собственному своему ужасу и изумлению мне легче было плакать без него. То же чувство я с ужасом в себе замечала и позже, когда мы были в Москве и он также в постели меня целовал, но тогда я еще не знала причину этого и он тогда еще мне ничего не говорил и я ни о чем не догадывалась. (Кобринский 2007: 339).

В недатированном письме Веры к брату Сергею Шварсалону (относящемся, однако, к периоду после рождения сына Дмитрия) мотив тройственности связи между нею, ее матерью и Вячеславом Ивановым прозвучит наиболее явственно: “так же, как я для него как [бы] переданная Мамой [для] чтобы в известном смысле представлять ее на земле, а он для меня, по моему убеждению, назначен Мамой, и единственный мужчина, на свете, с которым я могу быть, и давший мне с тех пор, как мы соединились, счастье, после годов бесконечной тоски” (Обатнин 2011а: 133-134).

Мистическое отождествление Веры с Лидией отразится также в стихах Иванова, помещенных в книге *Нежная Тайна: Новоселье*¹⁴, *Примитив*. Общим для этих текстов является трансцендентный образ таинственной женщины (Лидии), держащей на руках младенца (Веру):

Идет, и лелеет
В покрове незримом, как в зыбке небесной, дитя;
И близко яснеет,
В обличи родимом, воскресной улыбкой света
(Иванов 1979: 12)

Не та ль за ним, чье тело
Под этот дерн легло?...
Что ж сердце сиротело?...
С каким она ребенком
Стоит, в сияньи тонком?
Что так глядит светло?...
(Иванов 1979: 32)

Мифологизация отношений с Верой, как продолжением Лидии, – общее место в иванововедении. Однако, как правило, речь идет о Vere только как Персефо-

¹⁴ Затеком стихотворения *Новоселья* тоже становится визионерский опыт Иванова: “Весною 1912 г. В[ячеслав] И[ванов] с Верою, которая ждала ребенка, и с дочерью своею Лидией отправился в Швейцарию. В июне они переехали во Францию, в Савойю, поселились в маленькой вилле близ городка Neuvacelle. [...] Вошел в свое новое жилище В[ячеслав] И[ванов]; обернулся с порога и увидел: идет к нему Лидия, умершая жена его – нет, не умершая, живая. Она улыбается и на протянутых руках держит младенца” (Шор 1971:135-136).

не, реинкарнации Деметры, чем объясняется единство обряда при браках с Лидией и Верой – венчание в той же церкви в Ливорно и тем же священником. Но, как видим, этот мифологизированный брак допускает и даже требует интерпретации в свете мистериально-дионисийского сюжета. Надо сказать, что в этом случае сакрально-мифологический статус брака с Верой резко возрастает, из попытки повторения антично-мифологического паттерна превращаясь в житнетворческий акт с явной теургической интенциональностью.

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Abstract

Leonid Gennadievich Kayanidi

Vyačeslav Ivanov Between Dante and Dionysus. The Poet's Visionary Experience of 1908 and the Problem of Triple Unions

The article examines the symbolist poet Vyačeslav Ivanov's visionary experience in the context of his poetic creativity and life-creating practices. Ivanov's visionary experience, inspired by the death of his wife Lidija Zinov'eva-Annibal, was not only reflected in his artistic work, but also influenced by his poetic imagery. In the vision, Ivanov, together with his winged deceased wife Lidija, communicates with a fiery heart, and then communicates with Lidija's daughter Vera, who is then placed in the heart of her mother. We assert that the vision of Ivanov makes use of not only Dante's symbolics (represented in his *New Life*), but also mystical-Dionysian symbolics, connected to a mythological story about the tearing of Dionysus-Zagreus by the Titans. This becomes obvious when comparing the poet's visionary experience with the poem *The Dream of Melampus*, in which for the first time the mystery-Dionysian plot is most fully expressed. Some of the motifs of Ivanov's vision are associated with the symbolism of the macrocosm and microcosm, expressed in the spiritual verse *The Dream of the Desert Mother*. The visionary experience of Ivanov is included in the context of the so-called triple unions – Ivanov's mystical-utopian project aimed at forming a new spiritual and social order based on the mystical unity of human souls. The marriage with Vera Schwarzalon, the desirability of which is expressed in a visionary form, is perceived as a union of not two, but three. At the same time, Vera acts as the earthly embodiment of Lidija, who had gone into the transcendent spheres. Marriage with Vera becomes a way of establishing a death-conquering love affair with Lidija and performs a theurgic function: the reunion of the transcendent-spiritual with the empirically real. The difference from the triple unions with Sergej Gorodeckij and Margarita Sabašnikova is only that the union with Vera becomes a means of overcoming not mystical disunity, but death.

Keywords

Vyačeslav Ivanov; Lydia Zinovieva-Annibal; Vera Schwarzalon; Sergej Gorodeckij; Margarita Sabašnikova; Dante; Dionysus; Vision; Triple Unions; *The Dream of Melampus*; *The Dream of the Desert Mother*.

Piotr Śniedziewski

Gustave Flaubert w Polsce (dzieje recepcji od 1910 do 1939 roku)*

Sądy polskich krytyków literackich w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach XIX stulecia na temat twórczości Gustave'a Flauberta nie zawsze były wyważone, z dzisiejszej perspektywy mogą się nam nawet wydawać krzywdzące i niesprawiedliwe. Trudno byłoby jednak pojąć tych krytyków o brak zaangażowania – wprost przeciwnie, ich wypowiedzi, często tendencyjne, silnie zideologizowane, dyktowane były przez pragnienie walki o określone idee. Dlatego temperatura sporów wokół Flauberta pod koniec XIX wieku wydaje się nam tak wysoka¹. Zdecydowanie inaczej kształtuje się historia recepcji dzieł francuskiego pisarza w Polsce na początku XX wieku. Emocjonalne zaangażowanie krytyków wyraźnie wówczas spada, znikają ideologiczne spory, a ich miejsce zajmują dojrzałe próby interpretacyjne, ukazujące skomplikowany świat międzyludzkich relacji w powieściach Flauberta oraz kładące nacisk na literacki warsztat autora z Rouen. Napięcie obecne w dziewiętnastowiecznych tekstach krytycznoliterackich zostaje więc zastąpione przez ton bardziej wyważony, miejscem sporów i polemik przestaje też być prasowa kolumna, a dyskusja przenosi się na karty esejów oraz wypowiedzi o charakterze akademickim.

Za symboliczny początek tego nurtu recepcji można uznać opublikowaną w roku 1910 rozprawę Stanisława Brzozowskiego – *Legenda Młodej Polski*, w której autor dokonywał podsumowania romantycznej spuścizny i całej właściwie tradycji XIX stulecia, jej znaczenia dla współczesnej mu kultury polskiej. W rozdziale zatytułowanym *Naturalizm, dekadentyzm, symbolizm* Brzozowski podkreślał: "Analiza twórczości Flauberta jest niezmiernie ważna dla każdego, kto chce głębiej wniknąć w psychologiczną istotę pewnych zasadniczych postaw i literackich punktów widzenia z drugiej połowy XIX stulecia. U Flauberta znajdujemy niemal wszystkie te postawy w stanie rozwiniętym lub zaczątkowym" (Brzozowski 1983: 332). Okazuje się zatem – i jest to niezwykle oryginalne spostrzeżenie Brzozowskiego – że Flaubert jest pisarzem, w którego twórczości krzyżują się dwie tenden-

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¹ Główne nurty polskiej recepcji Flauberta w XIX wieku analizuję szczegółowo w artykule *Flaubert in the Eyes of Nineteenth-Century Polish Literary Critics* przyjętym do druku w "Die Welt der Slaven".

cje: pierwsza, tradycyjna, wynikająca z tego, iż autor *Pani Bovary* był spadkobiercą romantyków, a więc jego twórczość tkwiła głęboko w wyobraźni początków XIX stulecia, oraz tendencja druga, nowoczesna, sprawiająca, że jego dorobek stał się fundamentem przemian w historii powieści i doprowadził – obok dzieł takich autorów jak Marcel Proust i James Joyce – do największej rewolucji w dziejach tego gatunku.

1. *Zapomniane ogniwo – prace Heleny Frejlich*

Na tym właśnie tle sytuować należy niesłusznie dziś zapomniane prace Heleny Frejlich: napisaną po francusku i obronioną na Sorbonie rozprawę doktorską *Flaubert d'après sa correspondance*, książkę *Les Amants de Mantes: Flaubert et Louise Colet* (1936) oraz napisany po polsku esej interpretacyjny *Gustaw Flaubert. Szkic do portretu* (1936) opublikowany na łamach "Przeglądu Współczesnego". Co ciekawe, wskazana rozprawa doktorska ukazała się drukiem w roku 1933, zaś trzy lata później została wyróżniona nagrodą Prix Marcelin Guérin przyznawaną przez Académie Française – można zatem tylko żałować, że ta książka, cytowana przez badaczy francuskich, włoskich, niemieckich, angielskich², niemal zupełnie zniknęła z literaturoznawczego horyzontu w Polsce. Tymczasem wszystkie prace Frejlich przynoszą wiele trafnych spostrzeżeń, które w kolejnych dziesięcioleciach stały się fundamentem niezliczonych dysertacji pisanych przez różnych badaczy w języku francuskim. Rzecz jasna, na obu francuskich książkach Frejlich odcisnął swe piętno czas, w którym powstawały – zwłaszcza w rozprawie doktorskiej wyraźne są sygnały związane z pragnieniem odrzucenia dziedzictwa pozytywistycznego. Frejlich podaje w wątpliwość teorię trzech sił pierwiastkowych głoszoną przez Hippolyte'a Taine'a, sugerując tym samym, że ani człowieka, ani jego dzieła nie można opisać w odpowiedzialny sposób, sięgając wyłącznie po kategorie plebienia, środowiska i czasu. Tego rodzaju lektura staje się nieuchronnie lekturą redukcyjną, tymczasem Flaubert – twierdzi Frejlich – nie poddaje się takiemu oglądowi ani jako człowiek, ani jako pisarz: "Flaubert, objaśniony metodą Taine'a, raz jeszcze wykazałby niedokładności i niedociągnięcia tej metody" (Frejlich 1933: 117)³. Dużo w tym prawdy, czego dowodem są słowa samego pisarza pochodzące z cytowanego przez Frejlich listu do Edmy Roger des Genettes z 20 października 1864 roku: "Za pomocą takiego systemu można wytłumaczyć serię, grupę, ale nigdy osobowość, fakt szczególny, który powoduje, że się właśnie jest tym kimś" (Flaubert 1957: 242-243).

Zakwestionowanie metody Taine'a nie jest jednak podyktowane wyłącznie przesłankami, które związane były z przełomem antypozytywistycznym w literaturoznawstwie pierwszych dziesięcioleci XX wieku. Frejlich zależało na czymś więcej – pragnęła dotrzeć

² Zob. np. Gothot-Mersch 1991; Spaziani 1960; Dethloff 1997; Levin 1963.

³ W szkicu *Gustaw Flaubert. Szkic do portretu* Frejlich formułuje podobne zarzuty, choć czyni to w zdecydowanie ostrzejszym tonie, pisząc wprost, że "błędna była materialistyczna teoria dziedziczności i środowiska" (Frejlich 1936a: 76).

do prawdy o człowieku i twórcy (zob. Frejlich 1933: 390). Prawda ta, dodajmy, wydaje się z dzisiejszego punktu widzenia tak samo zmitologizowana jak legendy, z których badaczka pragnęła oczyścić pamięć o autorze. Najważniejsza i najbardziej niesprawiedliwa z tych legend wydawała się Frejlich ta, która łączyła literacki talent Flauberta z napadami epilepsji. Już pod koniec XIX stulecia próbowano bowiem wytłumaczyć geniusz artysty chorobą – według badaczy broniących tego punktu widzenia to pierwszy atak padaczki, którego Flaubert doznał 1 stycznia 1844 roku, miał przed nim otworzyć drzwi do pisarskiej kariery. Co ciekawe, taki punkt widzenia jest ciągle obecny w historii literatury i medycyny, co szczegółowo rekonstruują między innymi Jean Cambier (Cambier 1996) oraz Tadataka Kinoshita (Kinoshita 2010). Podobna problematyka pojawia się też w badaniach polskich – dla przykładu Ewa Motta, Zofia Kazibutowska oraz Anna Gołba w artykule znamienne zatytułowanym *Geniusz i padaczka* przywołują Flauberta, między innymi obok Fiodora Dostojewskiego i Vincenta van Gogha, jako typ twórcy, w którym artystyczne uzdolnienia łączyły się w nie do końca jasny sposób z epilepsją.

Polskie badaczki podchodzą jednak to tego zagadnienia z dużym dystansem – pisząc o etiologii padaczki u Flauberta, dostrzegają nieporozumienia oraz nadużycia, obecne także w literaturze medycznej. Padaczkę Flauberta prezentowano bowiem jako konsekwencję guza mózgu (który musiałby zatem trwać niemal 40 lat – licząc czas, jaki upłynął od pierwszego ataku do śmierci pisarza) bądź miażdżycy (Flaubert musiałby się jej nabawić jako dwudziestolatek). Jeśli dodamy do tego literackie juvenilia Flauberta, które powstały kilka lat przed pierwszym atakiem, to teza o geniuszu zrodzonym z choroby stanie się trudna do obrony. Trafna wydaje się też konkluzja artykułu: “Pytanie, które nasunąć się musi każdemu, kto czyta o chorych na padaczkę geniuszach, twórcach historii, brzmi: czy powstałyby wielkie ich dzieła, gdyby nie choroba? Na tak postawione pytanie chyba jednak nikt nigdy nie zdoła odpowiedzieć” (Motta *i in.* 2005: 193). W tym kierunku zdążyła też Frejlich w swej rozprawie doktorskiej – nie negowała bowiem istnienia samej padaczki, lecz daleka była od stwierdzenia, że atak ze stycznia 1844 to moment założycielski mitu Flauberta – wielkiego pisarza⁴. Albo raczej: tak, to moment założycielski mitu, który niewiele ma wspólnego z życiową prawdą. Walcząc z jednym mitem, Frejlich przyczynia się jednak – jakby mimochodem – do podtrzymania bądź nawet wzmocnienia innego: mitu wielkiego pisarza, autora posiadającego skrajną, niemal nieludzką świadomość własnego warsztatu, geniusza znającego najtajniejsze sekrety literatury. Znika bądź przynajmniej wycisza się Flaubert-epileptyk, by pełnym głosem mógł przemówić Flaubert-niezrównany mistrz słowa.

Tę właśnie – chciałoby się rzec – rzemieślniczą samoświadomość Flauberta Frejlich dostrzega w listach pisarza, których nie traktuje jako drugorzędneho świadectwa, ale jako wyraz szczególnej postawy wobec życia oraz twórczości (w artykule *Gustaw Flaubert. Szkic do portretu* Frejlich twierdzi nawet, że korespondencja francuskiego autora “[...] jest

⁴ W tym przypadku Frejlich podąża za ustaleniami R. Dumesnila (Dumesnil 1905) oraz É. Fagueta (Faguet 1905).

także dziełem, jeśli nie arcydziełem” [Frejlich 1936a: 73]). Pod piórem polskiej badaczki listy Flauberta stają się – i jest to jeden z pierwszych przejawów takiego nastawienia w badaniach nad spuścizną twórcy *Pani Bovary* – elementem pisarskiej działalności, który – choć odmienny – to jednak w niczym nie ustępuje produkcji powieściowej. Co więcej, jest próbą wyjaśnienia tej właśnie produkcji: “Korespondencja, w pewnym sensie dzieło pozaliterackie, jest interpretacją literackiej twórczości Flauberta, jej najbardziej odkrywczym komentarzem” (Frejlich 1933: 4). Stąd krok już tylko do uznania listów Flauberta za szczególnie rodzaj “traktatu estetycznego” (Frejlich 1933: 148), co Frejlich podkreśla w związku z korespondencją pisarza z Louise Colet. Na tym jednak nie koniec, ponieważ Frejlich – choć skupia się na korespondencji – w istocie domaga się tak zakrojonych badań, że bez większej przesady można powiązać jej badawcze postulaty z metodą stosowaną współcześnie przez interpretatorów z kręgu francuskiej krytyki genetycznej: “Jego [Flauberta] literacka aktywność to wszystkie strony zapisane piórem, rękopisy, które zniszczył, nim stworzył *Panią Bovary*, niezliczone wersje rozdziałów i gęsty las juveniliów, które sam spalił” (Frejlich 1933: 260).

Bardzo podobne obserwacje Frejlich pomieściła we wspomnianym już przeze mnie artykule *Gustaw Flaubert. Szkic do portretu*: “Flaubert wskazuje artyście metodę twórczej nieustanności, która jest zarazem drogą wieczności: każe kreślić, zacierać, przepisywać, odpisywać, poczynać od nowa” (Frejlich 1933: 72). Dopiero z tego gąszczy utworów wyłania się prawdziwy Flaubert, uparty rzemieślnik słowa, cyzelujący w nieskończoność każde zdanie. Literacka dojrzałość oraz samoświadomość wyróżniają też w przekonaniu Frejlich Flauberta na tle innych dziewiętnastowiecznych powieściopisarzy – żaden z nich nie zdobył się bowiem na tyle wyrzeczeń, żaden tak stanowczo nie określał natchnienia w procesie twórczym mianem złego doradcy, żaden wreszcie nie wyrzekł się sławy i uprzywilejowanej pozycji w mieszczańskim społeczeństwie. Dlatego proza Flauberta przerasta inne dziewiętnastowieczne dokonania w tym zakresie – autorowi *Pani Bovary* nie sprościli ani Balzac, ani Sand:

W oczach fałszywych sędziów aktywność Flauberta nie była zbyt owocna. Jak na ludzką egzystencję całkowicie poświęconą pisaniu, pół tuzina książek nie wydaje się ilością imponującą, zwłaszcza gdy porównuje się tę raczej skąpą płodność z Balzakiem czy George Sand. Ale czy u Balzaca albo George Sand, aby wskazać książkę zwartą, pozbawioną wad, wyjątkową, nie trzeba by dokonać wyboru? (Frejlich 1933: 257)

Ta właśnie perspektywa okazuje się w książce *Flaubert d'après sa correspondance* kluczowa – trudno bowiem zgodzić mi się z Amélie Schweiger, która twierdzi, jakoby rozprawa polskiej badaczki miała dziś wartość wyłącznie dokumentarną i tym samym nie pozwalała w pełni zbadać samych listów, ich poetyki, ani zastanowić się nad relacjami, istniejącymi między korespondencją Flauberta a jego powieściami (zob. Schweiger 2012: 9). Otóż nie; bezcennemu wysiłkowi dokumentalisty w pracy *Flaubert d'après sa correspondance* towarzyszy zacięcie analityczne, którego celem jest rekonstrukcja este-

tycznych fundamentów pisarstwa Flauberta. Dlatego Frejlich traktuje listy pisarza nie tylko jako komentarz do jego własnej twórczości, ale również jako ukazanie jej teoretycznych podwalin. Stąd uwagi o Flaubercie klasyku i romantyku, stąd uderzające trafnością spostrzeżenia, iż dzieła Flauberta tak naprawdę nie poddają się ani założeniom poetyki realistycznej, ani ideologicznym wymogom naturalizmu, stąd wreszcie przenikliwe wypowiedzi na temat pisarstwa wolnego od biograficznych uwarunkowań oraz na temat złożoności narracji Flauberta.

Jeśli już czynić Frejlich jakikolwiek zarzut, to chyba jedynie ten, że – pomimo początkowych deklaracji – nie udało się badaczce zachować dystansu i uniknąć mitologizowania. Owszem, Frejlich ocaliła Flauberta przed redukcyjnymi zakusami metody Taine'a, ale jednocześnie popadła w skrajność, prezentując autora *Pani Bovary* jako człowieka całkowicie pochłoniętego pisarstwem, bez reszty poświęconego ideałom estetyki “[...] tworzonej w katuszach sumienności” (Frejlich 1936a: 73), “hermetycznego odludka” (Frejlich 1936a: 75) zamkniętego w wieży z kości słoniowej oraz twórcę “skazującego się na dobrowolne męczeństwo” (Frejlich 1936a: 76) w imię sztuki wykraczającej poza ludzką przeciętność. Ta tendencja do ulegania najmniej przekonującym aspektom brązownictwa jest jeszcze bardziej wyrazista w drugiej książce Frejlich – *Les Amants de Mantes: Flaubert et Louise Colet*. Ta praca, którą – stosując miarę zaproponowaną przez Schweiger – można by tym razem uznać za przyczynkarską bądź dokumentalistyczną, grzeszy również nabożnym stosunkiem do Flauberta. Oto tytan pracy i intelektu spotyka na swej drodze opieszalą, urośliwą, acz niezbyt rozgarniętą kobietę, w której się zakochuje, sądząc, że odnajdzie w niej bratnią duszę, podobnie jak on pragnącą rozmów o literaturze i sztuce. Tymczasem – o zgrozo! – Colet to, owszem, poetka, w niektórych kręgach nawet przesadnie ceniona, ale także kobieta pragnąca miłości (zob. Frejlich 1936a: 77). A na to Flaubert zgodzić się już nie mógł. Książka *Les Amants de Mantes: Flaubert et Louise Colet* nie jest pozbawiona swoistego uroku, pojawiają się w niej przenikliwe uwagi, jednak daleko jej do rozprawy *Flaubert d'après sa correspondance*.

Niestety, żadna z książek Frejlich – o czym już wspomniałem – nie została przełożona na język polski, zaś artykuł *Gustaw Flaubert. Szkic do portretu* został kompletnie zapomniany – trudno bowiem uznać za znak pamięci zdawkowe wspomnienie na jego temat w haśle “La réception en Pologne” przygotowanym przez Renatę Lis i opublikowanym w *Dictionnaire de Flaubert* (zob. Lis 2017: 1303). Niegdyś o rozprawie *Flaubert d'après sa correspondance* wspominał Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński w artykule *Pielgrzymki* opublikowanym w roku 1933 na łamach “Wiadomości Literackich” (zob. Boy-Żeleński 1933: 3) – niestety, nie przełożyło się to na większe zainteresowanie omawianymi tekstami. A szkoda, ponieważ prace Frejlich, mimo iż czas powstania odcisnęły na nich wyraźne piętno, wciąż należą do kanonu rozpraw poświęconych Flaubertowi. Zwłaszcza spostrzeżenia autorki na temat roli, jaką w życiu oraz twórczości Flauberta odegrała korespondencja, uderzają także dziś trafnością sądów.

2. Odkrycie korespondencji Flauberta

Co ciekawe, bardzo podobne uwagi sformułował już w 1921 roku Jan Lorentowicz w szkicu *Gustaw Flaubert w swej korespondencji*, będącym w istocie omówieniem pięciotomowego wydania listów pisarza francuskiego⁵:

Nie znajdziemy w niej [korespondencji] oczywiście *klucza* do twórczości autora *Pokusy św. Antoniego*. Klucze podobne stanowią najczęstsze i najboleśniejsze złudzenia “przyczynkowiczów”, badaczy wpływów i pokrewieństw. Ale w tych pięciu księgach zamknięto półwiekowe dzieje rozwoju myśli i uczuć, którym Flaubert z największym wysiłkiem bronił dostępu do swych utworów. Wydobywa się w nich na jasnie nie tylko jego bohatera postawa wobec życia, lecz i cała jego, samodzielnie wypracowana, pługiem własnego ducha wyorana estetyka. Listy Flauberta otoczyła długotrwała legenda jednego z najciekawszych zjawisk literackich (Lorentowicz 1921: 32).

Niespełna dziesięć lat później, dokładnie w roku 1930, Jan Parandowski doszedł do podobnych wniosków w eseju zatytułowanym *Gustaw Flaubert* i opublikowanym w “Pamiętniku Warszawskim”. W ostatnich akapitach swego tekstu Parandowski podkreślał: “I jeszcze jedno pozostało po nim dzieło, które, sam o tym nie wiedząc, pisał w ciągu całego życia, najbardziej osobiste, pulsujące krwią wszystkich jego dni, Korespondencj[a], jeden z najciekawszych dokumentów ludzkich” (Parandowski 1930: 24). W tym samym czasie Zygmunt Lubicz-Zaleski ogłosił artykuł *Les Relations polonaises de Flaubert* – tekst ukazał się najpierw w roku 1931 w 4. numerze “Revue de Littérature Comparée”, rok później został przedrukowany w autorskiej książce Lubicz-Zaleskiego zatytułowanej *Attitudes et destinées. Faces et profils d'écrivains polonais*. W pierwszym akapicie tego szkicu czytamy, że to właśnie w korespondencji “[...] osobowość autora *Pani Bovary* w cudowny sposób objawia się i dojrzewa” (Lubicz-Zaleski 1932: 139).

Nim przejdziemy do nieco bardziej szczegółowej analizy wskazanych esejów, warto podkreślić jedną, zasadniczą rzecz, która jest charakterystyczna dla tego etapu recepcji dzieł Flauberta w Polsce. Otóż, o czym już wspominałem, w porównaniu z polemikami toczonymi w polskiej prasie w ostatnich dziesięcioleciach XIX wieku wydaje się ona bardziej stonowana, niemal akademicka, traci bez wątpienia na żywiołowości, sądy są bardziej wyważone; jednocześnie pojawia się w ramach tejże recepcji zupełnie nowa tematyka, powiązana właśnie z wydawaną wówczas korespondencją pisarza, czyli z materiałami, które wcześniej nie były po prostu dostępne. Warto przypomnieć, że pierwsze, czterotomowe wydanie listów Flauberta opublikowane zostało w latach 1887-1893 (było ono przedrukowywane aż do roku 1927), kolejne – tym razem pięciotomowe – ukazało się w roku 1910, wydanie trzecie (ponownie w czterech tomach) drukowano w latach 1921-1925, wreszcie

⁵ Zob. Flaubert 1910. To wydanie korespondencji Flauberta jest bardzo krytycznie oceniane przez badaczy spuścizny tego autora – M. Winock uważa nawet, że jest ono obarczone “poważnymi usterkami” (Winock 2016: 422).

ostatnie wydanie przedwojenne, obejmujące aż dziewięć tomów, udostępniano czytelnikom krok po kroku w latach 1926-1933⁶. Dzięki tym dokumentom, których wartość trudno przecenić, w studiach nad Flaubertem pojawiły się dwie nowe tendencje – przede wszystkim przedmiotem opisu i analizy biograficznej stało się powszednie życie wielkiego pisarza. Jednak w listach odnaleziono nie tylko sprawozdanie z codziennych trosk i radości, ale również swoisty traktat estetyczny, wykład pryncypiów, którymi kierował się Flaubert, tworząc swoje powieści. Te dwa aspekty wyraźne są także w szkicach autorów polskich publikowanych w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XX wieku.

Nic zatem dziwnego w tym, że zarówno Lorentowicz, jak i Parandowski dostrzegają w listach pisarza, po pierwsze, niezwykle bogaty materiał, bezcenny dokument, dzięki któremu możemy podpatrzeć Flauberta w jego codzienności. To tutaj odsłania nam się człowiek, czasami poważny, czasami nazbyt frywolny, przywiązany do przyjaciół, troszczący się o matkę i siostrzenicę, toczący dyskusje z wydawcami, czasami chyba zbyt szorstki wobec Colet, czyli kochanki, z którą związał się na wiele lat. Już choćby z tego powodu trudno zgodzić się z Piotrem Dunin-Borkowskim, który w artykule opublikowanym roku 1920 na łamach pisma "Krokwie" twierdził, że Flaubert "[...] jako prywatny człowiek stara się wyrzec, o ile to tylko możliwe, kontaktu z życiem" (Dunin-Borkowski 1920: 15). Nie, zdecydowanie tak nie było, a eseje Lorentowicza oraz Parandowskiego są wyraźnym głosem w dyskusji na temat dramatu wpisanego w życie Flauberta. Są też, po drugie, trafną analizą estetyki, którą autor *Pani Bovary* nawet w najdrobniejszych szczegółach i założeniach prezentuje w swej korespondencji. Według Lorentowicza główne założenia estetyczne Flauberta koncentrują się wokół czterech następujących problemów: obiektywizm (połączony z niechęcią do ukazywania własnego punktu widzenia w dziełach literackich, zob. Lorentowicz 1921: 31⁷), zakwestionowanie wagi "natchnienia lirycznego" (Lorentowicz 1921: 36), poszukiwanie "doskonałej harmonii *zdania*" (Lorentowicz 1921: 37), niezliczone eksperymenty stylistyczne. Co ciekawe, Lorentowicz, mimo iż usiłuje zrekonstruować teoretyczne fundamenty twórczości Flauberta, nie stroni od uwag, które już wówczas, czyli na początku lat 20. XX stulecia, składały się na literacką legendę autora *Pani Bovary*. Dlatego Flaubert w eseju Lorentowicza to przede wszystkim kapłan sztuki:

[...] ujawniona w korespondencji historia męczarni literackiej, jakiej Flaubert poddawał się dobrowolnie przez całe życie, czyni z niej lekturę wyjątkową. Ktoś zauważył, że gdyby

⁶ Na temat kolejnych wydań korespondencji Flauberta oraz poświęconych jej studiów zob. Cl  roux 2013.

⁷ Polski krytyk nie powiela jednak tego spostrzeżenia bez zastrzeżeń. Wprost przeciwnie, w zakończeniu eseju określa obiektywizm Flauberta mianem pozorowego, podaje też w wątpliwość bezosobisty charakter powieści Francuza. Powołuje się przy tym na ustalenia Remy'ego de Gourmonta, nie wskazując jednak żadnego tytułu. Jestem przekonany (świadczy o tym zbieżność sformułowań), że Lorentowicz miał w tym przypadku na myśli esej Gourmonta *Les cur  s de Flaubert* ogłoszony po raz pierwszy na łamach "Le Temps" (zob. Gourmont 1912), a potem przedrukowany w IV serii jego *Promenades litt  raires* (zob. Gourmont 1913).

religia Piękna miała swych świętych, w rzędzie największych jej męczenników musiałby stanąć Flaubert (Lorentowicz 1921: 32).

W ogóle rozkosze i męki miłości były Flaubertowi obce; odtwarzał je tylko w wyobraźni. Jedyną kochanką całego życia była mu Sztuka i jej to zbudował w Croisset ołtarz, dla niej biczował się codzienną pracą od rana do późnej nocy przez lat trzydzieści bez przerwy (Lorentowicz 1921: 34).

Flaubert to także “fanatyk stylu” (Lorentowicz 1921: 37), który nad *Panią Bovary*, czyli swym pierwszym dojrzałym dziełem, pracował według Lorentowicza dziesięć lat (zob. Lorentowicz 1921: 37, 39) – tu chyba nadmiar entuzjazmu sprowadził polskiego eseistę na manowce, ponieważ Flaubert trudził się nad *Panią Bovary* równo dwa razy krócej, czyli lat pięć (dokładnie od lipca 1851 roku do marca 1856 roku). Lorentowicz, z dystansem, choć bezkrytycznie, przywołuje też historię związaną z atakiem epilepsji, dzięki któremu rzekomo objawił się literacki geniusz Flauberta (zob. Lorentowicz 1921: 32-33)⁸.

3. *Esej Jana Parandowskiego*

Bardzo podobna strategia prezentacji charakteryzuje też zapowiadany już przeze mnie esej Parandowskiego – tekst ten był zresztą wielokrotnie przedrukowywany⁹ i ustalił w Polsce na wiele lat sposób lektury dzieł Flauberta, wskazał interpretacyjne ramy, w jakich postrzegać należy twórczość autora *Pani Bovary*; miał w konsekwencji dużo większy zasięg i siłę oddziaływania niż przywoływane do tej pory rozprawy krytyków z pierwszych lat XX stulecia. Zagadnienia dostrzeżone przez Parandowskiego tak naprawdę powielane były we wszystkich (niezbyt zresztą licznych) wypowiedziach polskich krytyków oraz eseistów przed II wojną światową, a i po roku 1945 siła oddziaływania jego tekstu nie uległa zasadniczym zmianom. Warto zatem szczegółowo zrekonstruować główne tezy wskazanego eseju.

Parandowski rozpoczyna swe rozważania od rekonstrukcji biografii Flauberta. Podkreśla wagę oraz wpływ, jaki na ukształtowanie młodego pisarza miała atmosfera rodzinnego domu oraz praca ojca, cenionego chirurga w miejskim szpitalu w Rouen. Dalej polski eseista omawia kolejne etapy rozwoju Flauberta oraz pierwsze próby literackie. W opinii Parandowskiego pierwszą część biografii zamyka pomyślnie zdany egzamin maturalny, następująca po nim podróż w Pireneje i na Korsykę oraz podjęcie w roku 1840 studiów na paryskim wydziale prawa. W tym samym roku powstaje “pierwszy [...] utwór godny uwagi” (Parandowski 1930: 5), czyli *Listopad*. Kolejny istotny moment to porzucenie znienawidzonych studiów oraz ucieczka do Croisset. To tu, w malowniczym domu nad Sekwaną, powoli, acz niestrudzenie rodzi się wielki pisarz, “męczennik stylu” (Parandowski 1930: 13)

⁸ Lorentowicz twierdzi jednak, że Flaubert nie cierpiał na epilepsję, a ataki, które go nawiedzały, miały podłoże histeryczne.

⁹ Pierwszy przedruk ukazał się już rok po publikacji eseju w “Wiadomościach Literackich”. W roku 1931 tekst Parandowskiego wykorzystano bowiem w charakterze przedmowy do pierwszego polskiego tłumaczenia *L'Éducation sentimentale* (zob. Flaubert 1931: 5-37).

i “borsuk z Croisset” (Parandowski 1930: 18), jak go nazywa polski eseista. Parandowski wspomina też, rzecz jasna, o związku z Colet, a także o dwóch ważnych podróżach młodego adepta literatury. Pierwsza z nich, może mało spektakularna i niezbyt daleka, to wyprawa do Bretanii w towarzystwie ówczesnego przyjaciela Maxime’a Du Campa. Co ciekawe, Parandowski nie ogranicza się jedynie do odnotowania tego, niezbyt z pozoru istotnego, faktu; dodaje, że owocem podróży było sprawozdanie, które zostało opublikowane już po śmierci Flauberta pod tytułem *Par les champs et les grèves* (1881):

Wróciwszy z włóczęgi po Bretanii (plecak, laska, notes) zabrał się do spisywania wrażeń metodą zupełnie różną od porywów dotychczasowej twórczości. Po raz pierwszy owiał go chłód tych dziewiczych obszarów, na których lęgnie się własny styl ze słów rozproszonych i jakby niepochwytne dalekich. Był to dzień tryumfu, gdy pisał do Luizy, że spędził osiem godzin na poprawianiu pięciu stronicy, ale ten dzień odrywał go na zawsze od świata (Parandowski 1930: 6).

Tu dostrzec można przenikliwość Parandowskiego i docenić trzeba jego erudycję. Podczas gdy zdecydowana większość polskich krytyków oraz historyków literatury zarówno przed, jak i po publikacji jego eseju odwoływała się wyłącznie do najbardziej znanych i cenionych powieści dojrzalego Flauberta, Parandowski z równą swobodą pisze o dziełach mniej znanych, rzadziej tłumaczonych, a przez to ignorowanych przez większość czytelników. Tymczasem polski eseista przyznaje co prawda, że już w tym czasie wyprawy do Bretanii Flauberta prześladował temat związany z *Kuszeniem św. Antoniego*, niemniej to właśnie na stronicach skromnej relacji z podróży utrwalone zostały pierwsze znaczące potyczki ze stylem.

Drugą podróż, którą wymienia Parandowski, to podróż na Wschód, odbyta także w towarzystwie Du Campa. Ta formacyjna wyprawa, tak istotna w biografii wielu pisarzy dziewiętnastowiecznych (dość wspomnieć tu o wędrówkach Chateaubrianda i Nerval), zrodziła się z zachwyty, pragnienia poznania tego, co egzotyczne, jednak skończyła się rozczarowaniem:

Wystarczyło, że świat, o którym marzył latami, zbliżył się na odległość spojrzenia, by już odwróciły się myśli ku wszystkiemu, co zostało poza uciążliwą szachownicą południków i równoleżników jego drogi. W bezmiarze kołysał się jeden drobny punkt, który rósł w łzach jak w soczewce i przyjmował beczenny kształt okrągłego stołu w pracowni w Croisset (Parandowski 1930: 8).

Tu raz jeszcze, nim wrócimy do Croisset, warto zatrzymać się i podkreślić odczytanie Parandowskiego – zna on bowiem nie tylko drugorzędne utwory Flauberta, ale również dzieła mu poświęcone (choćby częściowo). Tak właśnie jest w tym przypadku. Do uwag o zniechęceniu Flauberta Parandowski dodaje jeden drobiazg: “[...] przy drugiej katarakcie na Nilu, poprzez ogłuszający huk wód krzyknął oderwane nagle z mroków imiona: Emma Bovary” (Parandowski 1930: 8). Skąd pochodzą te wszystkie informacje? Zapewne ze wspomnień, które spisał Du Camp i wydał w dwóch tomach pod tytułem *Souvenirs*

littéraires (1882-1883). W tomie pierwszym, obejmującym wspomnienia z lat 1822-1850, możemy przeczytać taką oto relację:

Gustave Flaubert nie miał nic z mojego uniesienia, był spokojny i zamknięty w sobie. Ruch i akcja nie dawały mu przyjemności. Chciałby podróżować, leżąc na łóżku i nie ruszając się wcale, widzieć krajobrazy, ruiny i miasta przesuwające się przed nim jak płótno panoramy, która rozwija się mechanicznie. W pierwszych dniach po naszym przyjeździe do Kairu zauważyłem jego zmęczenie i znudzenie; ta podróż, której wyobrażenie tak długo pielęgnował i której realizacja wydawała mu się niemożliwa, nie dawała mu satysfakcji. Byłem bardzo szczery i powiedziałem mu: “Jeśli chcesz wrócić do Francji, dam ci mojego sługę, by ci towarzyszył”. Odpowiedział: “Nie; wyjechałem i dojadę do końca; wyznacz trasę, a udam się za tobą: nieważne w prawo czy w lewo”. Świątynie zawsze wydawały mu się takie same, krajobrazy podobne, meczety – bliźniacze. Nie jestem pewien, czy na Elefantynie nie tęsknił za łąkami Sotteville i nie myślał o Sekwanie, spoglądając na Nil. Na File szukał chłodu w jednej z sal wielkiej świątyni Izdy, aby przeczytać *Gerfauta*, którego kupił w Kairze.

Wspomnienie matki ciągnęło go do Croisset; ciążyło mu niepowodzenie *Kuszenia św. Antoniego*; bardzo często wieczorem na naszej łodzi, gdy woda rzeki uderzała o burtę, a gwiazdozbiór Krzyża Południa błyszczał między gwiazdami, dyskutowaliśmy o tej książce, która była tak droga jego sercu; poza tym zajmowała go przyszła powieść; mówił mi: “Mam na jej punkcie obsesję”. Pośród pejzaży afrykańskich marzył o krajobrazach Normandii. Na skraju Nubii Dolnej, na szczycie Djebel-Aboucir, górującym nad drugą kataraktą, kiedy obserwowaliśmy, jak Nil walczy z iglicami czarnych granitowych głazów, zawołał: “Znalazłem! *Eureka! Eureka!* Nazwę ją Emma Bovary” i kilkakrotnie powtórzył nazwisko Bovary, smakował je, wypowiadając bardzo krótkie o (Du Camp 1882: 480-481)¹⁰.

Wygląda to nawet trochę jak literacka pożyczka, której Parandowski nie spłaca tak do końca, ponieważ w ogóle nie ujawnia źródeł, z których korzystał, redagując swój esej. Możemy się więc tylko domyślać, gdzie szukał wiedzy na temat biografii autora *Pani Bovary*. A przecież wszystko się tu zgadza: szybko stygnący entuzjazm Flauberta, obsesja związana z negatywnie ocenioną przez przyjaciół pierwszą wersją *Kuszenia św. Antoniego*, wreszcie druga katarakta i pisarska epifania. Co jednak istotniejsze, rozważania te prowadzą Parandowskiego ku następującemu stwierdzeniu:

Podróż na Wschód zamknęła młodość. Miał lat trzydzieści i odtąd historia jego życia jest historią jego książek. Odgrodził się od świata namietnością porywczą i nieustępliwą, wszedł w zawód pisarza jak w regułę twardego zakonu. Zdawało się, że dom w Croisset związał się na nowo ślubami jak w czasach, kiedy należał do mnichów opactwa w Saint-Ouen. Wszystko było przygotowane dla pracowitej samotności (Parandowski 1930: 8).

¹⁰ Na temat epizodu, który miał miejsce przy drugiej katarakcie, zob. Mölk 1984: 264-277.

I tu w eseju Parandowskiego pojawia się jego drugi – obok rekonstrukcji biografii Flauberta – fundament, a jest nim refleksja nad pisarskim warsztatem samotnika z Croisset. Warsztat ten najlepiej zaś przedstawić, odwołując się do trzech zasadniczych elementów: stylu, kompozycji oraz pojęcia literatury nieosobistej. Według Parandowskiego najbardziej charakterystyczną cechą warsztatu pisarskiego jest troska o styl, czyli trafny dobór słów połączony z ich odpowiednim ułożeniem w całym zdaniu. To trud, który spędzał Flaubertowi sen z powiek, ponieważ twórca usiłował nie tylko celnie oddać rzeczywistość, odwzorować ją w dziele sztuki, ale również zadość uczynić autorskiej intencji, która legła u podstaw tego dzieła. Praca nad stylem nie była zatem dla Flauberta wyłącznie formalnym przedsięwzięciem, ale angażowała go w proces tworzenia, stanowiła swego rodzaju piętno, po którym rozpoznać można rękę twórcy. Co więcej, Flaubertowi zależało nie tylko na leksykalnej ścisłości, łączył bowiem słowa zarówno przez wzgląd na istotę opisywanej rzeczy bądź zjawiska, jak i na harmonię zdania: “Znalezienie właściwego słowa, tryumf zawsze wielki i radosny, nie wystarczało. Harmonia zdania mogła je odrzucić, mogła się zwichnąć na nieprzewidzianej zdrze. Nadciągała nowa tajemnica: rytm prozy” (Parandowski 1930: 9).

Tak w najbardziej ogólnych zarysach Parandowski widzi wysiłek Flauberta, którego celem jest stworzenie doskonałej kompozycji, w której niczego nie można by usunąć ze stratą dla całości dzieła: “Szukanie właściwego miejsca dla zdania lub choćby dla znamienitego wyrazu stawało się długą pielgrzymką wśród kompozycji ustępu” (Parandowski 1930: 9). Strona dobrej prozy to dla Flauberta odpowiednik solidnie wzniesionego muru, w którym nie można już ruszyć ani jednej cegły, ponieważ całość groziłaby rozpadem. Doskonale ilustruje to anegdota, którą Parandowski przytacza za Maupassantem (źródło nie zostało dokładnie wskazane, ale chodzi o esej Maupassanta opublikowany w roku 1884 jako przedmowa do wydania korespondencji Flauberta i Sand, zob. Maupassant 1884: LXV-LXVI). Otóż po skończeniu *Prostoty serca* Flaubert zaprosił swych przyjaciół, by wzięli udział w głośnej lekturze tekstu. Słuchacze byli pod wrażeniem, choć przyznawali, że niedługi, dziesięciowierszowy fragment, w którym bohaterka utworu myli papugę z Duchem Świętym, wydaje im się chybiony, zbyt kunsztowny w połączeniu z prostą, większą umysłowością bohaterki. Flaubert przyznał im rację i zabrał się do poprawienia fragmentu – po nieprzespanej nocy i dwudziestu pokreślonych kartkach doszedł jednak do wniosku, że nic zrobić nie może, ponieważ najdrobniejsza zmiana doprowadziłaby do zaburzenia harmonii zdania. Autor *Trzech opowieści* dążył bowiem do doskonałości tam, gdzie inni dostrzegali jedynie ciąg słów, które można w dowolny sposób poddawać przeróbkom. Idea tekstu doskonałego zakładała też usunięcie wszelkich znaków obecności autora, jego przemyśleń, przygodnych emocji – dlatego ideał stylu i kompozycji łączy się w przypadku Flauberta z ideałem literatury nieosobistej: “Pisarz powinien się tak ukryć w dziele, by nie zostało śladu jego uczuć, przekonań, skłonności, by żaden zwrot nie zagrał osobistym wzruszeniem, powinien po prostu zniknąć i nie byłoby już nic dziwnego, gdyby w przyszłości zwątpiono o jego istnieniu” (Parandowski 1930: 11). Parandowski jest mimo to świadomy, że postulat literatury nieosobistej to jedynie idea, która nie zawsze może być w pełni zrealizowana – dość powiedzieć, że już w pierwszej dojrzałej powieści, czyli w *Pani Bovary*, Flaubert jest

obecny od początku do końca: “Historia Emmy złożyła się z przygód jego własnej duszy” (Parandowski 1930: 12). Nieco dalej Parandowski dorzuca: “Sam wiedział [Flaubert], że się rozlewa w tym dziele [w *Pani Bovary*] na kształt Boga panteistów” (Parandowski 1930: 12).

Ukoronowaniem wszystkich poszukiwań Flauberta jest właśnie *Pani Bovary*, w której Parandowski widzi dzieło doskonałe:

Nie było dotychczas powieści o tak czarującej kompozycji, o tak wybornym opracowaniu szczegółów, a historii stylu przybyła nowa karta. Dziś, z odległości 80 lat, które w każdej literaturze zgromadziły rzeczy będące jej słuszną dumą i sławą, *Madame Bovary* pozostaje, czym była w dniu swego pojawienia się: pierwszą powieścią świata (Parandowski 1930: 15).

4. *Pierwsze eseje interpretacyjne i sugestie komparatystyczne*

Esej Parandowskiego, jak wspomniałem, okazał się niezwykle wpływowy – zaważył bowiem na kształcie recepcji twórczości samotnika z Croisset na wiele dziesięcioleci, a i dziś trudno byłoby umniejszać jego znaczenie. Trochę szkoda, że inne (nieliczne) rozważania z tego samego czasu popadły w zapomnienie, choć uwagi ich autorów były równie przenikliwe, a może nawet trafniejsze od niektórych spostrzeżeń Parandowskiego. Mam w tym przypadku na uwadze dwa artykuły. Pierwszy z nich dotyczy całej literackiej i biograficznej spuścizny Flauberta i choć jest zdecydowanie mniej obszerny od rozważań Parandowskiego, uderza przenikliwością i trafnością sądów – to tekst *Benedyktyn z Croisset* opublikowany przez Wacława Rogowicza w roku 1930 na łamach “Wiadomości Literackich”. Artykuł drugi to próba drobiazgowej analizy *Pani Bovary* – wyszła ona spod pióra Włodzimierza Topolińskiego i ukazała się pod tytułem *Realizm Gustawa Flauberta w powieści “Pani Bovary”* w roku 1916 w “Pro Arte et Studio”. Co ciekawe, szkic Topolińskiego jest właściwie jedyną interpretacją arcydzieła Flauberta, jaka ukazała się w prasie polskiej przed wybuchem II wojny światowej.

Zacznijmy jednak od omówienia artykułu Rogowicza, który (choć chronologicznie późniejszy od interpretacji Topolińskiego) wpisuje się w model recepcji stworzony przez Parandowskiego – mam na myśli kompozycję tekstu krytycznoliterackiego, który z jednej strony podejmuje zagadnienia biograficzne, z drugiej zaś podsuwa czytelnikom ogólne refleksje na temat wybranych utworów. Rogowicz, ceniony tłumacz Flauberta, jest doskonale świadom, że już pod koniec XIX wieku ukształtował się mit eremity z Croisset (nie bez powodu tytułuje swój tekst: *Benedyktyn z Croisset*, zaś w jednym z akapitów nazywa autora *Pani Bovary* “benedyktynem pracy pisarskiej” [Rogowicz 1930: 2]), mimo to odnosi się do tego wyobrażenia z dużym dystansem. Nieufnie podchodzi też do sformułowania “męczennik literatury”, wskazując, że Flaubert, względnie niezależny finansowo i wolny wewnętrznie (nie poszukiwał bowiem ani poklasku, ani zaszczytów), poświęcił się temu, co dawało mu radość, choć wymagało wiele trudu i wyrzeczeń: “Flaubert, fanatyk pracy pisarskiej, nagle, przy biurku, oderwany od niej apopleksją 50 lat temu, 8 maja 1880 r., był

szczęśliwy” (Rogowicz 1930: 2). To ciekawe, ponieważ faktycznie bardzo rzadko nazywa się Flauberta pisarzem spełnionym, zadowolonym ze swojej pracy, czy wreszcie – szczęśliwym.

Dalej Rogowicz podejmuje zagadnienia związane z ideałem obiektywizmu, bliskim Flaubertowi, który przeciwstawiał się egocentrycznym i przesadnie lirycznym romantyzmowi. Polski autor odnosi się również – podobnie jak Parandowski – do kwestii literatury bezosobowej, choć czyni to w sposób nieufny i punktuje słabości tej teorii:

Profesorski mózg Fagueta [...] wykrytym u Flauberta *dogmatem literatury bezosobowej* zamurował sobie dostęp do podziemnych chodników tej uczuciowości. Tymczasem ileż jest arcyłudzkiego współczucia w pozornie obiektywnym stosunku autora do biednej Emmy Bovary, do nieszczęsnej córki Hamilkara – do tych dwóch ofiar miłości, uczucia odmiennie tu i tam, ale nieuchronnie tragicznego (Rogowicz 1930: 2).

Rogowicz trafnie diagnozuje w tym przypadku ułomność jednego z mitów, które od początku XX stulecia narosły wokół postaci Flauberta. Zwykło się bowiem twierdzić, że narracja Flauberta jest pozbawiona wszelkich aspektów osobistych, że nie ma nic wspólnego z biograficznym doświadczeniem autora, wreszcie – że w żaden sposób nie ujawnia jego ocen. Rogowicz wskazuje Émile’a Fagueta, swego czasu wpływowego krytyka literackiego, jako jednego z twórców i promotorów pojęcia “literatury bezosobowej”, zastosowanego do analizy twórczości Flauberta. Rzeczywiście, w roku 1899, Faguet opublikował studium zatytułowane *Flaubert*, w którym odnajdujemy przywołany przez Rogowicza fragment, mówiący o “dogmacie literatury bezosobowej” (Faguet 1899: 184). Oto Flaubert porzuca romantyczne pragnienia, zgodnie z którymi dzieło jest ekspresją uczuć autora, nie interweniuje oraz nie ocenia postępowania stworzonych przez siebie postaci – on po prostu maluje świat, nieustannie trudząc się nad stylem. Polski krytyk nie godzi się na taką perspektywę, dostrzega bowiem w utworach francuskiego pisarza coś więcej niż tylko jałową pracę stylisty – jakby na przekór Faguetowi, Rogowicz twierdzi, że właśnie w tej pracy daje się dostrzec osobiste zaangażowanie, innymi słowy – styl jest znakiem obecności autora.

Dalej Rogowicz opisuje posiadłość w Croisset, relacje Flauberta z siostrzenicą Karoliną oraz związek z Colet – ta część szkicu ma charakter wyłącznie popularyzatorski. Najmniej uwagi polski autor poświęca utworom Flauberta – i to jego największa słabość w porównaniu z ustaleniami Parandowskiego. Rogowicz, mimo iż zdecydowanie odrzuca etykiety, jakie doklejonno już do kolejnych powieści Flauberta, sięga po niewiele mówiące epitety bądź ogranicza się do uwag bardzo ogólnych. Jako przykład niech tu posłuży *Pani Bovary*, o której Rogowicz ma do powiedzenia niewiele ponad to, że powieść ta uznawana jest za “arcydzieło Flauberta” (Rogowicz 1930: 2).

Dużo wymowniejszy jest w tym przypadku Topoliński, który jako jedyny krytyk w okresie poprzedzającym wybuch II wojny światowej poświęcił *Pani Bovary* odrębne, choć – przynajmniej to od razu – niezbyt oryginalne studium. Topoliński wychodzi z założenia, że Flaubert, w przeciwieństwie do Stendhala, Balzaca oraz Mérimégo, jest przedstawicielem “czystego realizmu” (Topoliński 1916a: 36), co oznacza, że udało mu się wy-

zwolnić zarówno spod wpływów romantyzmu (który Topoliński zrównuje z elementami nadprzyrodzonymi), jak i narracji w stylu balzakowskim (czyli auktorialnej, zakładającej wszechwiedzę narratora i dopuszczającej jego ingerencję w świat przedstawiony powieści). Pomimo tego założenia, Topoliński przyznaje, że pierwiastek romantyczny nie zniknął całkowicie z twórczości Flauberta, czego dowodem są takie dzieła jak *Salambo* oraz *Kuszenie św. Antoniego*, “utwory par excellence romantyczne” (Topoliński 1916a: 36). Na tym tle *Pani Bovary* jawi się jako tekst otwierający epokę realizmu w historii powieści francuskiej. Topoliński kończy pierwszą część swoich rozważań ciekawą paralełą między *Panią Bovary* a *Dziejami grzechu* Żeromskiego (zob. Topoliński 1916a: 37).

W kolejnej części swego eseju, opublikowanej w drugim numerze “Pro Arte et Studio” w 1916 roku, Topoliński podejmuje analizę *Pani Bovary* – ta jednak okazuje się rozczarowująca, ponieważ krytyk nie wychodzi poza kilka ogólnych stwierdzeń, które znamy z innych opracowań poświęconych Flaubertowi i powstałych w tym czasie w Polsce. Czytamy więc o dojrzałym realizmie, który łączy się z romantycznymi skłonnościami Emmy, o artyzmie Flauberta, cierpliwie poszukującego najbardziej trafnych wyrażen, całość zaś kończy się uwagą na temat fenomenu literatury nieosobistej: “[Flaubert] bezwzględnie unika bezpośredniej autora na czytającego presji za pomocą różnych, mniej lub więcej dyskretnych zdań, słów i półsłówek. Powieść, zdaniem Flauberta, nie może być spowiedzią albo wybuchem szczerości autora, ale – zwierciadłem duszy ludzkiej i wiernym odbiciem życia” (Topoliński 1916b: 79). Do tego dodać trzeba próbę charakterystyki kilku głównych bohaterów powieści. Wydaje się, że to jednak mało. Owszem, interesujące (choć nierozwinięte) jest zestawienie Flauberta z Żeromskim, tego rodzaju prac porównawczych w ogóle bowiem nie odnotowujemy w ówczesnej krytyce – wyjątkiem jest wspomniany już przede mnie artykuł Dunin-Borkowskiego o Flaubercie i Dostojewskim, niestety, niespójny i ogólnikowy, poza tym autor w ogóle nie porusza w nim problemów związanych z powieścią polską. Interesująca jest w tym kontekście także uwaga Lubicz-Zaleskiego z cytowanego już szkicu *Les Relations polonaises de Flaubert*, w którym pojawia się zestawienie Flauberta z Berentem – jednak i ono jest zbyt ogólne, by można je było uznać za zadowalające pod względem analitycznym. Niemniej wszystkie wymienione teksty są dowodem tego, iż w pierwszych dziesięcioleciach XX wieku pojawia się w artykułach poświęconych Flaubertowi zacięcie komparatystyczne, wcześniej rzadko obecne w tekstach polskich krytyków literackich (którzy porównywali co najwyżej Flauberta do innych pisarzy francuskich).

Na zakończenie dodać można, że Topoliński, cytując powieść Flauberta, jako jeden z pierwszych sięga po nowe wówczas tłumaczenie utworu, które wyszło w roku 1914 i zostało przygotowane przez Alfreda Iwieńskiego. Ta publikacja jest szczególnie interesująca z dwóch powodów. Po pierwsze, Iwieński włącza się w dyskusję na temat *Pani Bovary*, uznając ją za “niedościgły i beczenny wzór” powieści realistycznej (Flaubert 1912: II) oraz “dzieło o nieskazitelnej budowie” (Flaubert 1912: V). Do tego tłumacz dodaje garść spostrzeżeń komparatystycznych, zestawiając Flauberta z Żeromskim, a konkretnie: *Panią Bovary* z *Dziejami grzechu*, zaś *Salambo* z *Sulkowskim* (zob. Flaubert 1912: III-V). Wreszcie,

podsumowując własne uwagi interpretacyjne, Iwieński podsuwa czytelnikom myśl o artystycznej wyższości Flauberta nad Zolą (zob. Flaubert 1912: VII). Po drugie, polski tłumacz dostrzega rosnące znaczenie przekładów w dziejach polskiej recepcji Flauberta – decyduje się na publikację własnego, ponieważ wcześniejszy, który wyszedł spod pióra Ludwiki Kaczyńskiej, nie wydaje mu się satysfakcjonujący: “Pierwsze tłumaczenie polskie *Pani Bovary* przez L. Kacz. ukazało się w 1878 r. nakładem Przeglądu Tygodniowego. Przekład ten, choć posiadający pewne zalety, nie odpowiada już jednak dzisiejszym wymaganiom. Przetłumaczyliśmy więc całą książkę na nowo i tylko w niewielu wypadkach zatrzymaliśmy dawny przekład” (Flaubert 1912: X).

Tak oto domyka się krąg pierwszych interpretacyjnych oraz komparatystycznych prób lektury dzieł Flauberta w Polsce na początku XX wieku; jednocześnie zaczyna się czas krytycznego namysłu nad kolejnymi przekładami powieści autora francuskiego – wcześniej (zapewne przez wzgląd na językowe kompetencje czytelników) ten element był nieobecny w szeroko rozumianej polskiej recepcji Flauberta.

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Abstract

Piotr Śniedziewski

Gustave Flaubert in Poland (Reception History from 1910 to 1939)

The aim of the article is to reconstruct the main directions of Flaubert's reception in Polish literary criticism at the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, the ideological debates of the 19th-century critics gave way to essayistic and academic considerations. In the rich material, three main parts can be distinguished. Firstly, the already forgotten works by Helena Frejlich, which introduced Flaubert's correspondence to literary studies. Frejlich was one of the first to critically examine Flaubert's letters to Colet, finding in them not only a rich testimony to the everyday life of the great writer, but also a special treatise on aesthetics. Secondly, a fundamental essay by Jan Parandowski should be mentioned, which for many years determined how Flaubert was read in Poland. It is to Parandowski that we owe inspirational remarks on the subject of Flaubert's style, impersonal literature or the poetics of a realistic novel. Thirdly, we should remember scattered interpretative works; the authors (e.g. Lorentowicz, Rogowicz, Topoliński) not only analyzed selected works by Flaubert, but also introduced comparative issues into their essays, comparing Flaubert with Żeromski. Undoubtedly, the first decades of the 20th century influenced the post-war shape of Flaubert's reception in Poland. The article concludes with a discussion of Iwieński's preface to the 1912 translation of *Madame Bovary*. Iwieński repeats the observations previously formulated by other critics, but at the same time opens an important period of reflection on the status of Flaubert's literary translations in Poland.

Keywords

Polish Literary Criticism at the Beginning of the 20th Century; Polish Reception of Flaubert's Works; Flaubert's Correspondence; Helena Frejlich; Jan Parandowski.

Noemi Albanese

*"Revoljucija že byla prekrasna, stichijna".
Noč* di Nikolaj Nikitin

Единственное, что надо беречь, это – *гомос*.
Надо установить твердо, что мерочка газетно-го репортера – правдоподобно или неправдоподобно, соответствует или не соответствует факту, к литературе никак не относится. Она не передатчица фактов, а сама – факт¹.

(Nikitin 1924: 121)

Tra i giovani che fin dal primo storico incontro, avvenuto il 1 febbraio 1921, prendono parte al gruppo dei *Serapionovy brat'ja*, un posto di rilievo spetta sicuramente a Nikolaj Nikolaevič Nikitin (1895-1963), cui viene subito dato il nomignolo Nik-Nik-Nik, formato dalle iniziali di nome, patronimico e cognome². Nato nel 1895 a Pietroburgo, dove aveva frequentato l'università studiando legge, filosofia e storia della lingua russa (Peppard 2003), Nikitin aveva abbozzato i primissimi racconti già nel 1916, ricevendo un lusinghiero

¹ L'uso che qui Nikitin fa del termine *fakt* non è assolutamente da collegare alle coeve ricerche del LEF che porteranno, nel 1929, alla pubblicazione della raccolta *Literatura fakta*, quanto piuttosto da avvicinare alle posizioni del critico A. Voronskij, per il quale il *fakt* doveva necessariamente essere supportato dalla *chudožestvennost'* per poter dar vita a un'opera d'arte degna di tale nome. La coesistenza di *fakt* e *vymysel* nel testo letterario, ammessa quindi da Voronskij, era invece inammissibile per i membri di LEF, che criticarono duramente la posizione dello studioso al riguardo (si veda, ad esempio, Brik 1927). Sulla *literatura fakta* e la *faktografija*, cfr. Zalambani 2006.

² Nel numero 3 del 1922 di "Literaturnye zapiski" compare una sezione monografica dedicata al gruppo, contenente dei brevi testi autobiografici redatti da ogni membro, con la sola eccezione di Nikitin. Nel ritratto del gruppo posto in apertura della sezione, rielaborazione di una foto di M. Nappel'baum, i membri dei fratelli di Serapione sono disposti su due file. In quella superiore si trovano L. Lunc, N. Tichonov, K. Fedin, I. Gruzdev e V. Kaverin, in quella inferiore M. Slonimskij, E. Polonskaja, N. Nikitin, Vs. Ivanov, M. Zoščenko. Sotto il ritratto si legge la seguente nota dalla redazione: "К сожалению, среди помещаемых ниже автобиографий Серапионовых братьев нет автобиографии Ник. Никитина, уехавшего в конце июня из Петербурга". L'unico altro riferimento a Nikitin si legge qualche pagina più avanti, dove si trova una brevissima biografia dell'autore assente a firma di I. Gruzdev: "2. О НИК. НИКИТИНЕ. Никитина нет в Петрограде, и редакция просит меня сообщить что-нибудь о нем. Но я даже не знаю точно, в каком году родился Никитин. Для меня он родился осенью 1920 г., когда в студии Дома Искусств прочел нам свой 'Кол'" (Gruzdev 1922: 30). Probabilmente, come suggerisce E. Dinerštejn (Voronskij 1983: 578), questa è stata in realtà una trovata mistificatoria dello stesso Nikitin, un gioco letterario e cifrato indirizzato ad A. Voronskij, che era per lui in quegli anni interlocutore essenziale e autorevole.

incoraggiamento a continuare con la scrittura da Maksim Gor'kij, che ne avrebbe seguito da vicino il percorso almeno fino ai primi anni Trenta (Gor'kij 1955a, 1955b, 1960).

La scelta di dedicarsi alla carriera artistica e letteraria è consacrata dall'iscrizione, nella primavera del 1920, al *Dom iskusstv*, dove Nikitin frequenta le famose lezioni tenute da Evgenij Zamjatin, certamente da annoverare tra i suoi maestri insieme a Boris Pil'njak³, Viktor Šklovskij e Aleksandr Remizov, nonostante il giovane autore abbia dichiarato più volte a gran voce la propria indipendenza rispetto a questi modelli (Voronskij 1983: 574, 577). La predisposizione di Nikitin per le discussioni e i discorsi accalorati che emerge anche in queste affermazioni è tale che gli altri fratelli di Serapione gli affibbiano, oltre al già citato Nik-Nik-Nik, anche il soprannome di *brat-ritor* (Slonimskij 1987: 428-429).

Tra le ragioni della sua vicinanza al gruppo dei fratelli di Serapione, un ruolo importante spetta alla comune urgenza di sostenere il bisogno di un rinnovamento letterario e, soprattutto, il primato dell'arte sull'ideologia (Lunc 1922). Anche Nikitin in questi anni rivendica con forza la necessità, per l'artista, di non ridursi mai al mero ruolo di 'sismografo' e catalogatore di eventi, sforzandosi al contempo di dimostrare come ciò non sia affatto in contrasto con la fedeltà al comunismo e alla rivoluzione (Nikitin 1924: 118); del resto, egli stesso, così come molti suoi giovani contemporanei, nel 1918 si era arruolato volontario nell'Armata Rossa, animato da un sincero desiderio di contribuire alla causa. Questa lunga esperienza (si era congedato nel 1922) lo aveva segnato profondamente e sarebbe ritornata, a livello di motivi e tematiche, tanto nelle prove in prosa degli esordi, quanto nei testi della maturità.

Gli anni tra il 1920 e il 1922 corrispondono, per Nikitin, non solo al momento di maggiore produttività della sua carriera, ma anche a un pieno riconoscimento da parte della critica, che ne saluta gli esordi letterari con entusiasmo. Come ricorda Michail Slonimskij, "Никитина признали с самых первых его рассказов одним из подающих большие надежды писателем" (Slonimskij 1987: 428): il suo *Podval* si aggiudica il secondo posto in un concorso svoltosi nel 1921 presso il *Dom literatorov* di Pietrogrado (il primo premio era andato al ben più affermato Konstantin Fedin per il racconto *Sad*). Voronskij ne recensisce entusiasticamente il racconto *Dézi*, contenuto nel primo almanacco dei fratelli di Serapione (1922), il cui stile lo spinge a prospettare al giovane scrittore una luminosa carriera ("Большой дар у Никитина и многое ему дано", Voronskij 1922: 266).

Tale lusinghiera recensione da parte di una personalità di primo piano nel panorama della critica letteraria degli anni post-rivoluzionari quale Voronskij segna per Nikitin il momento della consacrazione (seppure temporanea), nonché quello della vera e propria formazione; infatti, sarà proprio nel rapporto con il critico che il giovane troverà quel luogo privilegiato di confronto che lo aiuterà anche a definire la propria poetica e la propria concezione dell'opera d'arte. Alla base del pensiero di Voronskij, infatti, c'era il riconoscere alle figure dello scrittore e del critico il ruolo di *Kulturträger*, di portatori di cultura

³ Sul rapporto di amore e odio tra Pil'njak e Nikitin, incidentale alla storia del testo oggetto del presente articolo, si può fare riferimento a Malygina 2018: 122-125.

(Dobrenko 2011: 13), di mediatori in un particolare periodo storico in cui, alla luce della nuova situazione post-rivoluzionaria, si avvertiva la necessità di rifondare su nuove basi il ruolo tanto del lettore, quanto dello scrittore (Voronskij 1927); è proprio all’interno di questa concezione che Nikitin definisce inizialmente la propria vocazione alla scrittura. Nello stesso 1922 Voronskij fa il nome di Nikitin anche in una lettera indirizzata a Lenin, inserendolo nel novero dei giovani per i quali intravedeva un brillante avvenire e che si proponeva pertanto di indirizzare e formare⁴, nella convinzione che il modo migliore per conoscere e riconoscere la vita e la storia sia proprio attraverso l’arte (Voronskij 1924b, Redakcija 1985):

В противовес “старикам”, почти сплошь белогвардейцам и нытикам, я задался целью дать и “вывести” в свет группу молодых беллетристов – наших и близких нам. Такая молодежь есть. Кое-каких результатов я уже добился. Дал Всеволода Иванова – это уже целое литературное событие, ибо он крупный талант и наш. Есть у меня С.А. Семенов, Зуев, Либединский, Н. Никитин, Федин и др. Все это молодежь – самый старый В. Иванов, 27 лет, все они из Красной Армии, из подлинных низов с красноармейскими звездами. Твердо уверен, что через год-два эта зелень совсем окрепнет и займет места Чириковых и прочих господ, и займет с честью (Voronskij 1964: 216).

Nikitin inizia pertanto a collaborare attivamente con il critico, al quale invia numerosi testi per la rivista “Krasnaja Nov’” e per la casa editrice “Krug”, e con il quale intrattiene una feconda corrispondenza. I rapporti tra i due si raffreddano bruscamente poco più di un anno dopo, quando Voronskij recensisce e stronca duramente la nuova *povest’* di Nikitin, *Noč’* (Voronskij 1923: 344).

Per comprendere meglio il perché di questa aspra critica e il ruolo che ha ricoperto nel definire il successivo percorso artistico e letterario di Nikitin, è fondamentale addentrarsi nella struttura stessa dell’opera, indagandone il peso nel contesto della produzione degli anni Venti dell’autore, imperniata quasi esclusivamente sui temi della guerra civile e della rivoluzione, pur senza indulgere mai nell’autobiografismo. Tra tutti i testi della prima fase ornamentale (1922-1924) della produzione di Nikitin, *Noč’*, infatti, è quella su cui l’autore, a seguito delle reazioni negative della critica, è andato a operare – come si vedrà nel prosieguo della trattazione – le maggiori e più sostanziali modifiche e correzioni, a livello tanto contenutistico/ideologico quanto formale.

Datata 30 luglio 1922 e inviata per la prima volta a Voronskij nel dicembre dello stesso anno (Voronskij 1983: 576), la *povest’* uscì nel corso del 1923 in tre redazioni diverse. Sulla base dell’analisi comparativa dei testi sembra plausibile ipotizzare che la prima versione sia

⁴ Più nel dettaglio sul pensiero di Voronskij, la sua evoluzione, il rapporto con il gruppo di *Pereval* e i conflitti con il gruppo di LEF e “Na postu” si vedano Belaja 1986, 1989, 2004, Šešukov 2013, Jurganov 2018 e Kornienko 2011.

stata l'edizione di Berlino⁵, nella raccolta *Russkie noči* (Nikitin 1923a), a cui è seguita a breve distanza quella dell'almanacco "Krug" (Nikitin 1923b), che contiene la correzione di una serie di refusi e sviste presenti nell'edizione berlinese e introduce una serie di modifiche alla punteggiatura che resteranno, invariate, nella terza redazione, apparsa a distanza di qualche mese, sul finire dell'anno, nello *sbornik Bunt* (Nikitin 1923c) e che presenta alcune sostanziali variazioni dal punto di vista ideologico (cfr. *infra*, appendice).

Noč' rappresenta forse l'esempio più estremo e profondamente coerente di prosa ornamentale⁶ rintracciabile nella produzione di Nikitin; ispirata alla professione di fede nell'anteporre l'artisticità del testo a ogni colore politico, ideologia o propaganda, la *povest'* si caratterizza per una lingua densa, sintetica e altamente metaforica, ricca di idiotismi e ucrainismi, di *Leitmotive* e ripetizioni, tendente alla ritmizzazione. Vi si avverte l'eco lontana delle *Simfonii* di Andrej Belyj, e quella più vicina dei testi di Leonid Leonov, Boris Pil'njak, Aleksej Remizov (e, per il suo filtro, Nikolaj Leskov), con il quale Nikitin ebbe una vivace corrispondenza, e Vsevolov Ivanov, il cui romanzo *Bronepoezd 14-69*, uscito un anno prima, era incentrato, come sarà la *povest'* di Nikitin, sulle vicende legate a un treno blindato. Dal punto di vista lessicale, a dominare è il gusto per i termini dialettali e popolari⁷, rilevato come un problema stilistico per le difficoltà di decodificazione e traduzione che poneva sia dai critici più avversi, sia da Gor'kij, che pure riponeva nel giovane grandi speranze:

⁵ Questa edizione vede la luce per i tipi di "Knigoizdatel'stvo pisatelej v Berline", casa editrice fondata nel 1922 e che sopravviverà fino al 1928, specializzata nella pubblicazione di opere legate alla rappresentazione della vita contemporanea tanto in Russia, quanto negli ambienti dell'emigrazione berlinese (Nicoljukin 1996: 52). Altri due testi successivi di Nikitin, la raccolta *Nočnoj požar* (1924) e la *povest' Polët* (1924), usciranno sempre a Berlino, ma per l'editore "Petropolis", dedito in particolare alla pubblicazione dei testi sovietici a firma di autori sia affermati, sia censurati in patria (Bazanov 2017: 9). Per un'introduzione al vivace ambiente dell'emigrazione russa a Berlino nei primi anni post-rivoluzionari e alle numerose case editrici che qui operavano, si rimanda a Nicoljukin 1996 e a Bazanov 2003.

⁶ Con 'prosa ornamentale' indichiamo una prosa caratterizzata da un forte elemento ritmico (talvolta anche metrico), da un orientamento verso la poesia e dal prevalere del messaggio estetico su quello etico, che porta spesso a una trama rarefatta e secondaria rispetto alla componente metaforica e metonimica, assolutamente predominante. Per un'introduzione al concetto di prosa ornamentale e al dibattito critico e teorico che si è sviluppato al riguardo, si vedano Koževnikova 1979 e Browning 1979.

⁷ Questo aspetto dello stile di Nikitin ha portato la maggior parte dei critici (cfr. Struve 1977, Browning 1979, Peppard 2003, Altermott 2018) a parlare di *skaz*, in particolare di *skaz* ornamentale. I concetti di prosa ornamentale e *skaz*, però, non sono a nostro parere sovrapponibili e partono da istanze diverse, incarnando due diverse espressioni e realizzazioni di una tendenza comune del periodo post-rivoluzionario, ovvero quella tesa al rinnovamento e all'arricchimento della lingua letteraria (Koževnikova 1979). Per approfondimenti, si rimanda in questa sede almeno a Šmid 2003, Marcialis 2011, Dobrenko 2014, nonché al già citato ma essenziale Koževnikova 1979.

Вы [Ivanov, a cui è indirizzata la lettera di Gor'kij, n.a.] злоупотребляете местными речениями, в этом сказывается неправильно понятое увлечение Ремизова и его школы колдовством слова. Этот недостаток есть и у Никитина, он делает вас непереводаемыми на языки Запада Европы. А переводить вас – необходимо по целому ряду причин; одна из них: напряженный – как никогда! – интерес к русской литературе в Европе. Интерес этот – важен, он возвращает Русь на ее место, туда, где она многому научилась и где ей надобно учиться еще и еще. Но она возвращается уже такой, что и у нее можно Европе научиться кое-чему.

Каждый писатель есть звено, которое связует разноязычных и разнородных людей во единое, человеческое, – это – не фантазия (Gor'kij 1955a: 407).

La risposta di Nikitin a questo tipo di accuse è sempre legata a doppio filo all'affermazione che tale scelta derivi da una estrema e partecipata vicinanza al popolo, alla patria, al folclore percepito come ricchezza della terra russa (Voroniskij 1983: 574), facendo eco a quella stessa idea di organicità cara a Voroniskij, secondo il quale le diverse culture coesistenti nella società russa non dovevano essere tra loro chiuse e impermeabili, bensì integrarsi e tra loro amalgamarsi (Belaja 1989: 47).

L'azione, ambientata nell'odierno Krasnodarskij kraj durante la guerra civile, presumibilmente nel 1918, anno in cui si svolsero violenti combattimenti nella zona di Vyselki, vede due treni, uno bianco, “L.G. Kornilov”, e uno rosso, “N. 14-7, Béla Kun”, sfrecciare l'uno contro l'altro fino all'inevitabile scontro e alla reciproca distruzione. Fedele all'idea che l'opera d'arte non debba sottostare ad alcuna ideologia, Nikitin descrive i due schieramenti come specchiandoli e rendendoli complementari. In primo luogo, i treni, esattamente l'uno la copia dell'altro, a partire dalla struttura esterna:

Пузатый паровоз ведет поезд.

У головы и хвоста торчат трехдюймовки – это платформы, дальше пулеметные брони – сами делали (простые шпалы обшиты броней). В середине – классный вагон. В классном – свет. [...] В классном пили чай [...] (Nikitin 1923c: 64)

è il treno dei bianchi. Quello dei rossi

Так же – как тот: две платформы – две трехдюймовки, два броневых каземата и в середине № классный. И в классном тоже пьют чай (Nikitin 1923c: 69).

Nel treno dei bianchi, il generale Promolov, sua moglie Lida e il sottotenente Evdokimov, che di Lida è anche l'amante. Sul “Béla Kun” l'ex colonnello Ramennyj, il giovane soldato Neledin, autore di una commovente lettera alla propria madre, il commissario Sosyč e la segretaria Ellie Bright, americana a cui il vento della rivoluzione, al quale lei ha poi deciso di abbandonarsi, ha tolto tutto. Da entrambe le parti tè, ma soprattutto vodka, e abitudini sessuali dissolute, espressione dell'essenza vitalistica che permane nonostante tutto e tutti: “[в] походе женщины – как вино или табак. Всем ясно, что вытащить па-

пиросу из чужого портсигара или хлебнуть из початой бутылки – не предосудительно” (Nikitin 1923c: 67). Anche i sentimenti di paura e di attaccamento alla patria, la Russia tanto invocata e desiderata, si specchiano gli uni negli altri, e l’unico elemento comico è rintracciabile nella figura del generale Promolov che, due volte al giorno, va al gabinetto e prega (“[М]олился в уборной из-за того, что была она для него одинока и замкнута, как келья” [Nikitin 1923c: 66]), tanto a lungo da farsi diventare il collo rosso per gli inchini e creando immancabilmente, sempre due volte al giorno, una fila di soldati in impaziente attesa fuori dalla porta. Anche il risultato dello scontro nelle prime due versioni del testo (Nikitin 1923a e 1923b) è sostanzialmente un pareggio, una totale disfatta da ambo i lati; un microscopico rimando a una possibile vittoria dei rossi è rintracciabile solo nel fatto che l’ultimo colpo sparato sembra provenire dal Béla Kun. O, forse, il rumore non è più quello dei proiettili ma già del vento, insinua la voce narrante.

Nel descrivere gli eventi la voluta presa di distanza dal loro significato politico (Flaker 1997: 281) è proprio ciò da cui è scaturita l’indignazione di Voronskij e di numerosi altri critici, tra i quali spicca, per la veemenza dell’attacco, il *napostovec* Boris Volin. Il suo articolo “KLEVETNIKI” (Volin 1923) è comunque da leggersi anche come un attacco diretto alle idee di Voronskij e, per il tramite del riferimento a Nikitin, ai giovani che gli gravitavano intorno, in un anno, il 1923, in cui il dialogo tra Voronskij, i *napostovcy* e il gruppo di LEF stava diventando sempre più impossibile e il conflitto si andava radicalizzando e acutizzando (Jurganov 2018).

Sul numero 2 (12) del 1923 di “Krasnaja Nov” Voronskij recensisce la *povest’* e la definisce, in primo luogo, “debole” rispetto agli altri testi di Nikitin:

О революции написан и рассказ Никитина “Ночь”. Во-первых, он слабее других вещей Никитина. Постоянные отступления, неуместная лирика, лишние, невпопад, как будто невзначай, не во время подвернувшиеся, случайные слова [...]. И рядом сцены и фигуры, неплохо отделанные [...]. Но основной недостаток – в каком-то шатком, реакционном, в сущности, настроении автора [...]. Знаем, что Никитин не реакционер, что по-своему он любит русскую революцию, он к тому же талантлив. Откуда же такое мерзкое, в сущности, освещение революционной войны? Вот откуда. Никитин считает, что автор должен быть пред читателем в маске, не показывать своего лица. Если нужна иллюстрация, как подобные взгляды на искусство портят произведения, следует обратиться к “Ночи” Никитина: очень показательно и наглядно (Voronskij 1923: 344).

Quella del critico è, dunque, una valutazione senza appello e alquanto *tranchant*, certamente da leggersi anche nel contesto dell’operazione culturale che Voronskij si proponeva di realizzare in primo luogo attraverso il *tolstyj žurnal* “Krasnaja nov”, e poi a livello più ampio, sulla società tutta. Ciò lo portava a ritenere che i giovani scrittori di talento andassero accolti come *popučiki*, supportati e, in questo modo, indirizzati nella giusta direzione al fine di condurli alla creazione della nuova società e della nuova arte:

Прежде всего и главным образом этот журнал [“Красная пов”, н.а.] должен был сыграть роль объединителя всех честных талантливых писателей, принявших революцию, писателей самых различных литературных течений – от буржуазных до пролетарских. Это надо было сделать для того, чтобы влиять на них, перевоспитывать в революционном духе, тактично, терпимо разъясняя заблуждения, настойчиво и целенаправленно привлекать их к строительству новой жизни. Это надо было сделать еще и для того, чтобы вырвать массу писателей из-под буржуазного влияния, ибо в большинстве своем она была колеблющейся, неустойчивой (Šešukov 2013: 45).

La delusione di Voronskij, quindi, sembra qui nascere dalla convinzione che Nikitin abbia tradito sia le sue aspettative, sia quella poetica condivisa per cui era fondamentale raggiungere l’organicità che avrebbe poi a sua volta portato al nuovo realismo che, per il critico, era la più piena e completa realizzazione della nuova arte post-rivoluzionaria (Belaja 1989: 39).

Ci sembra importante rilevare che la stessa atmosfera di indefinitezza politica presente nella *povest’* e che aveva scatenato le critiche di Voronskij venga letta in chiave completamente opposta trent’anni dopo, da una personalità appartenente a un contesto diverso, sia dal punto di vista artistico, sia da quello ideologico e politico, ovvero Gleb Struve⁸. Questi, infatti, nelle pagine che dedica a Nikitin nella sua *Soviet Russian Literature. 1917-50* del 1951⁹, arriva a collocare con decisione Nikitin dalla parte dei bianchi, introducendo inoltre

⁸ Al riguardo si veda, ad esempio, la prefazione dell’autore all’edizione del 1951 della sua storia letteraria, che riprende e amplia i concetti già espressi nella prefazione all’edizione del 1944 (Struve 1944): “The reader will easily perceive that I am not in sympathy with the present-day totalitarian regime in Russia. I see no reason for concealing this fact, for I think that lack of sympathy with Marshal Stalin and his police-state no more disqualifies me from appraising Soviet literature than, in itself, lack of sympathy with President Truman and the American democracy disqualifies a Soviet scholar [...] from judging American literature. I reject therefore in advance all criticism of my book based on this assumed “lack of sympathy”. In speaking of literature in the Soviet Union it is, of course, impossible to divorce it from political, social, and economic problems. Without being a Marxist, one is willy-nilly obliged to adopt to some extent the Marxian approach to literature. Communist critics in the USSR should be the very last to object to such an approach. However, I have done my best to consider Soviet literature as objectively as possible, and to consider it, above all, as literature” (Struve 1951: x).

⁹ Struve lavorò su questa storia letteraria per gran parte della sua vita, ampliandola e rivedendola nel corso degli anni. La prima edizione, risalente al 1935 e edita a Londra per i tipi della “George Routledge & Sons Ltd.”, *Soviet Russian Literature*, copre gli anni tra il 1924 e il 1934 e viene ripubblicata, con l’aggiunta di un capitolo finale che arriva fino al 1943 e lasciando praticamente invariato il resto del contenuto, nel 1944 per la stessa casa editrice, con il titolo *25 years of Soviet Russian Literature (1918-1943)*. In queste due prime redazioni la figura e l’opera di Nikitin non vengono analizzate nel dettaglio, bensì si fa menzione dell’autore solo nel contesto dei Fratelli di Serapione, definendolo esponente, insieme ad Ivanov, della corrente della “descriptively-dynamic prose” (Struve 1935: 32),

nella propria analisi un terzo elemento non considerato da Voronskij, ovvero il ruolo rivestito dai cosacchi nella narrazione:

It is to be assumed that Nikitin fought in the Civil War, but on whose side we do not know. [...] One of Nikitin's most typical stories—both stylistically and “ideologically”—is “Night.” It is full of literary reminiscences and looks like a mosaic where separate pieces can be traced to various sources: Zamyatin, Pilnyak, Leskov, Remizov, Gogol [...], Russian folklore, and so on. [...] Ideologically speaking, Nikitin refuses to take sides and shows an utter detachment. Both the Reds and the Whites are men—ordinary men—with all their qualities and all their failings. The old general [ovvero Promolov, riguardo al quale l'episodio già citato e legato alla preghiera sembra in realtà più avere i tratti di una macchietta che essere destinato a suscitare pietà o partecipazione, N.A.] and young Neledin are certainly meant to inspire sympathy in the reader, more so than any of the Reds. Moreover, the Whites are also shown fighting for their ideas, for the good of the country as they understand it (this is made particularly clear in Neledin's letter home, which has a very genuine ring). To the Reds and the Whites are opposed the “neutral” Cossacks who refuse to fight, who think only of their selfish interests, and after the final catastrophe try to profit by it, collecting scrap iron from the two burned-out trains (Struve 1951: 62-64).

Certo c'è nella percezione di Struve una lettura parzialmente falsata delle posizioni politiche di Nikitin, sia per formazione e orientamento personale, sia dovuta, probabilmente, all'ignorare alcuni tasselli della vicenda biografica dello scrittore o altre testimonianze (come quelle contenute nell'epistolario, ad esempio)¹⁰, ma è proprio nella possibilità reale della lettura della *povest'* in senso filo-bianco e quindi di un fraintendimento che è ancora una volta da individuare l'elemento stigmatizzato da Voronskij, tanto dal punto di vista ideologico, quanto stilistico. Già prima di questa aspra recensione Nikitin si era trovato a ribadire con forza le proprie posizioni politiche nel contesto della corrispondenza epistolare con il critico (cfr., ad esempio, Voronskij [1983: 575]: “Credo мое – вам известно: – ‘с большевиками!’”), anche alla luce di accuse che gli erano state mosse da più fronti riguardo la sua supposta scarsa ortodossia e fedeltà politica (tra le critiche più pungenti e

espressione del primo periodo post-rivoluzionario, “romantic and elementally-destructive” (Struve 1935: 60). Tra le sue opere vengono ricordate solo *Polët* (1925), *Prestuplenie Kirika Rudenko* (1928) e *Špion* (1930). È solo a partire dall'edizione successiva, pubblicata nel 1951 negli Stati Uniti, *Soviet Russian Literature. 1917-50*, che a Nikitin – e, soprattutto, a *Noč*, *povest'* scoperta da Struve (come sembra logico dedurre dalla prefazione) proprio in quegli anni e che lo lasciò entusiasta – verrà dedicato un intero e approfondito sottocapitolo monografico all'interno del capitolo II, *Revolutionary Romanticism: 1921-24*, da cui sono tratte le considerazioni riportate nel corpo del testo. Questo sottocapitolo compare, identico, anche nella quarta e ultima edizione della storia letteraria, *Russian Literature under Lenin and Stalin 1917-1953*, pubblicata nel 1971.

¹⁰ Nella già citata prefazione all'edizione del 1951 Struve sottolinea l'estrema difficoltà riscontrata nel reperire molti testi sovietici e il cruciale ruolo svolto, in questo, dalle biblioteche americane e, in particolare, da quella dell'Università della California (Struve 1951: IX-X).

malevole si può ricordare quella del già menzionato B. Volin, che attaccava contemporaneamente autori appartenenti a correnti diverse e tra loro in conflitto, ovvero I. Èrenburg, N. Nikitin e O. Brik, accumulati, secondo l'autore, dal rappresentare l'incarnazione dei peggiori vizi della letteratura coeva, cfr. Volin 1923).

Nella già citata lettera a Voronskij del 29 dicembre 1922, presentando *Noč'*, Nikitin aveva affermato:

“Ночью” [...] я закрепляю свою позицию лирическую, как лирика (я, кажется, сейчас единственный лирик, насколько это мне известно из чужих разговоров).

Я не могу считать эту вещь бытовой, символической, реалистической (да я и вообще не бытовик), чтобы отвести от себя упрек в статичности этой вещи, я хочу – чтобы было такое предисловие, его надо напечатать сразу после заглавия, немного поднявшись над текстом повести, т.е. так, как я это даю в приложении к этому письму – пусть это вставят (Voronskij 1983: 576).

Sfortunatamente l'introduzione non si è conservata, né è stata pubblicata, ma il senso era chiaro: allontanare ulteriormente da sé l'accusa di non partecipare al progetto socialista e ribadire contestualmente il proprio diritto di praticare “[н]е искусство для искусства – это сладкая ложь и глупая. А писательство, как искусство” (Nikitin 1924: 116), tanto più alla luce della profonda coscienza del proprio essere principalmente un lirico, quindi praticamente quasi un corpo estraneo nel contesto di ciò che veniva richiesto agli artisti a livello ufficiale e centrale.

Stando alla corrispondenza pubblicata tra Nikitin e Voronskij, non ci fu da parte dell'autore una reazione immediata alla stroncatura: una malattia, aggravata in particolare dal dispiacere per lo scarso successo e le critiche rivolte sia a questa *povest'* che alla raccolta *Rvotnyj fort* (ripubblicata con integrazioni e modifiche nel 1926, quattro anni dopo la prima edizione), gli impedì di rispondere subito, portandolo a scegliere di rimandare la discussione a un successivo incontro a Mosca (Voronskij 1983: 584-585). In ogni caso, nella lettera al critico dell'11 aprile 1923, Nikitin assicura che sarebbe tornato a lavorare al testo di *Noč'* (sebbene altrove affermi con orgoglio di non rivedere né modificare mai le proprie opere dopo averle date alle stampe, cfr. Nikitin 1930: 112), inserendo nuove scene e modificando in particolare il finale (Voronskij 1983: 585): qualche mese dopo, in effetti, la *povest'* sarà ripubblicata nella raccolta *Bunt* (edita dalla casa editrice “Krug”, diretta da Voronskij), dove viene segnalato “рассказ печатается в исправленном виде” (Nikitin 1923c: 59).

L'elemento più problematico contenuto nella prima e seconda versione del testo è sicuramente ricollegabile a una terza parte in causa, la forza ulteriore e altra rispetto ai bianchi e ai rossi rilevata anche dall'analisi già citata di Struve: i cosacchi del Terek (*Terskie kazaki*). Questi vengono rappresentati come una forza primigenia, cieca, incontrollata ed egoista, una folla indefinita e incarnata in un solo personaggio, l'unico a possedere un nome proprio: Kuz'ma Fenogenov. Kuz'ma, che di tutti i cosacchi è quindi in qualche modo l'ipostasi, ne rappresenta in maniera estremamente accentuata e concentrata i tratti, inclusi i più animaleschi e

brutali. Ciò che viene criticato da Voronskij è la neutralità mostrata dall'autore nel fornire un giudizio su questo personaggio, il quale sembra uscire dalla battaglia tra bianchi e rossi da vero vincitore, sfilando la rivoluzione, di cui si svelerebbe così l'inutilità profonda, e trasmettendo contestualmente il messaggio, seppur velato, che il sacrificio del popolo non sia servito a nulla, perché gli uomini non cambiano e ricadono sempre nei medesimi errori.

Dall'analisi puntuale e contrastiva delle tre versioni del testo risalta con chiarezza che, nell'apportare le modifiche, l'autore nella seconda redazione si sia concentrato essenzialmente su questioni di punteggiatura¹¹, ortografiche (inclusa la correzione di errori di battitura) e sul cambio di registro nel discorso diretto di alcuni personaggi – segnatamente, i soldati dell'Armata Rossa – che, inizialmente caratterizzato in senso diastraticamente basso, è stato poi avvicinato allo standard della norma linguistica. Nella terza redazione (1923c) l'autore va invece oltre le modifiche puramente formali, agendo a livello tematico e ideologico, muovendosi in questo modo nella direzione della revisione auspicata da Voronskij. Le variazioni di questo tipo sono in totale sette, di cui tre non influiscono in maniera significativa sul senso del testo (l'inserimento dell'aggettivo *podlaja* riferito a *zeml'ja* [Nikitin 1923c: 84]; l'inserimento isolato del sintagma rafforzativo *net somnenija* [Nikitin 1923c: 86] e l'inserimento della proposizione “Крик одинокий – длинный, белый, сырой, как полотенце” che rafforza la drammaticità dell'ultimo incontro di Lida e Evdokimov [Nikitin 1923c: 96]). Delle restanti quattro alterazioni, due – poste una in chiusura, e una nella penultima pagina (Nikitin 1923c: 110, 111) – contribuiscono a consolidare l'idea della forza e della giustizia della rivoluzione. Sono però le ultime due ad essere davvero significative: hanno un'ampiezza più estesa e mostrano come l'autore abbia accolto la richiesta di correzione ideologica lasciata intendere come necessaria dalla stroncatura di Voronskij. Il primo frammento aggiunto è costituito da cinque paragrafi, dalla lunghezza complessiva di poco superiore a una pagina tipografica (Nikitin 1923c: 106-107, “Об этом голосе [...] после боя, золой”) e fornisce una caratterizzazione inequivocabilmente negativa dei cosacchi, a cui ci si riferisce con gli appellativi di *svoloči*, *padali* e *šakaly*. A loro viene contrapposta la rivoluzione come *stichija*, forza primigenia e primordiale, che presenta aspetti contraddittori superati dalla bellezza e giustizia della causa in sé, che merita le siano dedicate canzoni e che ai suoi martiri sia resa quella stessa gloria che, invece, non sarà mai riconosciuta ai cosacchi:

Имя – Кузьма Феногенов.

Эту сволочь история назовет шакалами. У революции тоже были свои шакалы, стоявшие в стороне и ждавшие поживы. Революция же была прекрасна, стихийна – как ночная, полная огня, гроза. Это говорится не для оправдания, это совсем не поэтический образ... Это – стихия. А о стихии надо складывать песню.

И эту песню о бое, русской степи, о грозе – сложат певцы, может быть, каждый сложит по своему, по разному, но ни один из них не прославит славы Кузьме Феноге-

¹¹ Per il dettaglio delle modifiche e delle tipologie si veda l'Appendice, *infra*.

нову и его табунам. Все это так же, как осталось еще нам в наследство – в старинных степных песнях, т.-е. – о подлости половца и мести козара.

Не славу – а проклятие. Проклятие – гревшимся теплой, после боя, золой (Nikitin 1923c: 107).

Il secondo frammento aggiunto è considerevolmente più lungo, si estende per tre pagine (Nikitin 1923c: 108-110) e racconta l'arrivo, dopo la battaglia, di una squadra di rossi, lavoratori, espressione massima del *narod* (“Они шли из штолен, шахт, от карьеров, где еще стояли вагонетки и скрипели цепи экскаваторов” [Nikitin 1923c: 108]) i quali, dopo aver reso onore ai caduti e riportato alla mente gli orrori perpetrati dai bianchi nei loro confronti e verso le loro famiglie, issano la bandiera rossa della vittoria, sigillando il sacrificio che acquista, così, senso: “[б]ыла кровь, значит нужна и печаль. Жертва без печали пуста” (Nikitin 1923c: 110).

L'inserimento di questi due frammenti testuali va effettivamente nella direzione richiesta da Voronskij, che, nella ristampa dell'anno successivo del proprio articolo contenente la stroncatura aggiungerà la seguente nota: “В позднейшей книге рассказов ‘Бунт’ автор переделал ‘Ночь’ и истолковал Кузьму по-иному, более приемлемо” (Voronskij 1924a: 192).

Un ulteriore momento centrale del testo su cui porre l'attenzione è costituito dall'elemento naturale che, seppure non risulti tematicamente nuovo rispetto ad altri testi prodotti da altri autori in quegli anni (un possibile rimando è, ad esempio, alla poesia neocontadina, di cui Nikitin probabilmente avvertì l'influsso e il fascino), è però nuovo per Nikitin, che non aveva mai dato in testi precedenti, né lo farà in altri successivi, tale risalto. È infatti la natura la vera protagonista della *povest'*, l'unica vincitrice della battaglia tra le parti in gioco, l'unica a sopravvivere alla distruzione, che anzi non la tocca ma quasi la rigenera nel suo essere, come la rivoluzione, *stichija*. È qui, e in particolare nel vento, che risiede la vera forza primigenia ma vitale (non distruttiva come quella dei cosacchi), che si fa beffe delle velleità umane e che sopravvive sempre e comunque, che infuria con i treni nel loro correre cieco e che, dopo la battaglia, confonde i rumori e i resti, e ha un odore “густой и пьяный, что у молодого хлеба” (Nikitin 1923c: 104). L'elemento naturale si mescola a quello magico e folclorico, che è “[...] язык земли (не мещанина, а мужика), смешной и корявый, богатый и темный. [...] Фольклор – это русское богатство” (Voronskij 1983: 574). Numerosi sono i riferimenti alle erbe magiche per curare e per uccidere, al *raskovnik*, agli uccelli del Paradiso della mitologia slava, e proprio alle descrizioni della natura si legano i passaggi più ornamentali del testo che, in particolare attraverso un uso sapiente delle ripetizioni identiche o leggermente variate, scandiscono i diversi brani e ne definiscono la musicalità interna. Particolarmente rappresentativo al riguardo è l'incipit:

Ночами пели степные удушливые ветры. Не о себе пели, а о том, что надо нам. Ветры рвали кобылий пух – путаясь в степях, ища дороги на Выселки. И мы бродили, как пух, по степям за жаркими ветрами – ища тоже.

Когда человеку скучно жить, он идет в ветры, в ночи, в степи. Туда—где новые, нетронутые места, — где нужно начинать жизнь сначала. Где дикий песок, камни, ковыль и сухое конское кало (Nikitin 1923c: 61).

La natura, sovrana assoluta e imperante, sembra essere popolata perlopiù da citelli e mandrie, sorvegliate dagli *evtuchi*, neologismo derivato da *evnuch* e *pastuch*, figure apparentemente umane, ma in realtà completamente integrate e compenstrate nell'ambiente circostante, del quale sono la quintessenza e che, distanti da tutto, vengono rappresentate sempre in gruppo, vicino al fuoco, intenti a maledire i treni che passano e che, con il loro frastuono, rompono l'armonia. La grande opposizione, dunque, sembra in fin dei conti essere non quella tra rossi e bianchi, bensì quella tra mondo umano (rossi, bianchi e cosacchi) e naturale (inclusi gli *evtuchi*), il primo caratterizzato dall'egoismo e dalla certezza della morte, della sconfitta, il secondo eterno e pronto a rinascere dopo ogni catastrofe come a ogni primavera. Unico punto di contatto tra i due mondi sono le donne, tanto cosacche quanto rosse e bianche, le sole in grado di mettersi in ascolto della natura e coglierne i segnali e che sono, per questo, avverse all'istanza belligerante maschile.

Con la raccolta *Bunt* del 1923, che include anche la versione rivista di *Noč'*, termina sostanzialmente la breve fase ornamentale della produzione di Nikitin, che già sul finire del 1922 aveva inoltre cessato di partecipare agli incontri dei fratelli di Serapione. I testi che seguono, a partire dal giornalistico *Sejčas na Zapade* (1924), dalla raccolta *Polët* (1925) e dalle *Obojanskije povesti* (1928), seguono un percorso comune a molti autori del tempo e virano sempre più verso la linea letteraria ufficiale e la descrizione della vita sovietica e delle sue sfide, tra cui quelle dell'industrializzazione (a questo proposito riscosse un discreto successo il dramma *Linija ognja* del 1931) per poi tornare, dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, a parlare della guerra civile ma con modalità e armamentario stilistico, ritmico e di immagini ovviamente completamente diversi da quelli dei testi degli anni Venti, che rimangono il vertice della produzione di Nikitin. Nel rinunciare alla libertà ideologica strenuamente difesa in gioventù, e vissuta poi quasi come una colpa ("Он хорошо понимал, что надо преодолеть первоначальный стихийный период и все то, что мешает дальнейшему росту писателя" [Tichonov 1966: 4]), l'autore rinuncia anche alla dirompenza e allo sperimentalismo linguistico e sintattico trasformandosi, come avevano già compreso i suoi contemporanei (e come si evince scorrendo le recensioni ai suoi testi prodotte dai critici nel corso degli anni), da promettente giovane in epigono pur abile, ma dalla voce artistica debole e scarsamente riconoscibile (Altergott 2018: 52), come laconicamente rilevato anche da Gor'kij nella lettera a I. Gruzdev del febbraio 1929:

О Серапionaх Вы написали печальную правду. Не растут, а умяляются. Никитина уже нет — заболтался, изнебрежничался. "Средний проспект" — сухо и тускло, "Скандалиста" еще не читал, "Братя" — преждевременно солидно. А — главное: все позволяют действительности одолевать себя, покорно подчиняются фактам. Слуховая и зрительная память, личные кожные раздражения развиваются до

чувствительности болезненной, и все это подавляет воображение, домыслы, интуицию (Gor'kij 1955b: 126).

Pertanto, se pure oggi Nikitin è ricordato soprattutto per le opere legate alla seconda fase della sua produzione artistica (tra cui il romanzo *Severnaja Avrora*, 1949, per il quale nel 1951 riceve il premio Stalin), più vicina agli stilemi del realismo socialista, sono invece i testi in prosa composti nei primi anni Venti a rappresentare dei veri tesori nascosti da riscoprire e ristudiare, in particolare alla luce dei materiali d'archivio ed epistolari, ricostruendo relazioni, influenze e contatti fondamentali per una maggiore comprensione tanto dell'autore, quanto della sua epoca, ma ancora poco indagati. *Noč'*, con le sue tre redazioni edite a brevissima distanza tra loro nel corso dello stesso anno e in virtù delle rilevanti variazioni di carattere ideologico inserite nell'ultima versione segna il vero e proprio spartiacque nel percorso dello scrittore, i cui toni e le cui tematiche muteranno drasticamente già a partire dall'anno successivo svelando, pertanto, un radicale cambiamento di poetica e interessi.

Appendice

Si riportano in appendice i dati emersi dall'analisi comparata delle tre versioni di *Noč'* e che hanno permesso di determinare i rapporti tra le tre redazioni, identificando la più antica in Nikitin 1923a e la più recente in Nikitin 1923c.

Le TABELLE 1 e 2 riassumono, rispettivamente, quanto avvenuto tra Nikitin 1923a e 1923b, e tra Nikitin 1923b e 1923c. Il totale degli interventi, suddivisi per tipologia, è riportato anche sottoforma di percentuale per mostrare l'incidenza delle singole categorie sull'interezza della *povest'*.

La TABELLA 3, infine, confronta il totale degli interventi tra Nikitin 1923a e 1923c nel tentativo di fornire una rapida e chiara valutazione complessiva di quanto avvenuto tra la prima e l'ultima redazione del testo.

TABELLA 1

Tipologia e incidenza degli interventi effettuati su Nikitin 1923b rispetto a 1923a

	totale	%
Aggiunte	0	0%
Correzione errori	29	26%
Adeguamento convenzioni grafiche (e/ë, '/'b, ...)	14	12%
Modifiche sintattiche minori	12	11%
Punteggiatura	42	38%
Registro	15	13%

TABELLA 2

Tipologia e incidenza degli interventi effettuati su Nikitin 1923c rispetto a 1923b

	totale	%
Aggiunte	7	7%
Correzione errori	6	6%
Adeguamento convenzioni grafiche (e/ë, '/'b, ...)	2	2%
Modifiche sintattiche minori	9	8%
Punteggiatura	58	54%
Registro	25	23%

TABELLA 3
(RIASSUNTIVA)

Tipologia e incidenza degli interventi effettuati tra Nikitin 1923a e 1923c

	totale	%
Aggiunte	7	3%
Correzione errori	35	17%
Adeguamento convenzioni grafiche (e/ë, '/'b, ...)	15	7%
Modifiche sintattiche minori	20	10%
Punteggiatura	97	46%
Registro	35	17%

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Abstract

Noemi Albanese

“Revoljucija že byla prekrasna, stichijna”: *Nikolaj Nikitin’s Noč’*

Despite being one of the lesser known Serapion Brothers, Nikolaj Nikitin had a brilliant early career. He was acclaimed by M. Gorkij and the critic A. Voronskij as a very promising writer, able to convey the spirit of the post-revolutionary period, also in light of his personal experience as a volunteer in the Red Army. The first phase of his literary production dates from 1922 to 1924. In the texts of this period the thematic focus is mainly on the experience of the revolution, while, stylistically, they are characterized by a highly evocative and musical language that reveals the influence of A. Belyj’s *Simfonii*. The article focuses on the long story (*povest’*) *Noč’*, edited and redacted three times during 1923, more than any of Nikitin’s novels. Being the most redacted and revised piece of Nikitin’s long fiction, the *povest’* offers the possibility to investigate the relationship between the author and Voronskij who, more than anyone else, had a great impact on the young writer. The *povest’* focuses on the battle between two trains, one white (called “L.G. Kornilov”) and one red (the “N. 14-7, Béla Kun”). In the first edition, the result of the battle is not conveyed to the reader; the only outcome is destruction and pain, and this caused a very negative and passionate reaction from critics and readers. The comparison of the three redactions of the *povest’* shows the direction of the revisions, which started from a merely stylistic point of view and then moved to a more ideological layer, clarifying the result of the battle (now undoubtedly assigned to the Red Army) and highlighting the *stichijnyj* but deeply legitimate character of the Revolution itself. Starting from 1924, Nikitin will no longer participate in the meetings of the Serapion Brothers, and his poetics and chosen topics will change as well, moving in the stylistic and ideological direction that will be formalized in 1934 under the name of Socialist Realism.

Keywords

Nikolaj Nikitin; Ornamental Prose; Serapion Brothers; Revolutionary Prose.

Olga Trukhanova

La formula dell'esistenza.
I confini della metanarrativa
in *Čelovek v pejzaže* di Andrej Bitov

Andrej Bitov (Leningrado 1937-Mosca 2018), conosciuto soprattutto per il suo romanzo-museo *Puškinskij dom* (*La casa Puškin'*, 1978) oggi è considerato un autore 'classico' fra i postmodernisti russi. La sua opera, di non facile comprensione ma originale scrittura, continua la linea genealogica che va dall'autore del primo romanzo russo in versi a Vladimir Nabokov e, nonostante l'indubbia innovazione, si inserisce perfettamente nella tradizione letteraria russa ponendo interrogativi insistiti sulle problematiche 'eterni' che assillavano i suoi predecessori². Bitov era un fenomeno a sé stante per l'epoca in cui esordì il suo talento, attraversando subito il confine che divideva la letteratura sovietica da quella post-sovietica senza aver mai riconosciuto la necessità di fare suddivisioni generazionali o iscrizioni, pur formali e non ideologiche, a una corporazione degli scrittori (Genis 1997; Ivanova 1988). Egli è riuscito a immettere la scrittura nella vita e la vita nella scrittura, assumendola come una forma d'esistenza: "è strutturato in modo tale che essere scrittore per lui non costituisce una modalità professionale, bensì esistenziale" (Rodnjanskaja 2006: 556)³. C'è nella produzione letteraria di Bitov un breve *récit* che, sicuramente, s'impone all'attenzione, non solo per la sua poeticità, ma anche per la curiosità che può suscitare se collegato al fenomeno tecnicamente chiamato metanarrativa⁴.

¹ Traduzione del titolo scelta da Mario Caramitti (2010: 188), mentre la traduzione di Margherita Crepax Rossetti, uscita nel 1988, porta come titolo *La casa di Puškin*.

² Uno studio approfondito sulle riflessioni filosofiche di Bitov alla ricerca dell'*istina* ('verità') è proposto da Natal'ja Kovtun (2017) che, tracciando i modelli sia della letteratura europea sia di quella russa, lo avvicina in questo senso a Nabokov e al suo racconto *Ultima Thule* (1942). Quest'ultimo rappresenta la tappa conclusiva del periodo europeo di Sirin, in cui ricorreva ancora al platonismo e al realismo cristiano nel tentativo di giungere all'essenza delle cose (Ariev 2000).

³ Qui e di seguito, ove non è diversamente indicato, la traduzione è mia (O.T.).

⁴ *Metapovestvovanie* o 'metanarrativa' è inteso qui sia come strumento per esplorare il rapporto tra letteratura e realtà (Wagh 1984) sia come espediente stilistico che permette all'autore di intervenire nel suo scritto in prima persona (Hutcheon 1984). Nella letteratura critica, a volte discordante sulla definizione del fenomeno, si applicano spesso termini quali *metafiction* o *self-conscious novel* ormai diventati sinonimi. Sulla questione esiste già un'ampia bibliografia, ad iniziare da William Gass (1970) che ha introdotto il termine *metafiction* e da Jean-François Lyotard con il suo *La Condition Postmoderne* (1979), in cui la metanarrazione occupa un posto rilevante, passando per

Čelovek v pejzaže (*L'uomo nel paesaggio*), scritto nel 1983 e pubblicato sulla rivista "Novyj mir" nel 1987⁵, fa parte della trilogia *Oglašennye* (*I catecumeni*, 1995) insieme ad altri due racconti: *Pticy* (*Uccelli*, 1971) e *Ožidanie obez'jan* (*L'attesa delle scimmie*, 1993). Il romanzo *I catecumeni* con i testi annessi, secondo Irina Rodnjanskaja, riesamina due decenni di storia sovietica, dagli anni Settanta ai primi anni Novanta, ciascuno dei quali si distingue per un preciso aspetto storico e socio-culturale:

Uccelli, con la sua visione drammatica della catastrofe nucleare ai limiti della sanzione censoria e con il *pathos* investito all'ecologia in sostituzione della protesta civile, vuole incentrarsi sugli anni '70; *L'uomo nel paesaggio*, che narra la convulsa ricerca di Dio in un paese in via di annientamento causa alcolismo – sugli anni '80; *L'attesa delle scimmie* è, invece, una testimonianza dei sette anni burrascosi, anch'essi passati alla storia (dall'anno segnato da Orwell-Amal'rik⁶, ovvero dall'inizio del 1984 fino alla caduta del regime socialista nell'agosto del 1991) (Rodnjanskaja 2006: 554).

L'intera trilogia fu definita dall'autore stesso come *roman-stranstvie* (romanzo-pellegrinaggio), dicitura riportata sul frontespizio sin dalla prima edizione, nella quale emerge una concezione del viaggio non solo come traslazione nello spazio, ma anche e soprattutto come dimensione di geografia letteraria con una profonda valenza filosofica. Del resto, tutta la sua vita altro non fu che un continuo *stranstvie* (cfr. Shuvaeva-Petrosyan 2018).

Nell'universo creato da Bitov non esistono confini ben definiti, né spaziali né temporali. E anche nei casi in cui ci ritroviamo in uno spazio così perimetrato e concreto da prestarsi a un'interpretazione realistica di viaggio, questo si dilata all'improvviso, quasi per incanto, tanto da disorientare i personaggi che lo abitano e percorrono.

Pur rimanendo un segmento della trilogia, *L'uomo nel paesaggio* resta un'opera concettualmente autosufficiente e si presta a un'analisi slegata dalla sua totalità strutturale, decisa dall'autore in un secondo momento. Lo stile eclettico che lo connota approda ora al picaresco ora alla metafisica, accorpa i tratti di vari generi letterari e folklorici: dalla fiaba (con la canonica iniziazione del protagonista che, alla conquista di sé stesso e della felicità

Robert Alter (1975), Inger Christensen (1981), le sunnominated Linda Hutcheon (1984) e Patricia Waugh (1984), ma anche Brian McHale (1987), Veronika Zuseva-Ozkan (2014) ecc. Puntando i ferri del mestiere sulla letteratura russa questo fenomeno è stato studiato in particolare da Dmitrij Segal (1979; 1981), David Shephard (1992), Mark Lipoveckij (1997; 2000), Justin Weir (2002), Mark Amusin (2016) e altri.

⁵ Lo scoglio principale per gli editori, a giudicare da ciò che confessò lo stesso Bitov nelle edizioni successive di questo testo, era l'abbondanza di alcol. Per superare l'ostacolo della censura egli dovette aggiungere una paginetta in stile semiserio sulle statistiche a riguardo. Ad esempio, nella raccolta del 1988, a cui *L'uomo nel paesaggio* ha dato il titolo, questa premessa risulta già assente.

⁶ Andrej Aleksevič Amal'rik (Mosca 1938-Guadalajara 1980), scrittore sovietico morto accidentalmente in esilio, famoso per il libro *Sopravviverà l'Unione Sovietica fino al 1984?* (1969). Un chiaro ricorso a Orwell nell'interrogarsi sul futuro, radioso o no, dell'impero comunista.

si ritrova “за семью долами, за семью горами”⁷ (Bitov 1987: 92) – oltre le sette valli, oltre i sette monti) alla parabola evangelica e alla satira menippea.

Al centro del racconto si snoda il problema del Creatore e della sua opera in senso lato, del genio e del profano, dell’Uomo come parte della natura e come suo pervicace dominatore. I temi, che affronteremo in seguito in maniera analitica, sono dipanati da due attori. Essi non si conoscevano prima di questo viaggio, segnato da uno stato di coscienza alterato dal consumo smisurato di alcol e durato quasi tre giorni, né si sono più rivisti in seguito.

La trama, come suggerisce in un’altra occasione lo stesso Bitov⁸, è carente di eventi e all’inizio incastonata in una cornice paesaggistica in piena derelizione: scatolame arrugginito e confitto in terra, brandelli di giornale dal testo ormai slavato e illeggibile, stracci sordidi e una croce verniciata di rosso che si erge nella sterpaglia a dichiarare la prossimità di un cimitero. La natura selvaggia riconquista i suoi spazi e le cornacchie “si levano in aria, volteggiando su un tempo perento, non sul presente” (Bitov 1987: 66). Il teatro dell’azione è la periferia di Mosca, mai espressamente nominata⁹. Che si tratti della capitale sovietica, lo intuiamo dal dialogo del protagonista con il poliziotto che lo ferma di notte ubriaco fradicio. Così veniamo a sapere che egli risiede nel vicolo Aptekarskij, nei pressi delle tre stazioni, ovvero vicino alla piazza Komsomol’skaja che ospita il Leningradskij, Kazanskij e Jaroslavskij vokzal. Il vero centro della narrazione diventano però i luoghi simbolici e archetipici di una città senza nome: Monastero-Cremlino-Stazione di polizia-Cantiere-Appartamento semivuoto in periferia, la cui schematicità crea una realtà parallela che si dissolve trapassando in allucinazione.

La ripartizione spaziale della narrazione, con il suo slancio visionario rimanda genericamente alla *Commedia* dantesca¹⁰, riprendendo la discesa agli inferi con il successivo risalire verso le sfere celesti assistito da una guida spirituale. Dalle colline che ospitano il complesso monastico, immerso nella natura selvaggia o inselvaticata che funge da ‘selva oscura’, si passa allo spazio sacro e nel contempo desacralizzato della chiesa, del refettorio, della

⁷ È un ritornello diffuso nelle fiabe russe e in quelle di altre etnie stanziati sul territorio dell’odierna Federazione Russa. Si usa per circoscrivere lo spazio magico in cui si svolgono le peripezie dell’eroe e può presentare alcune varianti, come ad esempio la versione altrettanto frequente “за семью горами, за семью морями” (“oltre i sette monti, oltre i sette mari”).

⁸ Nel suo ultimo romanzo *L’insegnante di simmetria* lo scrittore afferma che “в России нет сюжета – одно пространство. [...] В океане нет сюжета, как нет его и в России: опыту не во что упереться – края нет, бездна. Для сюжета необходимо первым делом замкнуть пространство” (“In Russia non esiste la trama, il *plot*, ma solo lo spazio. [...] L’oceano non ha trama e così neanche la Russia: l’esperienza non possiede un punto di appoggio – non v’è un limite, solo l’abisso. Per creare una trama bisogna innanzitutto circoscrivere lo spazio”, Bitov 2007: 112).

⁹ Secondo Ellen Chances, il leningradese Bitov ambienta una buona parte della *povest’* a Kolomenskoe, un antico villaggio alla periferia di Mosca inglobato dalla città negli anni Sessanta (cfr. E. Chances 2007: 418).

¹⁰ Un’analisi dei parallelismi con la *Commedia* dantesca è proposta da Susan Brownsberger (2007: 393-416). La studiosa, però, si concentra specificatamente sugli aspetti teologici del testo bitoviano.

cripta, che sembra un'estensione diretta delle catacombe, per poi attraversare il confine seguendo il muro di un Cremlino, una sorta di "natural burella" che segna il varco del Purgatorio, accompagnati dalla luce di una stella. Dopo un brevissimo episodio alla Stazione di polizia e una tappa al Cantiere, dove i protagonisti discutono del mito della Creazione, la strada conduce a un Eden fittizio, con il giardino dei meli e le fredde, insignificanti *novostrojki* che si stagliano come zolle di zucchero "sparse nei raggi di sole al tramonto" (Bitov 1987: 93). Dalla finestra di uno di questi edifici davanti agli occhi del protagonista compare un alce, abitatore tipico delle foreste russe, la cui figura è interpretata dalla Meyer (2007) come il messaggero dell'Apocalisse.

A compiere il viaggio sono in due, come abbiamo già detto sopra: l'Io narrante identificabile con l'autore del racconto e il pittore-filosofo Pavel Petrovič che lo trascina nel suo mondo fatto di domande tormentose, dipinti replicati all'infinito e innumerevoli bottiglie di Kavkaz, una dozzinale versione sovietica del vino di Porto. Oltre ai protagonisti c'è Simeon, un taciturno *otšel'nik* contemporaneo, guardiano delle botti con i cetrioli in salamoia, a cui si aggiungono le figure episodiche delle guardie notturne, un operaio del cantiere e la moglie addormentata di Pavel Petrovič. Nel finale incontriamo di nuovo lo stesso Bitov, non più nelle vesti del protagonista errante, ma che ricrea letteralmente "the postmodernist *topos* of the writer at his desk" (McHale 1987: 198), mentre finisce di scrivere con due pulcini che cercano di scaldarsi ai suoi piedi. In analogia col pittore-ubriacone, che schiaccia il proprio naso in tutte le raffigurazioni paesaggistiche che esegue, rievocando Gogol', è onnipresente pure l'ombra erratica di Bitov: narratore-traduttore-esploratore che si cala nei panni del personaggio letterario. Egli offre così al lettore una duplice visione del mondo: da fuori, come spettatore esterno (Scrittore-Creatore) e dall'interno, come protagonista della vicenda da lui stesso immaginata. Questa dicotomia diventa una costante dopo il primo 'viaggio' spirituale in *Uroki Armenii* (*Lezioni armene*, 1969) e resta tale per tutti i suoi scritti successivi (cfr. Rodnjanskaja 2006).

Non è certamente inedito come approccio: i modelli a cui s'ispira Bitov sono molti, da Laurence Sterne e Vladimir Nabokov – costui considerato il capostipite del 'romanzo narcisista' russo, secondo la definizione di Medarič (1997) – che spesso anagrammava il suo nome o si concedeva un'apparizione estemporanea all'interno della narrazione, passeggiando con la moglie nel lungomare della località balneare in *Korol', Dama, Valet* (*Re, Regina, Fante*, 1928)¹¹. Per il postmodernismo letterario, però, cessa di essere un espediente

¹¹ La storia conosce anche numerosi esempi di autoritratti inseriti in pittura, dai primitivi fiamminghi (Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck), al Rinascimento italiano (Botticelli, Benozzo Gozzoli, Andrea Mantegna) e nordico, al simbolismo belga (James Ensor): si pensi ad esempio alla *Scuola di Atene* (1509-1511) di Raffaello, in cui l'artista si ritrae tra Zoroastro e Claudio Tolomeo in abiti a lui contemporanei, a Paolo Veronese, astante nelle *Nozze di Cana* (1563) o ancora all'*Adorazione della Santissima Trinità* (1511) di Dürer, il quale coglie l'occasione per immortalarsi entro un brullo paesaggio collinare. E nel cinema c'è il precedente di Alfred Hitchcock che si ritagliava una breve apparizione in tutti i suoi film a partire da una data cronologicamente vicina al partito assunto da Nabokov.

collaterale ludico o narcisistico e si trasforma, insieme all'intertestualità, in uno dei pilastri del nuovo stile, sebbene Mark Lipoveckij (1997: 31) non consideri tali elementi imprescindibili per lo sviluppo postmoderno del dialogismo bachtiniano.

Costruito sul modello dei dialoghi platonici con l'improvvisato desinare in stile sovietico, *L'uomo nel paesaggio* riprende anche lo spirito del viaggio nel contempo dissacrante e trascendentale tra Mosca e Petuški di Venička, l'eroe peregrino di Venedikt Erofeev¹². E come in qualsiasi viaggio il confine, pur restando sempre un concetto molto vago e filosofico, diventa uno dei *Leitmotive* principali del racconto:

Время ведь тоже трудится, как человек: сначала совершенствуя и лишь потом – разрушая. *Занятое количество границ!* [il corsivo è mio, o.t.] Дикой природы – с одичавшей культурой, одичавшей культуры – с культурным пространством, культурного пространства – с разрушением, разрухи – с одичанием, одичания – с дикостью... Все тут было во взаимном переходе, во взаимном обрыве... (Bitov 1987: 66)¹³.

Bitov-scrittore, del resto, non si ferma a questa lista e moltiplica gli interrogativi, estendendoli a ogni aspetto della Creazione. Così, insieme a un sempre più esterrefatto e smarrito Bitov-personaggio ci ritroviamo a riflettere sulla sottile distinzione tra *pejzaž* ('paesaggio') e *vid* ('veduta'): quest'ultima rimarrà sempre inafferrabile per il pittore, mentre il primo è quello che lascia la sua impronta sulla tela; distinzione tra il dilettante e il genio, la cui caratteristica è la smisurata abbondanza della produzione, colpa dell'ininterrotta e mai soddisfacente ricerca della perfezione; tra l'immagine originaria, la pura ispirazione e la sua successiva realizzazione.

Man mano che procede la discussione sull'arte che Pavel Petrovič conduce con il suo interlocutore occasionale nei panni di Andrej Bitov, i due arrivano alla questione della presunta 'concorrenza' tra la fotografia e la pittura. Con l'invenzione della riproduzione meccanica è stato fissato un nuovo limite a chi usa il pennello, aprendo la strada agli impressionisti, i quali, consapevoli dell'impossibilità di trasferire la veduta sulla tela, riuscivano comunque a riprodurre lo 'stato' (*sostožanie*) delle cose. Lo 'sfiorarsi' delle arti non significa semplicemente oltrepassare il confine, bensì creare un contrasto benefico per entrambe:

– Я хотел сказать, что пейзажист лишь индивидуализирует вид. Он не способен его отразить, он способен лишь отразиться в нем. Вид и индивид – один корень?

¹² È dunque, oltre all'idea del viaggio spirituale, anche la struttura stessa de *L'uomo nel paesaggio* ad esemplarsi sulla *Divina Commedia* e su *Mosca-Petuški*, secondo poema russo in prosa dopo le *Anime morte*.

¹³ "Anche il tempo fatica come l'uomo: prima perfezionando e solo dopo distruggendo. *Quanti confini!* [il corsivo è mio, o.t.] Tra la natura selvaggia e la cultura inselvatichita, tra la cultura inselvatichita e lo spazio culturale, tra lo spazio culturale e la distruzione, tra la devastazione e il ritorno allo stato primitivo, tra lo stato primitivo e la barbarie... Tutto era in continua transizione, in continuo precipitare...".

– Нет, – ответил я, в твердость свою вкладывая и Шишкина, и Тенирса, и фотографию (Bitov 1987: 69)¹⁴.

Nel suo studio sull'arte postmoderna, Linda Hutcheon cita gli esperimenti e le trovate dei fotografi degli anni '80, che si basano sul concetto di *fringe* o di *marginie* metaforizzato dall'effetto dei cerchi che generano le pietre gettate in uno stagno (cfr. Hutcheon 2002: 114). Questa tecnica espressiva

interrogates and problematizes, leaving the viewer no comfortable viewing position. It upsets learned notions of the relations between text/image, non-art/art, theory/practice – by installing the conventions of both (which are often taken for granted) and then by investigating the borders along which each can be opened, subverted, altered by the other in new ways. This typically postmodern *border tension* [il corsivo è mio, O.T.] between inscription and subversion, construction and deconstruction – within the art itself – also places new demands upon critics and their means of approaching such works (Hutcheon 2002: 115).

In *Uccelli* lo scrittore tratta il concetto della “tensione del confine” (Bitov 1988: 194) in termini più universalistici, sostenendo la sua esclusività nel creare l'ambiguità necessaria per lo sviluppo del pensiero. Con *L'uomo nel paesaggio*, invece, dimostra la vitalità dell'approccio che Hutcheon applica per sondare i meccanismi dell'arte postmoderna¹⁵, soprattutto in virtù del ruolo primario che la fotografia svolge in generale nelle sue opere, a partire dagli anni Settanta fino all'ultimo romanzo.

I have been suggesting that photography may be the perfect postmodern vehicle in many ways, for it is based on a set of paradoxes inherent in its medium, general paradoxes which make it ripe for the particular paradoxes of postmodernism (Hutcheon 2002: 116).

José Vergara (2018: 259-278), nel suo articolo dedicato alle ‘fotografie letterarie’ di Bitov, giunge alla conclusione che egli non si dissocia dall'uso dell'immagine fotografica come metafora della memoria, praticato da vari scrittori russi, ma allo stesso tempo offre prospettive diverse. Così, l'esperienza vissuta dal narratore in *L'uomo nel paesaggio*, che egli ricorda come un flashback di ‘istantanee’, ha un impatto quasi didattico su di lui, permettendogli di liberarsi dai filtri imposti dalla sua personalità egocentrica.

¹⁴ “– Volevo dire soltanto che il paesaggista individualizza la veduta. Non è in grado di rifletterla, ma solo di riflettersi in essa. *Vid* [‘veduta’] e *individ* [‘individuo’] hanno la stessa radice?”

– No, – risposi io con fermezza, tenendo in mente sia Šiškin, sia Teniers, sia la fotografia.”

¹⁵ Ellen Chances (1993: 2) sottolinea nel suo libro la tendenza di Bitov a pensare i suoi testi in maniera circolare: “Structurally, Bitov’s works are often shaped like circles. Endings repeat beginnings. He frequently uses circles imagery – wheels, balloons, spheres, spirals, rings. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, he emphasized expanding circles, each circle intersecting others in order to enlarge one’s capacity to experience life”.

The perennial struggle, then, is finding a balance between man's tendency to impose himself, intentionally or not, upon his subject of study or art. As a mechanical tool, photography allows one to render a landscape (or person) in its entirety, but it fails to capture the life-essence of the same subject. In other words, it produces a semblance rather than a true resemblance by mechanical means (Vergara 2018: 275).

La pittura, invece, non è altro che una finestra, un frammento di natura estrapolata dal suo contesto primordiale e fissata per mezzo di una generalizzazione. Il paesaggio come genere pittorico avrebbe in sé il principio del ritratto, ma come si fa a cogliere 'lo stato d'animo' del mare o delle montagne? E tanto meno è compatibile con le persone, in quanto non tollera la presenza dell'uomo, lo annienta spietatamente, dissolve la sua illusione di dominio sulla natura. Come prova inconfutabile, Pavel Petrovič porta ad esempio la *Caduta di Icaro*, dipinta da Pieter Bruegel il Vecchio nel 1560, in cui il protagonista vero e proprio non è tanto il personaggio mitologico, né la sua caduta narrata da Ovidio (*Metamorfosi*, VIII, 183-259), quanto la ciclicità della vita e l'imperturbabilità della natura. Infatti, l'opera del pittore nordico illustra il proverbio fiammingo che recita: "nessun aratro si ferma per la morte di un uomo". Le tre figure – l'aratore, appunto, in primo piano, il pastore leggermente arretrato e il pescatore sulla riva – non interferiscono con lo svolgersi naturale della vita. A differenza di Icaro, che incarna l'ambizione umana e il desiderio di equipararsi al Creatore e si intravede appena con le gambe che spuntano dall'acqua, i tre si inscrivono perfettamente nel paesaggio, anzi ne sono parte integrante. Ma non è soltanto la pittura, tutta la nostra esistenza è inglobata dalla 'teoria dello strato'¹⁶ di Pavel Petrovič:

Мы думаем, что реальность наша беспредельна, только, видите ли, мы ее еще пока не всю познали; на самом же деле наша реальность – тот же диапазон, отнюдь не шире того, что мы слышим или видим. Мы живы лишь в этом диапазоне. И мы живем лишь в нем, мы живем совсем не в реальности, а лишь в слое реальности, которая, по сути, если бы мы были способны вообразить реальные соотношения, не толще живописного слоя. Вот в этом масляном слое мы и живем, на котором нас нарисовали (Bitov 1987: 82)¹⁷.

Per chi osa oltrepassare i confini, lo scenario può svilupparsi in due direzioni: o varcare la soglia della follia: "Леонардо, Эль Греко, и Гойя, и Ван Гог... все они вышли за диапазон, за пределы изображения и ничего, кроме безумия, за этими пределами не

¹⁶ Gli studi di geologia degli anni universitari lasciano su Bitov un'impronta che si riflette sulla concezione della vita sviluppata dallo scrittore nel corso del tempo (cfr. Chances 1993: 8), ma anche sulla sua opera.

¹⁷ "Siamo convinti che la nostra realtà sia l'unica possibile, ma non l'abbiamo conosciuta a fondo; di fatto, la nostra idea di realtà non oltrepassa ciò che vediamo e sentiamo. Viviamo solo all'interno di questa gamma. Non nella realtà, ma solo in uno strato di essa. Se fossimo in grado di immaginarne le proporzioni, ci accorgeremmo che non è più spessa di uno strato di colore sulla tela. Ecco, noi viviamo dentro questo strato di pittura a olio su cui ci hanno dipinti".

обрели...”¹⁸ (Bitov 1987: 83); o si raggiunge la fede: “Он [Гоголь] истошил слой реальности, отпущенный ему господом для отображения, двинулся поперек слоя и вышел за пределы изображения. Там начинается другое – там вера”¹⁹ (Bitov 1987: 83), che non è comunque compatibile con le espressioni artistiche della natura umana.

Condannando l’impotenza creativa dell’essere umano di fronte alla concezione divina dell’idea, Pavel Petrovič si ritrova in un vicolo cieco: resta un bravo restauratore di icone, ma non è in grado di sopprimere il proprio ‘io’ quando dipinge i suoi paesaggi, che non trovano mai concretezza se non in forma del suo naso riprodotto in primo piano. Bitov traduce in termini pittorici, metaforizza e teorizza attraverso quel ‘naso’ ormai diventato simbolico il meccanismo della metanarrativa, ironizzando sull’inevitabilità della presenza dell’autore nelle proprie opere. Uno sguardo straniato alla Bertolt Brecht non è più possibile. La strada verso l’apice creativo e la liberazione felice, rappresentati nell’universo bitoviano da Puškin (l’unico capace di confondersi e dissolversi nel paesaggio), passa per i tormenti di Gogol’ – “incarnazione del problema dell’artista, il proprio problema che fino a un certo punto non viene neanche nominato” (Nemzer 1994).

Se i confini fra ‘qui’ e ‘altrove’, natura e artificio, creazione e distruzione, sono esplicitati nel corso della narrazione, l’ultimo confine, che resta quasi impalpabile fino alla fine del racconto, separa Andrej Bitov personaggio e Andrej Bitov scrittore, uniti in una “*matrěška* del proprio ‘Io’” (Slavnikova 1999). Ma potremmo ipotizzare che anche il prolisso e provocatorio Pavel Petrovič, in fin dei conti, altro non sia che l’alter ego di entrambi. Già il nome rimanda all’apostolo di Tarso con cui si è confrontato Dante nella stesura della sua opera principale, *in primis* per l’esperienza del viaggio nell’oltretomba: “Paolo è indicato fin dall’inizio della *Commedia* [...] come uno dei modelli fondamentali su cui Dante costruisce la propria identità di personaggio e di autore” (Ledda 2011: 183). E se teniamo conto delle molteplici reminiscenze dantesche presenti nel testo, ci sembra anche questa plausibile. Il patronimico, invece, richiama l’immagine di San Pietro, ipotesi rafforzata dalle chiavi della chiesa che il pittore custodisce prima di offrirle ad Andrej Bitov, il quale, a sua volta, le lascerà in pegno al poliziotto e non tornerà mai a riprenderle per il timore e l’ansia di rivivere tutto ciò che gli è accaduto in quei due giorni e mezzo. Con questo gesto egli, in un certo senso, ha tradito Pavel Petrovič, come Pietro ha tradito Gesù rinnegando il sodalizio. Il tradimento non è una sorpresa per il pittore-paesaggista, l’aveva già profetizzato: la lunga serie di ingiustizie subite da Pavel Petrovič all’asilo nido, all’Accademia di Belle Arti, quando suonava nell’orchestra o lavorava in fabbrica, lo accomuna a Cristo prima della crocifissione, e il racconto poco credibile che il pittore fa di questi fatti a Bitov dopo la riconciliazione dei due, paradossalmente, certifica la loro veridicità. L’irreale, come nello *zazerkal’* e di *Moskva-Petuški* diventa

¹⁸ “Leonardo, El Greco, Goya, Van Gogh... tutti loro sono usciti fuori dalla gamma, fuori dalla raffigurazione e non hanno ricavato nulla se non la follia”.

¹⁹ “[Gogol’] ha esaurito lo strato della realtà che gli è stato concesso da Dio per la rappresentazione, si è mosso attraverso questo strato ed è andato al di là della raffigurazione. È lì che inizia tutt’altro, lì c’è la fede”.

più reale della realtà stessa e avvicina la figura del pittore a Venička, anch'egli tradito da tutti i suoi allievi e discepoli ("dai *sobutyl'niki* ['compagni di sbronze'] dello scompartimento del treno ai compagni durante la Rivoluzione nel distretto *Petušinskij*")²⁰.

Anche il nome di Semën, o meglio, Simeon, braccio destro di Pavel Petrovič per la *vypivka* (benché non sia minimamente interessato alle bevute), non è frutto del caso. Così si chiamava Pietro prima di aderire al gruppo dei discepoli di Cristo, e non di rado la versione Simeon s'incontra nei testi di *žitijnaja literatura*²¹, genere parodiato anche dallo stesso Erofeev. E con questo nome si chiude il cerchio delle proiezioni dell'Io narrante, frammentato in tre figure.

Di fatto, però, abbandonati gli attributi simbolici del mondo sacro, Pavel Petrovič si dichiara un novello Mefistofele, nonostante l'assenza di malignità in lui e l'abilità a condurre il dialogo lo facciano assomigliare piuttosto a un Socrate carnevalesco con dei tratti cristologici (cfr. Rodnjanskaja 2006) o un "falso Gogol" (Nemzer 1994). Il sacro e il profano convivono nel refettorio del monastero che egli ha trasformato in una bottega di restauro delle icone. Qui regnano gli accostamenti più bizzarri: le immagini dei santi insieme al poster della sorridente diva pop Alla Pugačeva e all'icona *Spas nerukotvornyj* (il Salvatore acheropita, 'fatto non da mano umana') che assiste al banchetto blasfemo dei due commensali. Queste tavolate rimandano al mondo folklorico (sembrano quasi uscite dalla *skatert'samobranka*, la tovaglia magica che appartiene nelle fiabe al mondo dei morti)²², e richiamano inoltre il magico numero tre, attraverso la ripetizione del banchetto solenne in tre luoghi e assortimenti diversi. Il primo 'tradizionale' con del pane, una cipolla e la famosa *tušenka* (la carne in scatola di produzione sovietica) si riduce poi ai soli cetrioli in salamoia che 'sguazzano' come i pesci nel miracolo della moltiplicazione. La sobrietà e la carenza di cibo, contrapposta all'abbondanza dell'alcol, lascia il ruolo dominante a quest'ultimo, e persino il cane del pittore, un alano di nome Linda, "un enorme essere grigio che ricorda un serpente", simboleggia "il problema familiarmente noto come *zelënyj zmej* (serpente verde)" (Piretto 2018: 537) per via dell'alcol prodotto tra le mura domestiche.

Il parallelismo tra Pavel Petrovič e l'eroe di *Moskva-Petuški* si rafforza: l'alcolizzato-intellettuale sembra trasformarsi in un personaggio-tipo come lo erano stati l'uomo superfluo²³ o il nichilista nell'Ottocento. La sua natura si colloca in bilico tra lo *šut* ('il

²⁰ Sul concetto del tradimento in *Moskva-Petuški* cfr. Lipoveckij 1992: 216, 222.

²¹ Questo nome non di rado portano gli *jurodivye* medievali. Ad esempio, Sergej Ivanov (2005: 167-185) dedica un capitolo alla figura di Simeone il Nuovo Teologo (Simeon Novyj Bogoslov), allievo spirituale di Simeone Studita (Simeon Blagogovejnyj).

²² Come, del resto, l'organizzatore stesso delle bevute apparteneva più al mondo dei morti che a quello dei vivi: "Он был столь неожиданно весь пьян, как мертв" ("[Pavel Petrovič] era inaspettatamente ubriaco a tal punto che sembrava morto") (Bitov 1987: 79).

²³ Il personaggio bitoviano, con le sue componenti autoriflessive, è stato interpretato da alcuni critici, subito dopo la pubblicazione di *La casa Puškin* e prima dell'approdo in Russia della teoria della *metafiction*, come ripresa della tradizione del romanzo psicologico e sviluppo ulteriore della figura dell'uomo superfluo (cfr. Karabčevskij: 141-203).

buffone’) e lo *jurodivyyj* (‘il folle in Cristo’)²⁴, con una prevalenza del secondo, in particolare nel caso di Venička²⁵, e “una sorta di estetismo, solo con il segno opposto” (Bachtin 2002: 144). Nel suo studio *Blažennye pochaby* Sergej Ivanov (2005: 10-11) esamina prevalentemente lo *jurodstvo* nella sua manifestazione secolare come fenomeno medievale, distinguendolo dall’accezione moderna in cui assume piuttosto le caratteristiche di un tipo psicologico. Quest’ultimo si manifesta attraverso tre fasi: “*utrirovannoe samouničiženie*” (‘l’esagerata autoironia’), adottata per prevenire il disprezzo altrui, a cui succede la dimostrazione della propria superiorità in cui l’autoironia non è altro che una maschera. Nella terza e ultima fase cerca di evitare il giudizio per mezzo di uno scandalo. Si pente volontariamente dei peccati, “ma non è pronto ad accettare un rimprovero da parte degli altri” (Ivanov 2005: 11).

Sotto questo punto di vista Pavel Petrovič non si discosta da quanto descritto sopra: autoproclamandosi inizialmente come *profan* (‘ignorante’) nelle questioni pittoriche, passa quasi subito alla dimostrazione della propria superiorità nella compressione dei rapporti sull’asse creatore-creazione e pur avendo commesso un’ingiustizia nei confronti del suo interlocutore (scappa lasciandolo nelle mani della polizia), evita di essere rampognato.

Per Ivanov (2005: 380-381) lo *jurodstvovanie* resta un tratto importante del codice culturale contemporaneo russo che, però, non ha più quasi alcun legame con la religione, rappresentando semplicemente un *habitus* comportamentale. Egli, tuttavia, pone in discussione l’applicazione del termine alla letteratura contemporanea, in particolar modo all’opera di Erofeev, e al postmodernismo in generale. I. Motejunajte (2006: 4), invece, basandosi sia sul lavoro di A. Pančenko che prende in esame i fenomeni letterari, sia sulle osservazioni di S. Ivanov, distingue le varie direzioni: prettamente letteraria e quella religiosa e storico-culturale. Secondo la studiosa lo *jurodstvo* di Venička si manifesta pienamente nella polemicità “determinata dal suo stato di ebrezza che è vicino alla follia nell’accezione culturale” (Motejunajte 2000: 144).

Anche le bevute di Pavel Petrovič non mirano semplicemente al sonno della ragione, tant’è vero che egli resta sempre lucido. Per lui vale la stessa condizione di *nep’janost’* (‘non ubriachezza’) e non di una banale *trezvost’* (‘sobrietà’): “Si è prima ‘sobri’ e poi ‘non ubriachi’. Lo stato di sobrietà sa di orgoglio e di edificazione, mentre la non ubriachezza è mite e cupa” (Ėpštejn 2005: 420).

E ogni volta che la mano di Pavel Petrovič versa il liquido nel bicchiere, i suoi gesti appaiono ben misurati e pensati con cognizione di causa:

[...] я не мог уловить закона и ритма, по которым он это варьировал: то полстакана, то стакан, то треть, то через пять минут, то через час... [...] И рассказ его, и

²⁴ Le origini dello *jurodstvo* di Pavel Petrovič ci riconducono di nuovo a San Paolo che scrisse in una delle sue lettere: “*My jurode Christa radi*” (‘Noi siamo pazzi a cagion di Cristo, 1 Cor 4,10).

²⁵ Sullo *jurodstvo* di Venička cfr. Ėpštejn 1997; Lipoveckij 1992; Motejunajte 2000; Služevskaja 1991. Sulla sua prefigurazione in *Zapiski psihopata*, cfr. Criveller 2011.

бурные барашки мыслей, предвещавшие штурм очередной системы мира, были каким-то образом подчинены и организованы кажущейся бессистемностью то-стов (Bitov 1987: 91)²⁶.

L'alcol svolge la funzione liberatoria del pensiero che, una volta pronunciato, perde il legame 'carnale' con il personaggio a cui apparteneva, spianando la strada "al mondo delle idee pure" (Genis 1997: 230-231).

A differenza di Erofeev, però, che parla per mezzo del suo alter ego (cfr. Lipoveckij 1992: 215), Bitov fa un passo ulteriore nello straniamento e le idee più bizzarre, eretiche e sovversive le attribuisce non al suo doppio letterario (l'Andrej Bitov personaggio), bensì a un alter ego 'al quadrato'. Come le contorte riflessioni di Venička – ritenute da Ol'ga Sedakova (1989) perfettamente conformi al suo abituale punto di vista 'ultraterreno' – sono assimilabili a una 'voce della coscienza', così anche i pensieri non lineari di Pavel Petrovič inducono il suo accompagnatore (e creatore, nell'economia testuale) a una percezione quasi mistica della realtà. Il marcatore e spartiacque fra i due piani dell'universo diventa un banalissimo alimento:

Правда была здесь, а не там; правда, то есть реальность, был вот этот огурец. Безумие – это не то, что мы можем себе вообразить и испугаться, безумие – это когда уже там, а не здесь. Мы были по ту сторону, и нам улыбался Семион, потому что то, что исказило его лицо, было улыбкой. Он протягивал мне кованый ключ от храма (Bitov 1987: 85)²⁷.

Il viaggio redentore di Dante culmina nel Paradiso Terrestre dove incontra Beatrice che lo introduce nel Paradiso vero e proprio. Venička, invece, nonostante riprendesse lo stesso modello nel compiere il suo tredicesimo tentativo a raggiungere la donna amata e il figlio, non ci riuscirà mai. Per Erofeev, però, il simbolo dell'innocenza è rappresentato dal bambino e non dalla donna, così come l'idea della beatitudine differisce drasticamente da quella dantesca. Bitov scrive una propria versione ponendo l'accento sull'importanza del lato estetico nell'iconografia cristiana, che, da una parte, trova la sua massima espressione nell'immagine della Madonna col Bambino, in cui la prima manifesta la quintessenza della genialità del pittore, mentre il Bambino rappresenta la ripetuta sconfitta del medesimo. Dall'altra, invece, al lettore viene offerta un'immagine degna del Caravaggio ribelle ai ca-

²⁶ “[...] non riuscivo a cogliere né la legge né il ritmo secondo i quali egli variava: mezzo bicchiere, poi un bicchiere intero, poi un terzo, a volte ogni cinque minuti, a volte ogni ora... [...] Sia il suo racconto sia il flusso burrascoso dei suoi pensieri, che annunciavano l’ennesimo assalto all’ordine del mondo, erano in qualche modo concordati con l’apparente casualità dei brindisi”.

²⁷ “La verità stava qui, non lì; la verità, cioè la realtà era in questo cetriolo. La follia non è un qualcosa che possiamo immaginare e che può spaventarci, la follia è quando siamo già lì e non più qui. Noi eravamo dall’altra parte e Simeon mi stava sorridendo, perché ciò che deformava il suo viso era un sorriso. Mi stava porgendo la chiave in ferro della chiesa”.

noni della Chiesa (si pensi alla sua *Morte della Vergine*): nell'ultimo episodio del viaggio Bitov vede Pavel Petrovič addormentato in ginocchio davanti a sua moglie, la quale offre di sé un corpo grottesco e deforme, coperto da un lenzuolo e quasi privo di respiro.

Непомерное ощущение счастья переполнило меня. Я глядел и глядел на это безбрежное беременное лицо, пейзаж степной и вольный, в котором нас уже нет, древний, как курган, и юный, как полевой цвет...

[...]

Тихо, на цыпочках, вышел я из квартиры, [...] и никого еще не было на улице, лишь с чьей-то лоджии прокричал петух, и, чуть подумав, ответил ему другой... (Bitov 1987: 97)²⁸.

Raymond Federman, analizzando il fenomeno degli eroi letterari postmoderni, arriva alla conclusione che “nonostante siano privi di una personalità costante, [...] la loro esistenza è più autentica e più veritiera in quanto essi non imitano la realtà fuori dal testo, ma sono ciò che sono per davvero: *word-beings*” (Federman 1975: 13). Dunque, se i personaggi sono di un'autenticità indubbia, anche la finzione in generale può dimostrarsi più reale della vita reale? Se vogliamo credere a Bitov sembrerebbe di sì, a condizione che siamo sempre noi, autori e lettori, a parteciparvi. Come sostiene la Hutcheon (1980: 16), non esistono prove del fatto che la tradizionale narrativa realista sia del tutto scomparsa, potrebbe aver semplicemente assunto altre forme. Di conseguenza, tra il già scritto (la storia inventata di Andrej Bitov personaggio e Pavel Petrovič) e il momento della scrittura (Bitov scrittore che batte il suo testo in cucina), il primo appare più veritiero e attendibile in quanto già elaborato dal pensiero, mentre il secondo è più imprevedibile perché chi scrive non può guardare al futuro, ma solo al presente. È come diceva Barthes: “[...] all'Autore è riconosciuto il compito di *nutrire* il libro, in quanto lo precede, pensa, soffre, vive per esso. [...] Lo 'scrittore' moderno – il soggetto della scrittura – nasce invece contemporaneamente al suo testo. [...] e ogni testo è scritto per sempre *qui e ora*” (Barthes 1988: 54).

“Где человек? Кто человек? И зачем человек?”²⁹ (Bitov 1987: 75): ecco le tre domande alle quali cerca di dare risposta Andrej Bitov per mezzo del suo personaggio, confinato in un mondo che ha prima dichiarato ‘la morte di dio’ e, di conseguenza, ‘la morte dell'autore’.

²⁸ “Mi ha sopraffatto una sensazione di felicità incontrollata. Non riesco a staccare lo sguardo da quel volto sconfinato e gravido che sembrava un paesaggio della steppa in cui non esistiamo più, antico come un tumulo funerario e giovane come un fiore di campo. [...] In silenzio, in punta di piedi sono uscito dall'appartamento [...], non c'era ancora nessuno per strada, dalla veranda di qualcuno cantò un gallo, e dopo averci pensato un po', un altro gli rispose...”

²⁹ “Dov'è l'uomo? Chi è l'uomo? E perché esiste l'uomo?”

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Abstract

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The Existence Formula. Boundaries of the Metafiction in Andrej Bitov's Čelovek v Pejzaže

Man in a Landscape, a central tale of *The Monkey Link: A Pilgrimage Novel*, is a poetic, meditative piece, concentrated on human life and its reasons, and on the figure of the Creator in a double sense: religious and artistic. Its structure is based on various dichotomies, such as 'landscape' and 'view', 'genius' and 'mediocre', 'arts' and 'nature', the boundaries of which become a focal point in the long conversations between the icon restorer, Pavel Petrovič, and the first-person narrator, a painter who eventually turns out to be a novelist. This paper focuses on the revelation of the author's self-knowledge process. On the one hand, the process manifests in the characters representing Bitov's alter-ego, and on the other, through the journey that evokes both Dante's descent into the underworld and the drunken journey of Venička from Moscow to Petuški. By offering a reading of the text that considers the postmodern theory of narcissistic literature and a photographic approach, the analysis discloses how the 'layer-theory' of the main character Pavel Petrovič is transforming into an attempt at self-literary criticism by Bitov.

Keywords

Metafiction; Postmodernism; Andrej Bitov; *Man in a Landscape*; Narcissistic Narrative; Pilgrimage Novel.

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On and Beyond Egor Letov. Rock and Punk Music from (Soviet) Siberia*

What in the Soviet Union at first, in the 1960s and 1970s, appeared to be – and, essentially, was (Kormil'cev, Surova 1998: 5) – “an imitation of Western rock” (Rauth 1982: 8)¹, by the early 1980s had already managed to acquire its “own voice” (Bright 1985: 130)², being popularized by more than 160,000 amateur rock bands in the RSFSR alone (Ramet, Zamascikov 1990: 149).³ Scholarly articles dealing with Soviet rock music started to appear in the 1980s (Rauth 1982, Bright 1985, Pond 1987)⁴, but the term *rok* had found its acclimatization at least a decade earlier in the Soviet Union, as Sergio Mazzanti has shown in a detailed account of the concept of *ruskij rok* (2007: 281-300).

Of course, this musical phenomenon was mainly part of the underground culture, as it was received with hostility by the Soviet authorities. However, the official reaction to the new musical trends was never stable in time, but was subject to ambiguities and compromise as anything was in the USSR⁵. As Kormil'cev and Surova have noted (1998), in the

* This article is the result of a collaborative work carried out by the two authors. Although reciprocally contributing to each section of the text, M. Napolitano is the main author of the *Introduction* and of *Section 1*, while V. Zherebov is the main author of *Sections 2* and *3* and the *Conclusion*.

¹ In this article, Rauth traces the history of the Western influence on Soviet rock dating it back to the great wave of popularity achieved by Western pop culture subsequent to Stalin's death and epitomized by the so-called Beatlemania. The hosting of the World Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957 also played an important role.

² Bright maintains that Soviet bands (generally defined in the article as “New Wave”) managed to find their ‘own voice’ as early as the late 1970s. However, to give an idea of the diverse musical panorama that could be encountered in the USSR, the author repeatedly compares Russian bands with the most famous American and British stars, from Sex Pistols to Elvis Presley.

³ The authors continue: “Moskovskij komsomolets put the number of rock groups in Moscow province at more than 1,500 but added that roughly a third of these are ‘not recommended’ — that was prior to Gorbachev's accession”.

⁴ It must be kept in mind, however, that these early articles mostly reflected a Cold War perspective and suggested a slight romanticization of both Western and Soviet popular music.

⁵ ‘Compromise’ is indeed a key word that aptly characterizes the hybrid nature of the Soviet regime in relation to social issues (from music to religion), as emerges from a recent volume by the historian Marco Buttino. “To all intents, it was as if the higher authorities wrote the plot [...] and

beginning in the Soviet Union, rock essentially represented a ‘subculture’ (whose members aspired to an ideal alternative world, a ‘System’ with elements of ‘tribalism’ and a specific language), while in the late Soviet era this phenomenon also took on the characteristics of a specific ‘counterculture’ and was often (even, incorrectly, in retrospect) presented as a mythical protest movement: if the first (i.e. rock as a subculture) was neither supported nor openly talked about, the second (i.e. rock as a counterculture) was subject of discussion and, above all, condemnation.

While the Chruščev leadership – although it had initiated a relaxed, yet precarious period of Thaw – conservatively condemned jazz and rock alike as bourgeois and subversive Western products⁶, the “mature socialism”⁷ of the Brežnev era could no longer ignore the fact that “rock was exerting a powerful attraction on the young” and “could not be dismissed. Hence, it had to be placed under surveillance, censored, sanitized, and in some instance quarantined, as if it were an infectious disease” (Ramet, Zamascikov 1990: 151)⁸. In 1966, the state agencies began to create professional bands “as a counterbalance to the growth in amateur bands” (Bright 1985: 124): this was the birth of the so-called *Vocal-Instrumental Ensembles*, abbreviated in Russian as VIA. Although this system was initially attractive to amateur bands (it provided a space in which they could perform, but membership had to be approved from above), the experimental compromise ultimately failed:

Their experience was bitterly disappointing. Despite all their hopes, nobody allowed them to play rock. The furthest they could go was to play traditional Soviet popular song in modern Western pop-style arrangements. As a result, many musicians dropped out of these

then it all worked as in the Comedy of the Art [...]. The inhabitants of the USSR [...] lived between decisions taken at the top and autonomous spaces, moving between different spheres, which might be Soviet, less Soviet and un-Soviet in their daily lives. Life in the USSR consisted of this constant ambiguity, or complexity” (Buttino 2020: 13).

⁶ “Leonid Il’ičev, head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation 1958-62 and CC Secretary in charge of ideology 1961-65, joined his chief in denouncing the ‘cacophonous’ music and ‘outlandish yowlings’ of foreign bands” (Ramet, Zamascikov 1990: 150). However, “it was not so much the music of rock and roll that was found objectionable as the dancing that accompanied the music” (Rauth 1982: 4). Twist and rock and roll dancing were condemned for their overt sexual movements. The author also reports that “sometimes, Soviet bands would play rock and roll ‘parodies’, this being a legitimate way to present the genre without creating too much suspicion among authorities” (Rauth 1982: 3-4). Another issue related to the fact that rock music allegedly “separate[d] life from art and politics” (Rauth 1982: 6).

⁷ On ‘mature socialism’ see the relative chapter contained in Mark Edele’s *The Soviet Union: A Short Story* (2018, pp. 167-187). The expression, as an apt alternative to Stagnation, is also found in Buttino’s *Samarkand* (2020). This period was indeed ‘stagnant’ only in appearance, as shown for example by Georgij Kizeval’ter’s *Èti strannye semidesjatyje, ili Poterja nevinnosti* (2010), or Daniele Franzoni’s *La prosa sovietica nel contesto socio-culturale dell’epoca brežneviana* (2020).

⁸ Rauth (1982: 5) uses a different semantic metaphor: “Soviet authorities had decided that, since it was impossible to eradicate rock, rock would have to be domesticated”.

bands and many of them lost heart and totally disappeared from the rock scene. However, some of them survived and dug themselves deeper into the underground (Pond 1987: 80).

Unfortunately for the State, the popularity of these synthetic groups waned in the late 1970s because of the rise of a new breed of professional groups calling themselves ‘rock groups’; these had emerged from the rank-and-file of the amateur movement. In contrast to the ‘vocal-instrumental ensembles,’ these groups, pushed by an irresistible desire to express their own views and feelings, wrote and played their own music and lyrics, developed original styles, and as a result were taken by young people as genuinely representing the spirit of their generation (Bright 1985: 125).

The attempt was thus unsuccessful, and in the 1980s the authorities resorted to stricter measures to control the spread of the rock ‘pandemic.’ Soviet leaders Černenko and, in particular, Andropov made no secret of their disapproval of these groups’ “suspicious repertoires,” which were seen as “ideologically and aesthetically harmful” (Ramet, Zamascikov 1990: 157).

Michail Gorbačev’s Perestrojka eventually had an impact on the world of music and performance. The last Soviet leader did not share his predecessors’ conservative views toward rock music. On the contrary, in February 1987, the Gorbačevs even met with Yoko Ono, and Raisa “told their visitor that she and her husband were admirers of the former Beatle” (Ramet, Zamascikov 1990: 165).

While Western rock music eventually became a part of mass (or pop) culture and quickly acquired commercial value (Wicke 1990, Marcus 1993, Simonelli 2002, Street 2003)⁹, since the late Soviet period *russkij rok* began instead to denote a specific myth (also associated with underground life), not devoid of patriotic/nationalist overtones: in general, *russkij rok* does not define a unified concept, especially when viewed in a historical perspective (Mazzanti 2007: 296-297). This is why “when it comes to *Russian rock*, it is important to clarify what sort of rock music critics are talking about when they use this term” (Steinholt 2003: 92)¹⁰,

Trotsky’s volume *Back in the USSR* (1987), described by Yngvar Steinholt as “the most prominent rock critic” (Steinholt 2003: 90), established a particular usage of the term that corresponds to “the Anglo-American tradition broadly defined as *rock* with its entire range of different musical styles” (Steinholt 2003: 92). However, as suggested by Steinholt, we shall also add to this definition the “nationally specific musical style” that emerged “around 1980” in the USSR and was characterized by the use of more or less sophisticated Russian lyrics, the rejection of any compromise with authorities, and a deep awareness of its Russian roots (Steinholt 2003: 104). A major role in this acclimatization of rock music in the Soviet Union was played

⁹ This was despite what the “rock ideology” narrated in its criticism of “some performers as sell-outs even as respected rock stars sold in the millions,” and in its self-presentation “as an underground cult even as rock became the dominant force within the music industry by the 1970s” (Keightley 2001: 125).

¹⁰ Taxonomy has often been debated in the music field, as in the case of Simon Reynolds’s *Rip It Up and Start Again: Postpunk 1978-1984* (2005): the book was heavily criticized because of the author’s alleged “solipsistic view of pop” (Heylin 2006: 460).

by *bardovskaja pesnja* (bard music), the “cradle of rock poetry” according to Kormil’cev and Surova (1998: 8), especially considering the “escapism” of its most lyrical forms.

As for punk music, Troitsky argued that Russian punkers “successfully combined elements of Western punk as a philosophy of universal negation with local Russian traditions of working-class urban lore” (Troitsky 1990: 15). As in the case of rock music, punk also adopted specific ‘national’ layers in the Soviet Union, often proposing a “crossover between punk and other rock styles” (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 27). As we will see, in many cases (such as that of Janka Djagileva, for example) this ‘national’ version had a distinct folk touch (Mazzanti 2007: 285), a musical “*počvenničestvo*” that was often linked to the provincial context in which it developed (Kormil’cev, Surova 1998: 22).

These musical genres were thus creatively re-elaborated (rather than simply re-created) in the Soviet Union, with little or no respect for canons and distinctions. Ultimately, such a free and loose use of borrowed concepts has characterized Russian culture since its beginnings¹¹. As for the term ‘rok’, the acclimatization of the Western concept has occurred in a relatively short period of time (about a decade), so that it has been quickly and creatively applied to autochthonous versions of the musical phenomenon by both players and commentators.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that rock in the Soviet Union was not a homogeneous phenomenon: this underground scene consisted of a diverse and heterogeneous ‘family’ of artists and groups, all of them somehow marked by a deep and ‘romantic/idealistic’¹² striving for free self-expression. If in the beginning it could be described more as a “home play” (*domašnjaja igra*) among and for like-minded people, in the end it also took on the tones of a street (or even stadium) sit-in (Kormil’cev, Surova 1998: 26): rock culture, however, remained in its essence a “living vnye” as defined by Yurchak (2005), which distanced its protagonists from the official scene but did not turn them against it.

¹¹ Starting with Puškin’s ‘novel in verse’ *Eugene Onegin*, the Russian public has become accustomed to viewing genres freely and accepting the use of paratextual ‘subtitles’ as a practice that is by no means normative. These alienating subtitles (in addition to Puškin’s ‘novel in verse’, we can also consider for example the ‘poems’ of Gogol’ or Dostoevskij) testify to the extent to which respect for the canon, understood as something strictly normative, was perceived as a constraint in Russia, and to what extent an open approach to the canon, i.e. an ‘anti-canonical’ canon, amenable to overlap and renewal, was more fruitful and interesting. In other words, artists in Russia have always known that, in the words of Tynjanov (1929), there are no ready-made genres and that genre designations are given only a posteriori.

¹² Irina Pond describes it in these terms: “Soviet rock music began not as a form of youth rebellion, be it moral, sexual or of any other sort, nor as a social separation but rather as a romantic dream: young idealism mixed with the social idealism of those days and, of course, teenage fun, although this was quite conventional in Western terms. This romantic, idealistic, dreamy trend has undergone great changes but it remains Soviet rock music’s most significant characteristic to this day” (Pond 1987: 76). Yngvar Steinholt agrees on the romantic orientation: “if NY/UK new wave is largely modernist or post-modernist, Russian new wave is more romantically oriented and promotes strong notions of authenticity” (Steinholt 2003: 95).

This article will focus in particular on a specific geographical and historical context, with the aim of examining the role that Egor Letov's musical venture(s) played in the development of rock and punk music in late Soviet Siberia – a role that, as Steinholt argues, has been widely underestimated by critics due to a specific 'fascist taboo' surrounding Letov's three-year engagement with the National Bolshevik Party in the 1990s:

The simplistic fascist stamp which – usually in a western guise which ignores the Russian context of this particular word – has kept Letov outside of the academic study and has also severely delayed research on punk rock in Russia (Steinholt 2012: 402)¹³.

The aim of this article is therefore to examine in more detail the role of Egor Letov in the development of a specific voice of Russian rock and punk music, focusing on the particular Siberian scene from which he emerged in the 1980s. Often neglected by critics, underground culture developed in this remote region too and eventually contributed to the overall development of Russian culture of the late 20th century with a distinctive and authentic touch. Since we consider it necessary to contextualize in detail the environment in which this musical culture emerged and developed, we begin with a commented overview of the 'Siberian *podpol'e*.' Given the prominent role that music came to play in it, we argue that this regional underground scene directly fostered the emergence of original artists such as Egor Letov, Janka Djagileva and the 'alumni' of GrOb Records. Finally, as this article will show, the case of Letov's 'entourage' is a special one: more than a plethora of musicians and/or lyricists, this loose mesh of Siberian personalities became an authentic, idiosyncratic and influential cultural phenomenon.

1. *Living the Siberian podpol'e*

In the diverse panorama of articles and monographs devoted to the study of Soviet underground culture¹⁴, the amount of material dealing with the *podpol'e* environment of

¹³ It is beyond the scope of this analysis to address the secondary meaning that these musical phenomena acquired in the socio-cultural (or even political) context of the time – a topic that scholars were particularly concerned with after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, while Timothy Riback's *Rock Around the Bloc* (1990) and Sabrina Ramet's *Rocking the State* (1994) interpreted rock music through the lens of youth protest against the State and Communism in general, already Jolanta Pekacz's article *Did Rock Smash the Wall?* (1994) and Thomas Cushman's *Notes from the Underground* (1995) firmly rejected this idea as fallacious: "The argument behind the concept of rock's significant role in the political transformation in East Central Europe is based on the following fallacious assumptions: 1. real socialism was identical with totalitarianism; 2. the collapse of Communism was sudden and unexpected, and resulted from a pressure from below (of which rock was an element); 3. rock and real socialism were, by definition, incompatible, therefore rock in the Soviet bloc was in a continuous conflict with the regime" (Pekacz 1994: 42).

¹⁴ The University of Padua has compiled an extensive list of references on underground culture, samizdat and dissent in socialist countries, available online: <<http://www.maldura.unipd.it/samizdat/bibliografia/index.htm>> (latest access: 16/02/2021).

the ‘two Russian capitals’ is overwhelming: Leningrad in particular has proved a popular topic for analysis and discussion, also given its acknowledged prominent role in the development of cultural stimuli and given the widespread self-confidence of its representatives in identifying themselves as belonging to such an environment. Leningrad, for many still ‘Petersburg’ (*Peterburg*), intended to continue to represent the cultural hotspot, the avant-garde scene of Russia as a whole, even though it was deprived of its status as the Imperial capital city. On the other hand, Moscow samizdat and the underground circles that emerged in the Soviet capital also received due attention¹⁵. Even in wide-spectrum studies dealing with samizdat in general and underground culture in the USSR, the two cities are presented as common, if not the only, settings for the phenomena related to the *podpol’e*¹⁶. However, such an underground environment did not develop only in these urban contexts across the vast Soviet territory (von Zitzewitz 2020). In addition to important port cities such as Odessa and the Baltic region, which had a more natural and direct connection to the outside world, Siberia had its prolific *podpol’e* too, as evidenced by Elena Savenko’s monograph *Na puti k svobode slova* (2008): this is where the musical phenomenon of Siberian punk (*Sibpank*, abbreviated in Russian) emerged in the 1980s¹⁷. The remoteness of Siberia somehow made this area an oasis of creation and experimentation.

Siberia is not only geographically but also culturally a link between the center and its periphery, a place where Russian identity naturally meets its Asian element, where roots intermingle and become inextricably intertwined. Although impoverished during the Soviet era, the Siberian region continued to represent what the semiotician Juri Lotman defined as ‘Border’, whose fundamental role lies in its “functional and structural position”, which gives “substance to its semiotic mechanism”.

The border is a bilingual mechanism, translating external communications into the internal language of the semiosphere and vice versa. Thus, only with the help of the boundary is the semiosphere able to establish contact with non-semiotic and extra-semiotic spaces (Lotman 2005: 210).

¹⁵ See for instance Achmet’ev, Kulakov 1995, Blium 2005, Gurevič 2007, Ivanov 1995, Kolk’er 1984, Lur’e 1998, Piccolo 2004, Piretto 1998, Sabbatini 2008, Savickij 1998, Savickij 2002, Severjuchin 2003, Šechter 1995, Val’ran 2003, Walker 1999. As far as the music scene is concerned, Steinholt’s study of the Leningrad Rock Club (2004) should be mentioned again. Research has also looked at the realm of *kvartirniki* (McMichael 2015). It has also been highlighted that “the Leningrad authorities exerted far less pressure on rock than was the case in most provincial cities at the time. This attracted a number of bands and artists to the city including DDT from Ufa and Aleksandr Bashlachev from Cherepovets” (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 29).

¹⁶ So in Jurij Mal’cev’s renowned monograph (Mal’cev 1976), for example, but also in more recent works by the Italian slavists Maria Zalambani (2009) and Valentina Parisi (2013).

¹⁷ Another important place that played a role in the development of underground music was the city of Ekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk at the time). As Kormil’cev and Surova (1998: 12) explain, this was due to the social environment of these places, which, like Leningrad, “imported” a large number of proletarian classes.

Given the dynamicity of the Border as a basis for translation processes, this place can be a fertile ground for the emergence of interesting and creative products. In this sense, Soviet Siberia was precisely the Border where the Soviet centralized nucleus met both its pre-Soviet 'roots' (be they Russian or indigenous) and its Asian 'soul'¹⁸.

Siberia as a destination for deportations of political enemies, inconvenient personalities and unruly communities (such as the Old Believers) has a centuries-old history. Since the Tsarists' times, the remoteness and difficulty of traveling to the region made Siberia an ideal place for neglected names. The Soviet rulers did nothing but continue the exploitation of the area in approximately the same way, following the pragmatics of making the deportations profitable for the country: as is well known, the prisoners were forced to turn Siberia into an industrialized area by building roads and railroads and discovering mining sites in the most hostile regions of the world. As the abused quote from the Soviet academic Ivan Mičurin states, Soviet leaders officially claimed that "we cannot wait for favors from Nature. To take them from her – that is our task". Siberian nature was objectified and became an easy target for uncontrolled exploitation. Siberia, which was incredibly rich in diversity and resources, became a poor and devastated territory, a neglected appendage of the Soviet nucleus (Schlögel 2016).

Not only has Siberia proven its richness in primary resources such as gas and minerals, but the region has also become rich and diverse in terms of population. Although many indigenous communities were exterminated in the course of the Imperial conquest of the East, much like in the American Far West (Bobrick 1992), and while others were forcibly assimilated and Russified, some traits managed to resist. Over time, deportees among the indigenous and Russian communities began to populate the region, which eventually became extremely diverse in ethnic and national terms, especially in the late Stalinist and post-Stalinist eras: Jews, Crimean Tatars, Baltic communities, ethnic Germans, people from the Caucasus, they were all deported to Siberia and suffered tragic traumas due to the hardship of the journey, hunger, deprivation, hostile climate, various forms of discrimination and persecution; many died during the journey, many did not survive the first time in the new environment. Moreover, it was not uncommon for the industrial centers of Siberia, the large cities and the so-called 'closed cities' to be work destinations for military personnel, skilled workers, engineers, doctors, and scientists from all over the USSR.

Unofficial publications in such a heterogeneous environment can be traced from the late 1940s:

Единичные примеры ранней самостоятельной журналистики в регионе относятся еще ко второй половине 1940-х гг. Пример подобной самиздатовской деятельности в Сибири – нелегальный рукописный литературный журнал "Тоска по Родине", выпускавшийся на Алтае молодыми депортированными литовцами. За непро-

¹⁸ See also the paragraph on the "Siberian School" in the article by Kormil'cev and Surova already mentioned (1998: 22-23).

должительный период (1944-1945 гг.) свет увидели 7 номеров, в которые вошли как первые литературные творения юных авторов на литовском языке, так и переводы произведений мировой классики (Гюго, Гете, Шекспир и др.) (Savenko 2008: 30)¹⁹.

It is no coincidence that these first forms of self-publication were proposed by Lithuanians: deported communities brought with them a more pronounced sense of identity, strengthened by the experience of mass deportation and collective suffering; moreover, the Baltic population (which only became forcibly Soviet at the end of the Second World War) had a different, structured and mature experience of nationhood and cultural production, guaranteed by two decades of independence and free exchange with the outside world. As Savenko states:

Государственная политика, направленная на стирание национальной индивидуальности, форсированное сближение наций, создание “новой исторической, социальной и национальной общности людей” вызывала обратную реакцию: обострение национального самосознания, усиленное стремление к сохранению самобытной этнокультуры (Savenko 2008: 100)²⁰.

In the post-war period, however, self-publishing began to be an option for other social groups in Siberia too, young people in the first instance. In fall 1948, for example, in the rural village of Kulunda in the Altai, a group, identified as “young anti-Soviets” by the Soviet authorities, whose leader was 22-year-old Grigorij Bordun, prepared the publishing of the journal “*Luč sveta v tjomnov carstve*” (‘A Ray of Light in a Dark Reign’): the aim was to “explain to people that their rights are being violated” (Savenko 2008: 31).

As in other parts of the country, the phenomenon of samizdat spread in Siberia especially during the so-called Thaw. During this period, numerous underground literary and artistic circles and unofficial publications emerged in various Siberian cities. In the early 1960s there were about a dozen literary groups in Novosibirsk alone (Stepanov 1990: 76-78). In these circles, and following their mostly unhappy fate (members were persecuted

¹⁹ “Examples of first self-produced journalism in the region date back to the second half of the 1940s. An example of such samizdat activity in Siberia is the illegal literary journal “*Toska po Rodine*” (‘Nostalgia for the Homeland’), which was published in the Altai region by young deported Lithuanians. In a short period of time (1944-1945), seven issues managed to appear, containing both first literary works by young authors in Lithuanian and translations of world classics (Hugo, Goethe, Shakespeare, etc.)” Here and elsewhere in this article translations from Russian are ours.

²⁰ “The state policy, that was aimed at eradicating the national identity, forcing rapprochement between nations, forging ‘a new historical, social, and national community of people’, triggered the opposite reaction: the heightening of national consciousness, an increased effort to preserve the native ethnoculture.” In the monograph, the author lists the various self-publishing initiatives proposed by ethnic, national, and religious minorities in Soviet Siberia.

by the authorities, repressed, imprisoned, expelled from university courses, fired) a new generation of poets, artists, and musicians was born²¹.

In the 1970s and 1980s, samizdat publications in Siberia were numerous, structured, and diverse in style, format, and subject matter²². In Novosibirsk, the academic A.D. Rybakov headed the Siberian 'cell' of the bulletin "Chronika tekuščich sobytij" ('Chronicle of Current Events'). Siberia had its own version of the Moscow-based literary magazine "Kontekst" ('Context'), entitled "Podtekst" ('Subtext'), which appeared in Akademgorodok. Here young people also published, among other things, the almanac "Alkonost", whose editor-in-chief was the later famous philologist Andrej Rogačevskij.

Although there are numerous Siberian towns where unofficial publishing activities took place, the above-mentioned Akademgorodok represents an interesting case. The city on the outskirts of Novosibirsk was one of the most important centers of study and research in the USSR and Russia since its foundation in 1957. It was an oasis for young and mature intellectuals in the middle of Siberia, the perfect place for a new generation to grow up and receive a comprehensive education, in the broadest sense (Josephson 1997). It is not surprising, therefore, that Akademgorodok was home to a variety of artistic and literary circles with all their publishing attempts. Between the late 1960s and 1984, a group of students headed by Nikolaj Slyn'ko even created their own version of the *Sibirskaja Ėnciklopedija* ('Siberian Encyclopedia'), which, however, was devoted exclusively to the study and taxonomy of rock music (*Rok-Ėnciklopedija*); it is available online today²³. The outcome of the project testifies to the existence of fruitful networks of cultural and musical exchange in the USSR and beyond:

Самодетальное издание содержало подробные биографии, дискографии, кинобиблиографию и все относящееся к творчеству рок-музыкантов. Ряд материалов был посвящен британскому блюзу, а также представителям блюз-рока. Статьи из энциклопедии распространялись в студенческой среде на отдельных листках папиросной бумаги, в фотокопиях. Когда в 1984 г. создатели энциклопедии попытались ее издать, полное количество машинописных томов *Прог-рока* и *Джаз-рока* составило 12 условных томов. Два тома издания содержали информацию о группе The Beatles. В комплект отдельно входил также особый том – удивительно полный для

²¹ For example, the famous writer Evgenij Popov began his career in the pages of "Giršfel'dovcy" (Followers of Giršfel'd), a journal launched in Krasnojarsk in the early 1960s by a group of students from the local Technological Institute. After three issues, the authorities stopped their activities (Savenko 2008: 39).

²² The almanac launched in 1969 by S.V. Kamyšan in Akademgorodok even bore an English title, "Three-masted Hell". Sci-fi, which in the 1970s attracted much attention across all USSR, was also appreciated in Siberia: in 1977 the literary group Amal'teja (devoted to this genre) appeared in Novosibirsk. In the 1980s, samizdat sometimes turned to more ideological currents (as in the case of the Irkutsk journal "Archivarius" ('Archivist'), founded by students of the local faculty of Philology), as a result of the great social and political changes registered in the late Soviet era.

²³ <<https://www.agharta.net/Encyclopedy/Encyclopedy.html>> (latest access: 14/09/2021).

того времени, даже по западным меркам, сборник составов и дискографий различных групп джаза и рока, созданный Т. Воронцовой (Savenko 2008: 147)²⁴.

It was music above all that characterized the Soviet Siberian underground, and Akademgorodok was no exception. Between March 7 and 12, 1968, the club “Pod integralom” (‘Underneath the Integral’) organized in this university town the first festival of *bar-dovskaja pesnja* in the USSR, in which singers from Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Krasnojarsk, Minsk, Kazan’, and Sevastopol’ took part. Bard Aleksandr Galič performed on this stage for the first and last time in the USSR (Borzenkov 2003, Kačan 2015). Although bard music was suppressed and censored by the authorities, it was extremely popular throughout the country and circulated in Siberia not only via magnitizdat:

Каналом ее распространения были не только магнитофонные записи или так называемый “магнитиздат”, но и неподцензурная печатная продукция. Широкое хождение среди читателей творчества бардов имели тексты отдельных песен, а также самодельные сборники, в которых иногда, наряду со словами, помещались аккорды мелодий любимых произведений (Savenko 2008: 144-145)²⁵.

In addition to samizdat issues devoted to bard songs, there were also entire magazines aimed at music lovers: between 1950 and the 1960s, Arsenii Popov edited 27 numbers of the bulletin “Iz bloknota gitarista” (‘From a Guitarist’s Notes’) in Tomsk, which even included material from abroad. When in 1974 the Leningrad music (mainly jazz) journal “Kvadrat” (‘Square’), which had been published there since 1965, was forced to flee, new issues were published in Novosibirsk until 1987 (Savenko 2008: 145, 147).

In the 1980s in Siberia there was a prodigious amount of samizdat publications devoted to music: in September 1984, the first rock-n-roll (and hippie) newspaper “ID” appeared in Novosibirsk; when the KGB stopped the publication the following year, the editors continued their activities and founded the journal “Stebel” (‘Stem’)²⁶.

²⁴ “The self-produced publication contained detailed biographies, discographies, film bibliographies, and anything related to the work of rock musicians. There were materials devoted to British blues, as well as to the exponents of blues-rock. The encyclopedia articles were distributed among students on separate sheets of cigarette paper in the form of photocopies. When the creators of the encyclopedia attempted to publish it in 1984, the total number of typewritten volumes titled *Prog-Rock* and *Jazz-Rock* consisted of twelve nominal volumes. Two volumes contained information about The Beatles. The set also included a special volume – amazingly complete for the time, even by Western standards: a list of formations and discographies of various jazz and rock groups, prepared by T.V. Vorontsova”.

²⁵ “The channel of its distribution envisioned not only tape recordings or so-called ‘magnitizdat’, but also uncensored printed matter. The lyrics of single songs, as well as home-made collections that sometimes included the chords of popular tunes along with the lyrics, circulated widely among admirers of bards’ art”.

²⁶ The title of this journal recalls not only its primary meaning, but also the colloquial, slang verb *stebat’sja* ‘to joke, to ridicule, to mock’. Many samizdat periodicals bore humorous or satirical titles.

In Tjumen', the poet Miroslav Nemirov promoted the publication of the rock journal "Problemy Otolaringologii" ('Problems of Otolaryngology'), whose first issue numbered 100 pages and contained articles on the Leningrad artist Mike (Michail) Naumenko, BBC music broadcasts, and a translation of an article on the English rock band The Police. That year the later famous band Instrukcija po vyživaniju ('Survival Guide') gave its first concert in the local rock-club organized by Nemirov. Still in Tjumen', the "first festival of alternative and radical-left music" was held from June 24 to 26, 1988: famous bands such as the above-mentioned Instrukcija po vyživaniju, Kooperativ Ništjak ('Scrap Cooperative'), Putti, Graždanskaja Oborona ('Civil Defense'), but also the iconic poet and singer Janka Djagileva took part. The concerts were recorded and broadcast by local television.

In 1986 the rock journal "Vantuz" ('Plunger') appeared in Ulan-Ude, thanks to the efforts of Andrej Gavrilov, the leader of the local band Amal'gama ('Amalgam'). In the same year, the Novosibirsk rock-club was officially recognized and began to publish two almanacs, "Blin" ('Crap') and "Rok-vestnik" ('Rock-bulletin', later renamed "Tusovka", 'Party'). The first issue of the latter, which ran to 150 pages, contained material about the first semi-official rock-festival in the city, featuring famous bands such as Kalinov Most ('Kalinov Bridge')²⁷, Gorod ('City'), Technika sveta ('Light Technique'): the issue was "perhaps the most impressive not only in the history of "Tusovka", but also in the history of the whole Siberian samizdat" (Kušnir 1994: 152). Still in Novosibirsk, in 1988, Egor Letov and Oleg Sudakov organized the first punk-club. By that year, a dozen rock-journals were published regularly in the Siberian region (Savenko 2008: 154).

By the time the USSR collapsed, the music scene in this seemingly remote area was diverse and mature, and many bands and personalities, most notably Egor Letov, had already gained popularity throughout the country.

2. *Siberian rock and Sibpunk*

Similar to the dynamics typical of the world of the Russian underground in general, the Siberian rock scene was largely structured around, dominated and influenced by individual personalities, often associated with their bands, and by individual musicians who moved quite freely from project to project. As a result, the individual approach mostly prevailed over that of the group. At the same time, the presence of many individual talents determined the heterogeneity of the musical environment, however allowing the most charismatic profiles to take the lead and influence the aesthetic approaches of the other musicians. As it is suggested by the different editorial ventures and by initiatives such as the creation of clubs and the organisation of concerts, there was a great interest in music in the late Soviet Siberian society, and the diversity of the scene offered everyone an artistic product that suited their own tastes.

²⁷ In Russian folklore, the Kalinov bridge connects the world of the living and the world of the dead. Frontman Revjakin was known as an erudite and used similar allusions in his lyrics. The band is still active today.

The Siberian public did not necessarily have to reach Moscow or Leningrad to keep up with the latest waves of music; on the contrary, by the collapse of the Soviet Union, Siberian rock and punk music (or at least part of it) was in great demand in Western Russia.

Most artists of the Siberian underground were not only (or often not mainly) musicians per se²⁸. Although music constituted their main artistic strength, these individuals were not infrequently perceived in the underground scene as intellectuals, as pioneers of certain ideas, even in a spiritual (but not religious) sense²⁹. The link, traditional for Russian culture, between the artist and his specific role in society (even in confrontation with Power, broadly intended) was here revalued. The Siberian *podpol'e* was surprisingly rich in such people, and given the limited space of the present article, only a few prominent names can be spotlighted.

2.1. Egor Letov

Igor' 'Egor' Letov (1964-2008) was perhaps the most notable personality on the Siberian underground stage. His two most famous projects were Graždanskaja Oborona and Kommunizm, both very successful and popular on the local and later on the national stages.

Virtually no band is more central to the development of Russian punk than the initiators of the Siberian punk wave, Egor Letov's Graždanskaia Oborona (GrOb). [...] GrOb's influence on the development of Russian punk rock was massive. Here, the band also contributed to cultivating the local characteristics of the genre (Steinholt 2012: 402, 405).

Thanks to his smart and idiosyncratic approach to the creative act, to his "particular Russian 'mentality'" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 30), and to his involvement in a variety of side initiatives, Letov became one of the most influential figures of the Siberian underground scene, eventually being called the "father" of Siberian punk (Davison 2008) – although this 'punk' should not be interpreted in a narrow sense: "he negotiated the aesthetics of punk, post-punk, reggae and ska, while remaining loyal to the 1960s psychedelic and garage rock that had first moulded his taste" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 30)³⁰.

²⁸ "Unlike professional bands, amateur bands are not paid for their concerts or are paid very little. They have to pay for musical instruments and equipment themselves and they are also expected to have a proper regular job besides their 'hobby'. This has been an enormous strain on Soviet rock musicians since the movement was born" (Pond 1987: 77).

²⁹ "A keyword here is *dubovnost'* ('spirituality') and it stems from a Russian hippie understanding of rock. It is closely linked to the romantic notions of authenticity" (Steinholt 2003: 98). Steinholt also observes that "during the early 1990s, some Russian rock songwriters felt obliged to reunite their audiences with Russian roots and cultural traditions, particularly at a time when people felt that Russian society was deteriorating rapidly, and to prove themselves as a positive, creative force. Rock therefore remained connected with spirituality or civic awakening, and sexuality and other more profane rock concerns became luxury topics" (Steinholt 2003: 105).

³⁰ Steinholt maintains that "the music of GrOb demonstrates a wide and inclusive definition of punk rock," and "only towards the end of the 1980s would Russian punk conform to more widely

One of the reasons for Letov's prominence and success lies in his DIY "dominant aesthetics" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 31) and approach to music production. Even after Graždanskaja Oborona reached the peak of popularity, Letov did not seem interested in pursuing what was traditionally considered 'quality recording': on the contrary, in 1988 he founded his own GrOb Records (*grob* also ironically meaning 'coffin' or, by extension, 'grave'), a personal creative corner housed in his small apartment in Omsk and equipped with various salvaged sound devices modified for recording purposes (Kušnir 2003: 159).

By the late 1980s, rock and punk bands in the Western bloc were already enjoying success and making significant earnings; their access to well-equipped professional recording studios was limited only by their commercial opportunities and networks. On the other side of the curtain, Soviet authorities were gradually lifting much of the pressure on rock culture: bands like Kino now performed to sold-out stadiums,³¹ and other musicians successfully released their music on Melodija, Russia's largest record label with ties to EMI.³² In his Siberian hometown, however, Letov continued to develop his own approach to composing music, while rallying a community of like-minded people around him.

This self-production and DIY mentality not only shaped the music of an entire group of Siberian underground artists: more importantly, it exemplified the philosophy to which the musicians of GrOb Records, including Letov's Graždanskaja Oborona, adhered. In this way, Letov eventually established his own genre and style, creating an entire underground movement that was later called Siberian punk (*Sibpunk*), which "opposed the more sanitised, literary qualities of *russkij rok*," and included abject matter, grotesque, absurd features, "celebrating the extremes of human existence" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 32). *Sibpunk* should therefore not be perceived as a mere musical style, genre or niche, but rather denotes a whole range of approaches that generally broke away from the prevailing aesthetic and went beyond the boundaries of music by opening up to forms of syncretic art. Artists and bands associated with Letov's *Sibpunk* circle included Oleg "Manager" Sudakov, Černyj Lukič, Konstantin "Kuzja 10" Rjabinov, Pik Klakson, Dmitrij Selivanov.

Letov was a prolific artist: in five years he recorded seventeen albums, many of them³³ as a *solo*, playing all instruments and taking care of all steps of music making, from produc-

established genre conventions" (Steinholt 2012: 404). The first punk band in Russia is generally considered to be Avtomatičeskije udovletvoriteli ('Automatic Satisfiers') emerged in Leningrad in 1979 (Gololobov, Pilkington, Steinholt 2014).

³¹ Kino performed in Minsk at Dinamo stadium in 1989.

³² For example, albums *Sekret* by omonym band (1987) or *Kamennyj Raj* (1989) by AvtoGRAF.

³³ All albums recorded in 1987 contain *solo* compositions, partly due to the fact that Letov was under surveillance by the KGB at the time, which led to him being isolated. Also, Konstantin Rjabinov was drafted into the army (despite severe health problems).

tion to ‘release’³⁴. At the same time, he participated in more than a dozen side projects, both in Siberia and in other cities of Russia, including Leningrad/Petersburg and Moscow. The first albums of Graždanskaja Oborona, which Letov recorded largely alone (and in a hurry)³⁵, featured simple, sloppy garage punk³⁶, while in 1989 albums *Vojna* (‘War’) and *Russkoe pole eksperimentov* (‘Russian Field of Experiments’) were characterized by a more industrial noise-core; finally, in the early 1990s, the albums *Pryg-Skok* (‘Hop-Frog’, 1990) and *Sto let odinočestva* (‘A Hundred Years of Solitude’, 1992) marked a shift toward avant-garde psychedelic rock influenced by the California scene of the 1960s and 1970s³⁷.

While Letov’s music is often perceived as raw and aggressive (it conveys indeed a “mock anti-social nihilism, alienation, fear, death, depression and suicidal sentiments in an often celebratory self-destructiveness”, Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 31),³⁸ his personality has been widely revered as that of a complex intellectual and non-conformist erudite³⁹. Although many of the albums released by Graždanskaja Oborona can be easily described as low-fi, garage rock due to the very poor quality of the recording, Letov himself stated that such an approach and outcome were intended:

Здесь я, наконец-то, варызг и брызг насрал на всяческие очевидные нормы звучания и записи. Суровая противофаза, чудовищный перегруз, сплошной передежный и ревуший среднечастотный вал. Именно то, что надо (Letov 1991: 23)⁴⁰.

³⁴ Underground music, of course, could not be ‘released’ as there were no official labels involved. It circulated through the exchange of bootleg recordings on cassettes, a phenomenon called *magnitizdat* (Kušnir 1994, 2003).

³⁵ Letov claimed that after Graždanskaja Oborona’s performance at the first Novosibirsk rock festival in 1987 (the band managed – seemingly by accident – to evade censorship despite their politically radical lyrics), they were likely to be arrested soon. This stream of self-released cassettes between 1985 and 1991 laid the “basis for Letov’s and GrOb’s fame”; “in the mid-90s [they] were re-issued as albums on more than 40 cd titles” (Steinholt 2012: 403).

³⁶ These can be considered “songs musically close to British post-punk” (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 31).

³⁷ This genre classification is in line with Letov’s ‘autobiographical discography’ published in “Kontrkul’tUr’a” in 1991 (Kontrkul’tUr’a 1991: 22-30).

³⁸ Steinholt, however, maintains that some antisocial traits constituted Letov’s personality: he describes the artist as “a glowing, universal misanthropy combined with anti-social tendencies” (Steinholt 2012: 414).

³⁹ In contemporary music magazines, however, he is often portrayed as an extremely polarizing figure, attracting both blind, fanatical adoration and outright dislike, if not skepticism (Steinholt 2012: 403, 408).

⁴⁰ “Here I finally poop and shit on all the apparent norms of sound and production. Brutal anti-phase, monstrous distortion, solid farting and roaring mid-range frequencies. That’s exactly what is needed.”

Yngvar Steinholt has also emphasized this crucial point:

A common misinterpretation among scholars studying rock in 1980s Russia is that the music sounds different because musicians were poorly informed of Western rock genres, styles and conventions. This is far from the case. In general, the Russian rock generation of the 1980s was quite well informed and conscious about the stylistic spectre of rock, perhaps even more acutely so than a Western rock fan. If Russian rock sounds different, it is partly because of technical equipment and recording methods, but chiefly because Russian bands saw rock as a vehicle to express local experience in their own language (Steinholt 2012: 404).

The lyrics of Graždanskaja Oborona's songs, while often primitive and crude, are one of the key elements of Letov's 'phenomenon'. While much of Letov's early lyrics deal – in one way or another – with social and political protest, many scholars also emphasize the presence of more sophisticated metaphorical subtexts in his poetic exercises. For example, Anna Novickaja has analyzed the metaphorical struggle between the spiritual and the physical in Letov's song *Tošnota* ('Nausea') (Novickaja 2014). Aleksej Černjakov and Tat'jana Cvigun have instead examined the dichotomy between the real and the surreal in *Snaruži vsech izmerenij* ('Outside all dimensions') (Černjakov, Cvigun 2017). According to Elena Avilova (2013: 14), in *Russkoe pole eksperimentov* "the subcultural rebellion of absurdism acquires an existential content" ("субкультурный бунт абсурдизма получает экзистенциальное наполнение"). Indeed, in a nutshell, Letov's texts mentioned in Avilova's article ("Орденосный Господь победоносного мира / Заслуженный Господь краснознамённого страха / Праведный праздник для правильных граждан / Отточенный серп для созревших колосьев")⁴¹ contain the most typical features of Letov's poetics: the presence of linguistic clichés and Soviet clericalism, all surrounded by an absurd, semi-mystical atmosphere, paved with references to religious and literary texts, and overall subtly suggesting an idea of social and ethical disobedience. Experimentation aside, Letov's poetry in fact often contained blatant and obscene anti-political statements, such as the chorus in *Gosudarstvo* ('State'):

Забытые за углом
 Немые помойным ведром
 Задроченные в подвал
 Заранее обреченные на полный провал
 Мы убили в себе государство
 Убили в себе государство⁴².

⁴¹ "Order-bearing Lord of the victorious world / Distinguished Lord of the Red-flag fear / Righteous holiday for upright citizens / Sharpened sickle for ripe wheat" (E. Letov, *Russkoe pole eksperimentov*, 1989). In translating the lyrics here and further down in this article, much of the intertextual play and double meaning is, of course, unfortunately lost.

⁴² "Forgotten behind the corner / Muted by a garbage can / Trapped in the basement / Already doomed to a total fail / We murdered the state within ourselves / Murdered the state within ourselves" (E. Letov, *Gosudarstvo*, 1987).

It would perhaps be unrealistic to expect a self-studied musician experimenting in the realm of what he perceives as punk genre – which traditionally implies minimalist instrumentation and simple, straightforward song structure – to be willing to carefully delve into music theory. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Letov’s raw, ‘untamed’ theoretical skills in music reading, and yet his intuitive sense of harmony were an integral part of Graždanskaja Oborona’s musical identity.

Graždanskaja Oborona’s songs are generally based on simple, intuitive harmony, with an emphasis on vocal melody and harmonic bass lines. Unlike in many Western rock music traditions, where ‘musical aggression’ is usually associated with the active use of a distorted electric guitar or heavier, cymbal-rich drumming, in Letov’s most aggressive creations – the albums released in 1989 – the guitars always seem to be relegated to the background, forming a noise-ridden padding, while the drums lack the high-hat or leading cymbals and are compensated for or accentuated with fills only when the lyrics demand it. Although the songs are structured differently, in all of them Letov seems to focus on the message he is trying to convey – in his own personal, crude and often anti-aesthetic way, sometimes emphasizing important phrases in the lyrics with often slightly off-tune grunts, howls, and other vocal techniques that would make one think rather of a theatrical act, or, at least, of a performance, given that in most parts, Letov does not resort to extreme vocal techniques and stays within the boundaries of comfortable melodic singing. In the early 1990s, when his popularity as an icon of underground culture had reached its peak, Letov bid farewell to Graždanskaja Oborona and released two more studio albums with the same line-up, renaming the band Egor i Opizdenevšie (‘Egor and the Fucked-Up’): such an obscene title was chosen to safeguard the band from being highlighted in the mainstream press that Letov deeply despised (Sidorenkov 1991). However, most of the musicians who formed this ‘new’ band were former members of Graždanskaja Oborona, and Letov still followed the same DIY philosophy in production, composing raw garage music. Anyway, Egor i Opizdenevšie marked a slight shift in terms of aesthetics and themes⁴³. The music opened up to more avant-garde tones,⁴⁴ but also to atypical (for Letov) subjects⁴⁵: allegedly, the album *Sto let odinočestva* was dedicated to the passing away

⁴³ The band also moved to a remote rural area where they experimented with drugs and occult practices.

⁴⁴ By ‘avant-garde tones’ we mean the even more experimental sound engineering techniques and production methods the band employed, such as: strumming an open piano with a guitar pick; using multiple and simultaneous layers of texts read from various books; ranging from religious manifests to technical manuals as background; deliberately inserting atonal arrangements; deviating from the particularly simplistic harmonic structures of punk-rock; mixing quotes from Soviet books and movies (something that was already typical of the previous project *Kommunizm*).

⁴⁵ “Music calmed, approached psychedelia, and played further with Russian popular and traditional harmonies, while the lyrics tended towards more traditional poetic forms” (Steinholt 2012: 407).

of the poet-singer Janka Djagileva and, in Letov's own words, it was "one last album about love" (Domov 1991: 11)⁴⁶, an unusual turn for Graždanskaja Oborona, as the lyrics dealt mainly with themes of protest and nihilist and were filled with intertextual play⁴⁷,

Such a change of focus is also evident in the analysis of the texts. Formally, Letov's writing style remained almost the same: it was a rough, unpolished poetry enriched with quotations and stylizations from literature, movies, proverbs, Soviet propaganda pamphlets⁴⁸, often hinting at a connection to the Futurist tradition (Merkušov 2020). However, the content and themes of the albums *Pryg-Skok* and *Sto let odinočestva* are somewhat different: none of these albums suggest a direct connection with social protest, but they contain only low-key and loose references in this sense. These songs have undergone a radical change and now contain a large amount of mysticism (while retaining the 'traditional' intertextual play):

Идет Смерть по улице, несет блины на блюде
Кому вынется - тому сбудется.
Тронет за плечо - поцелует горячо.
Полетят копейки из-за пазухи долой!
Ходит дурачок по лесу,
Ищет дурачок глупее себя⁴⁹.

The track opening *Sto let odinočestva*, titled *Svoboda* ('Freedom', 1991), is also known as *Pro neznaiku* ('About a Dunno'): such an alternative title, as well as the song's first line, suggests an allegorical parallel between the protagonist and a character from a popular Soviet children's book by Nikolaj Nosov (*The Adventures of Dunno and His Friends*, 1954).

⁴⁶ This was not Letov's last album: Graždanskaja Oborona reappeared in the early 1990s and its activities continued until Letov's death in 2008.

⁴⁷ Steinholt considers the choice of these aggressive themes as a kind of rebellion "against the estrada's sweet, smiling emptiness" (Steinholt 2012: 405).

⁴⁸ See, for instance, the lyrics from *Otrjad ne zametil poteri bojca* ("The squad didn't notice the loss of a fighter"): "There was no-one closer / There was no-one prettier / There was no-one iller / There was no-one happier / There was no beginning nor end... / The squad didn't notice the loss of a fighter" (Не было родней / Не было красивей / Не было больней / Не было счастливей / Не было начала, не было конца... / Отряд не заметил потери бойца). The first two verses are stylized to recall the form of Russian folk songs, while the following lines are original but follow the same stylistic pattern. The closing verses quote the homonym Soviet poem by A. Svetlov, written in 1926, which was later transformed into a song that found success in the Soviet estrada.

⁴⁹ "Death walks down the street, carrying pancakes on a saucer / What will come out, that'll come true. / She touches the shoulder, her kisses are warm. / The kopecks will fly away from the bosom! / The fool walks through the woods, / Looking for a fool dumber than himself" (E. Letov, *Pro duraika*, 1990). The refrain of the song is based on an ancient Slavic death curse, and the entire text plays with proverbs, quotations from mystical rites, and folk beliefs.

Beyond this, however, the text is full of references to tragic bibliographical events connected with Letov himself and his social environment:

Как бежал за солнышком слепой Ивашка
 Как садился ангел на плечо
 Как рвалась и плавилась последняя рубашка
 Как и что обрел-обнял летящий Башлачев?⁵⁰

Other songs, such as *Ofelija* ('*Ophelia*') and *Pro mišutku* ('*About a Teddybear*'), are quite openly connected with the death of Janka Džagileva:

Послушная Офелия плыла на восток
 Чудесный плен, гранитный восторг
 Лимонная тропинка в апельсиновый лес
 Невидимый лифт на запретельный этаж⁵¹
 Плюшевый мишутка
 Шел по лесу, шишки собирал
 Сразу терял все, что находил
 Превращался в дулю
 Чтобы кто-то там вспомнил⁵²

Kommunizm, a second popular music venture Letov launched in 1988, was far more experimental than Graždanskaja Oborona⁵³ and could to some extent be described as a postmodernist artistic act. Kommunizm produced a number of albums (some of which were not intended for the public), although it was not thought of as a purely musical project. What the members put into action were more conceptual (sometimes absurd) acts on tape: each album combined original music, soundtracks from Soviet cartoons and movies, folk songs (not just Russian or Soviet)⁵⁴, recordings of conversations, noises, and many other elements, all closely connected and intertwined by a common theme⁵⁵. Similar to

⁵⁰ "How did the blind Ivashka run after the sun / How did the angel sit on his shoulder / How did the last shirt tear and melt / How and what did the flying Bašlačev acquire and embrace?" (E. Letov, *Svoboda*, 1991).

⁵¹ "Obedient Ophelia floated eastwards / Wonderful captivity, granite delight / Lemon path to the orange forest / Invisible elevator to the other-wordly floor" (E. Letov, *Ofelija*, 1991).

⁵² "Teddy bear / Was walking through the woods, collecting cones / Immediately losing everything he happened to find / He turned into a nothing / In order for someone to remember him" (E. Letov, *Pro mišutku*, 1991).

⁵³ It starred the very same circle of Siberian punkers that hung around Graždanskaja Oborona, though.

⁵⁴ For instance, *Chronika pikirujuščego bombardirovščika* (1990) featured Selivanov singing an American folk song.

⁵⁵ For instance, *Soldatskij son* (1989) plays with military folk songs, while *Leniniana* (1989) re-uses the soundtrack from Soviet movie *Lenin v Oktjabre* (1939).

Sots-Art and Conceptualism, this group of artists worked with whatever material was available to them; the reconceptualization of Soviet symbols and elements did not follow a satirical attempt, but rather was the manifest expression of the possibility of free creation from any tool, context, and material⁵⁶. The mosaic of elements was assembled with great care and attention.

The fact that the Siberian underground was characterized by such a rich musical environment should not give the impression that the various fields of art followed specific paths in the *podpol'e* and that certain types of artistic creation were better developed here than others. As much as each traditional category of art (literature, visual arts, music, etc.) in the Soviet world was controlled by academies, institutes, faculties, and official Unions, its unofficial dimension was free and open to experimentation and inter-artistic creation⁵⁷. Forced underground, the artistic *podpol'e* produced works of “total art” (to use Boris Groys’s term, 1992) and reestablished the natural connection between artificially created categories. As for music, in Russian culture there has traditionally been an indissoluble link between this kind of art and poetry specifically: verses are meant to be declaimed when they are not sung, as in the case of Russian romances. In the Soviet underground, this was even more true, and performances became the norm (Hänsgen 2019). The reason for this was (at least) twofold: on the one hand, artists continued along the path traditionally traced in Russian culture of performance as a conceptual act, epitomized by the Futurists and especially by the figure of Vladimir Majakovskij, who became an icon for many in the Soviet underground (in Siberia and not only)⁵⁸; on the other hand, it was a pragmatic decision due to the harsh conditions of unofficial art production⁵⁹. Such a context effortlessly transforms the artist’s biography into a work of art: it illustrates once again the role that the mindset and lifestyle of Egor Letov⁶⁰ played in the Siberian underground scene before the public and fellow artists. The line between what is art and what is not art was polemi-

⁵⁶ Konstantin “Kuzja 10” Rjabinov admitted that he deeply admired the official Soviet music: “Since I was twelve, I have carefully kept the albums of those times. I subconsciously understood that these were things that had to be preserved... They were very professional. These songs were written and performed by very powerful people, the best of Russian culture”. (“Пластинки тех времен я бережно хранил лет с двенадцати. Я подсознательно понимал, что это такие вещи, которые надо беречь... Это очень профессионально. Эти песни писали и исполняли очень сильные люди, цвет русской культуры”) (Kušnir 2003: 161).

⁵⁷ The representatives of the underground scene were in some cases members of academies, such as Egor Letov who officially worked as a painter, or the famous bards Vladimir Vysockij and Bulat Okudžava who led a ‘double life’ between the official and underground worlds.

⁵⁸ The importance of Majakovskij square in Moscow, for example, is well known (Parisi 2013: 248).

⁵⁹ However, we could also argue that the Futurists’ performances were not only the result of pure provocation and a sense of *epatage*, but the result of pragmatism too.

⁶⁰ Steinholt maintains that rock in the Soviet Union was more of a ‘lifestyle’, not just a musical phenomenon (Steinholt 2003: 95).

cally blurred more than ever, as (much like the famous Moscow Conceptualism) anything could be re-interpreted into a piece of performing art, including poor quality recording or accidental noises on tape.

The *Kommunizm* project was presented in a manifesto written by E. Letov and K. Rjabinov, published in 1989 in the first issue of the samizdat magazine “Kontrkul’tUr’a”. Here it is stated that one of the main reasons for the emergence of this project was the fact that

невозможно выразить абсурдность, кошмарность и игривость окружающей нас действительности [...] адекватнее и сильнее, чем сама реальность - ее объекты и проявления - конкретная музыка, произведения народной и официальной культур (Letov, Rjabinov 1989: 31)⁶¹.

Oleg “Manager” Sudakov, who was involved in many of Letov’s projects, maintained that “we understood that a detached view of familiar objects opens up a whole lifeline for us” (Kušnir 2003: 161).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the recognition and legalization of rock music, the underground changed. The “wild capitalism” of the 1990s represents a traumatic part of Russian history (Osipian 2019: 25-43), and as he witnessed the situation, Letov became increasingly disheartened and disappointed by the change of regime. Together with other artists who shared politically radical views, in 1993 Egor Letov, writer Eduard Limonov, and political analyst Aleksandr Dugin founded the National-Bolshevik party (Rogatchevski 2007)⁶². Be that as it may, Letov’s involvement in the political enterprise should rather be interpreted as a continuation of his quest for a personal place in the wide realm of counterculture – even after counterculture, in its late Soviet version, had ceased to exist. Letov never ceased to be a contrarian to the last. At this time he also reformed *Graždanskaja Oborona*: the band performed and recorded until Letov’s sudden death in 2008.

2.2. *Janka Djagileva*

Another prominent figure who was closely involved in Letov’s GrOb Records venture for a short time⁶³, and whose artistic career Letov played a decisive role in shaping, is Jana ‘Janka’ Djagileva (1966-1991). Although she is often associated with Siberian punk music, both because of her musical and personal connection to Egor Letov, and because of

⁶¹ “It is impossible to express the absurdity, the nightmariness and the playfulness of the reality that surrounds us [...] more accurately and powerfully than reality itself is, its objects and manifestations, its specific music, its popular and official works”.

⁶² Steinholt, in his article *Siberian Punk Shall Emerge Here* (2012), discusses Letov’s involvement in the political enterprise in detail. As Sokolov (2006) and Roesen (2008) maintain, famous party members (Limonov, in the first instance) ‘used’ this experience to further their careers and public visibility, and then quickly moved on.

⁶³ Almost all of her songs are included in GrOb collection *Russkoe pole eksperimentov* (1994).

the closeness of her music⁶⁴ to the distinctive sound of Graždanskaja Oborona, Djagileva's artistic output exhibits a different inclination, and she played a special role in the history of the Siberian underground.

Janka, whose life came to an abrupt end at the age of 24⁶⁵, started out in Novosibirsk as a singer-songwriter playing mostly an acoustic guitar, a common attribute in Russian underground rock. In her short career, she actually managed to compose only a few songs and poems, but sporadically recorded different versions of the same compositions. Since her life was as short as her career, she became an iconic figure of the Siberian underground scene quite quickly.

Egor Letov, who was entangled in a close relationship with her, played an important role in popularizing her. He helped her record three of her 'official' studio albums, and the two often performed together at various venues between 1988 and 1990⁶⁶.

Despite the significant influence, or perhaps pressure, from Letov's side⁶⁷, Janka remained a phenomenon apart. There were a few factors for this. On the one hand, it is undeniable that her tragic death at a very young age played a role in her idolization as an artist, and indeed the response in the press (both samizdat and official press) at the time was remarkable⁶⁸. Her death, the exact circumstances of which remain unclear to this day, was perceived by many as something preordained, largely due to the nature of her lyrics, often filled with disturbing imagery and references to death, suicide, depression⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ Albums *Anhedonija* ('*Anhedonia*', 1989), *Domoj!* ('*Back Home!*', 1989), and post-mortem *Styd i sram* ('*Shame and Disgrace*', 1991).

⁶⁵ "In early 1991 she fell into a deep depression and in May of the same year she drowned in the Inya River, a tributary of the Ob. Her death was most likely a suicide" (Qualin 2003: 296).

⁶⁶ "In 1988 and 1989, performances in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kharkiv and other major Soviet cities helped to build Djagileva's reputation as one of the freshest and most powerful figures in Russian rock" (Qualin 2003: 296).

⁶⁷ Letov's personal engagement with her is a source of (mostly sterile) speculation; however, he undoubtedly played a significant role in better tuning her music, helped produce her best-known works, and Graždanskaja Oborona performed alongside her on many occasions.

⁶⁸ Unlike Graždanskaja Oborona and other Letov's projects, Janka was more prominently featured in the official press, albeit much more so after her death than during her lifetime. Articles about her passing away can be found in main official sources such as "Komsomolskaja Pravda" (18.05.1991) as well as in the local media (such as "Subbotnjaja gazeta" in Kurgan or "Gorizont" in Alma-Ata); of course, most underground magazines such as "Ur'Lajt" or "Kontrkul'tUr'a" also mentioned the tragic event.

⁶⁹ According to Elena Chaeckaja (1998: 130), death is Djagileva's most important poetic theme. However, frequent references to death and suicide are also typical of GrOb's lyrics, which has led commentators to refer to the phenomenon as "suicide punk." Steinholt points to the development of this theme in Letov's music: "the theme of the death of the ego has adapted to the changing social environment via pre-perestroika and perestroika USSR, to post-Soviet Russia in the ages of Yeltsin and Putin. The death of the ego: 1) as forced upon you by an oppressive government; 2) as a

The idea that counterculture somewhat feeds on the personal tragedy of its artists was (as it still is) widespread (Gur'ev 1991: 3-6). However, to link her iconicity to her biography would be a one-sided view that does nothing to shed light on such a remarkable figure of late Soviet Russian art. As Anthony Qualin (2003: 297) points out, "a number of recurrent images and themes in Djagileva's verse, however, indicate that much of the despair found in her works is tied to the mistreatment and marginalization of women in society", something that thus goes deeper than mere 'suicide punk'⁷⁰.

As acknowledged both by the samizdat press and later by literary scholars, Janka was a poet rather than a musician (Qualin 2003: 295-306), and her works indeed served as research material for literary studies⁷¹. As both scholars and audiences noted, one of the most important features of Janka's art was her poetic imagery:

Stylistically, Diagileva's verse relies quite heavily on the juxtaposition of sequences of images, creating the feeling of a verbal montage, collage, or mosaic. Although at first glance these images may seem disconnected, they are usually united by a single emotional undertone or metaphysical state. [...] Indeed the seeming absence of connections among the images creates a feeling that if the poet were simply to select things at random, nothing she would name could possibly be complete. This sense of universal lack adds to the reader's despair (Qualin 2003: 296).

Her poetry often blends official Soviet culture⁷², Siberian underground culture, and Russian folk tradition. Her song-writing and performing have been compared to the ancient Russian tradition of *Voplenicy* (Kudimova 1995), the spiritual, semi-mystical act of 'professional mourning' that arose from the fusion of pagan and Orthodox cultures that dominated rural Russia.

Her poetry was not intended for a wide audience and contained no grains of clearly defined protest. Djagileva's songs were "less fierce than those of GrOb, being more deeply psychologically developed and compassionate rather than cynically misanthropic" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 31). Rather, it was a natural and painful representation of a reality that was unacceptable to a sensitive and deeply empathic personality⁷³:

celebratory act of resistance; 3) as its dissolution into a mass movement; 4) as the destruction of the revolutionary hero; 5) as its dissolution into nature or everyday life" (Steinholt 2012: 413).

⁷⁰ See previous footnote for a definition.

⁷¹ Apart from Qualin's article, in 2019 K. Pauer defended a doctoral thesis (IMPE, Moscow) devoted to the oeuvre of Egor Letov, Aleksandr Bašlačev and Janka.

⁷² Her song *Gori, gori jasno* ('Burn, Burn Bright') "consists almost entirely of subverted quotations of popular Soviet songs" (Qualin 2003: 297).

⁷³ In her songs the listener finds "almost brutal intimacy all served with urgency and defiant pride" (Gololobov *et al.* 2014: 31). Qualin draws on a stimulating analysis of her use of pronouns: "the sense of isolation created by her unusual use of pronouns combined with the feeling of the

Святые пустые места – это в небо с моста,
 Это давка на транспорт, по горло забитый тоской.
 Изначальный конец,
 Голова не пролазит в стакан⁷⁴.

Janka's works can be seen as a direct, although self-taught and probably unintentional, revisiting of the Russian poetic tradition and perhaps of Russian female poetry in particular: indeed, Janka's iconicity may also be partly related to the fact that female artists (especially full-fledged songwriters) were very rare in the Russian underground rock scene⁷⁵. It was even more difficult to find authentic femininity as a source of creativity (in relation to issues such as sexual violence, abortion, societal expectations):

Край, сияние, страх, чужой дом.
 По дороге в сгоревший проём.
 Торопливых шагов суета
 Стёрла имя и завтрашний день,
 Через час оживу разноцветной рекой
 Под дождём,
 Мелким ветром пройду над живой тьмой...⁷⁶

Djagileva's poetry is also often linked to folkloric tradition (Mutina 2000) and this feature links her poetry to that of Egor Letov, which often quotes, reformulates and adapts formulas and motifs of folkloric origin. However, the use of these references does not mean that Janka's lyrics were a stylization of folk music. Rather, the modified or standardized quotations from various folk traditions – for example, of pagan Slavic origin, as in the case of the refrain of the song *Gori, gori jasno* ('Burn, Burn Brightly'), which happens to be a formula used in Slavic rites; or even references to nursery rhymes, as in *Vyse nogi ot zemli* ('Feet Up From the Ground') – are interwoven with original, subjective, and personal imagery. Folklore and tradition then appear in a new light, from a different, new perspective:

universality of the problems conveyed by the montages of images she employs, lead to an almost unbearable sense of hopelessness" (Qualin 2003: 306).

⁷⁴ "Holy, hollow places – up in the sky from the bridge / A stampede at the public transport, stuffed with grief / A preliminary end / A head won't fit into a glass" (Ja. Djagileva, *Angedonija*, 1989).

⁷⁵ As Irina Pond stated, "women play a passive role in Soviet rock" (Pond 1987: 79). Qualin adds to this: "In the male dominated world of the Russian rock in Djagileva's lifetime, the biggest star among women was Zhanna Aguzarova, who generally sang songs written by men. Against this backdrop, Djagileva's verse was and is incredibly significant to many young women who finally found someone to give voice to their problems" (Qualin 2003: 300).

⁷⁶ "An edge, a radiance, fear, someone else's house / An entrance through a burned-down door / A rush of hasty steps / Erased the name and tomorrow / In an hour I'll come alive like a colored river / Under the rain / I'll walk upon the vivid silence as a soft wind" (Ja. Djagileva, *Čužoj dom*, 1989).

Значит, будем в игры играть.
 Раз-два – выше ноги от земли.
 Кто успел – тому помирать.
 Кто остался – тот и дурачок⁷⁷.

In addition to the remarkable poetic element, Janka had a distinct performance style that also distinguished her from the other artists in Letov's entourage and from Letov himself. Even in albums produced with and by Egor Letov, such as *AngeDonija* and *Domoj*, which feature the atonal, noise-driven arrangements typical of Graždanskaja Oborona, Janka's singing remains within perfect pitch. Although aggressive at times, unlike Letov, Janka never went so far as to use hoarse, scream-y vocal techniques.

2.3. *Beyond Egor and Janka: alumni of GrOb Records*

The recordings of Egor Letov's various musical ventures (Kommunizm, Graždanskaja Oborona, Egor i Opizdenevšie) all took place in the musician's apartment in Omsk, which he – and later the entire underground community in Siberia – proudly renamed “GrOb-Studio” (*GrOb-studija*)⁷⁸. Different artists participated in the recordings in Letov's apartment, but not all of them took part in his personal or group ventures, like the musicians Vadim Kuzmin (1964-2012) and Oleg Sudakov (born 1962).

Vadim Kuzmin began his music career in 1986 in Novosibirsk as a member of the band Spinki Menta ('Cop's Backs'). The band's name was a pun: it is assonant with the expression “spinki mintaja” ('pollock fillet'), a popular Soviet canned fish, which at that time was one of the products that were always available despite the deficit of other goods (Aksjutina 1999). Soon, however, Kuzmin renamed the band Černyj Lukič ('Black Lukič'): they recorded their first albums in Letov's studio and in collaboration with him⁷⁹; later, however, the band continued independently until Kuzmin's death in 2012. Kuzmin and Černyj Lukič ideally positioned themselves within the genre of punk rock (Aksjutina 1999), but in fact they performed in a singer-songwriter style. In this sense, the loose use of terms and definitions is indicative of the way underground artists viewed 'punk': it was not a canon or genre, but a lifestyle and a feeling in the realm of underground culture.

Similarly shall be regarded the musical projects of Oleg 'Manager' Sudakov, who was also active in GrOb-Studio and participated in Letov's Kommunizm. Sudakov launched

⁷⁷ “So we will play the games / One-two, feet up from the ground / Who managed to do so is going to die / Who remained is just a fool” (Ja. Djagileva, *Vyšše nogi ot zemli*, 1989).

⁷⁸ It is also important to note that several members of Letov's Graždanskaja Oborona pursued solo projects, some of which took up base in GrOb-Studio: among them, Konstantin Rjabinov's *Christosy na paperty* ('Christ on the Porch'), Dmitrij Selivanov's *Promyšlennaja Arhitektura* ('Industrial architecture').

⁷⁹ For instance, the album *Končilis' Patrony* ('Out of Ammo', 1988) was recorded in GrOb-Studio, with Letov as producer.

various projects, including Anarchija ('Anarchy'), Armija Vlasova ('Vlasov's Army'), Cyganjata i ja s Il'iča ('Gypsy Kids and Me Drunk on Il'ič'). Manager's musical experiments went far beyond punk:

Первые концерты Олега “Менеджера” Судакова происходили в шкафу. Постоянно сталкиваясь с потоком глобальных вселенских противоречий, он в состоянии внутреннего надлома запирался в антикварный дубовый шкаф и начинал от бессилия выть (Kušnir 2003: 112)⁸⁰.

Even Egor Letov, who generally shared an experimental attitude to creation, described most of Manager's music as “pathological” (Letov 1991: 26). Manager continues to perform today, and his most recent project is Rodina ('Fatherland').

The artistic ventures of Kuzmin and Sudakov are just one example of the diversity and heterogeneity typical of the so-called *Sibpunk*: it entangled not only the music itself, but also notions of self-expression, experimentation, free and poetic, if not absurd and provocative, performance.

3. *A Diverse Musical Environment*

The Siberian underground scene was not limited to the phenomenon of Siberian punk, nor to its 'suicidal' version (apart from Janka's death in 1991, Dmitrij Selivanov, who was a prominent figure in the Siberian underground and appeared as a guitarist in many of Letov's and his entourage's projects, also died tragically by suicide in 1989). Siberia also provided fertile ground for more traditional art-rock collectives, such as Dmitrij Revjakin's Kalinov Most, formed in 1986 in Novosibirsk, whose music was also influenced by The Doors and early Western progressive rock⁸¹.

The Siberian underground music scene can thus be depicted with the image of a branching web, consisting of more or less interconnected groups of artists: on the one hand, we find the circle of Egor Letov, which included musicians and bands that were in one way or another involved in his GrOb Records community (among them, for example, Černyj Lukič or Manager, who were directly or indirectly influenced by Letov's approach to music production and/or, more importantly, by his lifestyle and mindset); on the other hand, there were more 'traditional' rock bands such as Kalinov Most; finally, some independent artists went their own way, such as Djadja Go (Barnaul). Roman Neumoev's band Instrukcija Po Vyživaniu, formed in Tjumen' in 1985, took a slightly different stance and was received

⁸⁰ “Oleg ‘Manager’ Sudakov's first concerts took place in the closet. Constantly stumbling upon a stream of global, universal contradictions, facing the internal trauma, he'd lock himself in an antique oak closet and would start howling out of impotence.”

⁸¹ Revjakin's music makes much use of neologisms, plays with Russian and Old-Slavic phonetics and morphology, and intertwines semi-abstract imagery with psychedelic poetic exercises devoid of any element of protest (Kurbanovskij 1993, Belikov 1991).

differently by the underground press: while it participated in the Siberian punk movement, it flirted musically with Russian chanson and expressed controversial ideas both in its lyrics and in interviews⁸². The Siberian musical and cultural heritage that emerged from and was associated with the activities and personality of Egor Letov, despite its taxonomy, does not bear much resemblance to punk music as understood in the West. The latter actually managed to gain some followers in late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia: The Russian representatives of 'Western punk' were not directly related to Letov, and some of them were not even geographically connected to Siberia; some of them still exist today, such as Teplaja Trassa ('Warm Trail') from Barnaul or the Kazakh Adaptacija ('Adaptation'). This brief overview indicates the diversity that characterized the musical environment of late Soviet Siberia, especially in terms of the aesthetic approaches to artistic creation.

4. *In Lieu of a Conclusion*

If one compares the Russian-Siberian and Western rock and punk cultures on the level of sound or aesthetics, clear differences emerge. If one were to draw such a parallel (which, incidentally, is beyond the scope of this study), one would overlook the reasons for these differences and thus fail to understand the ways in which the Siberian underground developed and how it influenced Soviet and later Russian cultural life. The cultural and historical context⁸³, as well as the ideological background, are of fundamental importance here. In the absence of a capitalist world to oppose, rock, punk, and hippie subcultures

⁸² Among Neumoev's crucial controversial issues are his antisemitic positions (Kontrkul'tUr'a 1991: 48). In addition, his deteriorated relationship with Egor Letov has also provided material for speculation.

⁸³ The very stimulus to the emergence of counterculture in the West and of the underground scene in Socialist countries differed at their core: the Western protest movements that emerged in the aftermath of World War II were directed against the previous generation and the Cold war as a whole (Briggs 2015: 269-271, 281); the Western punk-rockers were in some way reacting to the music establishment by proposing a different aesthetic approach to composition and resisting the commercialization and excessive sophistication of progressive rock music (their sticking to ideas of authenticity and resistance to 'pop', meant as "that area of popular music said to be marked by ethical compromise and capitulation", should however be seen as an adherence to "rock ideology"; Keightley 2001: 128). In the context of the late Soviet Siberian underground, rock and punk subcultures, although aesthetically and ideologically distinct, merged to the point of being indistinguishable in their Soviet acclimation. Janka Djagileva, for example, was considered both a hippie and a punk, even though she was essentially neither (Qualin 2003: 296). In the Soviet Union the rock, hippie and punk subcultures were identified by their basic 'tribalism' and 'anti-establishment' attitudes (and in this sense they all belong in the wider realm of "rock ideology"; Keightley 2001: 126). However, their protest was not directed against the Socialist regime, nor was it a pro-Western (nor pro-capitalist) expression of rebellion. It was the pure manifestation of a personal quest for free expression in a world where such individualistic pursuits were, at their core, forbidden. Rock music, in this sense, was an act of personal protest, while what surrounded it was merely a byproduct. To be

developed differently on the Soviet territory⁸⁴, adapting to the local context and eventually becoming genuine countercultures.

In the transcript of a conversation between Tracy Drake, the guitarist Andrej Sučilin and the journalist Sergej Gur'ev, published in 1991 in the “inexistent”⁸⁵ samizdat magazine “Kontrkul'tUr'a”, topics of debate are the Russian underground, art, philosophy and, inevitably, politics. Gur'ev drew a slippery parallel between public perceptions of Egor Letov and Vladimir Lenin, suggesting that both managed to become influential figures, mentors and, in a sense, philosophical leaders of a revolution — one cultural, the other political — without mastering any significant technique in their craft, at least not in the traditional sense (Drake *et al.* 1991: 148). While we leave the comment on Vladimir Lenin outside the scope of this article, Gur'ev's statement does indeed describe quite accurately an important phenomenon of Russian underground culture in general and of Siberian rock music in particular: Gur'ev suggested that Letov, as well as other prominent figures of this unofficial environment, was in some ways continuing the Russian tradition which, since the origins of Russian culture, has seen the Artist — even if unaware of such a role — as a civic, social, and spiritual leader, as a kind of prophet and missionary, as a forerunner of ideas on values and moral issues, the Artist as a driving force of social progress and evolution.

Often lacking the necessary theoretical or technical expertise to produce music, Egor Letov and many other Siberian punk-rockers reverse-engineered and freely composed their music according to their own vision and understanding of it. Many artists had more than sufficient knowledge of Western punk music⁸⁶, but no real understanding of the technological activities behind it, as they did not have access to the production processes and often did not have sufficient equipment at their disposal: the musicians literally ‘reconstructed’ the sounds from scratch, often using rather inconvenient technical solutions⁸⁷. It was not an imitation, but the creation of an entirely new, idiosyncratic kind of art that was a manifestation of their personal quest for expression. It is precisely this shift of focus in what we may call ‘creative motivation’ that is a distinctive feature of the Siberian punk-rockers. Such

“authentic,” then, it went “beyond politics” and embodied a “commitment to the poetic expression of truth, or *istina*” (Cushman 1995: 103, 126).

⁸⁴ Even the drug abuse and decadent, self-destructive life- and performance style that were indeed specific features of early Western rock-n-roll culture were perceived differently in the USSR. ‘Russian Janis Joplin’ Janka “had to work without painkillers,” while Joplin could “seek redemption in an ecstatic trance” (Sokoljanskij 1991).

⁸⁵ “Kontrkul'tUr'a” defined itself as an “inexistent journal” (“несуществующий журнал”).

⁸⁶ Many underground samizdat magazines of the early 1990s featured original interviews with Western underground musicians, reviews and translations of song lyrics and critical articles. Letov himself was known for selling rare Western records on the Soviet ‘black market’.

⁸⁷ For example: attaching microphones to a lamp and rotating the entire construction around the sound source to achieve phase shifts and spatial effects; recording drum parts on a self-made tape at a pace twice slower than usual, and then launching the tape twice faster to achieve higher pitch and unusual drum patterns.

a characteristic is both indicative of their self-positioning as artists, as well as it is helpful for critics to approach their work and legacy. In this sense, Siberian rock and punk subcultures have once again radically distanced themselves from their Western counterparts⁸⁸.

Such a brief overview of the origins and poetics of Siberian rock and punk music points to the incredible richness of the late Soviet Siberian underground, a diverse and heterogeneous scene composed of circles and networks that still lack specific research and study.

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⁸⁸ This is also one reason why these subcultures mixed and rearranged freely in the Soviet context, while in the Western world (USA and UK) they belonged (at least ideally) to different 'ideologies'. In a nutshell, the hippie musical preferences are here associated with psychedelic culture, whereas punk is often seen as a reaction to progressive rock, and rock music in general seems confined to the realm of pop culture or popular music. For a further discussion of these musical 'ideologies' see Keightley 2001.

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Abstract

Martina Napolitano, Vladimir Zherebov

On and Beyond Egor Letov. Rock and Punk Music from (Soviet) Siberia

This article examines the role played by Siberian underground musical phenomena in the development of rock and punk music in Russia, paying particular attention to the profile of Egor Letov and his relevant musical ventures. The authors situate the analysis within the broader framework of studies dealing with Russian rock music and Soviet underground culture in general and examine the hitherto insufficiently explored features that characterized the Siberian underground scene and enabled the emergence of original artists.

Keywords

Russian Rock; Russian Punk; Siberian Rock; Siberian Punk; Egor Letov; Janka Djagileva.



BLOCCO TEMATICO

*Rereading Lesja Ukrajinka.
New Perspectives and Interpretations*

a cura di

M.G. Bartolini, G. Brogi Bercoff e G. Siedina

Foreword

The present issue collects six articles written by leading specialists in Ukrainian Modernist literature on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of the renowned Ukrainian writer and poet Lesja Ukrajinka. We editors would like to thank our Ukrainian colleagues at the Volyn National University in Luc'k and the National University of Ostroh Academy: Prof. Nadiya Koloshuk, Prof. Maria Moklytsja, Prof. Serhiy Romanov, Prof. Galyna Yastrubetska, Prof. Svitlana Kocherha, for their proposal of a guest edited issue of "Studi Slavistici" dedicated to Lesja Ukrajinka.

The contributors – who live and work in different countries such as Australia, Italy, Ukraine, and the United States – have examined works by Lesja Ukrajinka which have previously received scant attention, and investigated a number of open questions which still remain controversial and to some extent unanswered. In doing so, they have employed new methodological tools, offered fresh interpretations, and provided original solutions to long-standing problems. The first five articles focus on some of Lesja Ukrajinka's lyrical poems (*One Word* and *Spring in Egypt*) and theatrical dramas (*In the Wilderness*, *Rameneis*, *Rufin and Priscilla*, *Orhija*, and *Forest Song*). The authors touch upon fundamental topics and methodological issues such as Orientalism and Post-Orientalism, Modernism in Ukraine and Europe, Ecocriticism, and the aesthetical and social function of art. Tamara Hundorova's concluding review article provides an overview of the most important topics explored in the published papers and the new threads and discussion they engender. The editors of this thematic collection hope that the following contributions, while celebrating the jubilee of a writer who is yet to be fully appreciated in Western literary discourse, will stimulate further interest in Lesja Ukrajinka and her intellectual milieu among the wider scholarly community. We also hope that the encounter between Ukrainian and international scholars will open up the possibility of new critical approaches to Ukrajinka's work.

*Maria Grazia Bartolini
Giovanna Brogi Bercoff
Giovanna Siedina*

Marko Pavlyshyn

"Foreign Woman, Do Not Look!" *Spring in Egypt* and Lesja Ukrajinka's Confrontation with Orientalism

Larysa Petrivna Kosač – Lesja Ukrajinka – spent much of her life travelling. From ten years of age a sufferer from tuberculosis, she sought treatment in Warsaw, Vienna, Berlin and Zürich. She journeyed to the peripheries of the Russian Empire – to Odesa and Crimea for her health, and to Georgia to be with her husband. Between 1909 and 1913 she spent three extended periods in Egypt, encountering a land which bore visible monuments of the greatness of its ancient civilization, but which had not been governed by native rulers since the fourth century B.C. After centuries of Greek, Roman and Byzantine, Arab and Ottoman overlordship, from 1882 onward Egypt had been under de facto British occupation. Among the vehicles of cultural influence that accompanied the European military and economic presence in Egypt was tourism, including the health tourism in which Lesja Ukrajinka participated. Lesja Ukrajinka was attentive to the depredations of colonialism in general and to the colonial marginality imposed upon her own and other cultures within the Russian Empire in particular. In the dramatic poems *Orbija* (*The Orgy*, written in 1912-1913) and *Bojarynja* (*The Boyar's Wife*, written in Egypt in 1910), for example, she offered astute representations of the discursive strategies by which imperial metropolises exploit and appropriate the human and cultural capital of their provinces or colonies, while simultaneously subjecting them to disparagement and mockery¹. It is scarcely surprising, then, that her sojourns in colonial Egypt gave rise to literary reflections on the mechanisms by which colonial power is exerted.

Stimulated by Edward Said's book *Orientalism*, literary and other humanities scholarship has become increasingly sensitive to manifestations in cultural texts of the power disequilibrium between Western (and other metropolitan) cultures and those not Western and not metropolitan. Orientalism, defined by Said as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1978: 3), has become a shorthand term for the many ways in which Western discourses and practices reflect and extend Western domination over the East. These include Western description and study of the Orient that figure the observer as superior and the object of inquiry as inferior, and various rhetorical templates for representing and interpreting the Oriental Other – as, for example, feminized, eroticized or infantilized.

¹ See, e.g., Matusiak 2009, Jurčuk 2011, and Andrianova 2015.

As has long been recognized, Orientalism is not solely the province of consciously supremacist ideology. In many instances it functions as an “unconscious and sometimes benevolently intended set of attitudes and preconceptions arising out of relations of power” (Marcuse 2004: 809-810), and the boundary in such cases between the virtuous intentions of the actor and the underlying structure of domination in which the actor is complicit may be subtle. Given her many travels, her erudite Europe-influenced world-view, her choice of the ancient and modern Orient as thematic background for many of her works, and her personal experience as an intellectual in a subaltern culture within an imperial context, Lesja Ukrajinka presents a complex and fascinating case of the tension between, on the one hand, anti-colonial solidarity with oppressed peoples and classes and, on the other, the inextricable enmeshment of Orientalist postulates and attitudes with the European Enlightenment tradition. My objective in the present inquiry is to illustrate this tension through examination of a single poem (*Khamsin*)², within the context both of the poem cycle which it initiates, *Vesna v Jehypti* (*Spring in Egypt*, 1910), and of Lesja Ukrajinka’s Egyptian experiences. The following analysis will show that Lesja Ukrajinka was informed about and respectful of Egypt and its people, empathetic toward the oppressed indigenous population, and confident in her ability to observe, understand and generalize – perhaps too boldly – about Egyptians and their plight. It will focus on *Khamsin* as a poem which clamors to be interpreted as a flash of insight into the frailty of Orientalist claims to knowledge, as an expression of the inflection such claims receive when articulated by a woman, and as a diagnosis of the fin-de-siècle crisis of the Occidental knowledge system.

Lesja Ukrajinka’s engagement with Egypt long predated her visits to that country. At the age of nineteen or twenty she undertook the major task of paraphrasing in Ukrainian Louis Ménard’s *Histoire des anciens peuples de l’Orient* (1882). Twenty years later, in Egypt, she updated the manuscript and sought, unsuccessfully at the time, to have it published (see Ohnjeva 2005). It appeared in print in 1918, five years after her death, as *Starodavnja istorija schidnych narodiv* (*Ancient History of the Eastern Peoples*). The section on Egypt is a 60,000-word text on the geography, ancient history, mythology, lifestyle and culture of the land. The text radiates respect, indeed admiration, for the civilization of Ancient Egypt and does not hesitate to label instances of European interference with Egypt’s ancient monuments as acts of “vandalism” on the part of “European ignoramuses” (“jevropejs’k[ych] nevihlas[iv]”, Ukrajinka 2021, x: 158)³. Lesja Ukrajinka utilized the knowledge she had accumulated in writing the *Ancient History* in works set in Ancient Egypt, including a number of poems written in 1903-1904: *Ra-Meneji*, *Sfinks* (*The Sphinx*), *Napys na rujini* (*Inscription on a Ruin*), and *Izrajil’ v Jehypti* (*Israel in Egypt*) (Rudnyc’kyj 1971, Ostanina 2013).

Lesja Ukrajinka’s letters, especially to her mother, the writer Olena Pchilka, and Borys Hrinčenko are rich in details about her first sojourn in Helwan on the Nile. Another source

² The title refers to the khamsin or simoom, the forceful, hot sand-bearing southerly wind from the Sahara.

³ All subsequent references to this source give volume and page number only.

concerning that visit is a memoir by Mykola Ochrimenko, a teenager at the time, who kept a diary which enabled him in the 1950s to reconstruct with some precision the life of the guests of the Villa Continental where Lesja Ukrajinka resided. The main literary projects of her six months in Egypt – completion of the verse drama *Rufin i Priscilla* (*Rufinus and Priscilla*) and the writing of *The Boyar's Wife* – were not concerned with Egyptian themes. However, over five days in March 1910 Lesja Ukrajinka composed the seven poems of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle (Moroz 1992: 456-457). Six were published that year in the journal "Ridnyj kraj"⁴. They were inspired by the experience, vividly described in a letter to her mother, of a khamsin and the weather conditions following it: a calm hot spell and a north wind bringing showers. "Oh, if only you could see that red-haired demon of a khamsin – how it transforms the world into a yellow nightmare! Truly, an evil spirit – a Typhon!", she wrote, comparing the wind to the hundred-headed dragon resident in the underworld of Greek mythology (xiv: 197).

Khamsin was the first poem of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle to be written, and the furthest from the intellectual ground in which Lesja Ukrajinka generally anchored her lyrical subject. In general, and especially in the subsequent poems of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle, this ground is the heritage of the Western Enlightenment, from which many of her works derive their pathos of liberty, equality and solidarity. Her feminism, too, generally expresses itself as a demand for the recognition of women's full humanity on the basis of an Enlightenment-derived universalism. The genealogy of the Enlightenment is no less evident in the determined individualism, secularism and devotion to objective knowledge that find expression in much of her oeuvre.

The last of these is the intellectual value that, initially, the poem *Khamsin* appears to invoke. The lyrical subject is introduced in the act of precise, objective observation. The poem's audience is invited to visualize and co-experience, in sequence, a hot and fast wind that stings the skin with its heat and airborne sand; the wind's flute-like sound; its force as it lifts pebbles from the ground and carries them short distances before they fall and are picked up again; whirlwinds that briefly take shape in the sand-filled air, only to disappear into a yellow sandy haze; people who, caught in the open, lie flat on the ground to avoid the worst of the sand and wind; and, at the climax of the windstorm, airborne sand so dense that it dims the daylight and turns the sky yellow.

Evocation of these visual, aural and tactile sensations is accompanied by personifications and mythological allusions that intensify the poem's emotional charge. The desert wind is compared, initially, to a dancing figure, its wings and its flaming breath connoting dragon-like menace and aggression toward the lyrical subject. Unrhymed iambic pentameter with an unstressed extrametrical syllable at the end of most, but not all lines creates a diction that is close to descriptive prose while remaining within the orbit of metrical verse. This formal and stylistic neutrality of *Khamsin* harmonizes well with what initially appears to be the poem's mimetic intent:

⁴ One of the poems, *Son* (*Teplo ta jasno*) (*A Dream [It Is Warm and Sunny]*) was not published until 1947.

Рудий Хамсін в пустині розгулявся,
 Жагою палений, мчить у повітрі,
 Черкаючи пісок сухими крильми,
 І дише густим полум'ям пекучим (v: 406)⁵.

Soon enough, though, the lyrical subject's vision of the natural spectacle is augmented by association with a wedding – a “wild” one at that. Erotic overtones are amplified as sandy whirlwinds anthropomorphize into female dancers, “mysterious wind-maidens” in diaphanous costume, who dance in Khamsin's honor:

Якесь весілля дике! Мов сопілка –
 Співа пісок, зірвавшись зненацька
 З важкої нерухомості своєї,
 А камінці на бубнах приграють.
 Хто ж там у жовтій та сліпучій млі
 На честь Хамсінові таночки водить?
 Щось віє покривалами тонкими,
 Так прудко-прудко крутячись у танці...
 Якісь таємні вітряні дівчата,
 Веселі діти смутної пустині? (v: 406)⁶

These lines continue to testify to the lyrical subject's self-identification with the Westerner desirous of knowledge of the Orient. Question marks connote an attitude of curious inquiry and a researcher's willingness to propose hypotheses. The “reading” of the dancing-girl-like whirlwinds which the lyrical subject proposes – that they be imagined as “cheerful children of the melancholy desert” – correlates with Lesja Ukrajinka's observations concerning Egyptians in her letters. Egyptians, she found, were characterized by a happy group disposition despite the oppressive colonial and social circumstances under which most of them lived – an observation that offended her sense of social logic and demanded a causal explanation (of which more below). What is more, given the stereotype of the harem dancer that is invoked here, the lyrical subject appears to indulge in a manner of seeing akin to the eroticized and exoticizing gaze of such late nineteenth-century European artists as José Gallegos, Ferenc Eisenhut or Alphonse Pellet, painters of imaginary harem scenes. True to what Said described as the “citationary” nature of Orientalism (Said 1978:

⁵ Red-haired Khamsin dances wildly in the desert; / Burned by thirst he races through the air, / His dry wings scuffing the sand; / He breathes thick, stinging flame (here and afterwards translations are mine, MP).

⁶ It's some kind of wild wedding-feast! The sand, suddenly uprisen / From its heavy immobility, sings like a reed pipe, / While pebbles drum accompaniment. / Who is it that in yellow, blinding mist / Performs dances in Khamsin's honour? / There is a flutter of diaphanous veils / As something dances, swiftly whirling... / Are these some mysterious wind-maidens, / Cheerful children of the melancholy desert?

176), the image of veiled danseuses evokes an entire tradition of Orientalist representations of women, their status as objects of male desire enhanced by the idea that in lands of the Orient religious convention removes women from the public (and, ipso facto, the inquiring and desiring Western male) gaze. Such a voyeuristic masculine perspective, the poem at this juncture appears to imply, is shared by the lyrical subject.

Here, however, the poem takes some unexpected turns. Khamsin, the personified wind, uses the feminine noun "*čuzynka*" ('female foreigner') to address the lyrical subject:

“Чужинко, не дивись! Засиплю очі!”
І заздро загорнув Хамсін полою
Киреї жовтої своїх танечниць.
Ніхто не сміє бачить їх. Араб
Серед пустині падає додолу,
Як на молитві (v: 406)⁷.

The lyrical subject, then, is a woman. But she has articulated a Western *man's* interest in Khamsin's danseuses. His outrage and his threat to blind her bring to the fore the two kinds of transgression which have overlapped here, one against an established gender role, the other against a cultural (more specifically, religious) tradition.

First, a woman has acted in a man's role. Khamsin is represented as jealously believing not only that "his" women have been coveted, but that they have been coveted by a woman, who has thereby usurped a form of culpable desire thought of as the province of men. Contemporary readers interpreting this role inversion as an allegory of a socio-political argument within the framework of their European value-system might well have detected here a liberal, even feminist complaint against the fact that desires which society disapprovingly tolerates in men are found outrageous if manifested by women.

Second, an Islamic prohibition has been breached. The rules of modesty governing which parts of women's and men's bodies may be seen, and by whom, have differed according to time and place (Boulanouar 2006: 138). However, from Lesja Ukrajinka's correspondence and Ochrimenko's memoirs it is evident that she, like other Europeans in Egypt, observed many women in public with their face and body covered and believed that Islam allowed them to be uncovered only in front of the woman's husband and a small number of other categories of person. The lyrical subject, a foreign woman behaving as if she were a man, has broken this rule. In doing so, she has not only challenged Khamsin's demand to be the sole spectator of "his" women. She has also behaved impiously in relation to the dominant religion of Egypt.

Up to this point, it is possible to read Khamsin's anger as his reaction to the transgressive behavior of the female lyrical subject, whose looking upon the veiled dancers

⁷ "Foreign woman, do not look! / I shall fill your eyes [with sand]!" / And jealously Khamsin enfolded in his yellow robe / All of his dancers. / None dare look at them. The Arab / In the desert drops to the ground, / As though in prayer.

may appear to be a libertarian act symbolizing rejection of Islamic custom, akin to the declaration in *The Secret Gift*, the sixth poem of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle, that “Woman has been oppressed by Islam”, v: 410). Such an emphatic critique of Islamic gender norms implies corresponding confidence in the universality of the Western values of liberty and agency – a universality later disputed, as will become apparent, in the poem *Khamsin* itself, though not in the cycle as a whole. The conjecture that, in *Khamsin*, Islam and its value system might be at stake is supported by the poem’s momentary focus on “the Arab”, who, imagined as confronting the spectacle of whirling dancers, falls to the ground “as though” (“*jak*”) in prayer. The phrase “as though”, by qualifying what follows as a simile, enables the evocation of Islamic piety even as it announces that Islam is not the main concern at hand. In the observed “real world” of the khamsin-struck desert people lie down to protect themselves from the wind and the wind-borne sand; the “as though”, signifying similarity, but not identity, draws attention to the fact that the analogy between their prostration and the posture that Muslim faithful adopt in prayer is just that – an analogy. At the level of myth, where Khamsin is emerging as a powerful, indeed supernatural, presence, the Arab’s prostration is clearly *not* an act of Islamic prayer. It reveals itself as a reflex of fear and self-abasement before an ancient deity that is not merely pre-colonial, but also pre-Islamic⁸.

The mythologized Khamsin’s reaction to the Arab’s prostration is one of irony: he pretends to understand it as an act of prayer, but demands that the Arab’s piety be directed to him, Khamsin – for, as he now proclaims, he is a deity, “that mighty Seth”:

“Вже ж! Молись! Молись!
Я давній бог, я той могутній Сет,
Що тіло Озірісове нетлінне
Розшматував і кинув у пустиню.
Ох, як тоді Ізіда заридала”.
І звеселився спогадом Хамсін,
І вся пустиня мов знялася вгору
І в небо ринула. На жовтім небі
Померкло сонце – око Озіріса –
І стало так, мов цілий світ осліп... (v: 406)⁹

⁸ In the manuscript draft of *Khamsin* the term initially used for the prostrated figure was “*fellach*” (fellah), a member of the autochthonous peasantry (v: 799). The word was crossed out and change to “*arab*” (“the Arab”). Lesja Ukrajinka may have assumed that her readers would more readily associate Islam and Muslim prayer with Arabs than with indigenous Egyptians.

⁹ “Just so! Pray, pray! / I am an ancient god, I am that mighty Seth / Who ripped to pieces Osiris’s incorruptible body / And threw it into the desert. / Oh, how Isis wept then!” / The recollection amused Khamsin, / And all the desert seemed to rise aloft / And surge into the heavens. In the yellow sky / The sun, Osiris’s eye, went dim; / And it was as though the whole world had gone blind...

The cultural point of reference of the poem has shifted once more. The poem's audience no longer accompanies a Western lyrical subject on a quest for knowledge of the natural phenomena of the Orient; nor are readers enjoined to criticize, from a Western viewpoint, the cultural prohibitions enshrined in Islam. Instead, the audience is now invited to understand nature – in this case the millennial duel between the desert and the Nile-fed arable land – through autochthonous myth. As in Egyptian myth, Seth in Lesja Ukrajinka's poem is the divinity of chaos and destruction, the antagonist of the orderly cycle of regeneration and death represented by Osiris and Isis.

The words that the poem attributes to Khamsin/Seth reveal him as a malevolent force, his ferocious violence reflected in the verb *rozšmatuvav* ('ripped to pieces')¹⁰, his merciless contempt for the defeated adversary evident in his "throwing" the dismembered body of Osiris, which he mocks as "incorruptible", into the desert. Khamsin/Seth's pleasure at the recollection of his slaughter of his opponent has its objective correlative in the natural event, observed by the lyrical subject, which closes the poem: as the windstorm reaches its climax, the sand in the air obscures the light of the sun and makes it impossible to distinguish desert from sky. The topos of *ordo inversus* – the world turned upside down – is invoked in the image of the desert rising up and surging into the heavens, while the murk that has descended is brought into association with the (mythological) dimming of the eye of the dying Osiris and a blindness that is inflicted upon the world.

From a standpoint that acknowledges mimesis as a function of art, the poem offers a vivid and convincing poetic picture, precise in its visual and even tactile representation of an experience of the khamsin. In such a reading the allusions to contemporary cultural realities and to ancient myth serve to intensify the sensual and emotional effect of what is, in essence, the representation of a sandstorm, for an audience whose European horizon of expectations anticipates a vision of the Orient as exotic, rich in mysterious mythologies, and fundamentally Other.

If, on the other hand, Lesja Ukrajinka's *Khamsin* is approached as an exercise in *Gedankenlyrik* – as a poetic thought experiment – it can be read as formulating a moment of epistemological insight. Lesja Ukrajinka, an adherent to the Enlightenment project and the quest for knowledge that is fundamental to it, recognizes a key limitation of that project: that the Other, and especially the cultural Other, is only partially knowable. The poem begins as a Western effort to describe a natural phenomenon in a foreign land; it soon becomes entangled in Orientalizing tropes as it endeavors to communicate its observations in ways that address its audience's Western expectations; it is then rocked by the resistance of the subject-matter to this colonizing form of interpretation; finally, it becomes aware of itself as committing a succession of acts of transgression against the cultures that surround the natural object under observation. This realization, and the poem itself, end with the

¹⁰ In Lesja Ukrajinka's manuscript of the poem the force of the verb *rozšmatuvav* is magnified by the dash which precedes it, signifying a pause that adds emphasis to what follows. The punctuation mark is not reproduced in standard editions (Avrachov 2007: 104).

image of a world gone blind – an image that readers may choose to read as a symbol of despair of the possibility of intercultural knowledge or, even more broadly, of the crisis of a central part of the heritage of the European Enlightenment: the universalist view of humanity on which belief in the possibility of understanding across cultures is based¹¹.

The poem *Khamsin* thus sustains interpretation as challenging the justification of Western efforts to know the East – or, to state the same in another idiom, as deconstructing Orientalist claims to knowledge. Does such skepticism correspond to Lesja Ukrajinka's intellectual stance as articulated in other works?

Not as a rule. What is generally true of Lesja Ukrajinka, as Ivan Dzjuba (2006: 7) pointed out, is that in her life as in her works she seldom failed to underscore her universalist dedication to human freedom, equality, and social justice, or to condemn colonialism in its political and cultural forms. Her Egyptian writings, no less than her actions while in Egypt, were no exception. Indeed, Lesja Ukrajinka's social conscience is the leading theme of Ochrimenko's memoir of her first Egyptian sojourn. The memoirist records her outrage at the efforts of a few of her countrymen to get some Egyptian boys drunk, thus tempting them to break an important religious obligation; she loudly condemned their "dirty behavior" as that of "cultural savages" (Ochrimenko 1971: 354). The memoir also tells of a friendship between Sajid Abramovyč, an Egyptian postal official, and the denizens of the Villa Continental. After Sajid entertained the tourists by singing in various European languages and dancing the *rususkaja* and the *hopak*, Lesja Ukrajinka urged him in private not to "lose his national dignity by making himself a clown for the Europeans" (Ochrimenko 1971: 348). She did her best to ameliorate a situation where thoughtless European arrogance was welcomed and encouraged by its victim. Proud of having adopted Western customs, Sajid invited his European friends to his home in order to see, uncovered, the "beautiful face" of his wife. En route to Sajid's domicile Lesja Ukrajinka urged her fellow visitors to observe the customs of removing footwear on entering the home, speaking softly and not looking directly at Sajid's wife – who, while quite unembarrassed by the visit, took no part in the conversation, since she spoke no European language. Yet even Lesja Ukrajinka was not entirely free of the Orientalizing and infantilizing condescension that characterized this grotesque episode: "Larysa Petrivna came up to Sajid's wife to say farewell, gently stroked her head and said, 'My poor little dove'" (Ochrimenko 1971: 349).

The poems of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle that follow *Khamsin* leave no doubt as to Lesja Ukrajinka's solidarity with the indigenous rural population, the fellaheen, whose labor profits others than themselves (especially in *Dychannja pustyni* 'The Breathing of the Desert'), or her disapproval of the British colonial presence in Egypt (in *Afra*). And yet,

¹¹ Vira Ahejeva sees such a "broad world-view and philosophical crisis [...] from which European modernism arises" (Ahejeva 1999: 31) as characteristic of Lesja Ukrajinka's later, post-1900, work in general. As the present inquiry demonstrates, in the *Spring in Egypt* cycle, at least, such consciousness of cultural crisis is a revelatory exception, not the rule.

several of her utterances express a degree of confidence in her ability to comprehend Egypt that, at least with the advantage of postcolonial hindsight, may sound culturally presumptuous. Writing to her mother after visiting the pyramids, the Great Sphinx and the Cairo museum, Lesja Ukrajinka described the experience, somewhat egocentrically, in terms of Egypt fulfilling or failing to fulfill her expectations; furthermore, she saw herself as having achieved a fullness of understanding of ancient Egyptian art: "Egypt has not disappointed me; it has enchanted me even more, and only now I have understood its art, in every way [an expression of] genius" (XIV: 180). She translated some ancient Egyptian texts into Ukrainian verse from a prose translation into German (Wiedemann 1903), claiming to detect in them similarities to Ukrainian folksongs (XIV: 190). In the introduction to the publication of these texts as *Liryčni pisni dawn'oho Jehyptu* (*Lyrical Songs of Ancient Egypt*) she calls her rhythmical texts the fruit of her intention to "translate not the letter, but the spirit of the original" (VIII: 59) – a bold claim to knowledge of that "spirit", given that she could not read Egyptian hieroglyphs and relied on a prose paraphrase of the originals in one of the metropolitan languages of Europe. After the sandstorm that was the stimulus for the composition of *Khamsin* Lesja Ukrajinka wrote to her mother, ironically but with no diminution of her confidence in her ability to comprehend the Other, "I'm glad, because I did want to know what Africa really is. Now I do know" (XIV: 197).

The conviction that she possessed a plenitude of knowledge about Egypt emboldened Lesja Ukrajinka to generalize about Egyptians and what she took to be their prevailing collective mood. She found especially striking and yet difficult to explain the seeming happiness of the fellaheen, notwithstanding their historical and contemporary oppression. The personification of whirlwinds in *Khamsin* as "cheerful children of the melancholy desert" is but one manifestation of the motif of the happy denizens of Egypt, and especially of its happy women. In her introduction to *Lyrical Songs of Ancient Egypt* Lesja Ukrajinka extolled these "songs" as "examples of the radiant, joyous poetry of a great and mysterious people" prior to drawing attention to the contrast she observed between indigenous Egyptians' objective misery and their subjective good cheer:

This people ("*narod*") has not enjoyed a happy fate – its entire history is one of oppression either by its own despots or by foreign invaders. And yet, it drew from somewhere the strength not to close its eyes to the joys of the world or of life. Perhaps that is why this people has survived for such a long time. The sphinxes smile with luminous joy, the very walls of the mausoleums shimmer with cheerful colors, and seldom does one encounter a sad expression on the sculpted or painted covers of the papyrus biers in which the black mummies are enclosed. A similar brightness and joy of the spirit is manifest in the songs that are here translated (VIII: 60).

Unsurprisingly, given the strength of her conviction that joy was a central feature of the cultural and psychological disposition of Egyptians from ancient times to the present, Lesja Ukrajinka looked for a theory to explain this phenomenon. She found it in the notion, well established in European thought since at least Montesquieu and Herder, that

climate powerfully influences culture and society (see, e.g., Grundmann, Stehr 1997). In a letter to Hrinčenko she observed, more in relation to her fellow health tourists than to Egypt's indigenous population, that

[h]ere even the climate, and especially the colors, incline people to cheerfulness: the sky, always bright, the absolute certainty that it will not rain (in the 2.5 months that I have been here rain has fallen on perhaps five occasions), a certain special gentleness of the color scheme, a certain lightness of the air that I have not witnessed anywhere in Europe – all of this somehow raises one's spirits (XIV: 189).

It is not implausible to suggest that Lesja Ukrajinka, who came to Egypt so that the climate might alleviate the symptoms of her tuberculosis, was open to the idea that this same climate exercised a benign influence on the physical, and therefore also psychological, constitution of people who had experienced it over millennia.

Quite in keeping with this climatic explanation of the purported happiness of Egyptians is the argument of the poem *Tajemnyj dar* (*The Secret Gift*) that closes the published version of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle. The first half of the poem comprises a series of illustrations of its opening statement, "Egypt does not know how to weep for long" ("Plakaty dovho Jehypet ne vmije")¹². The rain merely rinses the palm trees, sprinkles the greenery of the crops along the Nile, refreshes the "shimmering gilt" ("blyskuču pozlotu") of the desert and causes Egypt to "smile once more – secret are the joys of the Sphinx" ("Usmichajet'sja znovu, – tajemni radošči Sfinksa!").

As nature rejoices, so do people. The lyrical subject prefaces the series of images that follows with a single word that identifies him or her (on this occasion readers receive no grammatical clues as to the speaker's gender) as an observer, an eyewitness: "I see:" ("Baču."). What the lyrical subject sees includes women with laughing eyes, men and women who sing as they tout their wares, a water-bearer who jokes as he carries his heavy burden and smiles as he takes payment, and carefree children of the fellaheen at play, unperturbed by their poverty.

"Whence this joy?" ("Zvidky sja radist'?), wonders the lyrical subject. The answer, which constitutes the second half of the poem, takes the form of an invented creation myth of the Nile. Only the figure of Nil (*Neilos* in Greek, *Nilus* in Latin) and the notion that he had many children are prefigured in ancient sources; the rest of the narrative is new¹³. Ancient Egyptian mythology knew Hathor as a goddess of the sky, of women and fertility. In Lesja Ukrajinka's poem there are seven wise Hathors, each of whom makes the newborn Nil a gift. The first six gifts are aspects of the fertility of the Nile valley and the promise of Egyptian civilization, while the seventh concerns Nil's children:

¹² All quotations from *The Secret Gift* are from v: 410-411.

¹³ For a discussion of the interplay of received and invented myth in *The Secret Gift*, see Kozlitina 2011.

Сьома всміхнулась крізь сльози і мовила щиро:
 "З задрощів, вічну неволю судили боги твоїм дітям,
 Я ж у незламную радість озброю народную душу, –
 Гніт фараонів, кормига чужинців її не здолає!"¹⁴

Thus, the answer to the question concerning the origins of the indefatigable good humor that the lyrical subject of the poem, like Lesja Ukrajinka, sees as characteristic of Egyptians, despotisms notwithstanding, is mythological, at least at first appearance: it is a gift of the gods, a given, like the regenerative annual flooding of the river. And yet, while the structure of the poem does not compel the reader to proceed to an allegorical decoding of the sequence of gifts, the narrative does imply a theory of economic cause and psychological effect: the exceptional fertility of the Nile valley has made life easier for Egyptians than other agricultural peoples, and this in turn is the source of their carefree and cheerful disposition. Lesja Ukrajinka foreshadowed such a theory in her *Ancient History of the Eastern Peoples*, quoting Herodotus's remarks about the easily tillable soil of the Nile valley and the civilizational consequences of this fortunate circumstance (X: 147-148). An invented "Egyptian" legend, despite its outward mythological attributes, becomes the vehicle for a geographically and economically determinist explanation of what is presented as a general feature of an Egyptian collective psyche. An "Oriental mystery", the inexplicable happiness of the Egyptian people, is dispelled by the force of Western reason.

The Secret Gift summarizes unambiguously the view of the collective personality of Egyptians that Lesja Ukrajinka had recorded in numerous other places. But in *Khamsin*, written a few days earlier, the legitimacy of the "seeing" that permits metaphorization of desert whirlwinds as either seductive female dancers or "happy children" is thrown into doubt. There is a chthonic force of chaos and unreason that resists the efforts of the impertinent "foreign woman" to "see" in this way. The punishment threatened by Khamsin/Seth for such sacrilegious seeing is blindness. The Western gaze with its implicit claims to know the Oriental Other, name it and explain it is exposed as inadequate to the task. The close of the poem, where the desert surges into the heavens and the world goes blind, extends the experience of the *čuzynka*, the foreign woman, to the generality of the Western paradigm of Oriental knowledge: both are presumptuous, and both deceive themselves when they develop models that 'explain' the Orient. Even more than that: in the tradition of epistemological skepticism, the poem points to the fragility of the contention that knowledge of anything external to the consciousness of the subject is possible. Symbolic of this precariousness is the vulnerability of the observer's eye, easily blinded by the sand of Khamsin/Seth and as easily made sightless when nature in a state of chaos renders all forms indiscernible.

¹⁴ The seventh smiled through her tears and spoke with sincerity, / "Envious, the gods doomed your children to eternal slavery, / But I shall arm with unbreakable joy the soul of the people. / Neither the oppression of pharaohs, nor the yoke of foreigners shall vanquish it".

All of these iterations of doubt concerning the validity of knowledge reached through observation and theorization – the paradigm of the sciences from the Enlightenment onward – are summarized in the lines, “*Čužynko, ne dyvys! / Zasyplju oči!*” (“Foreign woman, do not look! / I shall fill your eyes [with sand]!”), which bring together ideas of blindness and foreignness – synecdoches, respectively, of the fraught nature of knowledge in general and cross-cultural knowledge in particular. In Lesja Ukrajinka’s Egyptian letters the act of seeing is shown to precede a leap in knowledge: the previously mentioned visit to the Cairo museum results in greater understanding of Egyptian art (XIV: 180); seeing the pyramids and the Great Sphinx gives “a real idea of the *soul* of these stone creations” as no paintings or photographs can (XIV: 180, emphasis in the original). To the Sphinx, a monument that impressed her deeply, Lesja Ukrajinka attributes a profound capacity to see objects both transcendental and real: “The Sphinx in particular – it has a great soul that is thousands of years old; it has living eyes; it is as though it sees eternity. And what a landscape the Sphinx has before its eyes!” (XIV: 180). The description of the Sphinx’s gaze, it is plausible to surmise, is an approximation of the ideal of vision to which Lesja Ukrajinka herself aspires. It is, however, precisely this kind of insightful looking that Khamsin/Seth forbids and threatens to punish. Behind this mythologizing narrativization of a natural phenomenon – in the sand-filled air forms lose shape and dissolve in a yellow mist – lies the idea that knowledge of the culture of the Other is inaccessible, because, from the perspective of the Khamsin/Seth as the embodiment of that Other, the lyrical subject is a foreigner, a stranger.

In the poem *Odno slovo* (*One Word*, 1903) Lesja Ukrajinka had already reflected upon the inaccessibility to the cultural Self of certain kinds of knowledge possessed by the cultural Other. The lyrical subject of the poem speaks on behalf of an unnamed people of the Arctic north. There appears among them a foreigner, “*čužyj*” (v: 515), whom readers of the poem are led to identify as a political exile. The foreigner strives, with only partial success, to learn the language and customs of the indigenous people. He, for his part, tries to explain to them what it is that he most painfully lacks (the poem’s audience is guided to guess that this is “freedom”), and hopes that his interlocutors will teach him their word for it. They, however, remain at a loss to grasp the concept, let alone name it in their language. The primary argument of the poem is that freedom cannot be explained to those who have never experienced the absence of it. More generally, the poem formulates the insight that, for there to be understanding across a cultural divide, there must first be some commonality of experience.

The demarcation between *Khamsin* and the remainder of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle highlights the audacity of Lesja Ukrajinka’s epistemological and ontological claims to Western subjecthood, while exposing the vulnerability of these very claims. In *Spring in Egypt*, including the beginning of *Khamsin*, Lesja Ukrajinka emphatically lays claim to the vantage point of the West, seeing, describing, and theorizing the Oriental Other with the optics of the Western subject and judging it against the norms regarded by the West as universal. The claim is audacious for two reasons: first, because it is made by a woman and thus asserts the overcoming of what feminist criticism has conceptualized as the implicit maleness of the Western subject and the attendant “liaison between universalism and mas-

culinism" (Yeğenoğlu 1988: 105); and second, because it is advanced by a representative of a subaltern culture. Lesja Ukrajinka's self-identification with the West is inseparable from the *reverse* Orientalism that is the rhetorical strategy most evident in the explicitly anticolonial dramatic poems referred to at the beginning of this discussion. In *The Orgy*, the most admirable Corinthians assert a scornful moral and cultural superiority over Rome, for they are guardians of the heritage of Greece, even though their land has been annexed to the Roman Empire. In *The Boyar's Wife* the heroine, whose transplantation to Moscow is one of the human consequences of the political subjugation of her Ukrainian homeland to Muscovy, is appalled by the oppression of women she encounters there, decrying it as akin to "Turkish" and "Tatar" backwardness. The subaltern asserts the right to hold the colonizer in contempt and uses an orientalizing slur to do so. In the same spirit, Lesja Ukrajinka's claim to Europeaness in *Spring in Egypt* is a claim to shared possession of the liberal values by whose measure she constructs as barbarian and inferior the imperial system of which, by contributing to a Ukrainian high culture, she is of necessity an adversary.

Yet these courageous assertions of the autonomy and agency of the female and the subaltern self in a world marked by imperialism are at the same time assertions of the right to be part of the great masculinist, Western enterprise of Orientalism. *Spring in Egypt*, except for *Khamsin*, endeavours to exercise this right. Egypt is observed, its people, especially women, are anthropologically analysed and speculated about, its culture weighed and found wanting on the scales of "universal" liberal values. But in *Khamsin* this Orientalist enterprise is seen to fail. The boldly claimed Western subject position adopted by the lyrical "I" is exposed in its weakness. The Western gaze which the lyrical subject of *Khamsin* purports to share comes up against the determined resistance of the Oriental object, which, instead of yielding to optical penetration, destroys the conditions for (Western) knowledge-as-sight. The tables are turned: in *Khamsin* it is no longer the Orient which is the Other, but the would-be observer who is unmasked as the "čužynka", the woman foreigner. The subject behind the lyrical voice of the poem is revealed for who she is: a woman representative of a subaltern culture, bravely, but not innocently, demanding to hunt with the Western hounds.

Lesja Ukrajinka concluded a letter to Hrinčenko with a remark about her impressions of Egypt: "It's a fine country, and I have already grown accustomed to loving it as one that is not foreign" – "ne jak čužu" (XIV: 190). But the lyrical subject of *Khamsin* realizes that in Egypt she is, irreducibly, a foreigner – a "čužynka". Her observations, however sharp, fail to comprehend the reality they confront, or they adjust it to pre-formed models of understanding. Some of these are Western and Orientalizing – the whirlwinds, when they are not the "happy children" of her social imagination, are the harem dancers of male Orientalist fantasy. But there is yet another filter through which the lyrical subject's sensory perceptions pass. The howling of the khamsin sounds like the melody of a "sopilka" – a reed pipe, the sounds of wind-carried pebbles skipping across the sand are reminiscent of the drumming of a "bubon", and the whole carnivalesque scene, before it disappears from sight, is like a "vesillja dyke" – a wild wedding. These sounds and sights have names which,

especially when taken together, allude to the folkloric realia of Ukraine – whether Volyn', where Lesja Ukrajinka spent much of her childhood and teen years, or the Carpathian Mountains, which she had visited with her friend and fellow author Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka. Later poems of the *Spring in Egypt* cycle, *Vitrijana nič* ('Windy Night') and *Viter z pivnoči* ('North Wind'), speak of a wind which the lyrical subject hopes will bring news from the homeland. Balancing the depredations of the khamsin, the north wind brings a shower of rain and some relief, even though its tidings are "plakuči" ("tearful"). Tyranny in that homeland, it appears, is a cause for tears, in contrast to Egypt, where oppression is ameliorated by the innate happiness of the oppressed. The lyrical subject's homeland is named in the seventh and final, long unpublished, poem of the cycle, *Son (Teplo ta jasno)* (*The Dream [It Is Warm and Sunny]*): "čy se Vkrājina? / Tak, se Vkrājina..." "Is this Ukraine? / Yes, this is Ukraine", v: 412).

From the poem cycle *Spring in Egypt* there emerges the character of a lyrical subject whom it is tempting to identify quite closely with the person of Larysa Petrivna Kosač. The lyrical subject is a woman; at a few points in the poems she refers to herself in the first person; and her thematic concerns and world-view positions, except for those formulated in the remarkable *Khamsin*, are coherent with many other utterances by Larysa Kosač, the private, letter-writing individual and Lesja Ukrajinka, the Ukrainian poet and dramatist. So it is, perhaps, not unreasonable to read *Khamsin* as the confessional record of an instant of insight when Lesja Ukrajinka recognizes the precariousness of her confident claim to knowledge and to cross-cultural understanding. It is an instant when Lesja, conceding that in a foreign land she is doomed to be Lesja Čužynka, also recognizes that she is, for better or for worse, Lesja Ukrajinka.

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Abstract

Marko Pavlyshyn

"Foreign Woman, Do Not Look!" Spring in Egypt and Lesja Ukrajinka's Confrontation with Orientalism

Lesja Ukrajinka, profoundly aware of the subalternity of her position as a Ukrainian writer and intellectual in a Russian imperial context, was sensitive to analogous predicaments endured by others similarly marginalised. The cycle of lyrical poems *Spring in Egypt*, composed in 1910 during her first sojourn in Egypt, expresses solidarity with colonially oppressed Egyptians. Yet most of these poems also articulate an Orientalist confidence in the capacity of a foreign observer to comprehend Egypt and to make judgments about its people. The exception is the cycle's opening poem, *Khamsin*, which, as this article contends, formulates an insight into the contingent and fragile nature of European claims, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, to cross-cultural knowledge and, indeed, to objective knowledge itself.

Keywords

Lesja Ukrajinka; Orientalism; Ukrainian Literature; Egyptian Themes.

Svitlana Kocherga

Post-Orientalist Discourse in Lesja Ukrajinka's Writing

Post-orientalism is prominently positioned among the numerous forms of contemporary cultural critique aimed at a variety of forms of colonial relations. Research in this area is inevitably associated with Edward Said's classic work *Orientalism* (1978) and mainly constitutes an attempt to rethink the geo-cultural categories of global design with its typical paradigm of hegemony and subordination.

When exploring the difference of the East as *a different* civilizational image, Said's ideas have been subjected to criticism because, by distancing himself from the earlier achievements of oriental studies, he strengthens them to some extent. He demonstratively avoids political analysis, focusing instead on the humanities, intellectually distancing himself by resorting to controversy. In fact, Said himself originates a critique of Orientalism, but he also brings about a stormy reaction from his opponents, who note the lack or an imitation of an equal dialog between the West and the East. Today one cannot but agree to a certain utopianism of the Orientalist theory, which claims the universality of the form of attitude to *the other*, simplifying the inevitable imagological conflict. Enrique Dussel rightly regards Said's Orientalism as a "defect" of the European interpretation of all cultures to the east of Europe, a consequence of a distortion of history originating from the works of French Encyclopédistes, English thinkers of the Enlightenment, and German philosophers Kant and Hegel, "for whom the 'Orient' was humanity's 'infancy' (*Kindheit*). It was the place of despotism and unfreedom from which the Spirit (*Volksgeist*) would later soar toward the West, as if on a path toward the full realization of liberty and civilization" (Dussel 2019: 222).

Post-Orientalism: Knowledge and Power in Time of Terror is a monograph by Hamid Dabashi, one of the most well-known researchers of post-colonialist thought, which stands out from other studies in this area from recent decades. The author emphasizes that ideas about the idiosyncrasies of the Eastern world were formed globally for too long by those who tried to rule it, so this is a matter of the dubious nobility of a kind of spiritual colonization (Dabashi 2015). According to Hamid Dabashi, we need to accept the fact that "the universe has no center, no periphery" (Dabashi 2015b: 59). At the same time, Dabashi proclaims "the end of post-colonialism", a claim that is deeply criticized by scholars who consider it to be just one more science of the West about itself (Jefiyo 1989: 107-118). Victoria Lysenko appropriately distinguishes two phases of postcolonial studies: dogmatic "anti-orientalism" and "post-orientalism" that "arrived at a new level of hermeneutical self-

reflection” (Lysenko 2017: 7). By adopting and rethinking the fundamental theses of both Orientalism and post-colonialism, post-Orientalism provides a new approach to reflecting on another culture’s way of life.

In modern literary criticism, as defined by Tamara Hundorova, “Post-Orientalism is seen as an opposition between post-colonialism as a form of othering by another popular culture and post-colonialism as a form of inversion of the Eurocentric narrative” (Hundorova 2014)¹. *Can the Subaltern Speak?* is the title of an essay by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak that has become a capacious formulation of the problem directly related to the West-East axis. Notably, in her reflections on the global geo-poetic problem, Spivak touches on the woman writer’s role in the coverage of an enslaved consciousness and maintains that, in fact, “the postcolonial woman intellectual asks the question of simple semiosis – What does this mean?” (Spivak 1993: 93). Further significant contributions to the development of post-oriental studies in literary theory have been published by such scholars as Patricia Almarcegui, Maria Degabriele, Rory Finnin, and Alexander Kratochvil.

Lesja Ukrajinka’s writings belong to the artistic practice of deconstructing the discourse of Orientalism. They show clear signs of trends typical of the present interpretation of post-Orientalism as a phenomenon. The writer’s consistent return to Orientalist issues might be understood as a reaction to Ukraine’s perceived ‘inferiority’: divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, it had every reason to lose its own personality. As noted by Dariusz Skórczewski, a kind of “no man’s land,” without “its own voice,” finds itself under a discursive occupation even in the center of Europe, “just like in its books, travel diaries, political letters, and academic works, the West pursued the capture of the ‘Orient’” (Skurčevs’kyj 2013: 31). Unlike many Orientalist authors who were her contemporaries, Lesja Ukrajinka tries to expose the world view of the carriers of colonized culture and the difference of perceptions of certain phenomena and situations by representatives of the West and the East, a difference that causes perpetual geopolitical conflict. When presenting *the other*, the writer consistently endeavors to give a voice to subalterns and to challenge orientalist myths.

Lesja Ukrajinka showed a consistent interest in the study of Eastern culture from an early age. This was facilitated by her numerous travels due to illness. Unsurprisingly, the writer called herself a “wandering Jew”. As noted by Dabashi, only an exiled intellectual can comprehend the uniqueness of the meeting of the West and the East, the intersection of ideas that result from a completely different socio-cultural experience. At nineteen, she began writing *Ancient History of Eastern Peoples*, a textbook in Ukrainian that was originally intended for her younger sister. Over time, her travel and personal experience with a number of artifacts and historical monuments of Eastern countries enabled her to add to and edit the text, which was only published after her death. Volodymyr Šajan describes the work as “the first introduction to Oriental studies in Ukraine’s history” (Šajan 1987: 648). Ahatanhel Kryms’kyj, a well-known scholar of the Orient who was the writer’s friend and

¹ Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine (SK)

'brother-in-arms,' becomes an authoritative consultant in this area of interest. However, this aspect of Lesja Ukrajinka's writing has been addressed only occasionally so far.

In recent years, Ukrainian literary studies have shown increasing interest in how the phenomenon of the Orient is presented in literature. *Orient in the Mirror of Romanticism* (2017) is a monograph by Iryna Purpurs that should be considered a vital step in this area. The author concludes that Ukrainian romantic orientalism "turns out to be not only typologically similar to the authoritative English and Russian models, but also completely authentic in terms of the romanticization of oriental material" (Purpurs 2017: 351). However, Lesja Ukrajinka's work was not explored in this monograph, even though the writer made her debut in romantic traditions and scholars have focused on the exoticism of the themes of her oriental works for a long time. A few studies attempt to present convincing interpretations of oriental themes and motifs in the author's writings, primarily the book by historian O. Ohnieva *Eastern Pathways of Lesja Ukrajinka* (2007), O. Kozlitina's dissertation *Egyptian Modus in the Writings of Lesja Ukrajinka: Genesis, Paradigm of Signs, Interpretation* (2011), and articles by T. Malenka (*Oriental Poetry of Lesja Ukrajinka: From Romanticism to Modernism*) and T. Lebedyn'ska (*Orientalism in the Life and Work of Lesja Ukrajinka*). Scholars' interest in the post-colonial reading of Lesja Ukrajinka's works (V. Donij, T. Hundorova, I. Rusnak, O. Jurčuk, O. Zabužko) is on the rise, but the orientalist discourse of the writer's work has not been analyzed yet in this segment of literary studies.

This article sets out to outline the post-orientalist paradigm in the oeuvre of Lesja Ukrajinka as illustrated by her writings whose world of imagery presents the clash of East and West, and to throw light on the author's inversion of the traditional Eurocentric narrative, which is achieved through an expressive representative position of subalterns. This perspective of the study is appropriate primarily for the analysis of texts by authors who have their own experience of "being between two cultures". Among them we rightly list the Ukrainian writer.

Oriental themes emerge in the works of Lesja Ukrajinka organically, along the lines of the European literary process, where the philo-orientalist trend became clear in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (let us just remember, among many others, the names of Montesquieu, Byron, Hugo, Goethe, Mickiewicz). Oriental motifs enhanced the effectiveness and credibility of Lesja Ukrajinka's literary debut and were primarily associated with her trips to Crimea. She was especially impressed by Bachčisaraj, the former capital of the Crimean Khanate, the center of Crimean Tatar culture, and a city that A. Mickiewicz called "the Orient in miniature". The poems *Tatar Girl* and *Oriental Melody* stand out in the poetic cycles *Crimean Memories* (1890-1891) and *Crimean Echoes* (1897-1898). The former makes obvious the distance between the lyrical heroine and a Crimean Tatar girl, whose ethnic clothes are perceived as exotic by the tourist. What is notable in the latter is the emphasis on the independent personality of the individual, although the self-presentation of the lyrical heroine, longing for her loved one, is consistent with the Western recipient's widespread perceptions of feminine types of the Muslim world. Interest in the inner world of Muslim women is also demonstrated by the mature work of Lesja Ukrajinka. She

never doubted the freedom-loving nature of followers of Eastern religions: “From under the black haze” she captured the looks eloquently described in her poetic lines: “Islam oppressed the woman, but her eyes remain free!..” (Ukrajinka 1975a: 366).

The author was also consistently drawn to the unknown mentality of the Asian ethnic groups of the indigenous populations of lands that became part of the Russian Empire. The East as a locus of exotic (non-European) experience is represented by two epic poems of Lesja Ukrajinka, *One Word* and *This is What You're Asking about Those....* Despite being written in different years and ideologically biased, these works form a binary unity, and their plot lines merit attention as a mirror image of situations. In its treatment of Northeast Asian peoples, the diptych merits a post-orientalist analysis, which, according to Almarcegui, attaches great importance to the skill “of imagining and examining situations that go beyond the binary logic of dichotomies and oppositions,” revealing “the relation between two entities that do not form a duality but a pair/couple (Almarcegui 2014: 141). The *other* in both texts are the representatives of Northeast Asia, who are labeled as “natives of the North” in the former poem and “Yakut savages” in the latter. Lesja Ukrajinka’s interest in the population of a distant land was most likely enhanced by numerous exiled activists of the civic movement of disobedience and dissidents. Aged 9, Lesja Ukrajinka herself reacted emotionally to her aunt Olena Kosač’s exile², as confirmed by her first poem *Hope*.

One Word (1903) had a subtitle *The Story of an Old Yakut* in the first printed book. In the poem, the Yakut is a narrator who expresses the attitude of indigenous people to the exiled intellectual, finding him to be a strange recluse lost in his books. The situation accords with typical plots that Said noted when emphasizing the dominance of the West over the East. Lesja Ukrajinka’s protagonist is imprisoned by a system that brings him closer to the locals, who do not, however, fully understand the enslavement of their people. Quite ‘democratic’ in his behavior and open to communication, in the eyes of his new acquaintances the stranger still embodies the government that they associate with any member of a strong civilization. Education, competence, knowledge, as intuition tells them, can be generated by government only to take advantage of the conquered and subordinate people. The first title of the work, *Strange People*, highlights the insurmountable barrier between the exile and aborigines (*strangers*), but at the same time appeals to humanistic values (*people*), which dominate their complex relationship. The Yakuts come to the conclusion that the “kind” stranger is different from a typical “toyon”³ (Ukrajinka 1975b: 79). However, they cannot quite empathize with the exile’s longing, and his obsession with something mysterious causes alienation. Emphasizing the Yakuts’ naivety, Lesja Ukrajinka does not conceal her sympathy for the prisoner character, achieving compassion for him in part by not quite

² O. Kosač (Teslenko-Prychodko in marriage) was exiled in 1876 for supporting the *narodnyk* (‘populist’) movement to Pudož, Olonec Governorate, and for another 5 years to Yalutorovsk, Tobolsk Governorate, afterwards.

³ Toyon is the word that denotes any chief in the *ulus*, the exploiter, including a member of the ruling elite in Yakutia, which became part of imperial Russia in the seventeenth century.

consciously humiliating the culture and intellectual potential of the natives, which is typical of the colonial consciousness. The entire concept of the poem pivots on the problem that the representatives of the two worlds cannot understand each other. To maximize the concept, the author reduces it to an unambiguous metaphor: the aborigines do not have the word that would describe the stranger's aspiration. The word that the protagonist's system of values is built on is never used, but the attempts to describe the concept clearly show that it is freedom, which "is an extremely problematic, multifaceted phenomenon in the creative interpretation of Lesja Ukrajinka" (Dems'ka-Budzuljak 2009: 9).

As shown throughout the history of how the Western world depicts the East, many representations which may seem authentic are approximate or even erroneous, since the unknown is a priori interpreted simplistically. The same mistake is made by Lesja Ukrajinka and criticized by Kryms'kyj, who acknowledges the "fly in the ointment", noting the Yakut language has not only the word "freedom," but also at least three known synonyms. In his memoirs about the author, he writes: "Lesja Ukrajinka took my criticism in stride and felt very sorry that she made such a mistake in her work" (Kryms'kyj 1971: 170). Seeking an assertion of artistic truth, the author would later return to the topic, resorting to role inversion: the Yakuts become the exiles.

Notably, the poem *One Word* was for some time banned by censors for a "harmful tendency", which in fact is even more pronounced in the epic poem *This is What You're Asking about Those...* (1904)⁴. Like *One Word*, the story is related by a narrator and has the signs of a monodrama, which the writer naturally gravitates to at this stage of her creative self-realization. The plot line involves Yakut youths recruited for military service who cannot adapt to their new environment. They experience no compassion from those around them and their foreign ways lead to contempt and ridicule by their Russian counterparts. The expression of the unfortunate is presented by the narrator as a result of their primitive childish mentality devoid of adaptability. The dominant people unambiguously believe that 'strangers' are inferior and do not appreciate the benefits of the Occidental community. The narrator describes physical violence and other forms of bullying against the Yakuts as acceptable because he equates them to animals. The newcomers' commitment to the traditional rites, the cult of spirits, and ancient ethnic culture breeds sarcasm in the unified majority of Christian soldiers. The officers' prohibition to speak their mother tongue, which is described as frogs' croaking, is the last straw that drives the Yakuts to suicide.

Three times the work contemptuously labels the natives of the colonized lands as "savages" whose world arouses no interest in the members of the intolerant dominant culture. In addition, the text presents the Yakuts' hetero-image exclusively through negative characteristics: they are weak with "womanish" faces, lazy, cowards, crybabies, and so on. The military unit reacts to the fellow soldiers' suicide almost unemotionally, describing it as a choice of "fools". People around them have not the slightest remorse, the lack of knowledge and humanistic education rules out any manifestations of historical guilt before the

⁴ The poem was first published as late as in 1945 under the editorial title *The Yakut Poem*.

enslaved peoples of Asia due to the expansion of the Muscovite Empire. The key word in this poem is “home”; nostalgia was unbearable for the Yakuts, who were accustomed to a different climate, nature, and lifestyle. Lesja Ukrajinka’s writing is special in that, while offering a contemptuous depiction of foreign characters in her poem, she still foregrounds the recipient’s culture of shame. There is no doubt that the poem reflects the worldview of the author herself. Without commenting on the narrator’s monologue, she still expresses the post-orientalist rejection of ostracism as a policy towards indigenous peoples and denies the thesis of inferiority of people from the East widely maintained by the public.

Unlike *The Yakut Poem*, where disenfranchised foreign characters humbly accept their own doom in the circumstances of historical vicissitudes, Lesja Ukrajinka’s dramatic poem *Rufin and Priscilla* (1908) presents a model of resistance to the dominant assimilative system by the character representative of the conquered East. This piece was surprisingly dear to the writer, and its testamentary status is highlighted by lines from a letter to her sister Ol’ha dated October 18, 1912: “It seemed I did not dare to die without finishing *Rufin and Priscilla*...” (Ukrajinka 2018: 613). This is the largest work in Lesja Ukrajinka’s oeuvre, who jokingly described its genre with her newly coined term “super-drama” with good reason. Contemporary scholars find in it not only a vision of history but, above all, a powerful prophetic discourse with elements of one of the first anti-utopias in European literature because the tragic element of the early Christian era it depicts is a clear allusion to the popularization of socialism in the early twentieth century (Pančenko 2011: 50). O. Zabužko rightly notes that Lesja Ukrajinka’s historiosophical views in the dramatic poem *Rufin and Priscilla* are systematized into a holistic prognostic concept, which “awaits a truly solid study, where her ideas, to be later given a more developed, now purely theoretical articulation in the history of European thought (...), would be analyzed in an adequate intellectual context” (Zabužko 2007: 170). It should be emphasized that Lesja Ukrajinka avoids unambiguous statements or didactics and thinks about progress as a dramatic junction of clashes, as the vulnerability of passionarians’ convictions. As a result, she does not try to offer definitive answers to complex questions that go along with the historical man. The part of Narthal, whose presence in the implementation of a large-scale plan is logical, appears to stand out among the characters of the drama *Rufin and Priscilla*, built on the principles of symphonic counterpoint. In the draft autograph, he was originally designated as a slave named Ben-Nergal; his character was even more often described by the ethnic origin as “Numidian”, i.e. a native of North Africa colonized by imperial Rome (presently, eastern Algeria). It is only later that his name is finalized as Narthal. In the text of her dramatic poem, the author twice emphasizes the self-identification of the hero, who primarily considers himself a nomad. Narthal is aware that the representatives of a strong empire, who lead a sedentary lifestyle, associate any nomad with “savagery”, backwardness, and marginality. A note stressing that the hero’s wailing “is reminiscent of *oriental* [emphasis mine, SK] lamentation on the tomb” is probably the most accurate characterization of the composite nature of Narthal’s character (Ukrajinka 1976: 206).

Narthal is part of a binary unity. As “an African released by Lucius”, his counterpart is the elite Roman, Kneus Lucius. Representing the Western world, Lucius is an authoritative, thinking, humane man. As a former high-ranking military man, he is proud of his wounds that he suffered “while fighting for Rome”. Lucius is positively characterized by soldiers (“a good chief”), but his views differ greatly from those of the general public. As a member of the elite, he seeks to help Rome establish itself on a spiritual level and finds the spread of Christianity, whose supporters were oppressed and persecuted at that time, instrumental to the glorification of his motherland. Rather than support violence against colonized peoples, noble Lucius prefers assimilating indigenous ethnic groups in the metropolis's community. The Roman sincerely believes that this strategy is effective, and his relationship with the slave he releases of his own free will seems idyllic at first. Lesja Ukrajinka describes Lucius and Narthal as being together all the time, seemingly demonstrating a model of unity of West and East, but their relationship changes dramatically as the plot evolves.

The cohabitation of Lucius and Narthal seems at first to confirm the idea that differences in the values of people from different backgrounds can be evened out in a civilized manner in the context of cross-cultural communication. The relationship that arises between the colonizer and his former slave gives an impression of love in the broad sense of the word. The nomad treats his older friend as a teacher and guardian; under the guidance of Lucius, he explores the peak of global culture, develops aesthetically, and his world view comes to be based on Christianity as well. There is reason to believe that the two friends are sexual partners. The homosexual contact of free Romans and slaves is recorded in historical documents; moreover, Lesja Ukrajinka's drama has no trace of a woman around the Lucius–Rufin couple. The nomad's words addressed to his friend at the final loss of harmony and understanding are indicative of their genuine relationship: “I loved no one but you...” (Ukrajinka 1976: 204). This case is not about cynically using love as leverage, which inevitably causes the rejection of self-identification. For example, one of the characters of Lesja Ukrajinka's drama *Orgy* (Maecenas) presents his concept of conquered peoples as follows: “He who loves can become like / anyone in body and soul” (Ukrajinka 1976: 412). However, the policy of teaching to love Rome, according to Maecenas, is reasonable and effective only if applied to foreigners of noble origins. In *Rufin and Priscilla*, instead, the attachment of people from different worlds appears genuine, cordial, and mutual, which is typical of ideal communication. However, Narthal gradually realizes that he has fallen victim to complete personal subordination, which was in fact the goal of Lucius' ‘humane’ scenario. After this insight, the former idealization of authority is forced out by the destructive hatred on the part of the subaltern.

Narthal's character focuses Lesja Ukrajinka's deliberations on the problem of expanding the cultural space, which, according to Said, becomes “the overlapping community between metropolitan and formerly colonized societies” (Said 1994: 18). However, the author avoids answering such tough questions. Narthal has the ability to stand up for moral maxims. It is increasingly difficult for him to adapt to Christian obedience. He undergoes the ultimate reincarnation of convictions after Christians are arrested by the Vigils, and he

finally splits in prison with his former “brethren”, who still think he is the “black sheep”. Narthal realizes that, having bought the “poor and wild nomad”, Lucius did not formally take him into slavery but gained “power over his soul”, which is no less disgraceful for an individual and his entire family. It is worth emphasizing that nomads lived by cattle breeding and hunting, and Lesja Ukrajinka stresses Narthal’s closeness to nature, which fully manifests itself in his speech. Thus, the binary opposition of Lucius vs. Narthal reveals the eternal conflict of culture vs. nature. Swayed by passion, the erstwhile slave recognizes as his enemy the whole culture, which with its luster magnetizes, subdues the will and, ultimately, prevails over nature (if the latter is to be understood as responsibility for motherland and customs of the kin). He blames the aristocrat Lucius for a virtuoso popularization of the cultural landscape of Rome, which “takes away the will to want”, destroys self-identification, and modifies benchmark values.

However, the temptation of the high metropolitan culture only has temporary power over Narthal; the muffled cry of “parental tents” proves stronger. On the verge of life and death, Narthal reconsiders Christianity as his existential choice, severely reprimanding himself for lack of caution: “The corrupt soul thirsts for heaven, / eternal luxuries, earthly treasures, / and I have traded my honor and pride for them” (Ukrajinka 1976: 204). But above all, the freed slave blames his former liberator, whom he regards as a real criminal, for his mental breakdown and his loss of self. Lucius, a refined patrician, a philosopher who professes humanistic values and has no evil intentions, suddenly becomes the target of criticism of the ‘ferocious barbarian’. This situation triggers a fatal crisis of intimacy. Notably, while showing sympathy for the “poor child” to the end, Lucius still does not try to understand Narthal’s logic, which is the cause of his aggression. The vulnerability of Lucius the intellectual is obvious to the reader as he positions himself as an innocent victim of ingratitude having grown used to his role as teacher and leader. He never recognizes that Narthal speaks for the entire enslaved East that was subdued not only with the help of the army; it was forced to imitate other people’s values, faith, and way of life. Narthal finds that the growth of empires threatens the diversity of the world and foregrounds the apologetics of “all Carthages”, radically putting this label on that part of the world that dominant civilizations treat as a symbol of barbarism, backwardness, and primitiveness. In Narthal’s concept, the Carthage nomination is an alternative to Rome, a sign of tribes and peoples doomed to destruction, castration, and loss of voice. In his monologue, Carthage means the right to be different, to preserve the ethnos with its culture, customs, values, and a different way of life. Narthal’s voice remains unheard, intensifying his uncontrollable destructive intentions.

The text suggests that the resistance of the subdued East is not only inevitable, but also legitimate. Although Narthal’s thirst for revenge is horrifying, and his image of savage cruelty is repelling, the nomad’s choice has “the beauty of struggle, albeit hopeless” (Ukrajinka 1977: 191), which always fascinated the writer. He is the only one who does not humbly accept the verdict of the Roman court: in “*damnatio ad bestias*”, he bravely fights a predatory panther in the circus arena until the carnifex kills the death row prisoner, who says goodbye to his life to the applause of the public. The scene of the Christians’ farewell

after the sentence is poignant. The solitary Narthal rejects Lucius's gesture of reconciliation, pushing away the liberator-master. The scene culminates in the monumental farewell kiss of the female protagonist, the Christian Priscilla, who stands out from the community that declares "love thy neighbor" but still ostracizes the stranger.

The post-orientalist layer of Lesja Ukrajinka's works is also manifested in her understanding of Eastern culture's penetration into the Western world, which is present in her Egyptian text. The topos of Egypt was foregrounded in the works of Lesja Ukrajinka's last years as a result of her climatotherapy trips to Geluan, a resort near Cairo. Egyptian motifs appeared in the author's earlier works as well, and their emergence could have been catalyzed by her impressions of ancient Egyptian museum collections. For example, Lesja Ukrajinka had the opportunity in 1899 to visit a Berlin museum, most likely the so-called New Museum, where she first saw authentic artifacts brought from Egypt that she wrote about in a letter to her mother. According to O. Ohnjeva, the first texts of the poet with Egyptian themes, written in 1900, are close in terms of content, attributes, and symbols to "the traditional perception of Egypt, typical of the nineteenth century. It was an Egypt of ancient sanctuaries, destroyed and sanded, where enterprising Europeans hired Egyptians directed by experts, muftis, hoping to find samples of exotic antiquity" (Ohnjeva 2008: 134). The art and traditions of the East primarily drew artists who gravitated towards exoticism, the mythologization of space, and travel became for Europeans a form of cultural intervention. Trips to distant lands (existing or imaginary) whose culture appeared to be beyond comprehension became a source of controversial impressions for Lesja Ukrajinka, too, provoking her creative ideas. In her poem *Sphinx*, the author focuses on the work of an Egyptian sculptor, who creates a cult structure of a mythical creature that is highly mysterious to humans. Reproduction of another people's cultural heritage as a mystery that cannot be decoded is characteristic of the author's writings. The cautionary lines from Lesja Ukrajinka's dramatic poem *Aisha and Muhammad* eloquently describe such unknowability: "God has secrets, but grasp them / we dare not" (Ukrajinka 1976: 105).

The line separating Eastern and Western cultures underlies the artistic paradigm of the writer's original legend *Ra-Meneis*. This work centers around a historical figure "with the smile of a sphinx", a real ruler of Egypt whose cruelty knew no bounds. The Egyptians, in accordance with their traditions, consider her a deity and embody her likeness in art so that she will live forever. In addition to songs and statues, an incomparable cult building is to be the last home of Ra-Meneis — a unique pyramid built at the cost of numerous lives. However, the planned process of her perpetuation is disrupted by the intervention of higher forces. A powerful tornado (equally symbolizing the revolt of slaves driven to despair by the tyrannical rule built on the model of many dynasties of Egyptian kings) takes the body of the deceased; she is doomed to obscurity in her "moving grave" in the sands of Egypt. Many centuries later, a sarcophagus with Ra-Meneis is found by accident. Instead of preserving the body in its rightful place, an "orthodox sheikh" decides to collaborate with the Europeans looting the ruins of pharaohs' tombs, making an unheard-of profit. The uniquely preserved mummified body of the Egyptian queen and all her jewels are given to infidels ("insane javrs").

Ra-Meneis is depicted by Lesja Ukrajinka through a rich palette of colors, such as purple (royal bed), yellow (Nile waters, sand), and blue (lotus) in line with the Orientalist visions of cult figures. The emblem of the snake (“beautiful and terrifying, like Urea, the golden serpent”) is used to symbolize Ra-Meneis’s longevity. As interpreted by the archaic mythology of the East, the serpent divides the heaven and the earth by twisting into a cyclical ring of life. It is designed to protect the ruling pharaoh on earth and in heaven with its venom and flames. Apparently, this protection enables Ra-Meneis to remain rooted in the Egyptians’ historical memory, as symbolized by her unchanged appearance in the abandoned sarcophagus. While the Egyptians clearly associate the ancient ruler’s body and the almost miraculous preservation of it with the sacred, for the Europeans, the phenomenon of a find purchased in Egypt is completely devoid of religious or spiritual meaning; it turns into a secularized artifact.

After Ra-Meneis’ death, the sarcophagus with her body is solemnly sent on her last journey on a “red barge” along her dear Nile. A trip on a foreign ship becomes the second stage of her route outside earth time to an unknown land that “was ruled by a hostile cold and the indifferent humidity of the fog” (Ukrajinka 1975a: 209), where Ra, the center of the ancient Egyptian perception of the world, lost his power. In Europe, the mummy of Ra-Meneis was to become a highlight of the museum collection of oriental antiquities. However, the ostentatious curiosity of Europeans about the exotic ancient culture in the text is only a form of indifference, a naive interest in marauders’ caravans. In the denouement, Ra-Meneis’ sudden transformation with her jewels and symbols into dust in a foreign capital can be regarded as a natural (though unconscious) destruction or, at least, falsification of the East by the West. Though the queen did not end up in the sacred temple space of the Pyramid, she has weight in the Egyptian macrocosm and genesis, and persists in historical experience, albeit invisible and covered with sands. The museum in a northern city that claims to become a “temple for the gods of the world” actually turns into a tomb of dead gods. It is rather a pseudo-temple that, in the end, has no place for a stranger: the sarcophagus gets disastrously broken. On crossing a conventional border of two civilizations, Ra-Meneis becomes Nothing. As J.-P. Sartre notes in Hegel’s vein, “Being cut from Essence which is its ground becomes ‘mere empty immediacy’” (Sartre 1993: 13). Outside her ethnic continuum, Ra-Meneis is an abstraction devoid of productive functions. Lesja Ukrajinka’s work is not so much about the fundamentally disconnected communication between the West and the East, but rather about the illusory appropriation of other people’s values, especially when this process is driven by commercial gain. In addition to the axiological code of the work, we should isolate the gender code, because it is a *man* (sheikh) that decides on the lack of value in a *woman* (Ra-Meneis) and carries her to the West, which correlates with the East-West dichotomy by analogy with the female-male opposition. At the same time, Lesja Ukrajinka makes it clear with some literary devices that the world has failed for centuries to remove social inequality because both “black slaves” and “white slaves” follow the will of the rulers. They are excluded from the confrontation of Occidental-Oriental

cultures, but sometimes find themselves on the transgressive line of the mental border between them, falling victim to conflicts, wars, and acts of terror.

Therefore, the legend *Ra-Meneis* explores the problem of intercultural communication, asserts the powerlessness of intersemiotic translation in conditions of vulgar interference in the ethnic-religious usage of another community, and the need to seek new forms of dialog between Western and Eastern worlds.

Inclined to find sense in the progress of civilization in her works, Lesja Ukrajinka always raised the issue of the confrontation between East and West and was vocal about various forms of subjugation, violence, destruction, and alienation from one's own, which accompanied the spread of European powers in the conquered lands of Asia and Africa. In her artistic texts, the life trajectories of characters who find themselves in foreign territory against their will recur at the center of the plot. Subdued or open conflicts full of tragic misunderstandings drive the establishment of contact between the members of Eastern and Western culture.

The tandem of characters that expresses the hierarchy of the dominant and conquered culture is personified by Lucius and Narthal (the drama *Rufin and Priscilla*). It is not about a dialogic parity of relationships because the nomad is fundamentally assigned the role of a subordinate, and dependence on an influential stranger is essentially considered destructive to the self-identification of the individual and the ethnic community as a whole. The Roman patrician gives the impression of a noble *Kulturtrager* who has the capacity to rise above the rebel's hostility, but this virtue coexists with intellectual deafness to the position of the subaltern, lack of self-criticism, and predictive foresight.

Lesja Ukrajinka's texts suggest the occidental interest in Eastern culture is often a tool for appropriating what is *other*, its conscious or unconscious devaluation through extreme othering. In the legend of *Ra-Meneis*, the sarcophagus from Egypt becomes a commodity, not without a contribution of the selfish national elite, only to crumble to pieces overseas. Thus, the coffin (memory of culture) without a home is doomed to failure.

The pervasive gender vector in Lesja Ukrajinka's oriental works can also be seen in *Ekbal-Ghanem*, a story that illustrates retransmission and popularization of European culture among ordinary Egyptian women. However, it would be reckless to consider it an example of established Orientalist discourse because this work was not finished. In general, the East in Lesja Ukrajinka's writings is far from romantic pathos, it resonates with the contemporary concept of post-orientalism that prioritizes a balanced interest in the indigenous peoples of Asia and Africa, avoiding exotic effects and happy endings. The post-Orientalist perspective is usually achieved by the writer through a centripetal shift of the position of *the other* from the periphery, and the assertion of *the other's* right to be heard.

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Abstract

Svitlana Kocherga

Post-Orientalist Discourse in Lesja Ukrajinka's Writing

The article interprets Lesja Ukrajinka's creative work through the lens of post-colonialism and post-orientalism. The conceptions of H. Dabashi, G. Spivak, T. Hundorova are involved for analyzing the vision of the East by Lesja Ukrajinka. The article focuses on phenomena of communication with *the other*; on a global dialogue of cultures; and on the writer's critical response to historical conflict between East and West. The author's pathetic apology for the East is likely a result of belonging to a colonized people that is doomed to marginalization under the pressure of the Russian Empire. This leads to the identification of Ukrainian national issues in the writer's oriental motifs. The interpretation is based on the texts *Rufin and Priscilla*, *Only One Word*, *Yakut Poem*, and *Ra-Meneis*.

The article asserts that Lesja Ukrajinka does not put romantic pathos into the image of the East, which fully resonates with the contemporary concept of post-orientalism. She avoids exotic poetics and concentrates on the controversial position of other-image.

Keywords

Lesja Ukrajinka; Orientalism; Post-Orientalism; Post-Colonial; Subaltern; Communication; Imagological Conflict.

Oleksandra Visych

Intermedial Aspects of *Non-finito*. Lesja Ukrajinka and Michelangelo

The twentieth century experienced, among others, a revision of aesthetic criteria, involving a reassessment of how wholeness in art is understood. A work of art that appears finished to the smallest detail may not be the completion of a certain artistic idea. Likewise, works of art which, at first glance, may seem unfinished actually represent meaningful and vivid artistic ideas, showing an inexhaustible aesthetic charge. A host of artworks that were not completed for a variety of reasons began to be perceived as an artistic regularity. This tendency became relevant in grasping the idiosyncrasies of the creative process and the phenomenon of co-creative reception. The latter essentially means that uncompleted works, given a certain degree of 'unspokeness', actualize the psyche of the recipient, and thus the work of art is finally completed only through its perception (Byčkov 2003: 389). The fact that many uncompleted works or fragments make a strong artistic impression has become crucial in the formation of the theory of non-finito. The term 'non-finito' has become key to interpreting the wholeness of a work of art in modern humanities, primarily in art criticism, and is used to designate a range of aesthetic phenomena, from unfinished works to a pervasive artistic concept characteristic of a particular author or epoch. This term applies to individual techniques, and to the description of the special features of the composition and structure of a whole work of art that is fragmented, uncompleted, or open-ended. These qualities expose the creative process, artistic material, the course of thinking, and doubts of the author. Intentional or accidental unfinishedness as a compositional feature of a text can be typical of both completed and uncompleted works. For example, external unfinishedness and internal wholeness (completeness) are characteristic of genre modifications, such as fragments, passages, essays, and works with an open structure.

Instead of focusing on the end, the non-finito form takes a cross-cutting trajectory that becomes apparent on all levels of the text. This includes emphasis on internal conflict, phantom characters, the technique of silence, truncation of the end, and so on. Intertextual connections, which rule out a close-ended form and provoke alternative reading, play an important role in revealing the receptive potential of a non-finito work. This includes switching to the vocabulary of other media and art codes abundant in modernist literary texts, among others. Ol'ha Turhan rightly points out that "the work of each artist acquires additional cultural and aesthetic coding and a chance to discover brand new planes

of metaphorical imagery. It contributes to the dialogic nature of different epochs and the development of a figurative and conceptual wholeness of the world” (Turhan 2007: 194)¹.

This article sets out to identify special features of non-finito in the writings of the modernist writer Lesja Ukrajinka and to describe how Michelangelo Buonarroti’s intermedial code functions in the dramatic poem *In the Wilderness* (1909).

Originally, the study of the phenomenon of non-finito focused on the analysis of the plastic arts, and this term is often used today to describe the technique in sculpture that involves creating an unfinished piece, when “the sculptor only works part of the stone, leaving the image as if stuck in stone” (Pirališvily 1982: 78). The Italian sculptor Donatello was one of the first to use this technique, for example, in his bronze sculptures of the Padua period.

Michelangelo is a recognized master of non-finito. There are many hypotheses explaining why the artist’s sculptures are uncompleted, from financial to political. In reference to one of the most exemplary instances of Michelangelo’s non-finito, *Slaves*, Tamara Smithers argues that they “exist not in spite of being unfinished but *because* of their *non-finito*” (Smithers 2016: 37). Long before, Giorgio Vasari wrote about Michelangelo: “[...] the works he envisioned were of such a nature that he found it impossible to express such grandiose and awesome conceptions with his hands, and he often abandoned his works, or rather ruined many of them [...] for fear that he might seem less than perfect” (Vasari 1992: 472). The pressure of the conception on the ultimate result is a natural component of the creative process familiar to many artists. According to Jeremy Angier, “Never before had works of art so clearly revealed the process that made them, or provided such incontrovertible evidence that the piece was made by the hand of mortal man under the duress of the creative state” (Angier 2001). Recognition of a non-finito sculpture as brilliant, unfinished, unexecuted, or a sadly compromised masterpiece makes one think about the mechanisms that operate in the context of a given work of art and give an exclusive status to that art product. After all, just giving up on work is not an artistic method. Crucially, the uncompleted form captures the intention, the power of creation engendered by the resistance of material or the denial of ideological or aesthetic clichés, and probably the awareness of some other completeness, of an end that evades realization at a certain stage.

On the other hand, the lack of an end, of a finished form, is also a debatable issue. What is the final criterion of completion? Who determines the ultimate result of the artistic process and the extent to which the finished work conforms to this convention? There is certainly a conventionality that can sometimes be articulated by the authors themselves, who might describe the conception of their artwork and the process of creating it, offering their own assessment of the piece’s relative state of completion. Michelangelo’s poetry is an illustrative example in that it expresses his reflections on his own sculptures and the idiosyncrasies of the author’s creative process.

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine (o.v.).

Thus, the work of Michelangelo dominated by the non-finito technique, which acquired meaning in his own poetry, became an intermedial code that enables artists of subsequent epochs to address the problem of incompleteness symbolically or directly.

Lesja Ukrajinka's writings are a striking example of non-finito artistic thinking. Out of her works, 14 prose and 7 dramatic texts have the status of uncompleted. As she stated in one of her letters, Lesja Ukrajinka happened to set aside a started or nearly finished work for a period of time and not return to it: "I postpone this work ad infinitum" (Ukrajinka 2017: 393). Probable reasons for incompleteness include the author's desire to block excessive lyricism, especially in prose; more active work on dramatic genres, driving her to abandon prose projects; and a departure from stereotyped aesthetics. The writer also takes special pains to reject any traces of biography in both prose and drama, which may lead to unfinished works. Very often, the works that live to date in the form of plans and essays can help trace how the ideas that emerged in them were realized in other conventionally completed texts. Lesja Ukrajinka's creative process is characterized by a long multi-phase formation of her texts. This impacts the writer's personal style overall, and her finished works are largely marked by an open and flexible structure. The author's aesthetics of non-finito is concerned with the psychological features of the creative process of the writer, which has a dual rational and intuitive nature. Textological materials (manuscripts, letters, and memoirs) reveal the hidden mechanisms of the author's creative work. Manuscripts of Lesja Ukrajinka's dramas show the writer's tendency to examine several similar but non-identical draft scripts.

By genre, most uncompleted works are prose texts. Chronologically, they grow in quantity in the 1900s, when the writer actively masters dramatic genres, and they are most concentrated in 1906, when the disappointment following the revolutionary events of 1905 causes the writer to develop an interest in utopian ideas. This interest led to three utopian fragments dated that year (1906). There are several tendencies blocking the work of Lesja Ukrajinka, including excessive lyricism and the consolidation of several themes and styles in one fragment (*Utopia, And Yet You Come...*, etc.). Another category of uncompleted prose texts includes the works of an obviously populist style (*Here It Is, That Coveted Equality, People's Slander, They Take Jevcja to the Farmhouse*). Numerous uncompleted plans of prose works suggest that the epic genre could not fully encompass the literary talent of the writer.

Lesja Ukrajinka's approach to non-finito responds to more complex questions and challenges in her dramaturgy. The 'path' to some of her plays can take several years or even decades. There are seven unfinished dramatic works in Lesja Ukrajinka's collection. One of them, *Dimna Hračyča*, dates back to 1900. The list of characters reveals the writer's intention to write a drama about family life. One of the reasons for the incompleteness of the work may be, again, the realistic populist tendency, generally uncharacteristic of the author's texts. In the drama *The Bažaji Family* (probably started in 1907) biographical allusions can be found, which may have stopped the work of the writer, who generally avoids biography in her work. Ill health was a likely reason for the significant amount of unfinished work from the last years of Lesja Ukrajinka's life (1912-1913). However, it is also

important that some motifs that remain inchoate in these works are partially realised in Lesja Ukrajinka's other dramas.

The fantasy drama *The Autumn Tale* is most indicative of Lesja Ukrajinka's aesthetics and poetics of non-finito. The work is dedicated to the revolutionary events of 1905. The author embodies the social changes of the turn of the century in the form of a fairy-tale. Imaginary characters (Princess, Knight, Servant, Builder, the phantom image of the King, etc.) are all involved in complex ethical and ideological conflicts. The modern interpretation of the archetypal plot of the liberation of the princess illustrates the change of elites (including in terms of gender) and the destructive power of the social element.

The author worked extensively on the play's concept, starting in about 1901, when she was working simultaneously on the translation of Hauptmann's play *The Weavers* and the article *The Latest Social Drama*, both of which were influential in the creation of her own drama. The author's last impulse to work on the play occurs after witnessing the revolutionary events in Tbilisi. Thus, *The Autumn Tale* illustrates the trajectory of the psychological development of the material by Lesja Ukrajinka. The ironic final remark, "someday the end might come", is evidence of the author's intention not to complete the work.

In addition to the fairy tale drama of *The Autumn Tale*, Lesja Ukrajinka's aesthetics of non-finito also appears in dramas based on ancient mythology. For example, the unfinished piece *Iphigenia in Taurus* fails because Lesja Ukrajinka seeks to adhere to the classical canon. The work was conceived as a drama, but even at the manuscript stage, Lesja Ukrajinka changed the genre to a 'dramatic sketch.' The dramatic poem *Cassandra* organically combines the closed form of ancient drama and the openness of modern thinking and the style of non-finito. The work is characterized by mass scenes, individualisation of the conflict through the centralisation of the character, and the lack of a clearly marked beginning, culmination, and end. In addition, it relies on the technique of truncation of the finale. When submitting the text for publication, the author drops the final epilogue, making it impossible to unambiguously interpret both the ending and the general idea of the drama.

Like *Cassandra*, the dramatic poem *At the Blood Field* also uses truncation, which causes a drastic change in the overall conception of the work. The rejection of a major part of the text can be interpreted as a mechanism of transformation from 'closed' text into 'open' text, completed into uncompleted.

While employing the technique herself, Lesja Ukrajinka seems to examine the reasons for non-finito as well. This examination can be most clearly seen in the depiction of artists, especially sculptors, in the author's work. The gravitation towards the plastic arts is pervasive in Lesja Ukrajinka's texts. Sculptural monuments are interpreted quite uniquely. For example, her poem *Niobe* is a kind of monologue by the statue that the mythical heroine turned into after losing her children. In the poem *Slavus-Sclavus*, the phenomenon of Slavic mentality evokes associations with a mysterious statue whose codes cannot be deciphered. Sculptural images of ancient Greek gods perform important functions in dramatic works, such as *Iphigenia in Tauris* (Artemis), *Cassandra* (Paladion), *Orgy* (Terpsichore), and others. Lesja Ukrajinka was especially interested in the sculptor's creative process, the

emergence and realization of the conception, which involves a complex transformation of stone (marble), its resistance, alienation of the artist from the piece of art created by him or her, and the reception by contemporaries and posterity. In many ways, it seems the work of a sculptor is the focus and apogee of all creative intentions and efforts for Lesja Ukrajinka.

When starting to write, Lesja Ukrajinka sometimes imagines her creative product as a plastic composition. Her thoughts on her own artistic version of Don Juan's legend are well known, as she shares them in her letter to the writer Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka. When a drama seems finished, the author takes it up again to rework it in order to reduce or "concentrate its style like some strong essence", get rid of lethargy, add energy to the plot, as if the elaborated material were "stone". "I don't like", the author writes, "a lot of mesh decorations and patterns on statues, and this drama was supposed to look like a sculpture group – that was my design, but I can't judge the execution" (Ukrajinka 2018: 672). When analyzing the linguistic authenticity of the characters of *The Stone Master*, Tamara Hundorova concludes that they "project like bas-reliefs from their discourses, objectifying themselves on the surface, transforming into sculptural, symbolized figures" (Hundorova 1997: 246).

In the system of characters of Lesja Ukrajinka the playwright, one can single out a number of artists who are a projection of the writer's vision of her difficult position in the Ukrainian culture of that time. Sculptors take up an important place among the characters in her works. The Egyptian slave in *In the House of Work, in the Land of Captivity* can only fulfill his creative potential in dreams. Instead, Phaedo in *Orgy* can create real masterpieces by tapping into the potential of marble: "If it was once divine, then it will never / Turn back to simple stone..." (Ukrajinka 1968: 160). A "sculptor from the suburbs" stands out in the list of characters of the drama *Rufin and Priscilla*; he perceives his own work as the craft that was in demand in the wealthy Rome of the early Christian era. The phenomenon of the sculptor's work will be the subject of *In the Wilderness*, one of Lesja Ukrajinka's dramas that raises the issue of artistic non-finito clearly and in multiple aspects.

Notably, this is Lesja Ukrajinka's second dramatic text after her failed debut in the genre of psychological drama (*Blue Rose*). However, this is also the first text in the genre that will become determinant for her in the future: *In the Wilderness* is a dramatic poem in form and a drama of ideas in substance. It was started in 1897 by the young author, who had already clearly understood that poetry was not the only artistic medium for her. Almost halfway through the text, the author stops working, although she returns to it periodically and finally completes it 12 years later. The autograph refers to the original title of the work as *Sculptor*, and in her letters the writer describes this work as "a drama about a sculptor among the Puritans" (Ukrajinka 2018: 342). The margins of Lesja Ukrajinka's manuscripts contain some useful information. The inscription "*Finis*" made by the author in the draft autograph of the drama *In the Wilderness* after the second act is quite indicative. However, Lesja Ukrajinka's inexhaustible creative energy drives her to return to the text even after the declaration of the end.

The drama *In the Wilderness* centres around the mission of art. Sculptor Richard Iron is forced to emigrate from Italy to America among the English Puritans, fleeing the pres-

sure of Catholicism. However, in Massachusetts, he finds himself among fanatical believers, including the sculptor's mother. Despite his willingness to share the existential choice of the religious community, Richard Iron advocates the inherent value of art, the supremacy of beauty, and the right to creativity. Eventually, Richard must leave the community and move to Rhode Island, only to face a new obstacle. Now his artistic intentions are resisted not by religious fanatics, but by philistines, whose priorities are crafts and mass culture instead of the elite art of sculpture. The inner plot of the work can be seen as a kind of transformation of the artist, who is constantly divided between his moral and social duty and his own desire for artistic self-realisation.

The dramatic poem was probably conceived in 1894, and researchers associate this initial idea with Lesja Ukrajinka's exploration of the English poet, thinker, and public figure John Milton, which contributed to her knowledge of public opinion of the 16th and 17th centuries, including the establishment of aesthetics of the Early Modern period. To write a brochure for the general public, Lesja Ukrajinka carefully studied academic literature written in European languages, historical sources, and the writings of Milton himself. However, the author failed to fully realize her intention, put off any work on the brochure, and a fragment of it was only published as late as 1954 (Ukrajinka 1954). It should be emphasized that it refers to the role of Italy in the self-education of John Milton, and his familiarity with numerous masterpieces of painting and sculpture: "He saw beautiful paintings by the best Italian painters Raphael and Michelangelo, which depicted heaven, hell, the flood, the first people, and the holy family" (Ukrajinka 1977: 209). Echoes of Milton's artistic impressions find expression in his well-known epic poem *Paradise Lost*.

Like Milton, the protagonist of *In the Wilderness* was born in England, but Italy can be considered his other motherland. This is where he also discovered the work of great Renaissance artists and, even on leaving this land for the American prairies, Richard Iron can form the most detailed image of the architecture and sculpture of Italian cities, which drove him to catharsis even in his memories. He unfolds an entire scroll of images of Venice to his nephew Davy by excitedly describing the happy moments when he watched a kind of 'theater of statues' adorning majestic palaces:

At such an hour, the marble seems to come alive,
the statues perform in some Mystery place,
and under the sun's rays the marble faces
become transformed... (Ukrajinka 1988: 25).

The draft autograph describes Florence as the city of Richard Iron's education; Venice was chosen later, after Lesja Ukrajinka's personal acquaintance with Italy, where she went twice between 1901 and 1903 for climatotherapy. In her letters to family members, she lists a number of European cities that made a great impression on her, but is most enthusiastic about Venice, describing it as "the best in the world, the queen of sea and beauty" (Ukrajinka 2017: 364). One reason the collective image of the Italian city is shrouded with a special anguish in the memories of Richard Iron is that he "learned the alphabet of art"

there, spent his youth in a circle of like-minded young men from the “sculptural group”, and gained his first recognition (Ukrajinka 1988: 41). However, early fame did not encourage the young man to rest on his laurels. Like Milton, he searched for his own style after adopting the best traditions of the Renaissance, sensitive to the later Renaissance tendency towards degeneration, imitation, and stagnation.

Richard Iron’s promising talent catches the eye of true admirers of the plastic arts whose expectations are revealed by what one of the sculptor’s former friends had said: “you will become another Michelangelo” (Ukrajinka 1988: 96). The invaluable contribution to the arts which made Michelangelo the symbol of unique talent, innovative ideas, universalism, and perfect technique in the West was recognized in Ukraine as well. In the nineteenth century, the magnetism of Michelangelo’s talent is mentioned by Ukrainian writers, such as Taras Ševčenko, whose artist in his novel *Painter*, says: “...I attended sculpture classes and dreamed of the land of wonders and of the world capital crowned by the Buonarroti dome” (Shevchenko 1988: 190). In 1904, Lesja Ukrajinka’s older friend and writer Ivan Franko had the opportunity to observe Michelangelo’s sculpture *Moses* in the Basilica di San Pietro in Vincoli, which became an important incentive for him to complete the poem *Moses*, one of the greatest works in his literary legacy. Interestingly, the translator of this work into Russian, Petro Djaliv, abandoned the idea of including a photograph of Michelangelo’s piece in the Viennese edition of the text, persuaded by the critic and writer Bohdan Lepkyj, who believed that Moses meant ‘power’ in the famous sculpture but was dominated by ‘doubt’ in Franko’s interpretation. The image would contradict the poem because, as Lepkyj wrote, “one can discover all that Moses is” in the marble statue (Nahlik 2013: 197).

In addition to the general presence of the Italian school and Michelangelo in *In the Wilderness*, Lesja Ukrajinka alludes specifically to Michelangelo’s works in the text. Sailing to an unknown America, Richard Iron is full of ambitious plans to “light the fire of eternal beauty” (Ukrajinka 1988: 41) that would be more democratic but as majestic as in noble Italy. Richard observes the muscular puritans with inspiration, relying on the Italian school of expression of corporality. Their figures are “severe, hard, full of strength and power” and “in the starlight, they seemed immense” and similar to bronze statues (*ibidem*). Despite the different material, they have much in common with some of the finest examples of Michelangelo’s non-finito practice: his marble *Slaves*, from the never-realized project of the mausoleum of Julius II. When the sculptor Richard Iron hastily depicts his mother’s face in which he captures the suffering characteristic of the classic images of the Mother of God, the reader cannot but imagine one of the most famous depictions found in young Michelangelo’s *Pietà*.

Michelangelo’s name is also invoked and clearly stands for the eternal nature of artistic genius. In an argument with the organist about the value of various arts, Richard Iron strengthens his position by referring to Michelangelo: “Do you think that the great Michelangelo // created only for entertainment?” (Ukrajinka 1988: 83). This argument does not move the organist, who frankly admits that he has not seen Michelangelo’s sculptures himself because they are not accessible to everyone. He points out, instead, parishioners regularly listen to liturgical music in many churches. The discussion is not so much about the rivalry

between visual and acoustic arts, as it is about their role in society, their adaptation by ideology (religion), and their purpose on the elite and masculine levels. The topic of the relationship between art and society, being crucial for Lesja Ukrajinka, is repeatedly foregrounded throughout her work. In *In the Wilderness*, it is clearly concentrated in the parable of Martha and Mary, essentially conveyed in Richard Iron's aphoristic phrase: "...Martha cared about the things // of the world, Mary craved for things eternal" (Ukrajinka 1988: 54).

One might see Lesja Ukrajinka's artistic striving for eternity reflected in her character Richard Iron. His creation, however, suffers trials, tribulations, and creative failures in America, and his talent eventually fades. The stories of the artist's three statues, each representing one type of artistic non-finito, mark the stages of his path. One is a small figurine that Richard Iron brings to America as a memento from Venice. Even though the wax statuette was uncompleted, it caused a storm of emotions in those who viewed it: perturbation on the part of the puritan community and ecstatic admiration among the artist's friends that only a real masterpiece can engender. "It is a sin to hide something like this from the world!" Antonio says (Ukrajinka 1988: 98). The artist himself describes the mysterious nature of the work: "this is what enchants me. // (*Points to the figurine.*) // The dream! (Ukrajinka 1988: 99). In *In The Wilderness*, Lesja Ukrajinka's creative conception of non-finito can be defined as a dream, as the ideal perfection that cannot be brought to its final 'material' expression (the latter being a completed form), an intention that cannot be imprisoned by physical matter.

Another unfinished project of Richard Iron is a statue of a beautiful female aborigine. Led by Richard's antagonist Godwinson, the Christian community members see and condemn the sculpture during its creation. The puritans describe Richard Iron's piece as sinful – as art in general is – smash the sculpture, and destroy its sketches. The violent act forces the hero to finally sever his ties with the people around him and his creative crisis is exacerbated. In a futile attempt to complete his early design, Richard Iron creates another statue of a woman. However, the execution is unsuccessful. The artist himself finds it horrible. In the climactic monologue, Richard Iron calls his work a "stillborn creature", "ugly". But he cannot find the strength to destroy it. Like any work of art, an uncompleted piece also finds its place in the artist's legacy, at least as a "child of sorrow and grief" whom the artist addresses in his final monologue:

I feel the deepest sorrow, as that of a father
for his unfortunate child who was born a cripple...
This creation will never reach the stage of bronze
and marble. Even before my own dead body
turns to dust, this clay will dry out and fall apart.
So let it stand awhile until then (Ukrajinka 1988:101).

His last work points to the artist's sophisticated inner effort, the resistance of material, painful philosophical reflections on the purpose of art, and the struggle of rational and irrational approaches to creation.

The dramatic poem *In the Wilderness* unveils an artistic understanding of the nature of the uncompleted, which engages with the work of Michelangelo. A mirror effect is observed: unlike the Italian sculptor who turned to poetry, among other things, in order to verbalize the secrets of creative process, the writer Lesja Ukrajinka adopted the motif of sculpture as a way of reflecting on the nature of art in general, and Michelangelo himself as the code of the phenomenon of the uncompleted. Non-finito in Lesja Ukrajinka's artistic interpretation becomes both a burden of creative defeat and a source of intellectual and artistic inspiration, which underlies many world masterpieces.

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Abstract

Oleksandra Visych

Intermedial Aspects of Non-finito: Lesja Ukrajinka and Michelangelo

The article deals with the phenomenon of non-finito represented by Michelangelo whose sculptures and poetry became the artistic code of unfinishedness that was widely represented in the art work of Lesja Ukrajinka (14 prose and 7 dramatic works were not completed). Also the author's finished works are marked by an open and flexible structure, primarily due to the author's type of artistic thinking, which is a sort of non-finito.

This term indicates individual techniques (omission, truncation of the finale, phantom images, etc), as well as the specifics of the composition and structure of a text which tend to convey the process of creativity, artistic material, the way of thinking and doubts of the author.

The article focuses on the drama *In the Wilderness* which reveals an artistic understanding of the nature of the uncompleted, enhanced by the author's engagement with Michelangelo. A mirror effect is observed: unlike Michelangelo who turned to poetry to verbalize the secrets of his creative process, the writer Lesja Ukrajinka adopted the motif of sculpture as a way of reflecting on the nature of art in general, and Michelangelo himself as the code of the phenomenon of the uncompleted.

Keywords

Lesja Ukrajinka; Michelangelo; Non-Finito; Intermediality; Sculptor.

Alessandro Achilli

Beauty, Truth, and Sincerity. Lesja Ukrajinka and the Responsibility of Art Between Aestheticism and the Pursuit of Authenticity*

Lesja Ukrajinka's reputation as "the only man" in Ukrainian literature of the early twentieth century (Franko 1981: 271) has generated and continues generating a specific reception of her contribution to Ukrainian literary culture. In spite of – or maybe thanks to – the abundant and diverse feminist scholarship on Lesja Ukrajinka available, her figure is associated with the image of a defiant and resilient Ukrainianness, in which her 'masculine' agency is combined with the traditional image of *berehynja* as a female protector of a mythicized Ukrainian nation¹. Her prominent role in the traditional canon of Ukrainian literature, in which she shares the podium with the national writer par excellence Taras Ševčenko and the extremely prolific Galician intellectual Ivan Franko, has been consolidated in many ways, including through school programs, the affection for her symbolic persona nurtured by the Ukrainian diaspora, and her visual presence during the Euromaidan revolution, again alongside Ševčenko and Franko. In a national culture that has traditionally relied on literature as an ersatz for a missing statehood or a yet-to-be-created national identity, Lesja Ukrajinka's works – as with those of several other 'national writers' – have run the risk of being paradoxically 'dismissed' as just one more manifestation of the Ukrainian spirit. I here suggest that they be viewed as fully-fledged protagonists of the European early-twentieth-century canon.

The question that I will attempt to briefly answer in this article touches upon the issue of art's responsibility towards such human constructions as the individual, society and the nation as contrasted with the pursuit of beauty as a value in itself in some of Lesja Ukrajinka's writings. From the point of view of literary history, this contribution can be read as one more attempt to investigate the nature of early Ukrainian modernism in its confrontation with the so-called populist stream, the latter of which understood literature as a mere, although crucial, instrument of national consolidation.

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¹ For an interpretation of Lesja Ukrajinka's androgyny between reception stereotypes and self-characterization see Zborovs'ka 2002: 83-95.

As a writer and a reader endowed with a striking curiosity for several languages and literatures and an insightful commentator of the cultural developments of her time, Lesja Ukrajinka was caught between an understanding of literature as a key factor in nation-building and a feeling of sympathy and support for the free, not necessarily and not primarily political evolution of the arts that she observed and enjoyed in the national traditions that she read, translated and commented upon. In her 1999 book, Vira Ahejeva situates Lesja Ukrajinka in the history of Ukrainian and European modernism, paying special attention to the figure of the artist as it is represented in Lesja Ukrajinka's poems and plays. Focusing mostly on the long dramatic poem *U pušči* ('*In the Wilderness*'), Ahejeva sees the conflict between the artist's commitment to serve the people and his or her allegiance to his or her authentic inspiration as the cornerstone of Lesja Ukrajinka's complex allegiance to modernist art (Ahejeva 1999: 49-75). Reflections on art, its ethical boundaries and the artist's morality can be found to different extents in most of her pieces, including, but not limited to, *U pušči*, *Rufin i Priscilla* and *Lisova pisnja*.

Because of space constraints, I will mostly focus on the play *Blakytyna trojanda* and the dramatic poems *Advokat Martijan* and *Orhija*, which have been generally discussed from other points of view. These three pieces encompass some of the most beloved settings of her dramatic production: the early Christian, the classic and the Ukrainian. In these plays, although the problem of art's nature and duties is far from being exhausted by them, Lesja Ukrajinka develops a reflection on art's possibilities and its place in history, in a context marked by the question of the ethical responsibility of the individual towards themselves and their community. More specifically, these plays significantly contribute to the conversation on beauty, truth, responsibility and sincerity in art – and beyond art – that constitutes the most notable part of Lesja Ukrajinka's long, and at times contradictory, reckoning with contemporary aesthetics. I also argue that for Lesja Ukrajinka the question of art and its place in the world is far from concerning artists alone. As a key element of human existence, art is everywhere and its potential and limits are a matter for everyone.

Before focusing on drama, I will also discuss other texts by Lesja Ukrajinka, including critical essays, poems and letters, in which her own views on art, its contemporary developments and the condition of Ukrainian literature come to the fore with particular evidence. By doing so, I aim to show how Lesja Ukrajinka's musings on art in both her creative pieces and her critical writings form a complex body of reflections that cannot be reduced to a univocal approach or point of view, be it national or purely aesthetic. The multilayered nature of the freedom that Bohdan Pastuch sees as the main pivot of Lesja Ukrajinka's works (Pastuch 2012: 16-17) means it is impossible to oversimplify her complex art philosophy. However, in partial contrast to Pastuch, I here argue that freedom may not be the most fitting term to define Lesja Ukrajinka's art philosophy. In her view, the artist's freedom is limited by the need to respect art's communicative function, something that she sees as jeopardised in contemporary culture. As we shall see, it is the pursuit of art's 'authenticity' that guides Lesja Ukrajinka's reflections and her writing.

In an unpublished conference paper, Danylo Struk discussed the positioning of Lesja Ukrajinka and her works in the history of Ukrainian modernism focusing on the problem of her relationship with the aestheticist movement. While the study of the aesthetic boundaries of modernism in Ukraine is in itself a still unresolved problem, the issue of Lesja Ukrajinka's participation in Ukrainian modernism is no less challenging. While it would be hard to confute Ahejeva's general view that "Lesja Ukrajinka formed a modernist conception of art by overcoming populist mottos and stereotypes, as well as by interiorising and transforming traditional romantic concepts", both the breadth of modernist aesthetics and the complexity of Lesja Ukrajinka's relation with early modernism call for a more articulated approach to this question². Quite clearly, and tellingly, separating her lyrical poetry from the rest of her oeuvre, Struk ventured to conclude his contribution stating that "through her poetic dramas and her criticism Lesia Ukrainka is not only a part of Ukrainian Modernism chronologically, but together with Ievshan, is a true proponent of aestheticism in Ukrainian literature"³. Struk sees "artistic plausibility" and "authorial sincerity" as the main features of Lesja Ukrajinka's embrace of aestheticism⁴, an aestheticism that he, following Lesja Ukrajinka herself, contrasts with the frivolousness and moral emptiness of the most extreme manifestations of decadent aestheticism. While Struk's statement can appear to be quite problematic, it is the very definition of aestheticism that is determining here. A complex term that the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* defines as a "term for a literary, philosophical, and cultural movement of the late nineteenth century that came to be identified with the phrase 'art for art's sake'" (Greene 2012: 10), aestheticism has been often scrutinized in light of its stance towards values and commonly accepted morality⁵.

Of particular interest in this context is Lesja Ukrajinka's essay on Gabriele D'Annunzio and Ada Negri, written in 1899 and published in 1900. In *Dva napravlenija v novejšej italjanskoj literature (Ada Negri i d'Annunzio)*, Lesja Ukrajinka focuses on contemporary literature, but her essay also includes a short historical overview of certain trends in the history of Italian literature that she sees reflected in more recent developments. Lesja Ukrajinka

² "Модерністська концепція мистецтва формувалася у Лесі Українки через подолання народницьких лозунгів і стереотипів, засвоєння й трансформацію традиційних романтичних уявлень" (Ahejeva 1999: 50).

³ D.H. Struk, *Lesia Ukrainka and the Aestheticist Perspective*, unpublished conference paper, p. 13, cfr. <<http://sites.utoronto.ca/elul/Struk-mem/Works/Ukrainka-Aestheticist.pdf>> (latest access: 07.05.21).

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ The issue regarding aestheticism's moral or its lack thereof is of central importance in debates around fin-de-siècle art. For example, this controversy is excellently captured in discussions around Oscar Wilde. See Quintus 1980: 561: "When Jackson discussed Wilde in *The Eighteen-Nineties*, he said that Wilde could not abandon himself to an unprincipled French aestheticism because of the 'still small voice' which continued to check Wilde's enthusiasm and to prevent him from being as immoral and amoral as the French upon whom he drew so heavily for his ideas. Something held Wilde back, Jackson notes, and kept him from being a Gautier or a Huysmans".

does not shy away from defining ‘tendentiousness’ (*tendencioznost’*) as the most typical trait of both Gabriele D’Annunzio’s and Ada Negri’s works, and the one that makes a comparison between them meaningful and tenable in spite of the clear differences between the two authors in terms of style and cultural orientation. However, in Lesja Ukrajinka’s view, their alleged tendentiousness is nothing new from the point of view of Italian literary history:

В качестве тенденциозных поэтов Ада Негри и д’Аннунцио являются продолжателями вековой традиции итальянской поэзии. Начало этой традиции положил основатель итальянской литературы Данте, который в своей “Божественной комедии”, проникнутой мистической мечтательностью, не забывает среди ужасов ада политической борьбы ... Эта идея возрождения Италии была долгое время главным жизненным нервом итальянской поэзии, и упадок патриотизма всегда шел рука об руку с упадком поэтического творчества (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, VIII: 29).

From Dante and Petrarch through Tasso to Carducci and other nineteenth-century Italian writers, Lesja Ukrajinka reads the bulk of Italian literature through the prism of its struggle for the nation and its (re)birth. Significantly, she links the decay (*upadok*) of patriotism that has occasionally happened in Italian cultural history to the decay of poetry itself, using a term that has been used as a synonym for decadence (*decadentism* in the Italian context) as a cultural movement, possibly echoing Dmitrij Merežkovskij’s influential essay from 1893 *O priččinach upadka i o novych tečenijach sovremennoj ruskoj literatury*. Later in her article, Lesja Ukrajinka explicitly defines D’Annunzio as a decadent, but her musings over D’Annunzio’s poetry and prose leave the impression that she is actually trying to compromise with herself, balancing between a more or less open condemnation of his decadence and admiration for his poetic talent, which is also a reflection of D’Annunzio’s complex literary self-positioning. “Новое слово д’Аннунцио не в этом стремлении обновить обветшавшее: несмотря на призывы к возрождению, он певец вырождения” (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, VIII: 50).

A similar approach can be found in *Zametki o novejšej pol’skoj literature*, her 1900-1901 article on contemporary Polish literature. Writing on Stanisław Przybyszewski, one of the most successful writers of her generation, Lesja Ukrajinka is again at odds with decadent art. It is the issue of the artist’s “absolute” freedom that she contests:

Итак, искусство и артист свободны абсолютно. Можно бы, пожалуй, заключить из этого, что новая теория признает, кроме принципа силы, еще и принцип свободы, но увы! мы видим нечто прямо противоположное (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, VIII: 119).

After listing all the things that the modern artists cannot allegedly do, such as speaking to the masses and talking politics and representing things, Lesja Ukrajinka comes to the conclusion that the so-called free artists of her and Przybyszewski’s time are actually deprived of many of the freedoms that those artists believe to enjoy:

Таким образом “абсолютно свободный артист” является чем-то вроде лишеного всех прав состояния. Судя по тем положительным примерам, на которые указывает Пшибишевский в своих критических очерках, бедному свободному артисту даже выбор тем предоставляется очень небольшой: любовь, смерть... и, кажется, все (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, VIII: 119-120).

Lesja Ukrajinka sees no freedom in the contemporary infatuation with extreme states of mind and the obsessive search for a new type of beauty. In her view, without pursuing a connection with people and their nation, modernist artists, like prisoners of their own souls, are condemned to solipsism and monotony.

Lesja Ukrajinka's ambiguous attitude towards international early modernist literature, and especially its decadent and symbolist trends, is the object of some of the most interesting literary comments in her epistolary exchanges. Writing from Berlin to her mother in 1899, she expresses her absolute contempt for *Jugendstil*⁶. In a letter to Volodymyr Hnatjuk from 1900, she speaks of her “antipathy towards modernists” (“Нехай Ваша хв[алена] Редакція поборе відому мені свою нехить до ‘модерністів’” [Ukrajinka 2017b: 202]), possibly also hinting at her awareness that modernist literature was actually much more complex and meaningful than she, also a translator of Maeterlinck, might instinctively perceive it to be. However, in her later remarks about Serhij Jefremov after the publication of his much-discussed essay *V poiskach novoj krasoty*, she shows a much more sophisticated approach to contemporary literature. Angry with Jefremov for his condemnation of Ol'ha Kobyljans'ka and other writers from Bukovyna, and especially irritated by his failure to understand that the influence of German literature on their own writings was actually positive and enriching, Lesja Ukrajinka accuses Jefremov of not understanding the complex character of contemporary literary trends. While the loss of the text of her open letter to Jefremov, which she unsuccessfully submitted to “Kievskaja Starina” for publication, prevents us from having access to an articulated response, some of the letters that she wrote from San Remo in early 1903 offer an interesting insight into her view of decadence and symbolism at the dawn of the new century. In a letter to Olena Pčilka, Lesja Ukrajinka accuses Jefremov of not differentiating between symbolism and decadence. Talking about the latter, to which she assigns major poets such as Verlaine and Rimbaud, she indirectly states her belief that true poetry cannot be separated from moral and social commitment:

Верлен був дуже щирий поет і таки справжній поет, хоча вдача його, а через те й поезія була протейська по змінливості і значно психопатична, – але що може зробити поет, окрім того, щоб бути щирим? Верлен не був квієтистом, його, як і Бодлера,

⁶ “Буля Ліля і на виставі ‘Secession’ (‘Modernisten’, отих, що Jugend видають), вона їй страшно не сподобалась. Купила мені на показ ілюстрований каталог, то справді якесь страхіття. Емма і Марі, роздивляючись той каталог, раз-у-раз скрикували: Hässlich, grässlich, sche[у]sslich, gre[u]elhaft! Na, ist es möglich? Ich bin sprachlos! Я на сюю Secession не хочу дивитися, хоч би й могла!” (Ukrajinka 2017b: 130).

захоплювали і моральні і соціальні питання, тільки він довго ні на чому спинитись не міг. Так само і Rimbaud (Ukrajinka 2018: 21).

Almost as if feeling the need to defend Verlaine and Rimbaud from both public accusations and her own instinct, Lesja Ukrajinka sees the poet's main duty in his or her commitment to sincerity, while also stressing the absolute importance of their duty towards society, not necessarily considered from a national point of view. If Verlaine and Rimbaud failed, while Baudelaire's status is unclear, it was because of their mental illness. In her study of the obsession with the rhetorics of sincerity in Russian cultural history, Ellen Rutten has defined it as a combination of "genuineness, truthfulness, and the quality of not pretending", while also pointing out that it "is something that an addresser 'demonstrates' or 'shows' and that the addressee 'doubts'" (Rutten 2017: 37). Sincerity has been deemed a significant innovation in the artistic culture of the early twentieth century, as a reaction to both the search for objectivity of realism and the moral detachment of fin-de-siècle aestheticism (Peyre 1963: 237). Although sincerity could then be unexpectedly taken to its extreme through some of the most daring manifestations of the early avant-garde such as the emotional outbursts of expressionism or the penchant for *épatage* of futurism, Lesja Ukrajinka's insistence on sincerity can be viewed as in line with the reaction to the alleged aloofness of much of late nineteenth-century art that was part of the complex cultural landscape of the first years of the new century. Implicitly, Lesja Ukrajinka's call for innovation, which paradoxically also involved her re-adaptation of neoromanticism, was also a reaction against the powerful populist vein that she observed in her own literary tradition.

In one of her very first letters, Lesja Ukrajinka reveals how her antipathy for the provocative character of modern literature was not limited to decadent writers, but also included realism and its most extreme manifestations like naturalism:

З французьких книжок, окрім Жорж Санда, я мало читала в першотворі, більш у перекладах і то з новітніх натуралістів школи Золя, котрі мені зовсім не подобаються, бо мені здається, що в їх більше страхів різних та ефектів ніж тої правди, або сама безпросвітня бридота. За це ж я не люблю й Толстого, та ще й за його містицизм я ж, як нарощне, читала більш усього його останні твори, в котрих окрім чортів та ангелів нічого не видно, або само тільки страхиття як напр. "Смерть Івана Ільича" (Ukrajinka 2017a: 56).

Quite unexpectedly, it is in a lack of truth, or artistic truth, that Lesja Ukrajinka sees the most disappointing side of naturalism, a broadly understood category in which she also seems to include Lev Tolstoj's late works and their 'mysticism'. Interestingly, she uses the same term (*strachyttja*, here *strachyttja*) to refer to the excesses of both naturalism and *Jugendstil*. In Lesja Ukrajinka's view, art that lacks sincerity and truth has no choice but to recur to a bombastic style with the aim of shocking its readers.

According to her, this is modern(ist) art's unsuccessful attempt to make up for the missing value of something that, aware of the long and diverse tradition of this term in the

history of philosophy, we could call ‘authenticity’. Alessandro Ferrara has defined authenticity as “what is uniquely indispensable for an individual to be himself or herself” (Ferrara 1998: ix). In Lesja Ukrajinka’s view, art must be truthful, beautiful and sincere. If it fails to live up to this standard, it betrays its own nature and vocation, thus losing its authenticity. Her low opinion of realistic prose by such Ukrainian authors as Ivan Nečuj-Levyč’kyj and Oleksandr Konys’kyj, whom she repeatedly and with a certain degree of maximalism accuses of a lack of artistic taste⁷, can be explained by the same obsession with the ideal of an art that needs to be true to itself in order to be able to impact the world. Writers and intellectuals are free, but their freedom is somewhat limited by the necessity to comply with the rules of art and its communicative mission.

Lesja Ukrajinka’s cool reception of some of the most successful trends in contemporary literature, both Ukrainian and international, can be seen as related to her views on her own duties as a (Ukrainian) writer and public intellectual, in a period during which Ukrainian literature was set to enter a phase of rapid and irreversible secularisation. In a poem she wrote in 1898 to celebrate the first centennial anniversary of Ivan Kotljarevč’kyj’s *Enejida* and hence of modern Ukrainian literary culture as such, explicitly titled *Na stolitnij juvilej ukrajins’koji literatury* (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, I: 174-175), Lesja Ukrajinka’s lyrical subject laments the exceptional condition of Ukrainian literature if compared with the experience of (most) other national traditions:

У кожного люду, у кожній країні
Живий такий спогад, що в його в давнині
Були золотії віки,
Як пісня й слово були у шанобі
В міцних сього світу; не тільки на гробі
Складались поетам вінки.

Apparently celebrating the privileged status of literati in medieval Europe, synecdochically referred to as the whole world, Lesja Ukrajinka’s lyrical subject makes use of the golden-age topos to describe the poor condition of Ukrainian literature, which not only suffers in the present, but cannot even boast or dream of returning to a glorious past. However, the second stanza complicates the seemingly stark contrast between Ukraine and the West indirectly, but unmistakably hinted at in the first:

За пишнії хрїї, величнії оди,
Король слав поетам-співцям нагороди,
Він славу їх мав у руці;
За ввічливі станції, гучні мадригали

⁷ “Мені тільки жаль, що наша бідна українська література отак поневіряється через різних Нечуїв, Кониських, Чайченків і т.п. ‘корифей’, а то, про мене, хоч би їхніми творами греблі гачено” (Ukrajinka 2017a: 157).

Вродливиці теж нагороду давали
Не знали погорди співці.

The harmony between writers and rulers described in the opening lines is here questioned by explicit references to issues of power and subordination. It is now evident that writers had to pay an enormous price to enjoy their privileged status and their reputation, namely the total dependence of their inspiration on the self-aggrandising mania of their rulers. The following stanza makes this even more explicit by using imagery linked to incarceration such as shackles (*kajdany*). The second half of the poem, graphically separated from the first, is dedicated to Ukrainian literature. Readers might expect the decay of late nineteenth-century Ukraine to be contrasted with Ukraine's own golden age, that of the glory of Cossackdom, but this seems not to be the case. The hetmanate is directly mentioned, but the contribution to its splendour by writers recognised as individuals endowed with personality and inspiration is long forgotten:

Так... в кожній країні є спогади раю!
Нема тільки в тебе їх, рідний мій краю!
Були й за гетьманів співці;
З них деякі вічні співи зложили,
А як їх наймення? і де їх могили,
Щоб скласти хоч пізні вінці!

According to the lyrical subject, not even in times of national success were Ukrainian writers able to enjoy the privileges to which their Western colleagues were entitled. Moreover, this stanza appears to condemn the idea of art as a mere instrument of national struggle if the unique contribution of each artist as having individual worth per se is not granted the recognition that it deserves.

The second half of the poem ends with the same reference to shackles that concludes the first. Ukrainian literature and Western literature may seem to be very different, but they actually turn out to be more similar than expected, sharing the same subordination to rulers and the same indifference towards writers as human beings, merely reduced to producers of encomiastic poetry. Ivan Kotljarevs'kyj, the father of modern Ukrainian literature and the ideal protagonist of the poem, is not thematized or hinted at in the poem. The first author in modern Ukrainian literature recognized as such, he remains a blank space, as absent and mute as the writers from Cossack times that preceded him both in the poem and in the history of Ukrainian culture. The poem seems to enact the same silence that the lyrical subject laments as a central feature of Ukrainian culture. The issue of writers' anonymity, of their failed public acknowledgement, is crucial here. It is as if Lesja Ukrajinka were anticipating one of the central tenets of postcolonial criticism, namely the invisibility, or inaudibility of the subaltern. However, eventually laying an ideal, long-awaited wreath at the grave of old Ukrainian literature in the final line, Lesja Ukrajinka's lyrical subject is able to make up for centuries of forced silence through the performative act of the poem

itself. Moreover, the poem is authored by a female writer, although this is not evident from the text of the poem itself, with the lyrical subject concealing itself behind its lamentation and the act of its final celebration of its predecessors. In the context of the implied author's work, however, the text is likely to be perceived as part of the literary legacy of a powerful female writer, thus representing a reckoning with both the plight of the writer under oppression, although the status of artists broadly speaking in the West is also subjected to criticism, and the eternal and much deeper female condition of subalternity.

The issue of Lesja Ukrajinka's complex concept of art's place in the world, the role of beauty and the relationship of creativity and responsibility plays an important part in most of her theatre plays. In *Blakytyna trojanda*, a play from 1896 that has received critical attention especially with regard to its depiction of what used to go by the name of hysteria (most recently Boruszkowska 2020) and Lesja Ukrajinka's debut as a playwright, modernity and modern(ist) art are the subject of conversations between Ljubov Hoščyns'ka, the tragic protagonist, and her interlocutors. Throughout the play a number of subtle references are made that seem to hint at an idea of modern art as fallacious. In the first act, Ostrożyn, a writer and journalist who significantly looks older for his age, keeps asking Ljubov whether her taste in art and music, and her conversation style are 'modern', or 'new'. Ljubov's elusive, sarcastic answers demonstrate her lack of sympathy for fashionable trends, which one would link to decadence. In one of her most articulated replies to Ostrożyn on the subject, Ljubov accuses her generation of moral weakness:

М-г Острожин, се розмова серйозна, хоча теж moderne, коли хочете. [...] Справді, панове, розмова наша виходить à la Ibsen. Що ж робити? Наше бідне покоління стільки вже ганьби прийняло за необачність, егоїзм, що нарешті задумало поправити свою репутацію і поставило ребром питання про спадковість. Се, панове, варто давньої християнської філософської моралі. Закон причинності, спадковість, ви-
 родження – от наші нові боги (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, III: 17).

In a statement full of ambiguities and that has significant repercussions on the discourse on psychic disease central to the play, Ljubov sees the contemporary embrace of hereditary theories as a way of eschewing personal commitment to morality. In her next reply to one of the guests at her house, Ljubov raises the issue of responsibility (*vidpovidal'nist'*). By doing so, she flips the current argument that people are doomed to dealing with the fatal consequences of their background by stating that hereditariness forces, or should force individuals to act because of the results that their actions and choices will have on future generations. Ostrożyn, obsessed with the modern taste, claims that "Ми мусимо дбати тільки про своє власне 'я' і прислухатись до його емоцій" (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, III: 18). It should nevertheless be noted, as Irena Makaryk does in her article on Strindberg's influence on Lesja Ukrajinka, that Ljubov herself falls prey to hereditary theories, thus contradicting her own stance: "Ljubov's certainty that she will become mad in fact brings about her madness" (Makaryk 1984: 28). Later in the play, after being accused by one of the male characters of having 'ascetic' tastes because of her interest in science, Ljubov expresses

her actual contempt for ascetism: “У мене аскетичний погляд? Ну, не знаєте ви мене! (Палко.) Адже мені усякий аскетизм, усяке фацірство глибоко противне” (Ukrajinka 1975-1979, III: 29). Ljubov’s declared refusal of ascetism, although in contrast with some of her actual life choices and eventually not enacted⁸, can be read as at least a statement of faith in life, which implies her embracing of authenticity and sincerity as integral parts of the human experience. Her being “enamoured of risk”, as Svitlana Krys correctly put it (Krys 2007: 396), is linked to her frustrated artistic ambitions, which Roman Weretelnyk sees at the roots of her mental illness (Weretelnyk 1989: 36). In Ljubov’s view, art, science, values and responsibility form a continuum outside of which any of these components loses its validity and its power. While art is not absolutized, as it is in the contemporary fashion for which Ljubov does not have much sympathy, albeit not denying it altogether, art is a fundamental part of human life, and its connection with ethics is crucial. In conclusion, one can say that although in *Blakytna Troianda* the main character’s Weltanschauung is not matched by her deeds, her passionate plea for an art that does not refuse the living world and envisages engaging with it embodies some crucial aspects of Lesja Ukrajinka’s art philosophy in the early stages of her literary career.

One of the most compelling instances of Lesja Ukrajinka’s complex exploration of beauty in art, a question she approached in several of her writings, can be found in *Advokat Martijan*, a piece of drama that she worked on between 1911 and 1913. Not among her most discussed works, *Advokat Martijan* originated in the context of Lesja Ukrajinka’s productive fascination for early Christian times. The play has been mostly read as a typical tale of intergenerational conflict in the spirit of Ivan Turgenev’s *Fathers and Sons* (Witochynska 1983: 161-162). *Advokat Martijan* retains the focus on hereditary central to *Blakytna trojanda*, although abandoning the central role such theories play in Ljubov Hoščyns’ka’s story. The plot of the play centres around Martijan and his family, including his two children, Avrelija and Valent. Describing her fascination for the Christian faith, which her father has to hide so as not to jeopardize his career as a lawyer, Avrelija defines her faith as ‘dead’. Not being able to live her life and her religiousness in full means for Avrelija being deprived of the regenerating power of the faith that she has decided to embrace. The outer, aesthetic side of a given religion plays a crucial role in her relationship with faith:

А все-таки я чула, що в церквах
є малювання і величні співи,
але мені заказано на те.
Я тільки безборонно бачу в вікна
на вулицях весь ідолянський культ:
веселі сатурналії, поважні
теорії жерців, похід весталок,

⁸ I am thankful to one of the anonymous reviewers for prompting me to better assess Ljubov’s contradictory rejection of ascetism, which she actually refuses to follow, resulting in the failure of her relationship with Orest, her suicide and his death.

і думаю: “Ся віра неправдива,
але чому в ній стільки є краси,
а наша правда так убого вбрана?”
Від сих думок любов моя вмирає...

(Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 21)

To Avrelija, there is no distinction between faith, life, beauty, love and truth. While her father advises her that she, as a Christian, should be able to grasp the ‘higher beauty’ of her faith, Avrelija replies that the only time she has experienced real, living beauty was when she saw a young girl in a circus standing up for her faith while being persecuted. For Avrelija, the only way in which faith, and hence life, can be meaningful is by providing believers with the very concrete experience of beauty. Beauty can also be said to prevail on truth in the hierarchy of Avrelija’s values. Although she has no doubt that paganism is untrue, while Christianity is simply ‘our truth’, she cannot but admire the pagans’ attention to the aesthetic side of religion. In her view, truth needs beauty to keep being perceived as such. Being equivalent to love, truth risks dying if it is not sustained by a powerful commitment to the emotionality provided by the aesthetic experience. Significantly, Avrelija also lists refined rhetoric as a source of aesthetic pleasure alongside visual performances. To her, the “serious theories” of pagan priests are as beautiful as the vestals’ processions and the cheerfulness of saturnalia.

Valent, Avrelija’s brother, is also in disagreement with their father regarding the way in which religion should be lived. Valent’s aestheticization of religion is no less intense than that of his sister, although his allegiance to Christianity appears more solid than hers. His view of Christianity as a fully rewarding experience combines the mysticism of spiritual ecstasy with the physical fervour of the worshippers’ collective body:

У мене дух займався, як я слухав
про вхід господній у Єрусалим,
коли юрба народу незчисленна
‘Осанна сину божому!’ кричала,
і віття ліс над нею колихався.
Се ж був триумф!

(Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 28)

While for Avrelija beauty is the embodiment of faith, Valent sees in glory the highest realisation of religion’s connubium with art. Without the fulfillment of a totalizing worship in which body and soul come together, religion loses its appeal, which explains why he disapproves of his father’s clear-headed, moderate faith. Valent expresses his fascination for Paul, whose deeds he would be ready to imitate and whose glory he envies. Similarly to his sister, for Valent religion is powerless without the support of rhetoric: “Чин живий / або живеє слово – се талан мій” (Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 31). Valent has attempted to achieve glory through literature, but in his view the written word does not guarantee the

degree of satisfaction that he sees as a requisite for achieving true glory. In his conversations with his father, Valent notes that Martijan's glory is not enough for him. Stating his willingness to be sincere, Valent maintains that in his work as an advocate, his father is not actually granted the opportunity to defend the truth. Moreover, Valent laments that Martijan's work does not bring him any glory. Only emotional rhetoric and heroic deeds can quench Valent's thirst for honour and fulfillment.

The younger generation cannot conceive of a careful approach to both faith and life, two notions that if lived to the fullest come to be identified as the same thing. Deprived of vital energy, religion makes no sense to Avrelija and Valent. The two siblings' idealistic view of religion-as-life is however unlikely to pass the test of the real world, as Martijan knows. One of the play's enigmas is its very title, which draws the reader's attention to Martijan and not to his children or the other characters that surround Martijan. At the centre of both parts of this 'dramatic poem', Martijan ambiguously stands for a careful, uninspiring approach to life and spirituality. Lacking sincerity and courage, Martijan cannot be a hero, although his refusal to live religion as an aesthetic experience may signal a deeper, pristine connection to faith, thus standing for a different, actually more profound level of authenticity. Moreover, his cautious choices have given him the chance to raise his children as Christians, thus enabling the true faith to thrive and be passed down to future generations.

Orhija is one of Lesja Ukrajinka's last works. Antej, its protagonist, is a Greek singer from Corinth who refuses to accept the unavoidable presence of the Roman power in his personal life as an artist and in the choices of those who surround him, including his wife Nerisa and his students and colleagues. The national question plays a not secondary role in the play, with issues of cultural colonialism and imperial oppression given a prominent position. Although the juxtaposition of the Greek and the Roman world is likely to be read as a metaphor for the Ukrainian-Russian context, the colonial question is far from exhausting *Orhija's* thematic repertoire. In her recent "postcolonial reading" of *Orhija*, Anastasiya Andrianova highlighted "the tension between the colonial artist's idealist aesthetics and her material realities" (Andrianova 2015: 26). Rightly pointing out the complex axiological configuration of the play, which she cannot find duly analysed in the rather straightforward readings of *Orhija* as an anticolonial piece proposed by most of the play's commentators, Andrianova defines *Orhija* as "a national drama that asks us to reconsider whether its hero's idealism may not disguise an inflexible and ultimately sterile parochialism" (Andrianova 2015: 27). The juxtaposition of authentic inspiration and the constraints of the real world, in which men and women of art are forced to adapt their inspiration and their skills to the political context of their time, is indeed a central theme of the piece. The protagonist Antej's resistance to compromise with the colonial power actually means the impossibility for him to have his art admired by a potentially large audience. Andrianova correctly sees in Antej's "archaic national aesthetic" (Andrianova 2015: 41) the cause of his failure.

However, in the context of Lesja Ukrajinka's complex approach to the many challenges of her times, including both the recent developments in the arts that she disliked and Ukraine's subjugation to Russian imperial power, Antej's stubbornness can be read in more

than one way. His unconditional cult of art as a pure, sacred entity actually resembles the decadent religion of art. Antej calls the sculptor Fedon's decision to sell a statue of Terpsichore to the Roman patron a sin, but Fedon's reply highlights the shortcomings in Antej's uncompromising stance, while also developing the reflection on glory central to *Advokat Martijan*: "Не розумію, що ти з мене хочеш! / Чи мав би й я весь вік, як ти, сидіти / без хліба і без слави?" (Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 187). While Antej's following reply is centred around the national question ("Се повинен / терпіти еллін, коли хліб і славу / здобути може тільки з римських рук" [Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 187]), Fedon objects to him that without his glory a Greek is not a Greek. Later in the play, using wording that could be read as an allusion to Ivan Franko, Antej's wife Nerisa similarly accuses him of neglecting true glory in favour of sterile idealism: "Такому ж от, як ти, хіба лишиться / зів'яле листя та вінці надгробні" (Ukrainka 1975-1979, VI: 194). To be sure, Antej also happens to demonstrate a more refined political conscience than that of the people that surround him. Replying to his sister Evfrozina's claim that Hellas's future is in his hands, Antej objects that it is not wise to set all hopes on a single person. The final scene, with Antej killing his wife with his lyre and then committing suicide with one of the lyre's strings, epitomizes the catastrophic consequences of Antej's refusal to come to terms with the world in which he should be able to live and operate, or, to use a ševčenkian term that appears in the play, to accept and make the best of his fate (*dolja*). While Andrianova and other scholars have rightly stressed the weight of the feminist discourse of the play, with Nerisa being more rational than her husband, Antej's story can also be read as an allegory for the dangerous, or even fatal consequences of a dogmatic approach to art and the inability to understand and shape the social environment in which art has to be produced and disseminated. A refusal to mediate with society, even if this is regulated by a colonial power, means for artists a betrayal of their responsibility towards themselves and their talent.

In both her creative writings and her critical utterances, Lesja Ukrainka shows a traditional, although non-dogmatic view of literature as a platform for authenticity, intuitively grasped as the truest expression of a human being's personality and of art's own communicative potential. As Peter Lamarque put it discussing the relationship between literature and truth since Plato and Aristoteles, "the proper focus for the truth debate must rest with the question of value rather than the question of fact and not so much with the value of truth, which is not controversial, but the value of literature, which is" (Lamarque 2009: 367). In Lesja Ukrainka's thinking, life is worthless without true art and art is helpless and inauthentic when it is not powered by sincerity and unable to function in the world. Artists are responsible for both allegiance to their own inspiration and the integration of their talent in the life of society. The failures and contradictions of many of her characters, including *Blakytina Trojanda's* Ljubov and *Orhija's* Antej, may be read as a result of their inability to reconcile their idealized art concepts with real life, to have art functioning in the world. The dichotomy of art and life, be it that lived or proclaimed by her characters or the one she observed among her contemporaries, has no place in Lesja Ukrainka's worldview. It is because of the transformative potential of art that it cannot be reduced to a

mere aesthetic pleasure, while the failure to embed art in life – both personal and societal, or even national – equates to its silence, with potentially fatal outcomes for its coryphaei. Although her refusal of some of the most successful names and works of fin-de-siècle literature and art is likely to appear naïve from the vantage point of today, one may conclude by saying that Lesja Ukrajinka's pragmatic approach, not least motivated by her willingness to support Ukrainian literature in its quick development, leaves little room for ideological extremism. The very contrast between the maximalist views of some of her characters and their life choices is fascinatingly contradictory, and their often tragic fates seem to cast a shadow of healthy relativism on the whole of her metaliterary work. We cannot but greet this as a sign of Lesja Ukrajinka's modernity.

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Abstract

Alessandro Achilli

Beauty, Truth, and Sincerity. Lesja Ukrajinka and the Responsibility of Art Between Aestheticism and the Pursuit of Authenticity

In both her creative writings and her criticism, Lesja Ukrajinka developed a complex reflection on the nature of art and the artist's place in society. Prompted by her ambiguous response to contemporary trends in the arts such as decadence, she saw true art as the product of an authentic inspiration able to function in its social context. In this article, I attempt to show the complexity of Lesja Ukrajinka's concept of art, neither instrumental nor ascetic, on the basis of a number of extracts from her critical writings, her letters, her poetry, and her works for theatre, with special attention to *Blakytyna trojanda*, *Advokat Martijan*, and *Orhija*.

Keywords

Lesja Ukrajinka; Ukrainian Literature; Ukrainian Modernism; Ukrainian Theater; Aestheticism.

Anastasiya Andrianova

Mavka as Willow. An Ecofeminist Analysis of Lesja Ukrajinka's *Forest Song*

Scholars have commented on the role of nature and humanity in Lesja Ukrajinka's *Lisova pisnja* ('*Forest Song*', 1911) (Horbolis 2011; Odarčenko 1994; Ohnjeva 2007; Turhan 2000)¹. The acclaimed fairy-drama has been compared to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of which there are many ecocritical readings (Odarčenko 1994: 133; e.g., Watson 2011). *Lisova pisnja* (henceforth LP) can, indeed, be read as an eco-parable on the devastating effects of deforestation on wild flora and fauna, as it stages the repercussions of human encroachment upon the forest environment. Lukaš, the male protagonist, makes *sopilky* ('pipes') out of various trees indigenous to the Volyn' Polissja where the play is set, and with the help of his uncle Lev, a friend of the forest, he builds a hut and introduces agriculture to a wild habitat. Mavka, a forest fairy, intervenes when he tries to cut a birch to taste its sap, in the star-crossed lovers' first encounter; she later cuts her own arm rather than reap the rye as she shares a sororal bond with Rusalka Pol'ova ('Field Sprite') who inhabits it. In an ironic reversal, Mavka's human rival takes the bloodied scythe, demonstrating to Lukaš (and his mother) that she is a better match; the two flirt while reaping and binding sheaves of rye – that is, killing nature for human consumption. Even after Mavka is spurned by Lukaš, who prefers the more practical widow Kylyna, she persists in helping her beloved. But when Kylyna arranges for the revered ancient oak to be felled, she seals her family's fate. In the end, Mavka transforms into a willow tree that is set on fire and so rejoins nature's cycle. Odarčenko describes LP as "somber, deeply tragic" (Odarčenko 1994: 134)². Yet the denouement seems less so in light of the broader benefit that expelling meddling humans (Lukaš's mother, Kylyna, and her offspring) brings to the forest ecosystem. The closing tableau of Lukaš dying, while leaning against the arboreal Mavka, is bitter-sweet given the continuation of nature despite both human and nonhuman loss.

Horbolis provides a helpful overview of the emerging field of Ukrainian ecocritical scholarship along with an analysis of LP from an ecocritical perspective, thus confirming

¹ Cundy's translation of LP cited here is easily accessible online through the *University of Toronto's Electronic Library of Ukrainian Literature* (<<http://sites.utoronto.ca/elul/Main-Eng.html>>); the play is also available to anglophone readers in Tkacz and Phipps's newer translation featured in the 2008 bilingual anthology edited by Luchuk (2008).

² Here and afterwards, unless otherwise indicated, the translation is mine (A.A.).

the relevance of Lesja Ukrajinka's work to literary ecocriticism; plays like LP, she argues, lend themselves to an ecocritical reading because they depict "nature's self-sufficiency and human dependence on it" (Horbolis 2011: 6). Unlike Odarčenko, who views the human and natural worlds as antagonistic in Lesja Ukrajinka's drama, Horbolis calls attention to interspecies collaboration (Odarčenko 1994; Horbolis 2011). On the other hand, by focusing on the interrelated depictions of women and nature, an ecofeminist approach reveals the androcentric projection of patriarchy onto the natural world, absent from Horbolis' reading which ignores gender and the materiality of the forest.

After introducing key ecocritical and ecofeminist concepts, this paper discusses the state of ecocriticism in Ukraine. While recognizing many previous contributions to understanding the role of nature and women in LP, the paper offers a pioneering ecofeminist analysis that revises traditional readings of nature by combining them with an awareness of anthropogenic degradation and androcentrism, which is largely responsible for this degradation; it aims to enrich our understanding of the drama by highlighting the deforestation of the Volyn' Polissja at the time of Lesja Ukrajinka's writing and the ecological devastation facing the region today. The paper confirms Lesja Ukrajinka's environmentalism and feminism while, at the same time, exposing the ways in which she represents the nonhuman forest world as mimicking and perniciously reinforcing human gender hierarchies.

1. *Key Ecocritical and Ecofeminist Concepts*

In Glotfelty's seminal definition, ecocriticism is "the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment" (Glotfelty 1996: xviii). According to Buell, "an individual text must be thought of as environmentally embedded at every stage from its germination to its reception"; Buell's notion of the "environmental unconscious" suggests that a text's "environmentality" is "always both partial and greater than one notices at first look" (Buell 2005: 84). Place is a key concept for ecocriticism because it "gestures in at least three directions at once – toward environmental materiality, toward social perception or construction, and toward individual affect or bond" (Buell 2005: 62-3). Regardless of individual differences, "all ecological criticism shares the fundamental premise that human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and affected by it". As a critical approach to reading literature, "it has one foot in literature and the other on land; as a theoretical discourse, it negotiates between the human and the nonhuman [...] expand[ing] the notion of 'the world' to include the entire ecosphere" (Glotfelty 1996: xix).

Literary studies have been criticized for having a limited humanistic vision and anthropocentric bias, which long precluded the discipline from addressing the broader environmental crisis; responding to this, Love urged scholars to redirect their attention from "ego-consciousness" to "eco-consciousness" which embraces the nonhuman (Love 1990: 205-6). For Glotfelty, *eco-* "implies interdependent communities, integrated systems, and strong connections among constituent parts" (Glotfelty 1996: xx). As a branch of the environmental humanities, recent literary ecocriticism has stressed the need to understand

“the multiple forms of ecodegradation that afflict planet Earth today”; ecocritics claim that “the outside-the-box thought experiments of literature and other media can offer unique resources for activating concern and creative thinking about the planet’s environmental future” (Buell *et al.* 2011: 418). Heise, for example, notes environmental nonfiction’s reliance on the themes and narrative strategies of speculative fiction, arguing that “the Anthropocene itself can be understood as a science fiction trope” (Heise 2016: 18). Underscoring the importance of public engagement in conservation, she insists that “biodiversity, endangered species, and extinction are primarily cultural issues, questions of what we value and what stories we tell” (Heise 2016: 5).

Combining commitment to the environment with an awareness of how patriarchal forces have in the past and continue to shape both nature and women, ecofeminism is “a theoretical discourse whose theme is the link between the oppression of women and the domination of nature” (Glotfelty 1996: xxiv). This includes the material link between the exploitation of women and natural resources (Buell *et al.* 2011: 425). Gaard describes the ideological underpinnings of ecofeminism as follows: “the ideology which authorizes oppressions such as those based on race, class, gender, sexuality, physical abilities, and species is the same ideology which sanctions the oppression of nature”; accordingly, “no attempt to liberate women [...] will be successful without an equal attempt to liberate nature” (Gaard 1993: 1). Building on Chodorow and Gilligan’s work on gender, Gaard argues that women’s “interconnected self” privileges “an ethic of responsibilities or care”, in contrast to the male “disconnected sense of self” that lies “most assuredly at the roots of the current ecological crisis (not to mention being the root cause of all oppression, which is based on difference)”. Ecofeminists identify “the self/ other opposition” and the nature/ culture dualism with hierarchy, exposing how “feminizing nature and naturalizing or animalizing women has served as justification for the domination of women, animals, and the earth”; therefore, rather than difference, they emphasize “the fundamental interconnectedness of all life” (Gaard 1993: 2-3, 5).

Whereas ecocriticism targets anthropocentrism, ecofeminism sees anthropocentrism as a symptom of a more pervasive and destructive androcentrism:

The realization that the exploitation of nature is intimately linked to Western Man’s attitude toward women and tribal cultures or, in Ariel Salleh’s words, that there is a parallel in men’s thinking between their “right” to exploit nature, on the one hand, and the use they make of women, on the other (Birkeland 1993: 18).

Birkeland calls this “Man’s ecocidal behavior” (Birkeland 1993: 19). Human and non-human liberations are interconnected and mandate “changing from a morality based on ‘power over’ to one based on reciprocity and responsibility (‘power to’),” so as to expose the assumptions that perpetuate patriarchy and challenge the sexist conception of masculinity, which rejects and denigrates the “feminine” (Birkeland 1993: 19). Applying political and activist perspectives like Gaard’s to texts, literary ecocritics expose phallogocentric biases while recovering marginalized voices. The relationship between aesthetically- and ideolog-

ically-motivated eco-critique, as between theory and praxis, particularly theory's capacity to change material practices, continues to be debated by feminists and ecocritics alike (e.g., Estok's essay in Gaard *et al.* 2013).

As Gaard notes in *Ecofeminism Revisited* (2011), since the publication of *Ecofeminism* (1993), feminist critics in environmental humanities have variously reframed their scholarship as "global feminist environmental justice", "material feminisms", "queer ecology", or "feminist environmentalism", in part to reflect intersectional developments in postcolonial, animal, queer, feminist, and gender studies (Gaard *et al.* 2013: 2-3). Gaard, Estok, and Oppermann's *International Perspectives in Feminist Ecocriticism* (2013) places feminist eco-critique into global and posthuman contexts, demonstrating its ongoing relevance in an age of ecological crisis (Gaard *et al.* 2013). Notable, however, is the absence of Eastern and Central European representation in this volume.

Informed by Gaard and Murphy's guiding questions for ecofeminist literary criticism (Gaard, Murphy 1998: 7), the following analysis of Lesja Ukrajinka's LP:

- a) makes visible the projection of patriarchal structure onto the natural world under the guise of "harmony", by examining how the authority of male figures, such as Lisovyk (Forest Elf) or "*Toi ščo v skali sydyt*" ('He Who Dwells in Rock'), shapes Mavka's forest culture;
- b) explores the connections among humans, nonhuman forest spirits, and animals, with the differences and loyalties not always aligned along species lines; and
- c) offers a more comprehensive reading of gender and nature, by introducing the material contexts of deforestation (due to migration and population growth and, more recently, amber mining) to intervene in the current discourse on climate crisis.

2. *Ecocriticism in Contemporary Ukrainian Studies*

Ecocritical theory was brought into Ukrainian literary studies only recently. Ukrainian researchers were introduced to ecocriticism, along with several other methodologies, in a 2008 Ukrainian translation of Barry's *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory* (1995) (Horbolis 2011: 5)³. Although the terminological apparatus and critical debates about culture / nature and human / nonhuman relations are not yet fully adapted in the Ukrainian context, an ecocritical approach is relevant to Ukrainian literature (Horbolis 2011: 5-6). The works of several Ukrainian critics (Kostomarov, Čyževs'kyj, Malanjuk, Lypa, Vaščenko, Janiv, Mirčuk) demonstrate what Horbolis sees as important ecocritical elements even though these works do not explicitly mention an "ecological approach": in these works, "the geographical factor is represented as one of the coordinators of lifestyle, thought, worldview, the ecological culture of Ukrainian people, their immer-

³ Barry admits in the introduction to his monograph that he does not attempt to be comprehensive; the diverse field of ecocriticism is reduced to a single chapter of 20 pages.

sion in the ancestral tradition, and religious morals, all of which are fundamentally related to natural biorhythms” (Horboldis 2011: 6; cf. Sukhenko 2015: 36). A nationally-oriented ecocritical approach must therefore begin with identifying and interpreting ancient beliefs about preserving nature, including beliefs that harming nature goes against ancestral traditions, and ethical ideas that emphasize the value of all living beings (Horboldis 2011: 6). Thus, Horboldis proposes an ecocriticism that valorizes ancient beliefs, is retrospective, rather than forward-looking and engaged in environmental advocacy, and is primarily textual, rather than political.

Sukhenko, on the other hand, stresses the role of contemporary Ukrainian literary studies in directing public attention toward ecological issues at a time when environmental protection is sorely needed (Sukhenko 2015: 33). Sukhenko traces the origins of Ukrainian ‘ecological aesthetics,’ a separate branch of eco-centered literary criticism, to the 1970s and 1980s⁴, a period of environmental crisis in the Soviet Union precipitated by “the dynamic growth of the country’s industrial zones and the destructive use of natural resources, which was an extreme threat to human life as well as a way of demolishing cultural memory” (Sukhenko 2015: 35). Writing four years after Horboldis, she recognizes that “the ecocritical movement in Ukraine is at its dawning point” (Sukhenko 2015: 36). While ecocritical theory may be a recent addition, Ukraine’s cultural tradition was “deeply attached to the natural world”; however, the adoption of Christianity, with its anthropocentric attitudes, and intercultural encounters with Western Europe brought “more detached and destructively materialist attitudes toward nature” (Sukhenko 2015: 33). Sukhenko attributes “Ukraine’s bilateral character” to “the conflict between industrialization in Ukraine’s territories and historically and ethnically rooted nature-oriented spirituality” – in other words, between antiquity’s pagan nature-worship and modernity’s technologically-oriented demands (Sukhenko 2015: 34). Contemporary ecological ethics requires reigniting Slavic nature-centered beliefs, which “emphasized a non-dualistic understanding of the relationships between humans and the non-human world and stressed the equal value of all living creatures”, which runs contrary to “the sense of humans’ dominant role in human-nature relations in what has come to be contemporary Ukraine” (Sukhenko 2015: 34-35).

Whereas Sukhenko’s approach recognizes the urgent need for environmental discourse to intervene in public policy, Horboldis’ falls under what in the West has been called “first-wave ecocriticism”, meant to reconnect humans with the natural world by reactivating “a primordial link between human and nonhuman”, as compared to “second-wave ecocritics”, who advocate for a “social ecocriticism”, a more inclusive field to accommodate both “natural” and urban environments (Buell 2005: 23). This partly explains Horboldis’ uncritical acceptance of nature’s “harmony” in LP, which she ties retrospectively to Ukraine’s mythological worldview, along with her failure to consider the text’s gendered and material aspects, including its environmental embeddedness in a history of deforestation and eco-degradation.

⁴ In fact, ecological discussions may be traced to the late 1960s and Oles’ Hončar’s novel *Sobor* (*The Cathedral*, 1968): see Pavlyshyn 1988.

3. *Ecofeminism in Lisova pisnja*

The longing for an imagined past of indigenous ecological interconnectivity, mentioned by Sukhenko and Horbolis, can inform an eco-reading of LP. The play, as Lesja Ukrajinka wrote in an often-quoted letter to her mother in early 1912, was inspired by her childhood memories of Mavka, one of many mythic creatures native to Polissja (Ohnjeva 2007: 109). Lesja Ukrajinka “was simply reminded of our forests and longed for them” (Odarčenko 1994: 133). Polissja, Ukraine’s ‘forest belt’, was experiencing deforestation at the turn of the 20th century. The trees most prominent in the drama, willows and birches, are typical of Polissja’s lowland swamps (Stech *et al.* 2001). Humans and nonhumans join in the preservation of the ancient oak, the second most common tree in the region, which is later felled by Kylyna, Mavka’s foil. The oak is chosen for good reason: sacred to the Slavs, it traditionally symbolizes light, life, and eternal being; oak leaves are often incorporated into folk textile ornamentation to signify good health and long life, serving as an *obereh* (amulet) to protect its bearer from misfortune.

Already in the *Prologue*, Lesja Ukrajinka draws attention to the “dense and hoary primeval forest in Volhynia”, the heart of which is “dotted with willows and one very old oak”, a place “wild and mysterious but not gloomy, filled with the tender, pensive beauty of Polissye, the wooded part of the province of Volhynia” (FS: 169-170)⁵. An ecocritical look at Polissja’s history helps explain the urgency with which Mavka intervenes in Lukaš’s attempt to cut the birch. From 1856 to 1914, the population of Polissja increased by 180 percent due to natural growth and the migration of various native and foreign people, who purchased partitioned estates; nearly one-third of the forest was cleared for farming (Stech *et al.* 2001). “As a result of deforestation, mostly in the second half of the 19th century, and the growth of swamps, forests now occupy scarcely one-third of the land area” (Stech *et al.* 2001). Currently, the region is facing an environmental crisis precipitated by amber mining, its illegal extraction estimated at 300 tons annually (II2 Agency 2018).

Turhan notes that the forest in Lesja Ukrajinka’s drama “must be conserved, not conquered” (Turhan 2000, cited in Horbolis 2011: 7). Horbolis provides a more detailed discussion, homing in on “the problem of organic connectivity between humanity and nature” and “the question of nature conservation” (Horbolis 2011: 7). LP, she says, depicts two worlds: “the world of people, burdened by mundane problems and the world of nature, which is free and harmoniously ordered” (Horbolis 2011: 7), as indicated by their representative perspectives:

LUKAŠ

I never knew that trees could talk like that.

I thought they were but speechless growing things.

⁵ “Старезний, густий, предковичний ліс на Волині. Посеред лісу простора галява з плакучою березою і з великим престарим дубом. [...] Містина вся дика, таємнича, але не попура,—повна ніжної, задумливої поліської краси” (LP: 439).

MAVKA

In all the forest there is nothing mute (FS: 185)⁶.

The latter is “a world of harmony, where the cult of freedom prevails” (Horbolis 2011: 7).

The two worlds, Horbolis suggests, need not be in conflict as they have much in common: “they can live in harmony, complement each other, in accordance with accepted moral and ethical standards, adhering to ancient traditions” (Horbolis 2011: 8). Thus Horbolis idealizes what is, actually, a more complex and, in many ways, *not* beautiful (super) natural world, where imps like the malicious Kuc', Rusalka (water nymph), and Lost Babes (poterčata) must be checked by Lisovyk lest they harm all the humans they encounter. While this enchanted forest may not be “red in tooth and claw”, it is hardly innocent: at Rusalka's prodding, the Lost Babes try to drown Lukaš in the mire, Vodjanyk (Water Goblin) nearly overturns Lev's boat (as nature revolts even against those who respect it), and Perelesnyk (“Will-o'-the-Wisp”, *ignis fatuus*) sets Kylyna's hut on fire, not to mention Lisovyk's dreadful transformation of Lukaš into a werewolf. In the Prologue, which Horbolis gives as an early example of how “forest dwellers preserve the wealth of their cathedral, constantly tending to its beauty” (Horbolis 2011: 7), “*Toj, ščo hrebli rve*” (‘He Who Rends the Dikes’) boasts about destroying human attempts at controlling “wild waters”: “All the villages are quaking // As the dikes and dams I'm breaking” (FS: 170)⁷. This boyish spirit also “rends” the lake ecosystem, scaring indigenous wildlife, thrashing weeds and reeds, startling birds, and disrupting the willows' root systems (FS: 174).

Besides being inhabited by supernatural figures, the forest is also personified: for example, “the rustling of leaves [...], a sound as though someone were sighing in his sleep” (FS: 211)⁸. From an ecofeminist perspective, such anthropomorphism reveals, on the one hand, the veneration of nature and, on the other, an anthropocentric projection of human traits onto a nonhuman environment (some characters, however, like “*Toj, ščo hrebli rve*”, are more elemental than others). Such projection includes the replication of the patriarchal authority of older male figures: Lev, Lisovyk, and Vodjanyk. Rusalka calls the latter her “father” or “parent” (*bat'ko*) and Lisovyk, her grandfather (*didus'*); Lisovyk, in turn, calls Mavka “daughter” (*dočka*) (LP: 451, 449, 451). In his domineering attitude toward Rusalka in the Prologue, Vodjanyk anticipates that of Lisovyk toward Mavka; beckoning her to stay away from “*Toj, ščo hrebli rve*”, Vodjanyk couches his paternalism in caring terms: “I do this for your sake // That vagabond would simply ruin you” (FS: 177)⁹. In fact, Mavka is weary of being controlled by her “grandfather dear” as much as Rusalka is by Vodjanyk; Lisovyk's response is a stern warning:

⁶ “Лукаш. А я й не знав, що в них така розмова, // я думав дерево німе, та й годі. // Мавка. Німого в лісі в нас нема нічого” (LP: 455).

⁷ “[...] всі гребельки зриваю, // всі гатки, всі запруды” (LP: 439).

⁸ “[...] тільки часом легкий шелест чується в гаю, мов зітхання у сні” (LP: 485).

⁹ “Чудна ти, дочко! Я ж про тебе дбаю. // Таж він тебе занапастив би тільки” (LP: 447).

[...] while I
 Respect your freedom. Go! sport with the wind,
 Play all you like with wild Will-o'-the-Wisp;
 Allure all spirits to yourself, be they
 Of water, forest, mountain, field, or air;
 But keep afar from human pathways, child;
 You'll find no freedom there, but woes instead,
 To clog your steps and weigh you down. [...] (FS: 183)¹⁰.

Lisovyk claims he is “used to respecting freedom” as he directs Mavka to “play” and “amuse herself” with supernatural males, but to shun human ones (LP: 453). When Mavka no longer wishes to cavort with humans, belatedly heeding his advice, it is he who helps her shed sorely acquired human garb for the festive robes of a Forest Queen, suggesting that women’s empowerment requires the help of older males and hinges upon obeying their directives. An ecofeminist reading thus exposes a tension that a purely ecocritical one like Horbolis’ might otherwise miss. Gruen reminds us that “[t]here is no natural hierarchy; human hierarchy is projected on to nature and then used to justify social domination” (Gruen 1993: 80). This is less a challenge to Lesja Ukrajinka’s feminism than a confirmation of patriarchy’s pervasive reach.

Further, Uncle Lev’s familial relationship is marked by his very name (*djad’ko*). In the gendering of authority, it is noteworthy that of the three, Lev is avuncular rather than paternal: the celibate uncle who queers the superimposition of a heteronormative family structure upon the world of nature. It is his position, adjacent to Lukaš and his mother, but not part of their nuclear family, that makes Lev a unique figure in human / nonhuman relations, allowing him to develop loyalties to both while maintaining perspective. Lev cautiously encourages Lukaš’s relationship with Mavka, for example, but defends her adamantly to Lukaš’s mother; he helps the family build a hut, but fights to keep the old oak from being felled. In a ‘first-wave’ ecocritical fashion that does not acknowledge the character’s social embeddedness, Horbolis describes Lev’s conservation approach as harking back to a time “when people still saw themselves as part of the world’s organic whole and the preservation of the environment was a vital necessity” (Horbolis 2011: 9). Lev’s attitude of “ecological competency” stems from “the primal unity with nature” which has been “[p]reserved in [his] subconscious” and “deepens the spiritual connection between the character and the oak. Uncle Lev is part of nature; he loves it” (Horbolis 2011: 9). Horbolis compares the depiction of nature in the drama to a “big family, where established laws and norms rule and control relationships” (Horbolis 2011: 8). Indeed, the willow is Mavka’s mother, the meadow – her father, the birch – her sister. Yet as a projection of a narrow

¹⁰ “Ні, дитинко, // я не держу тебе. То Водяник // в драговині цупкій привик од віка // усе живе засмокувати. Я // звик волю шанувати. Грайся з вітром, // жартуй із Перелесником, як хочеш, // всю силу лісову і водяну, // гірську й повітряну приваб до себе, // але минай людські стежки, дитино, // бо там не ходить воля [...]” (LP: 453).

bourgeois notion of family, the complex world of LP's supernatural forest turns out to be an anthropo- and androcentric fantasy related to Polissja's material existence in name only, the play's anthropomorphic characterization in tension with the Prologue's environmentally grounded description.

Other male characters exemplify predatorial masculinist traits in their pursuit of female forest spirits, even at the detriment of others and their surroundings. "*Toj, ščo brebli rve*" is willing to disrupt the ecosystem, churning out all the water, just to find Rusalka, "*tu vrodu*" ('that beauty'), compelling poterčata to plead with him to control his savage behavior; this toxicity is, however, partly dispelled by Rusalka's playful coquettishness (LP: 440, 442). Perelesnyk, a handsome youth in crimson clothing with flowing hair and glowing eyes, enters the scene, as per the stage directions, wanting to embrace Mavka, efforts which she both physically and verbally defies; she rejects his insinuations about her seeking him out in the oak grove (LP: 463-65). While in the earlier scenes Perelesnyk acts as an archetypal seducer, it is also he who saves her from being axed by Klylyna, once she has transformed into a willow, by embracing and thus setting the tree on fire; this fire rapidly spreads to and engulfs Lukaš's hut (LP: 533).

A very different masculine force, "*Toj ščo v skali sydyt*" ("He Who Dwells in Rock") is described as emerging "from under the earth [...] a dark, bulky, awe-inspiring shape" (FS: 236). He orders Perelesnyk to surrender Mavka: "Render to me what is mine" (FS: 236)¹¹. Although Perelesnyk at first arrogantly questions his authority, once Maryšče (the Phantom) makes himself known, the fiery spirit vanishes in fear. Further, that "*Toj ščo v skali sydyt*" possesses tremendous power is implied in Lisovyk's disbelief that Mavka is allowed to leave his dark abode at the start of Act III; Mavka insists that she escaped because she had to undo the consequences of Lisovyk's criminal vengeance against Lukaš, suggesting that love and forgiveness can defy death (LP: 515-16). Lesja Ukrajinca presents here a mysterious infernal power on a par with Hades, but also less anthropomorphized: he has a speaking voice, a black tunic, with which he covers Mavka, and arms, into which she falls with a scream, but no other features (LP: 514). Only a handful of heroes are allowed to come back from the Greek Underworld, making Mavka's return exceptional and perhaps akin to that of Persephone, who is similarly identified with nature. Still, although Maryšče is neuter, the masculine "*Toj*" suggests a possessive powerful male figure, who both verbally demands Mavka's body and physically carries her, a victim, in his arms into the earth¹². When she reemerges, Mavka is fundamentally changed: Lisovyk and Kuc' ask to confirm her identity, and she herself admits to being overwhelmed by 'a winter sleep' ("*Zymovyj son*") (LP: 515, 518, 523).

¹¹ "[...] з -під землі з'являється темне, широке, страшне Марище"; "Віддай мені моє. Пустити її" (LP: 518).

¹² For a feminist analysis of patriarchal co-option by another 'stone' figure in Ukrajinca's *Kamynnyj hospodar*, see Aheieva 1999.

Yet, not all the agents of patriarchy are male. When Lukaš's mother orders Mavka to make herself useful by cutting the rye, threatening to replace her with "a daughter-in-law [who can] help", she effectively pits Mavka against her biological kin, her 'sister' Rusalka Połova. Mavka responds to the latter's appeal to blood (both the literal shedding of blood by cutting and their symbolic bond as forest folk) by admitting that she is "no longer free" to oblige: "I'd gladly do as you have prayed, // But I'm no longer free, this duty I daren't shirk" (FS: 221)¹³. By this time Mavka has already changed her dress upon the mother's request, who found Mavka's indigenous look, "richly decked with flowers and her hair hanging loose", "rubbish" and "[n]ot practical at all for working in" (FS: 213)¹⁴. Mavka agrees to change into her dead daughter's clothes, a symbolic death to her own identity as a free spirit. When she first enters the scene, Mavka is wearing "a bright green garment", and her hair is described as "black" with "a greenish sheen", "hanging loose"; she gives up this lush vernal attire and flowing hair (a mark of freedom) by donning a poorly fitting, mended shirt with a faded apron, more suitable for a beggar than a bride, and arranges her hair in ethnic style: "a blouse of coarse material, poorly made and patched in places, a scanty skirt and a faded apron", with her hair "now smoothly combed and made into two plaits which are wound around her head" (FS: 181, 215)¹⁵. Along with the political resonance of giving up liberties to assimilate, these seemingly innocent acts (social decorum, agriculture) amount to the woman's subjectification and the instrumentalization of nature for resources. Even before being prodded, Mavka contributed to the household by bringing wood to build the hut and helping milk the cows, sow the fields, and plant the flowers. Kylyna, Mavka's foil, combines both vectors of oppression: she arrives fully dressed in traditional Ukrainian garb suited for a married woman or *molodycja*, with head covered ("wearing a red kerchief with fringes, a dark red skirt with narrow and regular pleating, and a similarly pleated apron [...] Her bodice is tightly laced around her plump torso"), and proceeds to reap the rye "furiously" moments after Mavka's refusal (FS: 222-23)¹⁶. The pleats on her clothing, described as 'even' or 'straight' ("*rivno*"), and the bodice's 'tight' ("*tisno*") fit suggest constraint – which, in Kylyna's case, appears self-imposed; she fashions herself in a way that adheres to androcentric, heterosexist standards that appeal to Lukaš (and his mother), at

¹³ "Рада б я волю вволити, // тільки ж сама я не маю вже волі" (LP: 496).

¹⁴ "Мавка виходить з лісу пишно завітчана, з розпущеними косами. [...] І що се за манаття на тобі? // Воно ж і не вигідне при роботі. // Я маю дещо там з дочки-небіжки, // піди вберися" (LP: 481).

¹⁵ "[...] Мавка, в яснозеленій одежі з розпущеними чорними, з зеленим полиском, косами"; "[...] на їй сорочка з десятки, скупо пошита і латана на плечах, вузька спідничина з набиванки і полинялий фартух з димки, волосся гладко зачесане у дві коси і заложене навколо голови" (LP: 451, 489).

¹⁶ "[...] в червоній хустці з торочками, в бурячкової спідниці, дрібно та рівно зафалдованій; так само зафалдований і зелений фартух [...] міцна крайка тісно перетягає стан" (LP: 497).

least prior to his exposure to and internalization of a radically different worldview through the eyes and body of a werewolf.

In their discussions of LP, both Odarčenko and Horbolis delineate the differences between the human and forest worlds; Horbolis aptly observes that the two worlds are interconnected, rather than painting them as antagonistic, though the examples she gives have more to do with appearances than shared labor or care (Odarčenko 1994; Horbolis 2011)¹⁷. One limitation of Horbolis' reading lies in its uncritical acceptance of social hierarchy superimposed on nature: she notes the importance of order established through laws and norms which "must be obeyed and observed for the natural world to operate, with each inhabitant fulfilling their function in ordering and preserving the environment"; humans are "guests" who disrupt this order (Horbolis 2011: 8-9). By building dams, they interfere with the free flow of water; by cutting down trees, they disturb the rich fauna that lives within. But the forest inhabitants are, at times, equally disruptive and destructive; many of them exhibit aggressive masculinist behaviors or participate in and perpetuate patriarchal authority that seems contrary to a freedom-loving wilderness.

The complexity of the forest world is matched by that of the human. Lev is not the only liminal character with ties to both; by the end Lukaš gets close to what ecofeminists call an "interconnected self", becoming a protean figure, having had human and animal embodiment and experience, and presumably better able to appreciate what Gaard describes as "the fundamental interconnectedness of all life" (Gaard 1993: 2-3). Absent from Horbolis' discussion, Lukaš's temporary transformation into a werewolf following his betrayal of Mavka is treated by Odarčenko as purely symbolic, related to the dramatic tension (Lukaš's choice) between high ideals (Mavka) and the baseness of materialistic life (Lukaš's mother, Kylyna) (Odarčenko 1994: 134). Odarčenko sees the hero's loss of human identity to become 'a werewolf, a madman' ("*vovkulakoju, boževil'nym*") as a failure, reading the betrayal as his abandoning "the highest sphere of human activity for the sake of primitive mundanity" (Odarčenko 1994: 134). There is some evidence of this in the text: Lisovyk dismissively refers to the morphed Lukaš as "nothing but a savage wolf" ("*vovkulaka dykyj*"); when Kylyna castigates her husband for leaving them to "grub here in the forest like the wolves" ("*jak vovkylaky*"), she draws a comparison that Lukaš would rather stifle (FS: 239, 248-9; LP: 516, 527). The implication is that Lukaš experiences something dreadful, but not meaningless. More than other tropes, figures of animals are associated in the "environmental imagination [...] with underlying tensions and stark contradictions: Animals are evolutionarily connected more closely to humans than other parts of nature, but they are also often represented as being separated from humans by a fundamental boundary" (Buell *et*

¹⁷ Horbolis cites Mavka's observation that humans mate for life, like doves; Lukaš's decorating Mavka's hair with fireflies; and his mother's praising Mavka for planting beautiful flowers (Horbolis 2011: 8). Examples that foreground the forest's materiality include: Lisovyk allowing Lukaš to make his pipe out of dead trees and recognizing Lev's efforts to conserve the mighty oak. Even when he is indifferent to Mavka, Lukaš agrees to use 'dead wood'.

al. 2011: 430). An animal studies *cum* ecocritical reading suggests that by surrendering his humanity and channeling the beast¹⁸ – who is part of the (super)natural forest the play celebrates – Lukaš is able to meaningfully reevaluate his relationship to Mavka and to nature. As he falls humbly at her feet when turned back to human form, Mavka says Lukaš “[s]ank down before me, like a maple [twisted] [translation amended]” – an arboreal simile that entangles the human with the nonhuman (FS: 240)¹⁹.

Similarly, critics who treat Mavka as a symbol *only* run the risk of negating her corporeality and the materiality of the trees with which she is identified. Ohnjeva notes that Mavka assumes the traits of “the Great mother-goddess” and “the Cosmos”; the birch with which she is united, in turn, represents the tree of life, knowledge, and the world (Ohnjeva 2007: 115, 127, 122-23). By reorienting the reading toward transhistorical mythopoeia, such symbolic violence erases both Mavka’s physical womanhood and the reality of Polissja’s deforestation – which the current rereading has attempted to recover.

4. Conclusion

This paper is part of a broader effort to introduce feminist ecocriticism to the discussion of Ukrainian symbolist and modernist literature. By offering an ecofeminist analysis of LP, the specific goal is to revise traditional readings which, while focusing on femininity and nature, typically allegorize both and largely ignore the embodiedness of women and the materiality of the environments they inhabit. An ecofeminist analysis that addresses the construction of gender in conjunction with anthropogenic degradation offers, therefore, a new approach to Lesja Ukrajinka’s well-documented feminism, demonstrating that even the poet’s (post)romantic vision of the forest, with its vibrant supernatural culture, is not immune to the noxious reach of human gender hierarchies. Furthermore, such an analysis reveals the significant ways in which LP intervenes not only in the environmental concerns of its own day, but also in the climate crisis of the late 1960s-1980s, which inspired early ecological writing in Ukraine and is also reflected in the drama’s many film adaptations, including Viktor Ivčenko’s *Lisova pisnja* (1961), Jurij Illjenko’s *Lesnaja pesnja. Mavka* (1980), and A. Gračeva’s animated *Lesnaja pesn’* (1976). In fact, Lesja Ukrajinka’s environmental message is all the more urgent given the devastation in Polissja today, the region ravaged by illegal amber mining.

We can admit that LP is anthropocentric at the same time as we celebrate its eco-consciousness; these are not mutually exclusive. As Boddice reminds us, humanist projects originate with humans but can avoid being biased against other species: “This is not anthropocentrism as chauvinism, or prejudice (i.e. not anthropocentrism), but anthropocen-

¹⁸ Lukaš’s name puns on *lykos*, the ancient Greek for ‘wolf’, something Ukrajinka would have known as she read ancient Greek and loved Greek mythology (e.g., the *Odyssey*’s Autolykus).

¹⁹ “[...] упав мені до ніг, мов ясьень втятий...” (LP: 517). Cundy’s ‘felled’ suggests human ruination rather than natural deformation.

trism as a non-optional starting point” (Boddice 2011: 12-13). Lesja Ukrajinka’s fairy-drama opposes an “anthropocentric” worldview despite this “starting point”. The early scene of thwarted tree-cutting to make a *sopilka* is bookended by Mavka’s recognition of human / nonhuman symbiosis: Lukaš “gave to [her] a soul, as the sharp knife // Gives to the willow twig a tender voice” (FS: 259)²⁰. The ‘happy smile’ (“*ščaslyvyj usmich*”) on Lukaš frozen lips in the final tableau, following the humans’ expulsion and the destruction of the home he constructed from felled trees, implies reconciliation and humility before nature (LP: 539).

Still, it is worth underscoring how LP reinforces the historical connection between women, nature, and ethnos, rather than accepting it as an unmitigated celebration of all three. Already noted is the use of ethnic Ukrainian costume to designate constraint, which runs contrary to traditional readings of Lesja Ukrajinka’s nationalism – the implication being, perhaps, that cultural heritage must be embraced, not forced (in Mavka’s case), and worn for one’s proud self rather than to secure a husband (as does Kylyna). The rhetorical comparisons of women to animals are similarly fraught. Mavka is, for example, compared to a squirrel when she rushes to save Lukaš from drowning; when trying to dissuade him from trusting her rival, she compares Kylyna to a ‘sly’ otter (“*lukava, jak vydra*”) and a ‘predatory’ lynx (“*chyža, nače rys*”), thus judging the human by denigrating the nonhuman (LP: 481, 502). The essentializing of animals, however time-honored, works against the broader theme of nonhuman empowerment, as, in the words of Gaard, “naturalizing or animalizing women has served as justification for the domination of women, animals, and the earth” (Gaard 1993: 5). Indeed, a further avenue for research might include the depiction of animals²¹, which is “[o]ften intertwined with critical discussions of place” (Buell *et al.* 2011: 430), and the peculiar absence of animal characters, with animality relegated to rhetorical use. What might such a depiction mean for the displaced wildlife of Polissja, both at the time of Lesja Ukrajinka’s writing and now?

Abbreviations

- FS: L. Ukrainka, *Forest Song*, in: Ead., *Spirit of Flame: A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka*, transl. by P. Cundy, New York 1950, cfr. <<http://sites.utoronto.ca/elul/English/Ukrainka/Ukrainka-Forest-Song.pdf>> (latest access 2.2.21).
- LP: L. Ukrainka, *Lisova pisnja*, in: Ead., *Vybrane*, Kyjiv 1955, pp. 438-539.

²⁰ “[...] ти душу дав мені, як гострий ніж // дає вербовій тихій гілці голоє” (LP: 538).

²¹ As with ecocriticism, little work has been done in animal studies by Ukrainianists in the West or in Ukraine. For a recent collection, see Plach 2018.

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Abstract

Anastasiya Andrianova

Mavka as Willow. An Ecofeminist Analysis of Lesja Ukrajinka's Forest Song

Lesja Ukrajinka's *Lisova pisnja* (1911) can be read as an eco-parable about Mavka, the forest nymph who transforms into a willow tree in danger of being felled. This paper provides a pioneering ecofeminist analysis of *Lisova pisnja*; it revises traditional approaches to the depiction of nature in the drama by combining them with an awareness of anthropogenic environmental degradation (the deforestation of the Volyn' Polissja where it is set) and androcentrism, which is largely responsible for this degradation. After a brief review of key concepts in ecocriticism and ecofeminism, along with an overview of the state of eco-scholarship in Ukrainian studies and the scholarship on Lesja Ukrajinka within Ukrainian literary criticism, the paper analyzes the interrelated depiction of gender and nature, revealing Ukrajinka's environmentalism and feminism and, at the same time, the ways in which she represents the world of the forest as mimicking and perniciously reinforcing human gender hierarchies.

Keywords

Deforestation; Ecocriticism; Ecofeminism; Lesja Ukrajinka.

Tamara Hundorova

Nuove prospettive e ombre antiche. Rileggere Lesja Ukrajinka

Il centocinquantenario anniversario della nascita della grande scrittrice ucraina Larysa Kosač, nota con lo pseudonimo di Lesja Ukrajinka (1871-1913), ha focalizzato l'attenzione degli studiosi sulla sua personalità, incoraggiando l'applicazione di nuove metodologie e indirizzi di ricerca. Molti sono stati, in Ucraina e all'estero, i convegni e le nuove pubblicazioni dedicati alla sua vita e ai vari aspetti della sua scrittura. Gli articoli che vengono presentati in questo fascicolo della rivista "Studi slavistici", organo dell'Associazione Italiana degli Slavisti, offrono un importante contributo agli studi sulla scrittrice di cui si celebra il giubileo. Opera di ben noti specialisti provenienti da varie parti del mondo – Alessandro Achilli dall'Italia, Anastasiya Andrianova dagli Stati Uniti, Marko Pavlyshyn dall'Australia, Svitlana Kočerha e Oleksandra Vysyč dall'Ucraina – questi articoli segnano una nuova tappa nell'interpretazione dell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka: applicando metodologie e criteri di analisi innovativi, non ancora sufficientemente consolidati nella critica dedicata alla scrittrice, quali la critica postcoloniale, gli studi intermediali e l'ecocritica, questi contributi introducono nuovi elementi di discussione e propongono letture alternative di singole opere della scrittrice ucraina. Essi hanno altresì il merito di inserire il retaggio artistico di Lesja Ukrajinka nel contesto metodologico degli studi letterari internazionali.

Nella tradizione critica ucraina l'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka ha dato origine a varie scuole teoriche in vari periodi: di particolare rilievo sono state la corrente critica accademica 'neoclassica' degli anni Venti del XX secolo (rappresentata fra gli altri da Viktor Petrov, Borys Jakubs'kyj e Oleksandr Bilec'kyj) e, più recentemente, a partire dagli anni Novanta del secolo scorso, la tendenza femminista (rappresentata da Solomija Pavlyčko, Vira Ahejeva e Nila Zborovs'ka). In questa sede mi soffermerò su tre questioni metodologiche e interpretative che ritengo essenziali.

1. *Post-orientalismo o orientalismo? Lesja l'«ucraina» o Lesja la «straniera»?*

Gli articoli di S. Kočerha e di M. Pavlyshyn sono dedicati al tema dell'orientalismo nell'opera della scrittrice. Questa tipologia di ricerca, ancora poco sviluppata negli studi su Lesja Ukrajinka, si sta appena affermando (Ohnjeva 2008). L'orientalismo è invece molto presente nell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka e offre un campo di studi estremamente interessante sia a livello di tematiche e di personaggi, sia a livello biografico, avendo la scrittrice, affetta

da tubercolosi fin dalla prima giovinezza, trascorso molti anni in oriente, in particolare in Egitto e nel Caucaso.

È interessante rilevare che i due studiosi concordano sul fatto che Lesja Ukrajinka non abbia affrontato solo questioni di orientalizzazione letteraria o di esotizzazione dell'Oriente, né abbia solo messo l'accento sulle difficoltà di reciproca comprensione fra Oriente e Occidente, ma abbia anche adottato strategie inverse, analizzando temi e personaggi tipici delle varie posizioni di dominio e di sottomissione che stanno alla base di una situazione coloniale. Questa 'inversione', il modo in cui si attua nelle opere di Lesja Ukrajinka e il senso che vi acquisisce, viene però diversamente interpretata dai due studiosi.

Nel suo articolo *Post-orientalist Discourse in Lesja Ukrajinka's Writing*, S. Kočerha si serve delle moderne letture di stampo post-orientalista (rappresentate soprattutto dai lavori di Hamid Dabashi) per interpretare la personalità della scrittrice come 'intellettuale esule' postcoloniale ('orientale'): una personalità che si trova all'incrocio di varie aree culturali, acquisisce significati molteplici, vede svanire la sua essenza di 'sottomesso' per trasformarsi in un soggetto autonomo che crea i suoi propri significati.

Prendendo l'avvio dalle teorie formulate da Edward Said nel ben noto libro *Orientalism* (1978), Kočerha fa propria l'idea di alcuni studiosi che rilevano un certo utopismo nei punti di vista del critico americano-palestinese: egli non sarebbe riuscito a instaurare un dialogo paritario fra Occidente e Oriente, o ne avrebbe instaurato solo un'imitazione. Il 'conflitto imagologico' che deriva dalla sua impostazione critica risulterebbe semplificato e verrebbe sminuito il valore della concezione stessa dell'orientalismo del critico. Per l'analisi dell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka Kočerha propone pertanto di andare oltre l'anti-orientalismo e il post-colonialismo, cercando un nuovo approccio post-orientalista.

Questa proposta è stata formulata nei paesi del cosiddetto Oriente e sembra rappresentare una risposta alle nuove forme di orientalizzazione che, nel mondo multiculturale e globalizzato, inducono l'*intelligencja* di oggi a riconoscersi nell'intersezione tra vari popoli e culture piuttosto che a identificarsi con uno degli emisferi teorizzati da Said, ossia l'Oriente e l'Occidente.

La proposta di Kočerha acquisisce valore soprattutto in virtù del fatto che Lesja Ukrajinka ha passato la maggior parte della sua vita al di fuori dai confini del proprio paese. Sorgono tuttavia vari interrogativi: Si può veramente dire che la scrittrice sia del tutto estranea alla situazione di soggezione coloniale 'orientale' di cui parla H. Dabashi? E si può dire che si senta del tutto 'a casa propria' là dove in realtà non è 'in casa propria'? Con chi si identifica la scrittrice? È realmente lontana dall'orientalismo' e dai modelli che 'oggettificano' ed 'esotizzano' il mondo orientale? Sono questi alcuni interrogativi che non hanno ricevuto risposte esaurienti e attendono di essere approfonditi.

Concordo con Kočerha che il post-orientalismo rappresenti un nuovo modo di riflettere sulle forme di vita di una cultura diversa. Tuttavia, la formulazione che Kočerha propone nell'articolo qui pubblicato si limita ad affermare che le opere di Lesja Ukrajinka decostruiscono semplicemente l'orientalismo. Pur mettendo in rilievo il genuino interesse della scrittrice per l'oriente, Kočerha la inserisce in modo un po' categorico tra le figu-

re dell'“intellettuale in esilio” che, per dirla con Dabashi, è l'unico capace di comprendere “la specificità dell'incontro fra Ovest ed Est, l'intersezione di idee che risulta da un'esperienza socio-culturale completamente diversa”. A me pare abbastanza arduo definire Lesja Ukrajinka *tout court* una ‘intellettuale in esilio’, oppure anche identificarla semplicemente con l'Oriente: in Egitto Lesja Ukrajinka era piuttosto una turista, così anche in Crimea, mentre del suo soggiorno nel Caucaso ha lasciato sorprendenti testimonianze di comprensione della cultura dei popoli che lì abitavano. D'altra parte, nelle opere e nelle lettere, come giustamente osserva M. Pavlyshyn, si trovano interessanti testimonianze sul processo di esotizzazione dell'Oriente e sull'elaborazione di tradizionali cliché orientali che Lesja Ukrajinka non mancò di attuare.

Se l'approccio metodologico non manca di suscitare interrogativi, va però riconosciuto che l'analisi concreta che Kočerha ci offre delle singole opere (*Rufin e Priscilla*, *Ra Menéis*) effettivamente conferma l'affermazione secondo cui le strategie imagologiche di Lesja Ukrajinka si collocano in primo luogo nella tendenza a invertire le narrazioni eurocentriche, in secondo luogo nel desiderio di dimostrare solidarietà con i popoli orientali soggiogati.

Nell'articolo “*Foreign Woman, Do Not Look!*”. *Spring in Egypt and Lesja Ukrajinka's Confrontation with Orientalism* anche M. Pavlyshyn affronta il tema dell'orientalismo. In un certo senso questi due articoli si integrano a vicenda e mettono in rilievo ciascuno gli aspetti problematici dell'altro. Mentre Kočerha, per definire la persona e l'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka, introduce la categoria del post-orientalismo e sottolinea l'opposizione all'eurocentrismo e l'inversione dell'orientalismo nella scrittrice, Pavlyshyn analizza il complesso intreccio di identificazioni anticoloniali e di confessioni del soggetto lirico, quali esse si manifestano nella poesia *Khamsin* dal ciclo *Vesna v Jehypti* (Primavera in Egitto), del 1910. Pavlyshyn si propone di evidenziare “da una parte la tensione fra la solidarietà anticoloniale con le classi e i popoli oppressi, dall'altra parte l'inestricabile contaminazione tra postulati e atteggiamenti orientalistici e la tradizione dell'Illuminismo europeo”. Va rilevato che l'articolo mette perfettamente in evidenza questa tensione e mette in discussione l'orientalismo non solo a livello imagologico (come sostanzialmente fa Kočerha), ma anche a livello socio-culturale.

In particolare, Pavlyshyn sottolinea come il concetto di ‘colonialità’ funzioni tanto in relazione alle idee di potere e ideologia, quanto in relazione al “complesso inconscio di atteggiamenti e preconcetti, a volte persino bene intenzionati, che derivano dai rapporti di potere” (Marcuse 2004: 809-810). A differenza dell'articolo di Kočerha, nel quale la posizione dell'autrice automaticamente si identifica col soggetto ‘orientale’, Pavlyshyn – indipendentemente dalla sua empatia per il soggiogato e orientalizzato ‘altro’ – prende in considerazione tale soggetto nel più ampio contesto della tradizione razionalista e illuminista occidentale della quale la stessa Lesja Ukrajinka diviene una rappresentante. Nonostante la sua vasta cultura e le sue inclinazioni personali, in quanto intellettuale che si trova nella posizione di soggiogata nella propria ‘casa ucraina’, e quindi empatica verso l'Oriente, Lesja Ukrajinka è vista da Pavlyshyn come “un complesso e affascinante caso di tensione fra la solidarietà anti-coloniale con popoli e classi oppressi e, d'altra parte, un inestricabile intreccio

cio di postulati e atteggiamenti orientalisti e di tradizione illuminista europea”. L’analisi dettagliata dei motivi e delle opposizioni interne del deserto egiziano induce Pavlyshyn a leggere le immagini delle danzatrici e dello harem come rappresentazione di sostanziale orientalismo occidentale. Egli sottolinea altresì la duplice inversione, di genere e di cultura (religione), che la poetessa effettua individuando le complesse relazioni tra Oriente e Occidente: Lesja Ukrajinka, come indicano i suoi giudizi e le sue reazioni, è profondamente convinta di ‘conoscere’ l’Egitto, mentre il poemetto *Khamsin* mette in evidenza proprio l’incapacità di penetrare realmente quel mondo.

Il contrasto risulta più evidente se si analizza la posizione del soggetto lirico che è rappresentato da una persona ‘estranea’ non solo in quanto ‘straniera’ per il demone del deserto, ma anche in quanto ‘diversa’ secondo i parametri della tradizione occidentale. Pavlyshyn infatti mette in relazione la duplicità del soggetto lirico con le idee dell’Illuminismo, in particolare le idee di ‘conoscenza’ e ‘visione’. L’estensione della categoria dell’‘estranea’, la donna straniera, all’intero paradigma occidentale della conoscenza dell’Oriente, è audace: in quest’ottica ambedue peccherebbero di presunzione e ingannerebbero sé stessi quando cercano di sviluppare dei modelli che ‘spiegano’ l’Oriente. *Khamsin* risponde a tale presunzione trattando la ‘straniera’ come del tutto ‘altra’ e minacciandola di accecarla. Con le sue implicite pretese di conoscere l’‘altro orientale’, di dargli un nome e di spiegarlo – conclude Pavlyshyn – l’occhio dell’Occidente si rivela inadeguato.

A questa interpretazione dello studioso australiano si potrebbe ribattere che il soggetto lirico di *Khamsin* – che può essere esteso all’‘estraneo’, o alla ‘straniera’ dell’intero universo poetico di Lesja Ukrajinka – non può essere identificato *tout court* con il ‘punto di vista occidentale’. Nell’opera della poetessa l’immagine del ‘paese straniero’ e dello ‘straniero’ è assai complessa: in essa occupa ampio spazio il suo sradicamento territoriale, biografico e culturale, dal mondo natio, familiare, ucraino. Lesja soffre in modo particolare del fatto che ha vissuto per lo più fuori dall’Ucraina: come scrisse suo marito Klyment Kvitka, temeva di non conoscere l’Ucraina e di non essere quindi in grado di trattare con esattezza e pertinenza tematiche ucraine. E non a caso la critica in Ucraina la rimproverava per il suo ‘esotismo’. Nel poemetto *Khamsin*, fra l’Oriente e la ‘coscienza razionale’ occidentale, si insinua la fantasmagoria della ‘straniera’ con le sue associazioni ucraine (più precisamente della regione della Polesia). Infatti, nella danza del deserto si percepiscono figure simili agli esseri viventi della foresta, si sente il suono del flauto, i rumori della casa natia. Queste figure sembrano essere uscite direttamente dal dramma-*féerie* intitolato *Il canto della foresta*, che era stato scritto poco prima, nel 1911. Nell’assimilazione dell’esotico ‘altro’ con il ben noto ‘proprio’ (qui l’ucrainicità), si cela da una parte la nostalgia per la propria casa di colui o colei che vive fra mondi diversi, dall’altra la tendenza a identificarsi col mondo orientale, con l’‘altra parte’. Torniamo così all’interrogativo che era già stato formulato da Kočerha: qual è l’identità del soggetto lirico Larysa Kosač e qual è il luogo con il quale essa si identifica? Chi è Lesja Ukrajinka? L’‘intellettuale in esilio’, l’‘ucraina’, la ‘straniera’, o tutto questo insieme?

2. *Dal modernismo all'intermedialità, dal femminismo all'ecofemminismo*

Oltre a una lettura post-coloniale delle opere di Lesja Ukrajinka, gli articoli qui raccolti applicano altre metodologie critiche, già ben consolidate, ma aperte alla possibilità di essere integrate o profondamente rivedute.

L'articolo *Intermedial Aspects of Non-finito: Lesja Ukrajinka and Michelangelo* di Oleksandra Visyč offre un'innovativa lettura intermediale di alcune opere della scrittrice. Fino a poco tempo fa, infatti, qualche approccio di questo tipo si limitava a esaminare l'interazione tra musica ed espressione verbale. Lesja Ukrajinka era una buona musicista e ha intessuto di musica tutta la sua creazione letteraria, dal ciclo giovanile intitolato *Sette corde* (1890) fino al *Canto della Foresta* (1911), nel quale inserì alcune melodie popolari. La scrittrice è nota anche per avere registrato e fatto stampare delle raccolte di canti del folclore ucraino.

La scultura non è invece mai stata presa in seria considerazione quale fonte importante delle sue opere. O. Visyč guarda all'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka servendosi della categoria – decisamente innovativa in questo contesto – del *non-finito*: tale categoria metterebbe in rilievo nelle opere incompiute un certo grado di 'ineffabilità' e al tempo stesso 'attualizzerebbe', renderebbe 'leggibile' la risposta psicologica del recipiente, superando le fratture insite nella strutturazione incompleta dell'opera (R. Ingarden e U. Eco potrebbero fornire adeguati supporti teorici a tale interpretazione). Nell'articolo, il *non-finito* dell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka viene focalizzato da una parte per mezzo delle allusioni all'opera di Michelangelo, dall'altro tramite figure e forme scultoree che fanno parte della poetica della scrittrice. L'analisi di Visyč rileva ben 14 opere in prosa e 7 drammi rimasti incompiuti. Pur indicando varie possibili cause per le quali queste opere sono rimaste senza conclusione, l'autrice le considera tutte come esempi di *non-finito*. Questo procedimento mi sembra discutibile, primo perché l'incompiutezza non è in sé una dominante del genere *non-finito*, secondo perché non tutte le opere incompiute di Lesja Ukrajinka possono considerarsi appartenenti a tale genere e sono spesso delle semplici prove letterarie o esercizi di scrittura. Non appare sufficientemente suffragata dall'analisi delle opere l'affermazione di Visyč secondo la quale la categoria del *non-finito* rappresenta "una traiettoria trasversale che diviene evidente a tutti i livelli del testo".

È invece assai convincente, in questo articolo, l'analisi delle opere in cui tematiche legate alla scultura acquistano particolare rilievo. È questo il caso, fra gli altri, del dramma *Lande selvagge* (*U pušči*), concepito nel 1894 ma terminato solo 12 anni dopo. In questa *pièce* poetica lo scultore Richard Iron, insoddisfatto delle prospettive artistiche del suo tempo, cerca nuova ispirazione emigrando in America. Visyč indica come possibile fonte lo scritto sul poeta, pensatore e statista John Milton che Lesja preparava in quegli anni, ma che rimase incompiuto. Il contesto biografico per la creazione di questo dramma potrebbe essere ampliato dal ruolo che può avere avuto, quale fonte d'ispirazione per il personaggio di Milton, lo zio della poetessa, Mychajlo Drahomanov. Più importante, tuttavia, sarebbe tenere nella dovuta considerazione il fatto che, proprio nel 1894-1895, Lesja Ukrajinka si inserì nella discussione che i suoi conoscenti galiziani conducevano

a proposito della funzione sociale dell'arte, dei diritti dell'individuo e della creazione soggettiva. Punto di riferimento fondamentale dei vari scritti che la poetessa dedicò alla dialettica tra arte e funzione sociale nella letteratura fu l'attività del ben noto intellettuale, scrittore e attivista ucraino Ivan Franko.

Lo spessore culturale del dramma *Lande selvagge* apparirebbe ancora più evidente se collegato alle riflessioni estetiche che la stessa Lesja Ukrajinka dedicò a quello stile neoromantico che la poetessa associava alla nuova corrente della letteratura ucraina della fine del XIX secolo. Infatti, il protagonista del dramma, Richard Iron, fino a un certo punto riflette le idee di Lesja stessa. Insoddisfatto dell'arte decadente contemporanea che percepisce come imitazione degradata della concezione classica della bellezza, Richard abbandona l'Italia, dove ha studiato l'arte del Rinascimento, in particolare di Michelangelo, e si unisce ai pellegrini puritani che migrano attraverso l'oceano verso il Nuovo Mondo, alla ricerca di una nuova terra. In quel "nuovo paese" lo scultore si sente sostenuto dalla fede nell'"eterna bellezza" e dalla certezza della nascita di un'arte nuova che egli associa al sorgere della comunità nazionale. La grande arte collettiva del futuro, di cui egli ha la prefigurazione, non può non richiamare alla mente l'idea del *Gesamtkunstwerk*, la forma ideale dell'arte dell'avvenire che Richard Wagner prefigurò nel suo *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, del 1849.

Oggetto di studio dell'articolo di O. Visyč sono quindi non solo la categoria e il genere del *non-finito*, ma anche l'estetica del neoromanticismo, ossia dello stile che Lesja Ukrajinka associa allo sviluppo della nuova arte moderna. Sul tema del neoromanticismo è incentrato anche l'articolo di Alessandro Achilli *Beauty, Truth, and Sincerity: Lesja Ukrajinka and the Responsibility of Art Between Aestheticism and the Pursuit of Authenticity*. I due studiosi approfondiscono pertanto tematiche analoghe, legate alla questione della natura e della funzione dell'arte: Visyč pone al centro della sua riflessione il posto della scultura nell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka, mentre Achilli si concentra sulla questione dell'estetismo e della funzione dell'arte.

Cercando di andare oltre la tradizionale valutazione del modernismo ucraino visto come estetismo, Achilli si sofferma in particolare sulle funzioni sociali dell'arte. Egli sottolinea che la poesia di Lesja Ukrajinka si inserisce perfettamente nel solco della letteratura europea e che la scrittrice può essere considerata a pieno titolo una protagonista del canone europeo del primo Novecento. La sua opera non va pertanto letta alla luce della tradizione populista, non esprime lo 'spirito nazionale' e le istanze volte al consolidamento della coscienza identitaria ucraina. Achilli si concentra sull'idea della responsabilità etica dell'individuo nei confronti di sé stesso e della sua comunità, più precisamente della relazione tra la funzione sociale dell'arte e la bellezza, concepita come valore autonomo e fine a sé stesso. Lo studioso esamina da varie angolature l'ampio spettro di tematiche che Lesja Ukrajinka affronta nelle sue opere alla ricerca di risposte sulla questione dell'autenticità dell'arte. Mettendo a confronto le principali correnti che si fronteggiavano alla fine del secolo, tra naturalismo, realismo e decadentismo (che secondo lei ha forti punti di contatto col simbolismo), la poetessa individua una nuova corrente che definisce "neoromanticismo". Rifiutando l'estetismo puro, e opponendosi quindi alle tendenze del decadentismo che secondo

lei riduceva l'arte a puro piacere, la scrittrice considera che, pur non essendo egli del tutto estraneo a una funzione anche sociale e morale dell'arte, l'artista deve considerare come suo scopo principale il raggiungimento della "piena libertà".

La problematica affrontata da Achilli fa parte della più ampia questione della teoria del neoromanticismo che Lesja Ukrajinka andava esponendo nelle lettere e negli articoli critici (*Dva napravlenija v novejšej ital'janskoj literature*, 1899; *Maloruskie pisateli na Bukovine*, 1900; *Novešaja obščestvennaja drama*, 1901)¹. La sua concezione del neoromanticismo come "idea di liberazione" o "spirito liberatorio" includeva un contenuto "umanistico", socioculturale, che supera sia l'individualismo romantico che il livellamento della personalità del naturalismo, affidando all'arte una funzione comunicativa sociale.

Un ruolo importante, secondo Achilli, sarebbe svolto, nell'assimilazione della nuova estetica modernista, dalla 'sincerità', un concetto che Lesja Ukrajinka evoca in varie occasioni. Vale la pena sottolineare, tuttavia, che questa idea è stata formulata nel 1903 nella poesia *Idillio della foresta* (*Lisova Idyl'ija*) anche da Ivan Franko, che nella 'sincerità' vedeva una qualità fondamentale dell'artista contemporaneo e un segno dominante dell'arte nuova. Non a caso Lesja Ukrajinka ha più volte menzionato questa impostazione teorica nella sua corrispondenza con Franko. Del resto, nel loro complesso, le idee estetiche di Lesja Ukrajinka fanno parte del più ampio contesto europeo del movimento modernista dell'inizio del Novecento.

Del tutto nuova è l'analisi offerta dall'articolo *Mavka as Willow: An Ecofeminist Analysis of Lesja Ukrajinka's Forest Song*, in cui Anastasiya Andrianova affronta temi di ecocritica e di ambientalismo: focalizzando alcuni aspetti sociali che scaturiscono dalla lettura di *Il canto della foresta* (*Lisova pismja*), la studiosa volge l'attenzione agli attuali pericoli derivati dalla distruzione del sistema ambientale che accompagna la deforestazione dei boschi della Volinia. Al tempo stesso Andrianova auspica una revisione della tradizionale concezione androgena e androcentrica della natura, quale essa si manifesta ancora negli studi dedicati a Lesja Ukrajinka, persino nelle letture ecocritiche e femministe del *Canto della foresta*. Anche l'identificazione tra donna e natura, che in quelle letture si trovano – sostiene Andrianova, – in realtà non sono che una specie di proiezione androcentrica del patriarcato nel mondo della natura. Tracce di una tale proiezione sarebbero facilmente rintracciabili nell'opera stessa di Lesja Ukrajinka.

Lo studio di Andrianova si distingue non solo per il suo carattere pionieristico, ma anche per il cambio di paradigma mentale che lo ispira, profondamente diverso dalla visione romantica e didattica incentrata sull'armonia tra uomo e natura. La studiosa mette in discussione l'approccio mitopoietico al *Canto della foresta*, diffuso soprattutto negli anni Venti del XX secolo e imperniato sull'interpretazione di Viktor Petrov che, nel dramma di Lesja Ukrajinka, esaltava il tema – legato alla tradizione della *Naturphilosophie* – della 'natura viva' originaria capace di coesistere in unità primigenia con gli esseri umani. Al tempo

¹ 'Due correnti della nuova letteratura italiana'; 'Gli scrittori piccolo-russi in Bucovina'; 'La nuova drammaturgia sociale'.

stesso Andrianova mette in discussione l'approccio sociale di Larysa Horbolis, una delle poche studiose d'ispirazione ecocritica, che legge il *Canto della foresta* come opposizione di due mondi, "il mondo dell'uomo, gravato da problemi terreni, e il mondo della natura, libero e armoniosamente organizzato" (Horbolis 2011: 7).

Il mondo della natura, invece, è spaventoso, sostiene Andrianova, riferendosi ai personaggi di Kuc' e Maryša, del *Lisovyk*, lo Spirito dei boschi, e di Perelesnyk, il tentatore Fuoco Fatuo, e mandando così in frantumi l'idillio creato dalla *Naturphilosophie*. Inoltre, l'antropomorfismo delle creature del bosco in realtà trasferisce agli abitanti della foresta l'atteggiamento patriarcale degli umani con le loro relazioni familiari (il padre, lo zio, la madre, la figlia, la sorella) e il dominio sociale insito in tali relazioni.

In buona sostanza l'articolo di Andrianova tende a sovvertire anche le interpretazioni femministiche dell'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka: quest'ultima non metterebbe in rilievo l'immagine della Mavka che conquista l'anima, ma ne sottolineerebbe la materialità in quanto essere appartenente alla natura. Le interpretazioni femministe, infatti, tendono perlopiù alla creazione di simboli e riducono la figura di Mavka a un'allegoria, ignorando la sua appartenenza al regno della materia di cui il personaggio è parte. Per Andrianova, invece, il senso profondo della *féerie* non consiste nell'opposizione o nella fusione dei due mondi, ma nell'appartenenza di ambedue i protagonisti – Mavka e Lukaš – ad ambedue i mondi, quello degli uomini e quello della natura. Nel complesso, l'analisi ecocritica proposta da Andrianova dimostra che non solo la *Naturphilosophie* romantica, ma anche lo stile neoromantico di Lesja Ukrajinka, con la sua tendenza all'individualizzazione e la sottolineatura della dimensione spirituale, non è in realtà privo di categorie gerarchiche e di utopismo.

Nell'insieme, tutti gli articoli dedicati all'opera di Lesja Ukrajinka che qui vengono proposti, sono ricchi di spunti di riflessione e discussione. Essi aprono la via allo studio di tematiche nuove e schiudono possibilità di applicazione di nuovi paradigmi per l'interpretazione della creazione poetica di una grande scrittrice ucraina.

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Abstract

Tamara Hundorova

New Perspectives and Ancient Shadows. Rethinking Lesja Ukrajinka

The author analyses and discusses the five articles published in the thematic block. She remarks on the novelty of Pavlyshyn's and Kočerha's methodological approaches and interpretations of the kind of Orientalism or Post-Orientalism represented by the poem *Khamsin* and some poetic plays of Lesja Ukrajinka. Hundorova also highlights the interest of Achilli's multifaceted analysis of Lesja Ukrajinka's modernism, and gives a challenging evaluation of the interpretation of *non-finito* by O. Visyč. Among the most relevant contributions – Hundorova maintains – is Andrianova's proposal of an ecofeminist interpretative clue to *Forest Song*.

Keywords

Lesja Ukrajinka; Orientalism; Khamsin; Forest Song.



**MATERIALI
E DISCUSSIONI**

Анна Феликсовна Литвина
Федор Борисович Успенский

Еще раз о дне рождения Бориса Годунова. Показания Генриха фон Логау*

В одной из недавних работ авторам этих строк удалось установить дату рождения Бориса Годунова (Литвина, Успенский 2021). Из рассказа Георга Тектандера († 1614), участника австрийского посольства, дважды побывавшего при московском царском дворе в самом начале XVII в., следует, что будущий царь появился на свет 2 августа (12 августа по новому стилю):

Также и 2-го августа, когда Великий Князь праздновал день своего рождения, нам, как и раньше, прислали из дворца 200 человек, которые несли каждый по блюду с разными рыбами, ибо это был постный день у московитов (Станкевич 1896: 45) – *Alß auch den 2. Augufti der Großfürft feinen Geburts Tag celebriret / hat man vns wiederumb durch 200. Perfonen / deren ein jeglicher was von Speiß getragen / vom Schloß mit allerlen Fifchen / denn es gleich dazumal der Moscovitter fast tag gewefen / verehret* (Тектандер 1609: 141).

Высказывание Тектандера, само по себе простое, лаконичное и недвусмысленное, потребовало определенных интерпретационных усилий – необходимо было установить, насколько рассказчик в целом корректен в своих хронографических показаниях, не путает ли он (как это нередко бывало с иностранцами) день рождения с именинами и, наконец, каким календарем, юлианским или григорианским, он руководствуется в этой части своих записок.

Счастливым образом, в распоряжении исследователей есть достаточное число опубликованных источников, позволяющих произвести все необходимые сопоставления и однозначно ответить на эти вопросы. Георг Тектандер в 1604 г. – а именно тогда его пребывание в Москве совпало с днем рождения царя Бориса – пользовался, как и многие его современники и соотечественники, юлианским календарем, тем самым, что был в ходу и у принимающих его московитов. Хронография Тектандера точна всюду, за исключением разве что его пребывания на территориях, подвластных Персии, причем невозможность адекватно фиксировать течение дней в ту пору, когда

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он находился среди мусульман, была тщательно отмечена в его записях и доставляла ему самому немало огорчений¹. С именинами же Бориса указанная им дата не совпала ни по какому из возможных календарей, и термин *Geburts Tag* был употреблен Тектандером в том же значении, в каком мы его используем сегодня – ‘день рождения’.

В этой совершенно ясной картине, складывающейся из соположения показаний русских дипломатических документов, писем Стефана Какаша († 1603), под началом которого Тектандер некогда отправился на Восток, и записей самого Тектандера, оставалось два загадочных нюанса, не нарушавших, впрочем, ее цельности и стройности. Во-первых, что стоит за словом *wiederumb* ‘снова’, ‘как и прежде’ в свидетельстве Тектандера о царском угощении посольства? По какому случаю иностранцам ранее уже присылали от царя 200 блюд? В самом тексте Тектандера каких-либо более подробных описаний этого события не находится, да и в целом он весьма немногословен в рассказе о предшествующих неделях своей жизни в Москве, кроме подробного описания въезда в столицу нового австрийского посольства, возглавляемого Генрихом фон Логау († 1625).

С лаконичностью данного отрезка повествования связан и второй вопрос: а как было отмечено в том же году такое важное событие в жизни двора, да и всей страны, как царские именины, приходящиеся на 24 июля, день памяти князей Бориса и Глеба, который издревле, помимо всего прочего, был одним из самых заметных праздников на Руси? Прояснить оба этих нюанса в событиях лета 1604 г., а заодно лишний раз подтвердить точность Тектандера, да и наших собственных выкладок, позволяет дипломатический отчет, составленный Генрихом Логау.

Трудно вообразить себе людей более различных, чем шлезвигский барон фон Логау, мальтийский рыцарь, со временем ставший одним из приоров ордена, всю жизнь отстаивавший интересы католической церкви на тех землях, которыми ему доводилось управлять, и Георг Тектандер, скромный сын пастора, внук одного из учеников Лютера и Меланхтона, отправившийся на Восток в качестве помощника Стефана Какаша и лишь волею судеб в одиночку добравшийся до персидского двора, где с трудом смог исполнить посольские поручения. Объединяла их разве что любовь к просвещению (Логау окончил университет в Сиене, а Тектандер слушал лекции в университете Лейпцига) да тесная и непосредственная связь с Богемией, где Тектандер появился на свет, а Логау управлял клочком графством.

Для Тектандера появление в Москве посольства, возглавляемого Логау, было большой удачей, позволявшей ему оказаться среди соотечественников и вместе с ними, не без некоторых приключений, вернуться на родину – никакого официального статуса в этой дипломатической миссии у него, по всей видимости, не было. На

¹ “У них [у мусульман – *А.Л., Ф.У.*] нет ни часов, ни чего-либо подобного, так что я, как-то раз, сбился в числах и жил целые полгода до возвращения моего в Московию, из дня в день, не отличая одного дня от другого” (Станкевич 1896: 34; Tectander 1609: 101-102; см. подробнее: Литвина, Успенский 2021: 12-13).

Логау же ложилась вся тяжесть переговоров с неподатливыми москвитями. Соответственно, замечать они могли разное и писали о разном. Любопытно при этом, что в отличие от рассказа Текандера, трижды напечатанного при жизни автора и еще несколько раз издававшегося после его смерти, текст Логау, чья поездка происходила куда более благополучно, так и остался рукописью в недрах Венского архива².

Поскольку главной целью поездки Логау был русский царский двор, то передвижение по России описывается здесь достаточно подробно, и эта детальность позволяет нам, в частности, убедиться, что посол в своих датировках последовательно пользовался новым – григорианским – календарем. Так, например, согласно его отчету, посольство прибыло в “Ивангород или Русскую Нарву” 26 июня³. В русских же документах, еще более заботливо фиксировавших каждый шаг этих иностранцев, данное событие значится под 16 июня⁴. В целом, налицо полное совпадение путевых дат двух источников с учетом той 10-дневной разницы, которая существовала в XVII в. между юлианским и григорианским календарем.

Точно такой же 10-дневный разрыв мы видим в показаниях Текандера и Логау относительно даты въезда последнего в Москву – Логау пишет, что это весьма пышно обставленный церемониальный акт произошел 25 июля⁵, тогда как Текандер (в полном соответствии с русскими источниками) указывает 15 июля (Станкевич 1896: 42). Иными словами, у нас не может быть сомнений в том, что оба подданных австрийского императора точны в датах, но при этом, находясь в одном пространстве, один из них прибегает к старостильному, а другой – к новостильному исчислению, что совсем не редкость для европейцев той поры.

При этом Генрих Логау сообщает, что на третий день августа (24 июля по старому стилю), охарактеризованный им как царский день рождения (“*geburts tag*”), посольство получило от великого князя более 200 кушаний на золотых блюдах и почти такое же количество разнообразных напитков.

3-го [числа] того же [месяца] великий князь весьма пышно справил свой день рождения – *VORISIUM* – и прислал мне в апартаменты через одного из своих благородных бояр свыше 200 кушаний на золотых блюдах и почти столько же сосудов

² Wien, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Russland I. 5. Научная публикация и перевод донесения Логау до сих пор остаются делом будущего. Между тем, такое издание было бы чрезвычайно полезным для истории дипломатических сношений Руси и, в не меньшей степени, для истории эпохи Бориса Годунова. Авторы глубоко признательны А.Л. Горобец и С.В. Полехову за возможность ознакомиться с рукописью и С.В. Полехову, Е.Р. Сквайрс и А.А. Фомичевой за неоценимую помощь, оказанную в работе с ней.

³ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Russland I. 5. Konv. 5 (1604), Bl. 103 r.

⁴ См. *Памятники дипломатических сношений древней России с державами иностранными, I/2. Памятники дипломатических сношений с Римскою империею (с 1594 по 1621 год)*, Санкт-Петербург 1851, с. 861-862.

⁵ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Russland I. 5. Konv. 5 (1604), Bl. 104.

с напитками со своего стола [букв. из своей кухни] – Den 3. ditz hat der großfürst seinen geburts tag BORISIUM gar stadlich gehalten und mir bei einem vornembem VORARN uber 200 speisen in guldenen schusseln und fast soviel geschier mit getränckh ins losament aus seiner kuchel geschickt⁶.

Забегая вперед, сразу обратим внимание на то, что Логау использует специальное слово *Borisiium* (изобретенное им самим? бывшее в ходу у прочих путешественников?), очевидно стремясь сохранить особое русское обозначение этой даты – Борисов день.

Благодаря этой заметке становится совершенно ясно, к какому именно предшествующему событию отсылает читателя Тектандер, когда говорит о том, что 2 августа по старому стилю (12 августа по новому, т. е. девять дней спустя) им снова, как и прежде [*wiederumb*] было прислано великим князем 200 блюд. Иными словами, два рассказа взаимно дополняют друг друга: об именинах написал Логау, а Тектандер, говоря о царском дне рождения, лишь обозначил сходство и различия между двумя празднованиями. Становится понятнее, помимо всего прочего, почему он счел нужным – весьма удачным для нас образом – специально отметить, что все блюда были рыбными, ведь это, со всей очевидностью, составляло контраст с меню предшествующего подарка.

Как нам уже приходилось отмечать прежде, пресловутое прямое упоминание поста придает особую достоверность всей истории – Борисов день, 24 июля (3 августа по новому стилю), в 1604 г. приходилось на вторник, и решительно никаких оснований исключать скромные блюда из праздничного именинного меню не было. Соответственно, у Логау, совершенно справедливым образом, нет ни слова о постных кушаньях в этот день. А вот день рождения Годунова, 2 августа (12 августа по новому стилю), выпадает на Успенский пост, что и отражено у Тектандера⁷. Помимо всего прочего, для протестанта Тектандера, который хотя сам постов не держал, но подолгу жил в католическом окружении, необходимость поститься в эту пору воспринималась как нечто непривычное, специфически русское (“то был постный день у москвитов”), поскольку католический мир не знал столь протяженного поста на Успение.

⁶ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Russland I. 5. Konv. 5 (1604), Bl. 105.

⁷ Как нам уже приходилось говорить в предыдущей статье, столь важные хронографические указания в обоих источниках не привлекали внимание исследователей с середины XIX в., и в биографиях Годунова дата его появления на свет отсутствует (Литвина, Успенский 2021: 10). Одним из тех, кто прежде учитывал оба этих текста, был Фридрих Аделунг, однако и он пропустил реплику Тектандера о царском дне рождения (в предыдущей работе мы ошибочно полагали, что он пытается реконструировать нечто на ее основе: Литвина, Успенский 2021: 14-15 примеч. 10). Подробно пересказывая показания Логау, Аделунг попросту фиксирует сведения о царском дне рождения, не обсуждая проблему старого и нового стиля и не обращая внимания на тот факт, что 3 августа по используемому Логау григорианскому календарю – это не что иное, как 24 июля, Борисов день, по принятому в Москве (а в ту пору и во множестве европейских стран) календарю юлианскому (Adelung 1846, II: 151; Аделунг 1863: 91).

Что же касается терминологической путаницы у Логау, который для именин употребляет слово *geburts tag*, то для иностранцев не только на рубеже XVI-XVII в., но и столетие с лишним спустя (когда сохранность и верифицируемость дат стала заметно выше), оказывается непросто разобраться с этими личными праздниками и, даже попытавшись разобраться, найти для них адекватные обозначения⁸. Дело усугубляется, с одной стороны, тем, что в русском обиходе празднование именин обыкновенно недалеко отстоит в календаре от празднования дня рождения (а иногда, на беду, с ним совпадает!)⁹, а, с другой стороны, не во всех европейских традициях было

⁸ В этом отношении весьма показательны соответствующие записи Юста Юля († 1715), датского посланника, жившего в России век спустя после Тександера и Логау. Поначалу он путает день рождения и именины, обозначая их почти “с точностью до наоборот”. Так, под 28 марта 1710 г. у него появляется запись о дне рождения [*Fødselsdag*] наследника-царевича, Алексея Петровича (Щербачев 1900: 176; Juell 1893: 205), тогда как в действительности речь идет, конечно же, о его именинах. Юль пользуется новым стилем в своих датировках, и, соответственно, 28 марта – это не что иное, как 17 марта по старому стилю, память св. Алексия Человека Божьего. С другой стороны, Юль называет “именинами” [*Nafne-dag*] день, в который, как мы знаем наверняка, родился царь Петр – 30 мая, сделав соответствующую запись под 10 июня (= 30 мая по старому стилю) (Щербачев 1900: 206; Juell, 1893: 240). Про день же, на который на самом деле приходились царские именины (29 июня, память апостолов Петра и Павла), датский посланник пишет следующее: “10-го [июля 1710 г.]. По Русскому (календарю) то был день Петра и Павла [*var det efter Rysszisk stiiil Petro Pauli dag*]. День этот праздновался с таким же торжеством, как годовщина Полтавской битвы. Я вместе с прочими иностранными министрами, был зван откушать к князю Меншикову, который в этот день задавал пир. На князе в этот день был небольшой парик, сделанный, по его словам, из волос самого Царя, который время от времени стриг их и дарил ему. Князь подарил Царю 200 боцманов, которых собрал в одной своей губернии” (Щербачев 1900: 223; Juell 1893: 261). Еще более выразительным для нашей работы образом, Юль до поры до времени не различает именины (23 ноября, память св. Александра Невского) и день рождения (6 ноября) Александра Меншикова, одинаково и последовательно называя эти события *Fødselsdag* ‘день рождения’ (Щербачев 1900: 97, 260; Juell 1893: 111, 305), и лишь со временем, живя в России не один год, начинает верно характеризовать 23 ноября (= 4 декабря по новому стилю) как именины [*Nafnedag*] князя (Щербачев 1900: 265; Juell 1893: 311), но относительно других лиц продолжает допускать терминологическую неточность.

⁹ Дело в том, что при выборе христианского имени на Руси в эту пору ориентировались на календарь, но ориентация эта была устроена довольно сложным для внешнего наблюдателя образом. Далеко не любое имя святого годилось в качестве публичного, родового для человека хоть сколько-нибудь знатного. Если ему посчастливилось родиться непосредственно на память святого, который обладал таким подходящим по семейным соображениям именем, то в его честь ребенка и крестили, а, соответственно, день рождения совпадал у него с именинами. Однако чаще такой публичный антропоним приходилось, как это и вышло с Борисом Годуновым, подбирать в близких календарных окрестностях даты появления на свет. В таком случае именины и день рождения праздновались раздельно. Вся эта картина осложнялась еще и тем, что многие (однако далеко не все) обладали в миру двумя христианскими именами и, соответственно, двумя небесными покровителями — один выпадал им по дню рождения,

принято отмечать оба эти дня и твердо противопоставлять соответствующие понятия. Как объяснить своему читателю, что и, главное, зачем два раза подряд празднуют эти русские? Логау, во всяком случае, предпринял некоторую попытку такого объяснения, указав, что это был не просто *geburts tag* царя, но *Borisium*, Борисов день.

Итак, благодаря рукописи Генриха фон Логау все окончательно встало на свои места, и теперь у нас есть полная возможность убедиться, что день рождения Бориса Годунова – 2 августа по старому стилю / 12 августа по новому – забыт несправедливо, поскольку при жизни царя он отмечался с не меньшим вниманием, чем царские именины.

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тогда как другой был их тезкой по публичному христианскому имени. К счастью, в случае с Борисом Годуновы мы избавлены от необходимости разбираться с этой проблемой. У царя, как и у множества его современников, в миру было одно христианское имя (Литвина, Успенский 2020), еще одно, *Боголеп*, он получил, лишь приняв монашеский постриг на смертном одре.

Tectander 1609:

Iter persicum, Kuertze doch ausführliche und warhafftige beschreibung der Persianischen Reiß: Welche auff der Röm: Kay: May: allergnedig. Befelch / im Jahr Christi 1602. Von dem Edlen und Gestrengen Herren STEPHANO KAKASCH von Zalonkemeny / vornehmen Siebenbürgischen vom Adel / angefangen: Und alß derselbig unterwegs zu Lantzen in Medier Land todes verschieden: von seinem Reißbefeherten GEORGIO TECTANDRO von der Jabel vollends continuiret und verrichtet worden. Beyneben fleissigen verzeichniß aller gedencwürdigen sachen / welche ihnen / so wol unter wegen / in Polen / Littaw / Reussen / Moscow / Tartarey / Cassaner und Astarcaner Land / und auff dem Caspischen Meer: Alß auch in Persien / und Armenien / auch andern Provinßen Asia und Europæ hin and wieder begegnet und zugestanden: Wie solches durch obgemelten Herrn Georgen Tectander von der Jabel / zu seiner nach Prag wiederkunfft auffß Pappier gebracht / und höchstgedachter ihrer Kay: May: Anno 1605. den 8. Ian. unterthenigst ist übergeben worden. Nu mit fleiß übersehen / und in Druck verfertiget / auch mit schönen Kupfferstücken gezieret, Altenburg in Meissen 1609.

Abstract

Anna Feliksovna Litvina, Fyodor Borisovich Uspenskij
Once Again on Boris Godunov's Birthday. Heinrich von Logau's Account

European diplomatic sources from the early 17th century provide us with previously unaccounted for data on Russian history. Thanks to a report by Georg Tectander, a member of Emperor Rudolph II's mission to Russia, we can now establish the exact date of birth for Boris Godunov. An unpublished manuscript by Tectander's contemporary and compatriot, Baron Heinrich von Logau, who visited the Tsardom of Russia at the same time, allows us to verify this date as well as to broaden our perspective on everyday life and ceremonial of the royal court, on the Tsar's personal piety and on the status of the ancient tradition of celebrating birthdays and name days. Moreover, analyzing various calendars used by the diplomats of that era allows us to ascertain that one's preference for the Gregorian or Julian calendar was not defined by national strategies only but remained a matter of personal choice that was subject to change during one's life.

Keywords

Muscovy; Boris Godunov; Emperor Rudolph II's Mission to Russia; Diplomatic Report by Heinrich von Logau; Georg Tectander; Julian and Gregorian Calendars; Royal Birthday; Name Day; Naming Conventions in Pre-Petrine Russia.

Йордан Люцканов

К определению эмигрантологии

1. *Филология, россиеведение, эмигрантология как разные парадигмы науки о русской литературе*

Несмотря на очень разные истории этих трех слов, мы предлагаем рассматривать их как логически 'равномощные' подходы к одному и тому же объекту, ядром которого являются русская литература и русские писатели.

'Русская филология' – общепринятое название традиционного подхода к этому объекту в России и ряде стран Восточной Европы – подразумевает не всегда осознаваемый эпистемологический и отсюда методологический выбор: мыслить литературу в двуединстве с языком. *Предметом* литературоведения, как раздела филологии, является литература как форма осуществления языка ('язык' в смысле объекта лингвистики).

'Россиеведение' существует недолго. О его возникновении можно высказать два очень разных мнения¹. Как бы то ни было, своей словообразовательной структурой термин прямо отсылает к 'страноведению': предмет литературоведческого 'россиеведения' – русская литература как социальный, географический² и культурный ин-

¹ Люциан Суханек видит его "как специальный предмет славистических исследований", выросший "из филологии", сразу вошедший "в тесный контакт с культурологией" и ставший междисциплинарным; своего рода инаугурационное событие – конференция "Закат Гердера. Филологические основы славистики", организованная кафедрой славистики Опольского университета 22-23 марта 2010 г. (Суханек 2013: 23, 24). Но на обложке книги шестой "Евразийских сборников" (Алексеев и др. 1929) имеется подзаглавие: *Политика. Философия. Россиеведение*. Учитывая концептуальный *хорологизм* научных занятий евразийцев, третье слово – знак научной программы в определенном методологическом ключе. Доклад Петра Савицкого на Первом славистическом конгрессе в Праге, *Методействие в русской литературе* (Savickij 1929), можно считать первой сознательно россиеведческой работой о русской литературе; написана она в одном из возможных для рождающейся дисциплины ракурсов. Здесь россиеведение вырастает из географии и является специальным разделом в рамках тогда еще складывающейся ареалистики (как и "балканология"!); конкретнее, исследований "России-Евразии".

² Следуя за Савицким, литературу как географический *институт* надо понимать как часть объекта географии, в т.ч. в контексте теории ноосферы Владимира Вернадского. Литература – средство создания представлений о местах, изменения их физического и символического облика (создание литературных музеев, закрепление писательских имен за улицами) и поддержания местосознания (место как бы сознает себя благодаря своей населенности людьми, в т.ч. читателями литературы, объективирующими его, в т.ч. его литературные ипостаси, в своем воображении и практике).

ститут, фактор³, ‘пациенс’⁴. ‘Россиеведение’ предполагает сдвоенность литературы с социальным – ‘культ поэта’ в России⁵ – и географическим пространствами: выделение региональных разновидностей русской литературы (Литература Урала), а также ‘городских’ и ‘региональных’ ‘текстов’ (петербургского, сибирского...). С точки зрения россиеведения, литература – миметический процесс и инструмент организации⁶ обитаемого человеком пространства. Очевидно, что литературоведческое россиеведение гораздо старше своей терминологизации.

Термин эмигрантология, насколько мне известно, был введен в научный обиход Люцианом Суханеком на XII Международном Конгрессе славистов в Кракове в 1998 году (Суханек 2012: 19). Для Суханека (2012: 20, 21) эмигрантология – отдел россиеведения, занимающийся эмиграцией. А россиеведение – дисциплинарно экстривертная, не-‘герметическая’, русская филология (Суханек 2012: 19; Суханек 2013: 24; ср. с понятием экстралингвистики). Для нас ‘эмигрантология’ предполагает сдвоенность литературы и духовно-душевно-телесного состава *и дома* человека. Эмиграция является лишь частью объекта ‘эмигрантологии’, *буквалистическое осуществление* ее предмета.

Другая, менее видимая часть объекта эмигрантологии, это ‘внутренняя эмиграция’, в т.ч. в традиционном политическом смысле. *Принятие* поэтами ‘культа поэта’ (и

³ Тривиально утверждение о со-формирующей роли литературы в обществе и культуре. На физико-географическую среду она воздействует опосредованно: создавая, поддерживая, блокируя... какие-то представления о географических объектах, влияет на практическое отношение к ним (основание курорта, освоение целины, создание заповедника...), помимо, вопреки или в согласии с экономическими, политическими и проч. соображениями. Литература – инструмент и ресурс *геопоэтики*, т.е. конструирования того или иного географического пространства (конкретнее см.: Frank 2010: 27-28; работа ценна в т.ч. отсылками и к русско-, и к англоязычным концептуализациям).

⁴ Ускоренный рост грамотности в Советской России не может не привести к изменениям в структуре вкусов (запросов) читателей, понижающим востребованность модернистской литературы, помимо цензуры и декретирования литературной тематики и поэтики (литература – социальный пациент, т.е. пациент социальных изменений). Переход управления культурой от рынка к государству к министерству культуры к коммунистической партии в России 1914-1922 гг. не мог не воздействовать на тематику, поэтику, удельный вес в культурном поле литературы (‘культурный пациент’). Осушение болот может изменить характер болотной образности в последующей литературе (‘географический пациент’).

⁵ О нем см. Freidin 1993: 149, 157; Милюков 1896-1903, II: 185-187.

⁶ Ср. Богданов 1911: 34: по отношению к “живой социальной жизни” “произведение художника есть и продукт, и организующая форма”. С точки зрения теории социального пространства Анри Лефевра мысль о том, что художественная литература (со)организует, (со)производит пространство, кажется тривиальной. Я имею ввиду как фикциональное, так и социальное пространство функционирования литературы. Надо принять и теоретическую посылку, что фикциональные миры могут иметь к нефикциональному не только ‘отобразительное’ отношение, но и ‘прообразовательное’ и дивергентно-дополняющее (при колебании между двумя возможностями одна осуществляется в литературе, другая вне литературы).

его предвосхищение; ‘самосотворение’ поэта навстречу этому культу) – уже наверняка невидимая часть объекта литературоведческой эмигрантологии; поэт (писатель) мысленно ставит себя в положение обособленности, некоторой ‘непос(и)юсторонности’⁷. *Выбранные места из переписки с друзьями* Гоголя, *Философические письма* Чаадаева не менее интересны для эмигрантологии, чем для русистики и россиеведения.

Между ‘языками объектов’ трех парадигм существует взаимная переводимость. Так, ‘беженству’⁸, как объекту эмигрантологии, соответствует меж-габитусность в координатах социо-литературоведческого (россие)ведения; меж-положенность стилям / поэтикам в координатах филологии.

А парадигмы можно более точно означить так: литературоведение филологическое, страноведческое и эмигрантологическое.

Уверенность в исчерпательности этого трехделения покоится на (социальной) онтологии, постулирующей совместную первичность (не)самотождественности речи, ситуации и субъекта.

Необходимо ли предлагаемое трехделение озабоченному русской речью, Россией и русскими литературоведению? Животрепещущих проблем русской филологии я решать не собираюсь. Но это трехделение дает возможность обратить должное внимание основополагающему свойству литературы, ее невнутриситуативности (см. ниже). Оно позволит переосмыслить устоявшиеся представления и объекты русистики с учетом сдвига в чувствовании и понимании дома и бездомности, оседлости и кочевничества, произошедшего в литературе и гуманитаристике в последние несколько десятилетий. Оно даст возможность переоценить теоретическую ценность некоторых занятий русской литературы, маргинализированных материалистическим (позитивистским, марксистско-ленинским) литературоведением, а также заметить живучесть одной из имплицитных предпосылок последнего. В конце концов, оно, надеемся, создаст *продуктивную* путаницу в номенклатуре занятий названной литературой и ее писателями, побуждая усомниться в якобы самоочевидном. Денатурализация категорий, которыми схватывается человеческий опыт, кажется и мне бессменным императивом (ср. Lewis, Wigen 1997: 46)⁹ и аспектом должной саморефлексивности – или *рефлексивности* – социально-гуманитарного знания (о ней: Bourdieu 2004: 85-93).

Анализ произведений, который продемонстрировал бы эвристичность последовательного размежевания трех подходов, может войти в задачи последующей статьи либо книги по теме.

⁷ Стремление к точности выражения не раз приведет нас к (подчас кажущимся) неологизмам.

⁸ Беженство – ‘эмигрантскость’, которой недостает индивидуации (в см. Юнга). Ср. Berg 1996: 4.

⁹ Ср.: “Традиционализм по С. Аверинцеву: [...] от романтизма [...] дорефлексивный традиционализм новой формации: таковы шаблоны реализма, которые присутствуют у всех в сознании, но считаются несуществующими” (Гаспаров 2001: 177).

2. *Понятие эмигрантологии, мировоззренческий материализм и историчность гуманитаристики*

Я пришел к выводу о необходимости – как науковедческой, так и культурно-исторической – четкого отмежевания от теоретических посылок Суханека и “краковской школы руссиеведения и эмигрантологии” (ср. Суханек 2013).

Основная слабость их подхода (как он оглашен в резюмирующих работах: Суханек 2012, 2013) – редукция предмета эмигрантологии к одному из ее объектов; или: верность материалистической картине мира и (безотчетное?) придание ей нормативного значения. Сведение предмета / объекта эмигрантологии к (внешней) эмиграции – аналог сведения реализма к миметическому ознаменованию психо-социальных явлений. Русские символисты, обращаясь к философской традиции средневековья, вкладывали в это понятие совершенно иное значение; а Мережковский, Шестов, Бахтин в своих прочтениях некоторых образцов русского литературного ‘реализма’ обоснованно усомнились в первостепенном значении как репрезентативизма (по сравнению с экспрессивизмом и апеллятивностью)¹⁰, так и психо-социологизму (в ущерб духовно-душевной проблематике) в этих произведениях. Но тут и эпистемологическая проблема: оправдан ли перенос естествонаучной картины мира в гуманитарные науки и придание ей там нормативности?¹¹

Ограниченность донныне вкладываемого в понятие эмигрантологии смысла может осознать обращение к понятию ‘реалистического субъекта’. “Картезианский или реалистический субъект” “поддерживает устойчивые связи с своим окружением” (Сопнон 2010: 10), это субъект, который “показан (репрезентирован) поддерживающим объективирующий взгляд на внешний мир” (*там же*: 10, примеч. 3). Тогда как не-реалистические или пост-реалистические субъекты принципиально “немного не на месте / у места” (“slightly out of place”) (*там же*: 11). Приурочение предмета эмигрантологии к физической находимости (в)не дома – это натурализация реалистического субъекта, подача особенностей рационально-материалистического мировосприятия за естественные и безальтернативные. Тогда как само состояние ‘(в)недомности’¹² является воплощенным свидетельством их безальтернативности.

‘Занятость’ термина данным его пониманием представляется историческим невезеньем: термин ‘занят’ данным его пониманием на *исходе* культурно-исторической формации, насилем воспитывавшей мыслить рационально-материалистически. Позитивистское истолкование русского ‘реализма’ XIX в., унаследованное и развитое

¹⁰ Здесь отсылаем к трем основным функциям естественного языка по Карлу Бюлеру.

¹¹ Примем, что примат материи над не-материей, доступного пяти чувствам над недоступным им является частью или основой названной картины в конце XX в., когда выдвигалось понятие ‘эмигрантология’ в критикуемом мною значении.

¹² Так мы объединяем различаемые в (Сопнон 2010: 14, примеч. 8) понятия *unhomeliness* (недомья, “чувства отчужденности от собственного дома”) и *homelessness* (бездомности, “выкорчеванности или потери дома”).

марксистско-ленинской эстетикой, и создает ту интерпретативную среду, в рамках которой сведение предмета эмигрантологии к его физической грани кажется вполне естественным и даже исчерпывающим собою предмет¹³. Естественно предположить, что с 1940-х гг. интерпретативные навыки русистов Восточной Европы будут формироваться в значительной зависимости от навыков в 'метрополии' – в советско-российской русистике (в т.ч. в досоветской-сквозь-фильтр-советской).

Отказ от материалистического буквализма в понимании эмигрантологии можно рядоположить недавнему развитию в тематизации *uncanny* (английский перевод немецкого *U/unheimlich(e)*) в западной гуманитаристике (хотя бы англоязычной) и литературе (хотя бы франкоязычной): внимание смещается с ужасного, фантастического и сверхестественного к тихой жути и даже просто зазорности повседневного и домашнего (Соппоп 2010: 12-13, 49, 265). Речь идет о способе видения, об упражнении в нем, а не об обращении к необычным явлениям. Аналогично, для нас эмигрантология определяется в первую очередь своим предметом, а не своим объектом.¹⁴

Для трех выделяемых нами групп литературоведческих исследований объект общий: литература и писатели. Объект имеет концентрическую и открытую структуру: к нему могут 'прилипнуть' соседние объекты – напр., *Апофеоз беспочвенности* Шестова может войти в круг филологического литературоведения по причинам стилистическим либо жанрологическим (при допущении о конвергенции художественной прозы и философской 'эссеистики'); литературная продукция Варшавы или Тифлиса в XIX в., вне зависимости от языка публикации, – в круг руссиеведения; повествование об 'обездомленности' (писателя либо героя) в результате природного бедствия (если образ ситуации внушает сомнение о содействии политической силы: *Медный всадник* и Евгений) – в круг эмигрантологии. Но трехделение остается, и обусловлено оно спецификой предмета.

Так, в сказке о Гензеле и Гретеле германист-филолог интересовался бы особенностями языка и повествования; страновед – преломлением в сказке немецких реалий (как времени, близкого к времени деятельности братьев Grimm, так и более отдаленных времен); эмигрантолог – опытом выведенных обманом из дома и оказавшихся в плену детей¹⁵. Это примеры интратекстуальных подходов, филологического, страноведческого и эмигрантологического соответственно, к данной сказке. Но второй и

¹³ Приведение сколь угодно долгого ряда предшественников и вдохновителей идеалистов и персоналистов (см. Суханек 2013: 28-29) само по себе свидетельствует не о колеблемости материалистической мировоззренческой установки у приводящих список, а о ее ассимилятивной силе.

¹⁴ У Суханека (2012, 2013) смывается различие между объектом и предметом исследований.

¹⁵ Будь уход Г. и Г. из дому по собственному желанию или окажись колдуня любящей усыновительницей, соответствующий опыт Г. и Г. все равно был бы предметом эмигрантологического рассмотрения.

третий подход легко могут стать экстровеертными. В случае эмигрантологии это означало бы заинтересоваться почему 'донациональная', но 'интерэтническая', фольклорная сказка засела в интернациональной культурной памяти именно в своем немецком 'олитературирующем' обличьи; а также обстоятельствами перемен мест жительства собирателей сказки и возможное воздействие этих обстоятельств на их составительскую и редакторскую деятельность.

В собственно литературе структура предмета, по крайней мере эмигрантологического, сложнее. Здесь следует учесть основополагающее расслоение и усложнение человеческой субъектности по оси автор – имплицитный автор – повествователь – герой. А также сопутствующее рождение внеситуативности, как основного свойства *литературы*, типологически и генетически отмежевающего ее от *словесности* (Аверинцев 1996: 15-22, 29 и др.).

Названное расслоение – коренной *повод* литературоведческой эмигрантологии; не будь его, эмигрантология, ее предмет, вряд ли бы имели место в дисциплинарных рамках литературоведения, а были бы уделом лишь психологии, социологии, культурологии.

Отождествления виртуально-реального места пишущего субъекта и его письма с домом, делавшиеся по-разному Пушкиным и Хайдеггером (см. Smith 2006: 54, 28), а наверняка и многими другими, представляются мне не только (не)вольными вариациями на архетипическую для иудео-христианской культуры тему Премудрости, построившей себе дом, но и косвенными и как бы компенсирующими объективациями коренного свойства литературы, ее невнутриситуативности.

Обитая донныне культурологические, социологические, общесториографические окраины литературоведения, эмигрантология вступает в круг теории литературы. В ее перспективе эмигрантология – исследование разнеуровневых проекций расшатанности статуса литературы и литератора как литературы и литератора, т.е. расшатанности их *добровольной* невнутриситуативности, их *свободы* пережить свою внеситуативность, в т.ч. внутреннюю самодистанцированность. Эту расшатанность можно считать и *вынужденностью* литературы исследовать условия собственной возможности.

А почему именно 'эмигрантология'? Лучше пользоваться уже наличным термином, чем придумывать новый, если *потенциал* (в т.ч. лексикосемантический) взятого в качестве термина слова кажется *неиспользованным*. 'Мигрантология' не годится, т.к. при обращении к этому слову был бы преувеличен момент 'непривязанности', 'отрешенности', тогда как состояния, являющиеся *объектом* эмигрантологии (см. ниже), характеризуются расшатанностью между 'привязанностью' и 'непривязанностью' (см. хорошо известную исследователям внешней эмиграции диалектику / дихотомию свободы и ностальгии). 'Иммигрантология' поставила бы акцент не на 'смещение' и на срыв в 'не-по-себе-шность', а на 'новопомещение', на приход в новое 'по себе'.

3. Предмет эмигрантологии между буквализмом и семиотикой

Предмет эмигрантологии – ‘непосебешность’, несвоеместность, инонаходимость. Теоретические условия возможности подхода – признанием за состояниями ‘отъединенности от дома’, в т.ч. бездомности, безраздельно психо-физического характера и признанием за понятием дома неотчуждаемой связанности с пространством и местом.

3.1. Сеть опорных понятий

Предмет эмигрантологии – опыт существования, актуального либо гипотетического, в местообитаниях, ощущаемых либо мыслимых временными и отличными от своего ‘естественного’ местообитания. Опыт недобровольной лишенности дома, или *обездомленности*, наиболее значим социетально, но он не исчерпывает предмета эмигрантологии.

Концептуализация предмета эмигрантологии покоится на понятиях ‘местосвязанности’, или несводимого к языку чувства дома / родины; и ‘местосознания’ – ощущения и сознания (не)связанности своей обычной и должной активности с местом и его обитателями.

‘Местосознание’ – географизирующий коррелят сознания своей *не-внеположенности* (*situatedness*). Социальная, географическая и историческая невнеположенность – коренное условие возможности таких человеческих деятельностей, как литература и производство социально-гуманитарного знания¹⁶. Работа (Neumann, Neumann 2018), предлагающая методологию и методики объективации невнеположенности исследователя при производстве социологического знания, помогает понять глубинное родство трех иллюзий: нейтрально-объективного социально-гуманитарного знания, бесконечности творческой свободы, достоверности инстанции невидимого и всеведущего повествователя. Другая возможность подойти к ‘местосознанию’ – это теория сознания, отождествляющая последнее с 1) трехъединством субъекта, объекта и процесса познания; 2) неким общим знаменателем, ‘за кадром’ объединяющим состояния яви, мечтания и сновидения, но, в отличие от них, беспредметного, или ‘само-предметного’ (ср. Grace 2007: 30-33, 41-42). Тогда местосознание будет нахождением в том (любом таком) месте, к которому я (ты, он...) в состоянии приурочить ‘здесь, здешность’ своего ‘обладания сознанием’ = своей ‘обладанности сознанием’, факт сознания такового нахождения и само это место (ср. Grace 2007: 30); ‘здесь емь, где я сознаю’¹⁷.

¹⁶ Если попытаться связать с понятием ‘внезаходимости’ М. Бахтина, то: при всяком ‘возвращении к себе’ остается надлежащее осознанию присутствие другого; контекста, истории и предыстории контакта с ним.

¹⁷ Третья возможность – теория памяти Г. Башляра: “Место и тело образуют гибрид, каждое взирает на другого для обретения идентичности и одушевления” (Trigg 2012: 12). Четвертая – онтология бытия и *пространства* М. Хайдеггера (Sloterdijk 2012: 39 в особенности).

Предмет эмигрантологии – зазор между местосвязанностью и местосознанием ('я не там, где мне хотелось бы быть') и озабоченность этим 'зазором'.

Структуру местосвязанности можно представить себе как нарастание, изнутри наружу, не-личностного, топографического элемента: переход от чувства 'неконвертируемого' ядра своего 'я' к чувству дома. Аналогично, чувство *нарушенной* местосвязанности, или отмеченной 'зазорности', будет переходить из *непосебешности*¹⁸ в *несвоеместность*¹⁹.

Понятие инонаходимости более общее, чем два последних. В инонаходимости есть такой рубеж лояльности, по одну сторону которого *несвоеместность*, *непосебешность*, а по другую – Исход (ср. Ainsa 1982: 52-53). В междомье уже чувствуется больше от новодомья, чем от бездомья. Если обратиться к такому объекту, как *exile*: экиланты становятся иммигрантами. Возможность аналогичного сдвига, несмотря на насильственность предшествующего перемещения, замечается и у спецпоселенцев в СССР (см. Koustova 2015: 618).

3.2. Психофизичность предмета эмигрантологии

Узуализация понятия внутренней эмиграции представляется своего рода лакмусом, усвоена ли идея о психофизичности инонаходимости. Насколько мне известно, занимавшиеся режимами инонаходимости в рамках русистики либо были заложниками физического детерминизма (отсюда деление объектов на эмигрантские и не-эмигрантские)²⁰, либо переоценивали определенные аспекты 'психичности' (отсюда деление объектов, поверх государственной границы, на, например, 'поэзию' и 'рифмованные лозунги'). Эпистемические рамки первого во времени серьезного коллективного труда (Нива 1981) кажутся все еще в силе для русскоязычных исследований русскоязычной литературы XX в. Мишелю Окутюрье (Нива 1981: 111) приходится "реабилитировать" понятие внутренней эмиграции; косвенное свидетельство гегемонии советской точки зрения на русскоязычный дискурс о русской литературе, кто бы ни брал слово в рамках этого дискурса²¹. *Устное* высказывание Иосифа Флешнера (Нива 1981: 199) дает иное понимание '(внутренней) эмигрантскости', не просто рас-

¹⁸ Пример 'непосебешности' в интимнейшем пласте литературы – разлад между биографическим и имплицитным автором: "спокойный и прозрачный Тургенев был духовно опустошенным и отчаявшимся в жизни человеком" (Волошин 1933).

¹⁹ Переход: "Я видел у других / Отчизну, дом, друзей, родных, / А у себя не находил" (*Мицери*); см. и "несвоеместность" характера действия в отношении места действия, закодированную в заглавии *Роман во дворце труда*.

²⁰ Внимание к пограничным случаям, или к случаям маятникообразной смены местожительства и самоидентификации, парадигму не меняют.

²¹ Почему понятие нуждалось в реабилитации, понятно хотя бы из рассуждений А. Синявского (2003: 188-189). Но публика – не советская; и реабилитацию проводит не русский, а француз.

пространяющее ее и на Пушкина, но приближающееся к понятию инонаходимости. Это иное понимание прочитывается еще в статье Георгия Федотова 1935 г. *Зачем мы здесь?* (см. Струве 1996: 163), но почему-то оно не получило должного литературоведческого развития. Федотов перенял, по сути дела отнял от советской критики понятие внутренней эмиграции. Но Окутюрье этого опыта не подхватывает, хуже того, к понятию внутренней эмиграции он приступает не с позиций дискурса, противоположного и равного советскому. Читатель остается при впечатлении, что последний был безальтернативным, поскольку единственно легитимным положительным высказыванием о внутренней эмиграции оказывается то, которое реабилитирует ее от советской стигмы. Примечательно и то, что акцент у Окутюрье падает на освобождение от политической стигмы, а не от физического детерминизма.

В эмигрантологии других литератур осознаны безраздельная психофизичность эмиграции (Berg 1996: 5) и психическая общность между состояниями эмиграции и внутренней эмиграции (Pie 1980: 2; Ruiz-Meléndez, 2005: i); в силу наблюдаемых литературно-исторических сходств граница между ними может признаваться несущественной (Klapper 2014: 163; 2015: 382; Gołaszewski *et al.* 2016b) и обусловленной идеологической предвзятостью историко-литературных исследований (Klapper 2015; Tomko 2014: 359, 367, с опорой на Штефана Брокмана и других)²². Психофизичность ряда сходных ситуаций очевидна при применении юнгианского анализа в литературоведении; широко понятый *exile* оказывается экзотерическим (экстровертным) и эзотерическим (интровертным) (Кларр 1991: 2).

Признание коренной психофизичности инонаходимости теснее связывает последнюю с литературоведением. Потому, что этим дается возможность мыслить состояния внешней инонаходимости, в т.ч. эмиграции, как материализации уже ('уже' не столько в хронологическом, сколько в онтологическом смысле) моделируемого литературой. Тем самым признается проективный характер литературы наряду с 'отобразительным'.

3.3. Территориальность предмета эмигрантологии

Метафоризируя понятие *exile*²³, Хонг Зенг критикует литературоведов за то, что они

не исследовали язык изгнания вне опыта экспатриации [... Я] пытаюсь дефинировать универсальный язык изгнания [...] семиотику изгнания как следствия / подтекста разобщенности в сигнификации, личности, повествовании, времени и жанре. [...] Отображенная в разобщенности сигнификации, она подразумевает де-

²² Краткую историю вопроса в: Tomko 2017: 159-160.

²³ Из-за патетичности слова "изгнание", мы часто будем употреблять синоним "экзильность". С точки зрения актуальной для нас типологии, *exile* охватывает эмиграцию, ссылку и высылку. См. ниже.

конструктивную поэтику с отсутствующим центром [...]. Разобщенность в личности подразумевает личность разделенную, множественные персональности, маски и двойники (Zeng 2010: 1-2).

Одиночество, разлад, неувязка – вот абстрактная семантика, которую Зенг (2010: 1-3) вкладывает в понятие “семиотики изгнания/ото-рванности”²⁴. Он рассматривает конкретизации этой сути и в означающем, и в обозначаемом. Он освобождает экзильность от географичности, от связанности с местом и даже от пространственности²⁵, в т.ч. от ее свойства быть опространствляющей метафорой. А даже внутренняя эмиграция – географична: уход от *того* общества, специфическое утверждение своей оппозиционной принадлежности к *нему*, а не принципиальная отрешенность. Эмигрантологии, как она понимается нами, подходит *семантическая* теория экзильности; она ограничилась бы кругом обозначаемого²⁶ и учла бы онтологическую и историческую неотъемлемость экзильности и места²⁷. Ср.:

Мы не знаем, что пришло первым: изгнание или [географическая] карта. Стоило первым картографам начертить первую линию на земле, как парные миры принадлежности и непринадлежности пришли в бытие. [...] [И]згнание – фундаментально картографическая ситуация, имеющая дело с пространством и местом (Bishop 2016: 1).

Переход от кочевой к оседлой жизни в позднюю каменную эпоху сделал *exile* возможным и мыслимым (Кнарр 1991: 2).

Нередуцируемый до языка дом – не готовая данность. Из многих поэтических постижений этой истины мы выбрали одно: “[...] Мы напились досыта. / И

²⁴ Этимология латинского слова, *ex solum, ex(s)ul*, ставит в центр как раз такое понимание: оторванность, выкорчеванность, а уж потом – изгнанность, принужденность изыти; см.: Ergout *et al.* 2001: 207 (*exul, exsul*), 27-28 (*ambulō*).

²⁵ В согласии со стандартными представлениями в гуманитарной географии, ‘место’ понимается нами как ‘обжитое пространство’.

²⁶ Обозначаемое – это в т.ч. фикциональные миры литературы.

²⁷ Семантическая теория экзильности относилась бы не ко всякой разобщенности в сигнификации, а лишь к (радикальной) деконтекстуализации, т.е. к семантической детерриториализации. И не ко всякой разобщенности во времени, а лишь к той, которая происходит и вне означающего: напр., между написанием и публикацией произведения. Аналогично в отношении разобщенности в личности. Объект, называемый в лингвистике ‘моментом речи’ – а точнее цепочка ‘мысль-слово-дело’ в ее разных ‘синтаксических’ вариантах (Григорян 1991), – в его пространственном, временном и субстанциональном измерениях имел бы для названной теории центральное значение (о чем нет возможности распространяться здесь). Но учитывание основополагающей связи между экзильностью и *местом* отводит только что перечисленным видам разобщенности периферийный статус среди объектов теории. Ее центральный предмет – разрыв *пространственной* связи с ‘моментом речи’ и его же пространственной цельности.

стало нам всего дороже / Вот это море, да земля / [...] И сами стали мы так сходны / С землей, впивающей закат, / И так же Господу угодны, / Как спелый хлеб и виноград” (Федоров 1919). В диптихе “I. По степи мы с тобой блуждали... – II. День уходил, светясь, к закату...” можно прочесть аллегория человеческой истории как обретения дома под Богом; при пессимистическом прочтении, диктуемом биографическим контекстом (диптих опубликован в Одесской газете в октябре 1919 г. – в междомье Южной России)²⁸: как маяния между инонаходимостью и нахождениями себя-и-дома.

3.4. Инонаходимость и *das Unheimliche*

Инонаходимость полезно сравнить с *das Unheimliche* (и его английским соответствием *uncanny*). “Как обнаруживает этимологическое исследование Фрейда немецкого термина *unheimlich*, *uncanny* можно понимать как чувство небывания-у-себя-дома в мире (*not-being-at home in the world*)” (Connop 2010: 11). Общее – несвоеместность / непосебешность.

Тот же автор дает такое провизорное определение *uncanny*: “опыт недомья (*unhomely experience*), момент выкорчевания, потери устойчивой опоры в действительности” (Connop 2010: 31). В конце концов это потеря чувства различия дома и не-дома (ср. Connop 2010: 9, 27). Тогда как опыт инонаходимости, являя собой промежуточный тип: ни обитания у себя дома, ни кочевничества, – потерей того чувства не характерен.

С точки зрения учитывающего психоанализ литературоведения инонаходимость это *das Unheimliche*, которое не просто ‘есть’, а вызвано нечьими действиями (каузировано), и которое характеризует опыт субъекта не в мире, а в каком-то месте или пространстве.

С точки зрения теории литературы, признающей невнутриситуативность одним из ее основополагающих свойств, *das Unheimliche* в круге литературы и литературоведения – лишь *гиперболизация*, *гипостазирование*, ‘*космизация*’ невнутриситуативности и вытекающей из нее потенциальной непосебешности / инонаходимости субъекта литературного письма и действия. Сравним:

the uncanny можно понять не только как спектр образов и как литературный прием для артикуляции странности дома и собственного Я, но также как повествовательный этос или установка письма. [...] Само место, с которого письмо выходит на белый свет, порtretуется как *unheimlich*, локализованное у [некоей] точки первичной неопределенности (*uncertainty*) (Connop 2010: 27).

²⁸ Благодарю Галину Петкову (София) за возможность ознакомиться с стихотворением. Содержание оборотной стороны газетной вырезки с его текстом подсказывает предлагаемую датировку.

Такой творческий результат у некоторых современных романистов (Э. Каррер, М. НДийе, Э. Савицкая) нечаянно увенчивает манифесты и художественную практику некоторых теоретиков недалекого прошлого:

В своем предисловии к *Prénoms de personne* [1974], Элен Сиксу обсуждает то, что она видит как главную задачу литературы: запрещать либо проблематизировать комфорт бывания у себя дома (*chez soi*) и формы текстового одомашнивания. (Сопнон 2010: 62).

“Je me voyage”²⁹, слова одного из героев романа Юлии Кристевой “Убийство в Византии” (2004), видятся исследователю как вбирающими “визию Кристевой о субъекте как о некто, кто никогда не полностью у себя дома[, будучи] с собой” (“one who is never entirely at home with herself”) (Сопнон 2010: 77). Опыт инонаходимости постулируется как должный, как должно-универсальный. Наверняка можно считать субъект типа кристевского одним из ряда возможных типов. Представляются возможными литературная типология и история на основе того, в какой мере и как литература расшатывает комфорт находящегося у себя дома субъекта. Не без подсказки Коннон (Сопнон 2010: 46), можно считать эту расшатанность остранением: в плане (создания и восприятия) художественного артефакта, но и в плане персональностей пишущего и воспринимающего. Остранением, которое перестает переживаться как и быть приемом автономного, но в самом деле мало воздействующего на действительность вне эстетизиса-и-катарсиса, искусства. Остранением, как оно производилось бы культовым образом. “Непосебешность (uncanniness), выпячиваемая в этих романах, не принимает форму мимолетных случаев, а, парадоксально, представляет собой начальную точку для каждого из этих повествований” (Сопнон 2010: 273). Если, допустим, в литературе рефлексивного традиционализма внутриситуативность словесности воссоздавалась метафорически, а потом разными способами писатели усомнились в том, стоит ли ее воссоздавать³⁰, то здесь внутриситуативность объявляется невозможной.

Неслитное единство пространственного и персонального – другая общая черта “инонаходимости” и “жуткой смещенности”³¹. Автор англоязычного исследования о

²⁹ Сознательное отступление Кристевой от грамматической нормы, глаголу ‘путешествовать’ приписывается показатель возвратности: скорее ‘я путешествуюсь’, чем ‘я путешествую себе’.

³⁰ В т.ч. выработкой – и с позиции – инстанции всеведующего невидимого повествователя ‘реализма’.

³¹ А также ‘зорности’, ‘пугающей шероховатости’, ср.: “Мы можем описывать расстраивающий феномен, образ, персону, фильм или книгу как ‘uncanny’ за неимением более точного дескриптивного термина, потому что это нечто такое, которое оставляет нас с *чувством нерешенности*, которое навязывает предел нашей возможности толковать его” (Сопнон 2010: 32; курсив мой). “Рассматривая *uncanny* в терминах *chez soi*, мы могли бы описать момент, где

формах ‘недомья’ в современном французском романе решила пользоваться не английским словом *home*, но французским выражением *chez moi*, так как

оно вызывает не только мысль о физических и эмоциональных элементах дома, но также и о связи между домом и ‘Я’. Чувство быть *chez soi* можно понимать как чувство комфорта и заверения [в существовании] своего дома, но и самого себя. *Un-cantu* внушает расстройство обеих сфер (Сопнон 2010: 9, примеч. 1)³².

Понятно, жуть *das Unheimliche* связана не только с домом, но и с ‘Я’, с зазором между ‘внешними’ и ‘внутренними’ аспектами субъекта обитания (человек здесь вызван в своем измерении субъекта обитания, а не чего-нибудь другого): это несвоеместность, неприсебешность, непосебешность, не-у-себя-шность (см. и: Сопнон 2010: 11, 45 и др.). Меняя точку зрения, можно заключить, что проблематично и превращение пространства в место; место вдруг, и то и дело, срывается в пространство (ср. Сопнон 2010: 12).

‘Жуть’, ‘странность’ и под. переводы не только подчиняют явление “картезианской структуре мышления” (Сопнон 2010: 33), но и упускают из виду пространственный момент в немецком слове. Мне известно истолкование слова как “беспокойства перед родным [...] как вы-родным (из-родно)” (уродливым, выдающимся из ряда вон, ‘выродковым’) (Камелией Спасовой и Марией Калиновой) и “перед родным как состоянием-не-по-себе” (Александром Кёсевым; болг. *чоглаво*) (Бодаков 2021; ср. Калинова, Спасова 2013). Экспликация Бодакова, “беспокойство перед...”, кажется продуктивным (не)доразумением. Такое истолкование известного понятия и психофизиологического явления в наибольшей степени делает его сопоставимым с инонаходимостью.

3.5. Экскурс: фикциональные миры и инонаходимость

Эмигрантологии подходит понимание литературы как генератора (Doležel 1988: 489; Pavel 1986: 84; Hart 2013: 17) и обрамления фикциональных миров и отсюда – разномирия, гетеротопичности.

Фикциональные миры – разновидность возможных миров (Doležel 1988). Конструирование фикционального мира не отменяет актуальность мира, в рамках которого он порожден путем *поззиса* (ср. Doležel 1988: 490).

От фикциональных миров литературы состояния инонаходимости отличаются тем, что они хотя бы временно отменяют мир, в котором порождены. Возможность ‘иног’ *не* перескочила или не была отложена на параллельную (или просто другую)

мир больше не оперирует в неразрывности (continuity) с Я [...]” (Сопнон 2010: 82; курсив мой). Я прибегнул бы к частичной кальке с немецкого: “сдомленность”.

³² “По сравнению с ‘home’, однако, этот термин склоняется более чувствительно к элементу Я / личности (self), отражая [некую] тенденцию воображать Я как форму дома” (Сопнон 2010: 82).

временную ось. ‘Тормоза’, откладывающие акт выбора в фикциональные миры, ‘судьбо-отводы’ не срабатывают.

Отличаются и тем, что возможное обрело плоть независимо от того, было ли желанным или нет (ср. Doležel 1988: 493). Самосбывающееся пророчество кажется разновидностью тех намеренных и *ненамеренных* перформативных актов (ср. Doležel 1988: 490), которые производят состояния инонаходимости...

И, как у фикциональных миров, у них обнаруживается основополагающее игровое измерение (о нем см. Spagiosu 2015).

Вскрывается архаический пласт той психофизической реальности, которую связывают с ‘апеллятивной функцией’ речи. Вызов судьбе – вызов судьбы.

Предмет эмигрантологии охватывает фактическое и возможное. Так, созерцание возможности своей эмиграции – часть предмета эмигрантологии не только потому, что эмиграция (даже в опосредованном виде) является ее объектом, но и потому, что здесь имеет место созерцание альтернативного мира, возможности иного существования.

4. *Специфический объект эмигрантологии и его теоретическое моделирование*

Специфический объект эмигрантологии – семья состояний инонаходимости. В зависимости от дисциплинарной доминанты эмигрантология может быть литературоведческой, лингвистической, юридической, социологической и т.д. Специфический объект литературоведческой эмигрантологии – литература, создаваемая в условиях инонаходимости и их тематизирующая; пребывание в таких условиях и озабоченность ими писателя и читателя.

С точки зрения социологии литературы разновидности инонаходимости попадают в четыре большие группы: в некоторых из них возможна литературная жизнь³³; в других – лишь индивидуальное творчество; в третьих – то либо другое, но в порядке симуляции инонаходимости или исключения (напр., сюрреализм, как особая концептуализация сна; творчество под воздействием опиатов); наконец, есть и такие, которые могут быть темой или толчком, но не непосредственным условием создания литературы (напр., “люди, говорящие сами с собой” “на улицах больших городов” из импрессии Александра Федорова [1928]; [ложное] отождествление жизненной динамики с динамикой игры, напр. в шахматы – Лужиным Вл. Набокова; находимость на другой планете; ощущение, осознание реальности ‘духовной родины’; путешествие по загробному миру).

³³ Перечисление см. ниже. Если верить художественной литературе, то местодействи- ем, пусть и рудиментарной, литературной жизни могут быть и такие режимы инонаходимости, как дом во время карантина (*Декамерон*) и даже комната, где обитает приговоренный на смерть перед казнью (*1001 ночь*).

4.1. К статической типологии инонаходимости

Из семьи состояний инонаходимости несколько видов кажутся особенно важными, с точки зрения литературоведческой эмигрантологии. Это эмиграция, внутренняя эмиграция, ссылка, спецпоселение, (исправительно-трудовой) лагерь и, с оговорками, 'укорененный' / 'диалогический' космополитизм.

О не-рядоположении указанных видов русистикой стоит пожалеть.

Нам известное исключение – работы Клаудии Пьерали (Pieralli 2013a, 2013b, 2017), в которых предпринимается опыт типологии литературы эмигрантов, внутренних эмигрантов, ссыльных и заключенных под общим знаменателем понятия 'altrove' (2013b: 222). В работе (Барковская и др. 2019) оно переведено как 'инонаходимость'; мы считаем этот термин вполне удачным.

ЭМИГРАЦИЯ. Параллельное употребление, хотя бы в некоторых языках, синонимов *exile* и *emigration* дает возможность, не лишая слова терминологичности, усмотреть в них разные смысловые оттенки: 'пассивность – активность'. Определение Поля Табори³⁴ кажется применимым и к тому и к другому.

Литература, созданная в условиях ССЫЛКИ в Российской империи³⁵, представляется некартографированным материком, сопоставимым с материком литературы, созданной в "дворянских гнездах". Теоретически интересной кажется ситуация поляков в Грузии XIX в. (см. Filina, Ossowska 2015), где (в Тифлисе) налицо условия становления контактной зоны между несколькими литературами³⁶.

Первый, кто пользуется словосочетанием "внутренняя эмиграция", это, видимо, Лев Троцкий в фельетоне *Внеоктябрьская литература* (1922 г.) (Троцкий 1992:

³⁴ "Изгнанник/эмигрант (an exile) это лицо, вынужденное уйти или остаться вне пределов своей родной страны из-за хорошо обоснованного страха преследования по причине расовой, религиозной, этнической принадлежности или политической позиции; лицо, которое считает свое изгнание временным (хотя оно может длиться всю жизнь), надеясь вернуться в свое отечество, когда обстоятельства этого позволят – но не имеющее возможности или желания сделать этого пока факторы, сделавшие его изгнанником/эмигрантом, остаются в силе" (Taborei 1972: 27; цит. по: Kettler, Ben-Dog 2006: 6).

³⁵ Краткое сопоставление ссылки в императорской и в советской России, а также 'ссылки' и 'высылки' по раннесоветскому законодательству см. в: Бердинских 2005: 16. В другой работе мимоходом демонстрируются, кажется, важнейшие подходы к изучению литературы в условиях ссылки: круг чтения ссыльных (Vadcock 2016: 43-45, 83); мемуары ссыльных об их же душевном здоровье (*там же*: 149 сл.), или 'непосебешности'; создание ссыльными поэзии и прозы (*там же*: 114); песенное творчество уголовников (*там же*: 24).

³⁶ О (рудиментах) литературной жизни в лагерях: Горчева 2009; Bell 2011: 93; Gullotta 2011: 100 сл. Случай "Парижа северных концентрационных лагерей" (Gullotta 2010; 2011: 105 сл.; к сожалению, работа того же автора *Intellectual Life and Literature at Solovki 1923-1930: The Paris of the Northern Concentration Camps*, осталась мне недоступной) кажется аналогичным тифлисскому. Но необходимо выделение подтипов, с учетом (не)наличия условий межлитературной контактной зоны.

340, 347-349). Теория внутренней эмиграции как жизненной формы предложена в: Grimm 1972³⁷. Понятие являлось частью языка самоописания немецкой оппозиционной культуры в 1930-е гг., по мнению современного исследователя (Krenzlin 2016: 15) без связи с Троцким.

Эмигранты [...] переносили выражение “эмигранты” на любого противника Гитлера, кто остался в стране и там в подполье пытался делами или текстами оказывать сопротивление или по меньшей мере пребывать в ожидании, чтоб в подходящий момент стать активным: те обозначали этих как “внутренних эмигрантов” и так озвучивали связь между двумя группами. [...] Чем сильнее режим Гитлера упрочнял свое господство в Германии и надежда на широкое сопротивление исчезала, тем более выражение “внутренняя эмиграция” у эмигрантов теряло свой воинственный обертон. С 1937 года оно все чаще обозначало преимущественно пассивную оппозицию, тайной оставшийся протест, обращение на свое внутреннее [Я] или [погружение] в молчание (Gołaszewski *et al.* 2016b: 3).

Внутреннюю эмиграцию можно считать слабой формой *интroversитного exile* (Кнарр 1991, 2); уход в монастырь, а тем более в пустынь, – сильной.

СПЕЦПОСЕЛЕНИЕ. Имеются в виду местоназначения принудительных переселений социальной группы (‘кулаков’) и этнических групп. “[Е]сли ГУЛАГ – это, в значительной мере, явление надэтническое, то спецпоселение – это акция прежде всего национально ориентированная [...] ‘Кулацкая ссылка’ 1930-х годов, безусловно, преследовала иные цели” (Бердинских 2005: 6).

Вместе с тем широкие национальные потоки в 1940-х годах шли и в ГУЛАГ: [...]. Семьи многих из них этапировались на спецпоселение, а главы семей находились в лагерях. [...] Автоматически отправлялись на поселение – после завершения лагерного срока – лица из определенных к вечной ссылке этносов: немцы, калмыки и т.п. (Бердинских 2005: 35).

Образцы литературы сосланных народов, прорабатывающие травму, собраны в трехтомной антологии, составленной Светланой Алиевой (1993); по Алиевой, тексты в большинстве своем созданы после 1985 г. Апостериорность литературной коммуникации, а по всей вероятности и продукции, наиболее четко проявляется здесь, по сравнению с другими ситуациями инонаходимости³⁸. Хотя можно полагать, что и здесь, как в следственной тюрьме, ‘этапе’ и лагере, имело место творчество ‘в уме’, при

³⁷ Гамма настроений – от бунта до пассивного отрицания (Grimm 1972: 47-49); это на один ‘тон’ ближе к первому полюсу, по сравнению с литературой в (под)советской лагерной прессе, где гамма – от словесного бунта до видимо-полного подключения к пропагандной эстетике (Gullotta 2011: 108).

³⁸ О рудиментах литовской литературной жизни в спецпоселениях: Balkelis 2012: 66-67; Koustova 2015: 611.

котором незаписанный текст мог помниться своим автором годами (Pieralli 2013a: 387-388; 2013b: 223, 232 и сл.; ср. Солженицын 1975: 58-75 [Ч. V, гл. 5]).

ЛАГЕРЬ И ЛАГЕРНАЯ литература требуют отдельного вводного обсуждения, в рамках настоящей статьи невозможного. Лишь укажем или напомним, что видеть начало этой литературы, равно как и исследования ГУЛага, в 1950-х гг., а тем более в *Одном дне Ивана Денисовича*, исторически близоруко и оправданно только (гео)политически. И что лагерная литература дает образ-ключ к *интракомпаративному* рассмотрению режимов инонаходимости российского XX века. Упомянув возможность толковать опыт инонаходимости как околосмертного переживания³⁹, отметим, что он может структурироваться с оглядкой на самую известную в христианском мире композицию потустороннего мира и путешествия по нему (*Божественная комедия* Данте). Сложив данные двух источников, *Соловки (Коммунистическая каторга, или место пыток и смерти)* Ивана Зайцева (Шанхай 1931) и *Россия в концлагере* Ивана Солоневича (София 1936), получится следующая схема пространства: СССР – трагедия; пересылочный лагерь, ‘этап’ – чистилище; лагерь – ад.

Критерий выделения как раз этих пяти видов в рамках гораздо более многочисленной семьи ситуаций – одновременное наличие следующих признаков: 1) существенная длительность состояния; 2) сочетание интеллектуально-индивидуальной и этно-культурной перспектив самоидентификации инонаходящегося лица; 3) обязательная возможность коллективности опыта, но не и его индивидуальности (спецпоселение – только коллективная форма); 4) обязательная возможность психичности опыта, но не его физичности (внутренняя эмиграция – только психическая форма); 5) одновременная проницаемость и непроницаемость внешних границ. Наличие этих признаков дает возможность говорить о литературе в условиях инонаходимости как об индивидуальном и *не-индивидуальном* занятии.

С данной точки зрения оказываются *по-разному* периферийными: коллективизация, поспешная урбанизация, мобилизация и военновременные потоки беженцев, (не продолжающиеся ссылкой и т.п.) политические аресты, обмен населением, эвакуация⁴⁰, принудительное перемещение в смысле “перемещенных лиц”, тюрьма, (не) добровольный постриг, высылка; а также “внутренняя диаспора”⁴¹, трудовая миграция, революционно-террористическое подполье, психическая эпидемия⁴².

Некоторые режимы инонаходимости препятствуют возможности (или оправданной склонности?) воспринимать ее как ретроспективную (дом утрачен): чаяние национальной территории, подлежащей освобождению; пустующей, варварской и

³⁹ В частности про эмиграцию см.: Lyutskanov 2016.

⁴⁰ Перечисление извлечено из: Davoliūtė, Balkelis 2012b: 12.

⁴¹ Термин Эрика Р. Скотта (Blauvelt 2017).

⁴² О явлении: Rosen 1960; рудименты подведения литературной продукции конкретной социально-психологической формации под эту рубрику см. в: Геллер 1974: 123-129, 232-234, 253-255, 274 и др.

т.д. земли до ее колонизации. Зачарованная 'обетованной землей' литература создается, конечно, и в условиях после утраты 'рая' (ср. Ainsa 1982: 59) – напр., *Повесть о Светомире царевице* Вячеслава Иванова⁴³. Ретро- и проспективность могут переходить одна в другую в рамках одной и той же индивидуальной или групповой жизни, как показано в (Ainsa 1982). Возможно ли поддержание двух перспектив, двух психических комплексов в состоянии равновесия?

Позднеמודерный сдвиг к волюнтаристской и множественной этнокультурной самоидентификации индивида⁴⁴ сулит ответ на этот вопрос и заставляет выделить шестой 'сердцевинный' вид инонаходимости. Культурная миграция, номадизм, диаспора, транснационализм, транскulturность⁴⁵, подразумевают переоценку территориальных и этнокультурных аспектов чувства дома и чувства принадлежности, доходящую до мысли о "бессмысленности таких понятий, как территория и дом"⁴⁶, могущую стилизовать прошлое и человека под навязчивую (анти)утопию нашей современности⁴⁷. В самом деле индивид может пойти по разным траекториям между полюсами бездомности, двудомности и однодомности, между неустойчивой, множественной и однозначной самоидентификациями, между готовностью и неготовностью признать домом (родиной) язык. Лингвистическое двуязычие в рамках творчества одного автора рассматривается нами как историческая универсалия⁴⁸, но и как исторически переходное явление, с возможной трансформацией в условиях ослабленного этноцентризма интеллектуальных элит позднего XX века и века XXI-го – в контролируемое и 'паритетное' в рамках одного и тоже же текста многоязычие⁴⁹. Для

⁴³ Ср. Balkelis 2012: 67-71; конкретно, юношеские стихи спецпоселенца Напалиса Киткаускаса (цит. Balkelis 2012: 67) перерабатывают иномир Сибири в чаемую Литву.

⁴⁴ См. идентичностные горизонты гибридности (Х. Бхабха и др.), (укорененного, диалогического) космополитизма (Кваме Энтони Аппиа, Арюн Аппадурай), воображаемого мира конструируемых транснациональных идентичностей (Аппадурай), транснационализма (Михаэл Питэр Смит и др.), текстуальных полу-фикциональных "контактных зон" (в смысле Мэри Луис Пратт) (Рашэль Траусдэйл) (Trousedale 2010: 3-14).

⁴⁵ Перечисление извлечено из: Kettler, Ben-Dor 2006: 8-9; McClennen 2005: 2, 11.

⁴⁶ Kettler, Ben-Dor 2006: 8. Авторы озабочены данным развитием. Ср. Sassen 2006: 143-321.

⁴⁷ "[...Д]аже если б и было возможным испытать чисто транснациональное существование, большинство из нас признают, что глобализация не ведет к свободному от властей, освобожденному, мультикультуральному состоянию бытия. [...] Я обнаружила, что в многих работах ученых термин 'exile' был лишен истории и потерял свойство отсылать к болезненному состоянию бытия. [...]" (McClennen 2005: 2, 11, ср. 5-6). Следует остерегаться и отождествления опыта глобальной бизнес и политической элиты с опытом общечеловеческим (ср. Morgan 2017: 16).

⁴⁸ См. Orsini 2015: 351-359. Работа ценна отказом от несаморефлексивно-глобалистской перспективы на многоязычие в пользу локалистско-регионалистской, с опорой на понятие 'местного космополитизма'.

⁴⁹ Начальная и потенциально-финальная точки этой мысленной траектории (если это генеалогически связанные между собой явления), более или менее в рамках русистики, рас-

обозначения эмигрантологического коррелята названного многоязычия мы позаимствовали бы понятия ‘укорененного’ и ‘диалогического’ космополитизма, а также ‘ТРАНСНАЦИОНАЛИЗМА’ (см. Trousedale 2010: 8-12; понимание транснационализма в Morgan 2017: 14 кажется нам слишком широким)⁵⁰. Такое обозначение высвечивает, однако, только часть явления, другой частью которого представляется литература, моделирующая жизнь в исторически обратимом и физически множественном мире (как Филипп Дик в *Человек в высоком замке* и как Владимир Сорокин в *Голубом сале*).

Эмиграция, лагерь, укорененный космополитизм и т.д. вроде бы явления чрезвычайно разнородные с точки зрения социологии и макроистории. Но с точки зрения философии (феноменологии), психологии и теории литературы они близки. Все они колеблют онтологическую, но и психологическую, и социологическую, и макроисторическую, дихотомию ‘оседлость – кочевничество’ и такую же дихотомию ‘дома – не-дома’, все же *не* упраздняя ни ту, ни другую.

Мы продемонстрировали статический подход к видам инонаходимости (близкий к структуралистскому моделированию семантики грамматической категории на основе выделения общих признаков и вариаций в их комбинировании), но возможен и динамический, а точнее диаграммический.

4.2. К диаграммической типологии инонаходимости

Моделирование инонаходимости кажется возможным и путем выделения в качестве стержневых типов *участков* ‘[малой]’⁵¹ з/Зоны, прежде всего: (следственная) тюрьма, этап(ирование), лагерь (см. Pieralli 2013b: 223). Аналогичные формы можно рассмотреть и при перемещении за государственные границы: (типовой) габитус беженства (‘сидение на чемоданах’) и суб-габитус ‘находящегося в “карантине”’⁵² (т.наз. Галлиполийское сидение, пребывание на Ellis Island); передвижение с места временного обитания к месту неокончательного жительства (реэмиграция)⁵³; габит-

смаивались, соответственно, в: Beaudeau 1984; Хромова 2019; промежуток – в: Kellman 2018: 17-23, 26-28, и в ряде работ Адриана Ваннера, напр.: Wanner 2011. Контролируемое многоязычие можно определить как инструментализацию лиминальной, или промежуточной после ‘отделения’ и до ‘воссоединения’, фазы ритуала перехода, и как вид перманентной лиминальности (эти понятия применены к эмиграции в: Lyutskanov 2016: 354-356).

⁵⁰ Определение в обход транслингвальности удобно эмигрантологии лишь на первый взгляд.

⁵¹ Ср. Розанов (1979: 23, 188), различающий, как и многие, ‘малую’ и ‘большую’ (всесоюзную) зоны. Советское зонирование степеней несвободы походит на современную ситуацию ‘свободного’ передвижения людей по миру (визовые режимы разной степени строгости).

⁵² Не обязательно – медицински-мотивированного.

⁵³ Ссылка в *царской России* показывает признаки того же габитуса. “Движение, показывает [Сара Бэдкок], было неотъемлемо от наказания изгнанием [...] первоначальное путешествие обычно прерывалось затяжными (иногда длящимися больше года) периодами в пере-

тус эмиграции. Диаграммическая группировка форм отсылает к троичной структуре ритуалов перехода.

5. *К описанию символической экономики инонаходимости (эмиграция как модель)*

Недооценка территориальных и этнокультурных аспектов идентичности обездомленных может подпитываться и той модификацией мирского культа поэта, которая приписывает последнему всевозможные формы 'свободы *от*'⁵⁴, чтобы оставить ему одну-единственную форму 'свободы *ради*' – 'творчества'. (А литературоведы, со знанием или нет, привержены этой модификации). Пример Владимира Набокова кажется особенно деморализующим. Отход Набокова от русского языка и успешная социализация его творчества в т. наз. мировой литературе подсказывают определенную модель исследования и оценки опыта *обездомленных пишущих*, где предмет 'подгоняется' и под нашу современность, и под модерность⁵⁵. Соглашамся с Тихоновым (2015: 154; 142, 155), что нужно освободить наше представление об эмиграции (и ссылке) как от романтизирующей (высокая уединенность), так и от либеральной (самодостаточная креативность) стереотипизаций⁵⁶. С другой стороны, предметное поле модернизируется и с интенцией без остатка *национализировать* опыт обездомленных, привязать тот опыт к идиллически представляемой родной этнокультурной общности, перемещенной или нет⁵⁷. (Здесь не только действие актуальной политической конъюнктуры в России, но и отождествление поэта с воплощением национального гения). Влиятельная в настоящем веке метафора "русское зарубежье"⁵⁸ кодирует набор основных методологических пороков российской эмигрантологии, действительных и потенциальных: физический детерминизм; 'метрополио-центризм'; недооценка взаимодействия с туземной средой; обход проблемы политического и ментального раскола.

Любая эмигрантская литература (и культура) вынашивает диалектику противоречия между свободой и интимной связанностью с 'родным' гнездом (ср. McClennen

сильных тюрьмах и стоянках, во время которых узников приставляли к работам" (Pallot 2017: 137; о: Vadcock 2016).

⁵⁴ В смысле Эриха Фромма.

⁵⁵ Центральным для последней кажется миф об индивидуальности, имеющий две основные точки приложения: индивида и нацию (всем известные работы о национализме 'конструктивистской / модернистской' парадигмы дезавуируют указанный миф в его второй точке приложения, персоналистская критика индивидуализма – в первой).

⁵⁶ Научную де-романтизацию наиболее известных русских ссыльных, декабристов, см. в: Gentes 2010: 82-83.

⁵⁷ Отмечу наличие альтернатив, с которыми эмигрантология должна считаться: Маргарита из романа М. Булгакова социализируется в свите Воланда, в 1934 г. Татьяна Чернавина подбрасывает идею создания "ордена бывших подсоветских людей".

⁵⁸ Я не отрицаю, что она была распространена и среди эмигрантов.

2005; ср. и Tihanov 2015, где противоплагаются креативность и страдание). Тиханов (не он один) говорит об эмиграции как о поле взаимного обогащения принимающей культуры и культуры эмигрантов (2011: 325; ср. 321, с парадигмо-задающей ссылкой на монографию Л. Ливака). Можно считать, что в опыте бездомных, в т.ч. эмигрантов, переплетены *три* основных импульса, или социо-пространственные ориентации: освобождения от любых обременяющих обязанностей и привязанностей (см. Boldor 2005), или ориентация на неограниченное самоутверждение; ответственности за общность ‘своих’ (см. Люцканов 2019) и ностальгии по родному дому; коллокации / взаимодействия⁵⁹ с ‘туземцами’.

Представляется ценным видеть вынашивание этих ориентаций в их сочлененности. Такой перспективой может оказаться “основополагающий нарратив о трансгрессии и пересечении границ” (Tihanov 2015: 143); но ею может быть и (мета-)нарратив о существовании в условиях (не)перманентной лиминальности⁶⁰ и о (не)сообщении / (не)сообщимости опыта такового существования⁶¹.

Как кризисное состояние, бездомность вынуждает к творчеству (Flusser 2004), которое следует понимать и как вызов на встречу с ‘чужими’ рядом (ср. *там же*: 26) и ‘своими’ где-то в отдалении. Ответ на вызов вбирает в себя диалектику индивидуации и регресса (в смысле Фромма) и зависимость от разных идеологий (или идеологически фундированных ‘здоровых смыслов’). Он осуществляет гамму установок – на (авто)терапию, адаптацию, ассимиляцию⁶², (само)разрушение, *спасение*⁶³. Они, как и вышеназванные ‘ориентации’, представляются базисными параметрами символической экономики всех ‘сердцевинных’ видов бездомности.

⁵⁹ Взаимодействие можно описать диалектикой притяжения и отталкивания. Но разница между взаимодействием и (лишь) сожительством не объясняется разностью в соотношении притяжения и отталкивания. Нет необходимости распространяться здесь об этом.

⁶⁰ Понятие перманентной лиминальности – Арпада Шаколчая. Анализ понятия и его предыстории см. в: Thomassen 2009.

⁶¹ Наиболее драматическим среди возможных жизненных сюжетов кажется такой: ‘бездомный рассказывает о той бездомности, которую он оставил за спиной, а новый сосед, тоже бездомный, ему (не) верит’.

⁶² Различение между установками на ассимиляцию и адаптацию (аккомодацию) см., напр., в: Dobson 2013.

⁶³ Типология опирается на аналитическую психологию К. Юнга (Samuels *et al.* 1986), социальную психологию Э. Фромма (Fromm 1955; 1973) и *пастырскую психологию* Владеты Иеротича (Jerotić 1997).

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Abstract

Jordan Ljuckanov

Towards Demarcating Emigrantology

In this article I propose viewing '(Russian P/)philology', 'Russia(n) Studies' and '(Russian E/) emigrantology' as three separate and equally valid approaches to (Russian) literature and writers; I maintain that each of them is charged with its own interdisciplinary perspective.

I elaborate a new definition of 'emigrantology', based on reassessment of its subject matter (not exilic experiences, but experiences of 'somewhere-else-ness') and the range of its objects (not only emigration / exile, but a family of diverse experiences, from camp incarceration, to trips to the other-world and translingual writing). I seek to overcome physical determinism of Russian literary studies in Russian language and, at the same time, to forestall certain 'counter-sedentary' bias perceivable in post-modern contemplation of exile and related phenomena in the English language. I link the literary-theoretic *raison d'être* of 'emigrantology' to the property of 'non-in-situatedness' that differentiates 'literature' from 'wording' ("writings") according to the literary ontology of S. Averincev.

I define the subject matter of 'emigrantology', as 'unselfiness', 'unplaceliness' and 'somewhere-else-ness' (the former two concepts are deliberate neologisms, shaped after "untimely"). I conceptualise 'backing' notions as 'place-boundness' and 'place-conscience' and explain the two theoretic assumptions which give my own theorisation sense: the irreducible territoriality of exile in particular and of 'somewhere-else-ness' in general, and their basic property of being both psychic and bodily. I also compare 'somewhere-else-ness' to *das Unheimliche* and fictional worlds.

Prioritising the standpoint of sociology of literature and with the case of Russian literature / literature in Russia in mind, I delineate some 'core' types of 'being-somewhere-else' experiences: besides inciting to be thematised by literature and hosting individual literary creativity, these types can sustain circulation and reception of literature (the state of being an *émigré*; inner emigration; exile; camp incarceration; special settlement; translingual writing / transnational belonging). As a counterpoint, I trace the option of diagrammatic typology of 'somewhere-else-ness' experiences, one which brings to the fore commonalities with rites of passage.

Taking the condition of being an *émigré* (community) as a benchmark and distancing my model from both liberal-individualist and nationalist mythologisations of that latter condition, I identify what I believe are the basic parameters of symbolic economy of an individual and community experiencing 'somewhere-else-ness'.

Keywords

'Somewhere-Else-ness'; 'Being Without the Situation'; Special Settlements; Multilingual Writing; Symbolic Economy of Exile.

Giovanna Brogi Bercoff
Marcello Garzaniti

Un'eredità preziosa. Il contributo culturale di Hans Rothe (1928-2021)

Qualche mese fa ci ha lasciati Hans Rothe (1928-2021), una delle figure più significative della slavistica europea la cui eredità merita qualche riflessione. Nel solco della tradizione degli studi slavistici in Germania i suoi interessi non erano limitati a una singola lingua o letteratura, come ormai sta diventando consuetudine, e hanno abbracciato problematiche di carattere filologico, linguistico e letterario dal medioevo fino all'epoca contemporanea¹. Fin dalla sua formazione con gli studi universitari di linguistica e teologia acquisì competenze rare fra gli slavisti, che si sono manifestate in tutta la sua attività scientifica ed editoriale. Assistente di A. Rammelmeyer e H. Bräuer a Marburg, dal 1966 al 1993 insegnò come Professore ordinario presso l'Università di Bonn. I suoi corsi spaziavano da Dostoevskij e Tolstoj alla letteratura del Seicento e ai temi 'classici' della Filologia slava. Le più giovani generazioni di slavisti lo hanno conosciuto soprattutto come direttore della Commissione patristica dell'Accademia delle Scienze della Renania-Westfalia (1985-2007), che aveva sede nella vecchia capitale della Germania occidentale, e *spiritus movens* del progetto di ricerca dedicato allo studio e alla pubblicazione di antichi manoscritti di testi liturgici e innografici. Con l'aiuto di alcuni validi collaboratori in Germania, fra cui D. Christians, o in Russia, tra cui E.M. Vereščagin e E.V. Šul'gina, ha diretto l'edizione dei mesi di dicembre, febbraio e aprile delle *Menee liturgiche*, accompagnate dalla versione tedesca e da note di commento o, per alcuni codici, dai facsimili (1992-2020), in corposi volumi pubblicati nella serie *Patristica slavica*². I suoi interessi per l'innografia slava risalgono, tuttavia, a un periodo antecedente quando, negli anni Settanta, aveva collaborato con A. Dostál all'edizione del Contacario (*Kondakari*) slavo orientale, con i 'contaci' in onore di feste e santi (1976-1980), in volumi apparsi nella serie *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Literatur bei den Slaven*.

A una cerchia più ampia di slavisti Rothe era noto per aver promosso insieme a R. Olesch la serie *Biblia slavica*, proseguita con la collaborazione di F. Scholz, Ch. Hannick e L. Udolph, in cui sono state pubblicate decine di volumi che offrono la riproduzione delle bibbie slave più significative, dalla Bibbia antico ceca di Dresda (ca. 1370) fino alla prima Bibbia

¹ La bibliografia completa è stata recentemente pubblicata in Thiergen 2019; cfr. Udolph 2021.

² Cfr. gli atti di convegno che hanno accompagnato la realizzazione di queste pubblicazioni, da cui si può ricavare un quadro dello stato degli studi sull'innografia slava (Rothe, Christians 2007).

slovacca (1755), accompagnate da saggi dei migliori specialisti, con una serie supplementare dedicata alla versione lituana delle sacre scritture (cfr. Rothe 1990). Quest'impresa straordinaria difficilmente può passare inosservata per chi si occupa di lingue e di letterature slave, data l'importanza che questi testi hanno avuto nella storia delle lingue e delle letterature slave.

Pur lavorando principalmente nella sua ricchissima biblioteca³, e avendo a disposizione una delle migliori biblioteche di slavistica in Germania presso l'Università di Bonn (oggi non più disponibile in quella sede), Rothe comprendeva bene che non ci si poteva chiudere nel proprio studiolo, e sapeva quanto fosse importante collaborare con colleghi e ricercatori anche al di là dei confini nazionali, anche al fine di favorire la formazione di giovani studiosi. Per questa ragione insieme a Ch. Hannick e R. Stichel aveva fondato ancora negli anni Novanta il Seminario di paleoslavistica (*Altslavistentag*) che, con cadenza più o meno annuale, riunisce un numero sempre maggiore di studiosi provenienti da diversi paesi. Alla sua tredicesima edizione, svoltasi a Saarbrücken nel 2019, egli riuscì, pur con fatica, a fare una breve comparsa. Al seminario hanno partecipato per lo più specialisti che hanno condotto ricerche in Germania, con il sostegno della Fondazione Humboldt, grazie alle lettere di presentazione di Rothe.

Provenendo dalla tradizione culturale religiosa evangelica della Prussia orientale, di cui ha saputo coltivare la memoria⁴, Rothe mostrava una profonda sensibilità per i testi sacri, a cui univa una meticolosa preparazione linguistica e letteraria maturata negli anni Cinquanta a Kiel e Marburg. Questo bagaglio culturale e scientifico gli offriva gli strumenti necessari per comprendere sia la tradizione scrittoria bizantina slava, sia le traduzioni delle sacre scritture. Occupandosi di testi innografici del mondo bizantino slavo aveva compreso quanto fosse importante considerare le forme espressive della tradizione scrittoria che caratterizzano la cosiddetta *Slavia ortodossa*, di cui era necessario cogliere i caratteri fondamentali sulla scia del modello cristiano orientale in una visione storica culturale che ha mostrato di saper cogliere non solo in studi di carattere storico culturale che ne evidenziavano le differenze con la *Slavia latina* (Rothe 1995), ma anche sul piano linguistico con una serie di riflessioni su alcuni concetti base presenti nell'innografia (Rothe 2007)⁵. Rothe sapeva bene, però, che con l'epoca moderna le relazioni fra le diverse tradizioni si erano sempre più compenstrate, a mano a mano che la cultura occidentale, in una prima fase per la mediazione della *Slavia latina*, procedeva nella sua espansione verso oriente, dando vita a nuove traduzioni e a opere originali nelle diverse culture slave. In questo ambito si colloca non soltanto la sua attività di editore delle Bibbie slave, corredate da alcuni suoi saggi che evidenziano l'attenzione per le fonti e la riflessione teologica (in particolare Rothe 1990, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006 e 2008), ma anche i suoi studi sulle tradizioni dei canzonali, cioè dei libri con le raccolte dei canti destinati alla devozione popolare, che dalla

³ La biblioteca è stata donata all'Università di Marburg.

⁴ Si vedano le sue memorie familiari in ben nove volumi (Rothe 1997-2008).

⁵ Cfr. soprattutto la sue riflessioni sui concetti di 'verità', 'immagine', 'bellezza', 'luce' (Rothe 2018).

Boemia si diffusero in tutto il mondo slavo, lasciando una traccia duratura (Rothe 1988, 1999 [anche in: Rothe 2011: 93-108] e 2016).

I suoi interessi, tuttavia, andavano ben oltre la letteratura medievale e le tradizioni bibliche e devozionali di epoca moderna. La necessità di comprendere meglio le relazioni culturali all'interno del mondo slavo nel più ampio contesto europeo ha condotto lo studioso tedesco a esaminare opere e autori che, considerate in ordine cronologico, possono ben rappresentare alcuni snodi fondamentali nello sviluppo delle letterature slave.

In questo ambito si collocano le sue ricerche sulla *Historia Bohemica* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini che, in collaborazione con altri studiosi, è uscita in una nuova edizione che comprende anche la versione antico tedesca e antico ceca, ma anche le ricerche sulla letteratura croata rinascimentale, in particolare sull'*Osman* di Gundulić. Queste edizioni e questi studi si aprono a una vasta riflessione sull'Umanesimo e il Rinascimento di area ceca e polacca, dando un importante contributo alla ricerca in questo campo. A questi studi si aggiungono le ricerche sulle letterature barocche in area polacca e rutena sino alla Russia. Spesso questi contributi servono a introdurre le edizioni di testi fondamentali come può essere per esempio la *Sinopsis* di I. Gizel' oppure il *Rifmologion* di Simeone di Polock su cui si ritornerà parlando degli studi sull'Ucraina (e Bielorussia) e il loro rapporto con la Russia. Come nel caso delle bibbie slave, grande attenzione si mostra nei confronti della diffusione della stampa.

Nel corso dei suoi anni di insegnamento lo studioso tedesco si era concentrato soprattutto su alcuni importanti scrittori russi fra la fine del Settecento e la seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Si devono ricordare in particolare Karamzin, il meno noto P.A. Katenin, Gončarov, Dostoevskij e, ultimamente, Tolstoj. L'interesse per la loro opera manifestava la sua profonda sensibilità per tematiche di carattere filosofico e religioso, ma evidenziava allo stesso tempo un'attenzione per le forme letterarie e lo sviluppo della letteratura russa nel più ampio contesto della cultura europea. Proprio in queste direzioni si collocano alcuni dei suoi studi dedicati alle forme poetiche, ma anche alle relazioni fra la letteratura russa e la letteratura tedesca, o alla produzione letteraria di epoca illuminista in chiave comparata fra Polonia e Prussia. In questo ambito, tuttavia, Rothe non segue il tradizionale paradigma dell'influsso che in passato ha dominato le ricerche sulle relazioni della cultura russa con l'Occidente, ma piuttosto si orienta a ridisegnare un panorama della produzione letteraria slava in chiave europea. Compolessivamente la riflessione sulle forme letterarie, dalla versificazione di epoca moderna alla questione dei generi nelle letterature medievali, non assume mai un carattere esclusivamente formale, ma si colloca all'interno di una più ampia disamina di carattere storico.

Questa riflessione sugli snodi dello sviluppo culturale e letterario nei vari paesi slavi ha un importante punto di approdo nelle ricerche dedicate all'appassionante confronto fra due giganti della letteratura, Mickiewicz e Puškin, nel più ampio contesto di una riflessione sul romanticismo polacco e russo. I suoi interessi riescono persino a spingersi fino alla letteratura contemporanea, alle avanguardie russe e ucraine, alla letteratura polacca del XX secolo e alla letteratura del dissenso russa, giungendo fino ad aree marginali come quella del casciubo.

La sua straordinaria attività editoriale, il suo molteplici lavoro di ricerca, che si era intensificato negli anni successivi al pensionamento, sono stati accompagnati da una costante attività all'interno della slavistica sia tedesca sia internazionale, soprattutto in relazione al Comitato internazionale degli slavisti, con una serie di interventi contro l'eccessiva specializzazione areale o la separazione delle ricerche di carattere filologico, linguistico e letterario da una più ampia prospettiva storica. Il suo approccio si è sempre avvalso delle più diverse discipline, per raggiungere una visione complessiva dello sviluppo delle tradizioni scritte e letterarie del mondo slavo nella sua interezza.

Le riflessioni inviate una quindicina di anni fa a "Studi Slavistici" per il Forum dedicato alle letterature slave comparate, curato da G. Moracci (2006), pur nella loro lapidaria brevità, esprimono chiaramente il suo appello a ritornare a una slavistica in cui ci si occupa di più lingue e più culture, uscendo dagli steccati delle singole discipline, e con un orizzonte europeo di cui noi oggi abbiamo estremamente bisogno.

Marcello Garzaniti

Tra le appassionanti e puntuali riflessioni sugli snodi dello sviluppo culturale e letterario nei vari paesi slavi un posto particolare è occupato dagli studi, all'epoca pionieristici, sull'Ucraina (e Bielorussia) e sul loro rapporto con la Russia. Queste tre entità vengono viste nella loro unità, la cui separazione si delineerebbe non prima del XIV secolo. Riflettendo sull'importanza della storia della letteratura come categoria euristica essenziale per la valutazione della letteratura stessa, in particolare di quella medievale (che sfugge alle categorie sviluppate dall'Illuminismo e dal Romanticismo), Rothe non nega l'esistenza e la validità di un approccio anche nazionale alla narrazione della Rus' medievale. Egli conosce bene l'ambiguità del termine *altrussich* ('antico russo') e considera giustificato il suo rifiuto da parte degli ucraini. Tuttavia, egli considera il mondo 'slavo orientale' (*Rus'*) come un articolato complesso ancora unitario di varie situazioni locali, e sottolinea il ruolo unificante dato dallo slavo ecclesiastico e dal carattere religioso del 90% dei testi. Al tempo stesso egli considera il primo periodo della Rus' (kieviana) come un *aliud* rispetto al secondo (moscovita) poiché prima del 1300 esistevano ancora legami politici e letterari con l'occidente, perdurava la memoria e l'impronta politica dei varjaghi, era forte il legame col Patriarcato di Costantinopoli, Kiev non partecipava alle dispute tra Roma e Bisanzio. È la specificità del processo letterario della Rus' di Kiev nel suo complesso che interessa Rothe: la dominanza dei testi di carattere religioso e più strettamente liturgico, lo sviluppo di alcuni generi mutuati da Bisanzio, ma conservati per secoli in forme linguistiche e letterarie che in altre aree hanno subito evoluzioni più evidenti, l'impatto che tali generi possono aver avuto sullo sviluppo della letteratura nuova (e in quest'ottica Rothe rileva il precoce allontanamento di Ucraina e Bielorussia dal complesso della Slavia orientale, nel quale l'arcaizzazione conservatrice è una tendenza più fortemente marcata nelle terre russe propriamente dette, cfr. Rothe 2000: 8, 29-36). Il dubbio è il sale dell'approccio filologico, sembra concludere

Rothe in un altro saggio dedicato ai generi letterari, con un'apparente contraddizione: se di generi letterari si può parlare nel medioevo slavo orientale, essi esistono solo come emanazione della cultura greca, per cui si potrebbe dedurre che "le più antiche letterature slave non sono altro che una parte della letteratura bizantina in lingua slava" (Rothe 1997: 261). Di tale natura è l'approccio critico dello studioso di Bonn che, alla ricerca di verità complesse, riusciva spesso a urtare le categorie prestabilite di colleghi legati ad anacronistiche idee di 'sviluppo nazionale' o a orientamenti politici imposti dall'esterno.

Scettico nei confronti di letture 'nazionali' della cultura slava orientale del medioevo kieviano e moscovita (che però considerava sempre come entità distinte), Rothe è stato tuttavia un pioniere degli studi ucrainistici. Già negli anni Settanta egli leggeva manoscritti seicenteschi nella Biblioteca delle stampe antiche di Kiev, come testimonia ancora un registro dei lettori. Lo attesta soprattutto l'antologia di testi ucraini e bielorusi del XVI-XVII secolo (Rothe 1976-1977), la prima non solo nel mondo occidentale, ma nell'Ucraina stessa (sovietica), dove la pubblicazione delle prime antologie di letteratura sei e settecentesca fu permessa solo a partire dal 1983. Fu questa anche la prima antologia che manteneva con scrupolo la fedeltà al testo originale, sia per la lingua che per l'ortografia. L'introduzione, breve eppure ricchissima di riflessioni, illustra i criteri di scelta e ordinamento dei testi: l'ordine è quello cronologico, essendo principi letterari, nazionali, di versificazione o di lingua inaffidabili. La scelta include poesie scritte in slavo ecclesiastico, nella lingua che riflette parlate locali (ucraine, bielorusse) che oggi chiamiamo *prosta mova*, in polacco e latino. Dall'analisi delle poesie appaiono invece evidenti alcune differenziazioni fra i vari centri di scrittura: Ostroh, Vilna, Leopoli, Kiev. Si sarebbero così formate vere 'scuole' che, per i poeti di lingua slavo-ecclesiastica, 'rutena' o polacca avrebbero creato dei modelli di poetica e retorica molto prima che i primi 'manuali' venissero scritti in latino (Rothe 1978). Il modello della poesia polacca nella formazione dell'isosillabismo ruteno (e poi russo) è invece chiaramente sottolineato. La ricchezza e la precisione fanno di questa antologia ancora oggi uno strumento fondamentale di lavoro⁶.

Non meno importante è stata (e resta) l'edizione della *Sinopsis* di Innokentij Gizel' (Rothe 1983a). Merito di Rothe non fu solo di rendere facilmente accessibile il testo del 1680, ma di avere scritto, già nel 1983, un saggio introduttivo (pp. 1-131) che resta una delle migliori sintesi degli studi, dell'inquadramento storico e politico dell'autore e dell'opera, dei nuovi valori semantici convogliati dalle modifiche introdotte nelle numerose nuove edizioni del XVII-XVIII secolo. Rothe collega il patrimonio di idee di Gizel' con l'eredità medievale e umanistica occidentale e coglie con sottile intuito psicologico e un pizzico d'ironia la finalità principale dell'opera: quella di assicurare il maggior vantaggio possibile per il Monastero delle Grotte e per la Metropolia di Kiev, all'interno di una concezione unitaria della tradizione ortodossa, che dopo il 1686 sarebbe stata sottoposta alla giurisdizione moscovita. Una concezione unitaria che però comprende anche una sostanziale autonomia

⁶ Le antologie sovietiche spesso traducevano in ucraino moderno le opere scritte in polacco o latino.

e la coscienza dell'alterità, addirittura della superiorità intellettuale ucraina rispetto alla Russia, almeno fino al 1700.

L'interesse costante per la tradizione umanistica e barocca nella cultura ucraina si manifesta in Rothe anche nell'attività editoriale e didattica. Si pensi alla corposa introduzione al fondamentale libro di F. Titov (1924) contenente le *Peredemovy* alle stampe seicentesche, ristampato per Böhlau nel 1982 o alla *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Literatur* di M. Voznjak, tradotta in tedesco, pubblicata già nel 1975, per ricordarne solo due molto importanti. Si pensi agli studi di colleghi più giovani e allievi che hanno creato nuovi filoni di studio: da Ch. Hannick a P. Thiergen, L. Udolph e D. Stern, a M. Berndt e K. Glowalla, dei quali restano fondamentali gli studi sull'innografia liturgica e paraliturgica, sulle bibbie slave, su varie letterature slave, da quella ceca a quella bulgara, soraba e russa (e alcuni motivi biblici in esse ricorrenti), sui sermoni di Dmytro Tuptalo, sui canti religiosi (cfr. anche Rothe 1999: nota 9) e sull'epitalamio di I. Ornovs'kyj, solo per fare alcuni esempi.

Non meno intenso è stato l'interesse di Rothe per la letteratura ucraina moderna, sempre in posizione critica contro stucchevoli sacralizzazioni (così l'introduzione al ponderoso studio di M. Moser sulla lingua di T. Ševčenko) o superficiali letture 'patriottiche'. In questo senso va rilevato l'eccezionale lavoro di scavo filologico e letterario del saggio sulla *Kassandra* di Lesja Ukrajinka. Il saggio fa parte di una raccolta di contributi presentati già nel 1988 a un congresso all'Università Libera di Monaco, poi ristampato nel 1994 assieme alla traduzione del dramma (Rothe 1994; Ukrajinka 2007: 231-268). Rothe guarda con disincantato oggettivismo agli anni di epocali cambiamenti tra Otto e Novecento, ma non esita a riconoscere che la poetessa ucraina, in particolare con *Kassandra*, ha scritto un capolavoro di arte poetica e drammatica che ha preceduto e in parte superato tanti drammi ben più noti in Europa e in Russia. L'esame minuzioso dell'eredità classica e di quella di Schiller, dei simboli (il serpente) e della struttura ferrea dell'opera, delle relazioni tra i vari personaggi svelano i punti nodali del dramma che, secondo lo studioso di Bonn, non riflettono il conflitto con la verità, ma le dualità all'interno dell'eroina stessa e della sua creatrice: il conflitto tra amore e politica, la dialettica tra amore e morte, peccato e liberazione, amore e dovere, visione e parola, profezia e destino, pietà e colpa, realtà e verità. Soprattutto, si rispecchierebbero nel dramma l'incertezza, l'ansia e la percezione di catastrofi precedenti agli eventi che avrebbero sconvolto l'Europa pochi anni dopo la stesura di *Kassandra* (1908) e la morte della poetessa (1913).

In questa letteratura ucraina colta ed europea, che affonda le radici nel XVI secolo ma si europeizza definitivamente fra Ottocento e Novecento, Rothe vede il presupposto della 'rivoluzione' seguita all'indipendenza del 1991.

Non meno che dal 'centro' del canone ucraino, Rothe è stato affascinato dalle sue 'periferie', in particolare per il barocco. Già al Congresso degli slavisti del 1973 egli presentò uno studio sulla poesia ucraina in Bessarabia; per il Congresso di Zagabria del 1978, scriveva pagine fondamentali sullo sviluppo delle poesie sillabica rutena (e poi russa), basandosi sull'esperienza della raccolta antologica appena pubblicata nel 1976-1977 (v. *supra*); nel 1983, a Kiev, apriva il campo alla diffusione della letteratura 'mohyljana' in Russia, esa-

minando le interrelazioni e le differenze tra cultura ucraina e russa sulla base di letteratura teologica e 'politica' (Rothe 1973, 1978, 1983b, 1983c, 1992).

L'interesse per la diffusione della cultura seicentesca ucraina in Russia è testimoniato non meno intensamente dall'attività editoriale che ha dato origine all'edizione di libri fondamentali come l'edizione di opere di Simeon Polockij e gli studi di L. Sazonova, molte volte 'borsista' a Bonn. In questo contesto non poteva mancare la Polonia: la poesia barocca polacca in Russia, l'Umanesimo presso gli slavi, l'eredità di A. Brückner, Puškin e Mickiewicz – tutto testimonia dell'abilità di Rothe di cogliere i collegamenti non solo sincronici tra aree confinanti, ma anche quelli diacronici nell'intreccio delle culture slave e di quelle europee, classiche e moderne (Rothe 1980, 1993a, 1993b, 1998). Testimonia altresì dell'amore e del rispetto per il profondo umanesimo della cultura polacca, ma anche della *vis polemica* che lo induceva a infrangere aloni martirologici e 'sacrali' (come appunto per Mickiewicz e Puškin).

Mi si permetta un'ultima considerazione sull'evoluzione del lavoro di ricerca fatto da Rothe nei suoi 64 anni di studi (sì, 64 anni: dal 1954, anno della tesi di dottorato, fino al 2018, senza contare le conferenze e gli articoli scritti ma non pubblicati fino al 2020). Nei primi venti anni, dal 1954 al 1974 l'elenco delle pubblicazioni registra solo una posizione all'anno. Ciò significa che fino ai suoi 46 anni Rothe ha quasi solo studiato. Dopo questa data si registra una media di circa 10 posizioni all'anno (comprese recensioni e curatele). Non possiamo che condividere le osservazioni di P. Thiergen nella breve, ma precisa, sintesi introduttiva alla bibliografia: a Rothe "interessava sempre la totalità, essere docente universitario significava anche essere maestro di vita"; "per lui valeva sempre la ricerca della verità scientifica, non l'attivismo accademico"; "nonostante l'ampiezza delle sue conoscenze [...] evitò il decisionismo approssimativo. I suoi testi sono intarsiati di locuzioni come 'verisimilmente', 'forse', 'potrebbe essere'. Anche se azzardava giudizi arditissimi [che suscitavano polemiche anche infuocate, G.B.] egli agiva nel campo della pratica testuale, non della costruzione di sovrastrutture teoriche. Gli stava più a cuore il processo investigativo che non il decreto risultativo"; "vero studioso, rimase estraneo alle mode temporanee e alla mutevolezza del *mainstream*" (Thiergen 2019: 1-10 e *passim*). Ne sono risultati scritti sempre originali, maturati in lunghi anni di studio legati all'attività editoriale, scritti che affrontano problemi di sostanza, relazioni interculturali di ampio raggio, fenomeni complessi e sfaccettati. Sono rarissimi i casi in cui uno stesso argomento sia stato trattato nello stesso modo in pubblicazioni diverse: là dove lo studioso curioso affrontava temi ricorrenti, il filologo severo cercava nuove argomentazioni e delucidava problemi sempre nuovi.

Giovanna Brogi Bercoff

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Abstract

Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, Marcello Garzaniti

A Precious Heritage: The Contribution of Hans Rothe to Slavic Studies

The authors present some of the most important writings of the well-known professor emeritus of Bonn University, Hans Rothe (1928-2021), offering an overview of the main ideas he developed and the methods he applied in his research. Due attention is given to his indefatigable activity as an editor of important, mostly unduly forgotten medieval and early modern texts. His commentary to the first translations of the Bible for many Slavic peoples remains a milestone of Slavic studies. He was a pioneer in fostering research about Slavo-Byzantine liturgical and religious texts, devotional songs, and baroque literature in Russia and Ukraine. No less remarkable are his articles about the Enlightenment and such giants of literature as Lesja Ukrajinka, Deržavin, Puškin and Tolstoj.

Keywords

History of Slavic Studies; Hans Rothe.

Stefano Aloe

Sergio Bonazza e il suo contributo alla slavistica italiana

Il 5 marzo del 2021, all'età di 81 anni, si è spento a Vienna Sergio Bonazza, figura storica della slovenistica internazionale e tra i rappresentanti più originali della slavistica italiana degli ultimi decenni.

Sergio Bonazza era nato il 26 ottobre 1938 a San Dorligo della Valle (in sloveno *Dolina*), un paese di popolazione slava del Carso triestino. Era il primogenito di una famiglia mista: il padre, Antonio Bonazza, era un italofono dell'Istria, mentre la madre, Cecilia Strain, apparteneva alla comunità slovena locale. Come è noto, i grandi avvenimenti storici del Novecento investirono con particolare forza la zona di Trieste, confine geopolitico e culturale tra Italia e mondo slavo, lasciando traccia nel futuro slavista sin dall'infanzia: il padre, seppure italiano, fu partigiano titino (fatto di cui il figlio andò sempre orgoglioso), mentre la stessa località di Dolina/San Dorligo passò in pochi anni sotto diverse giurisdizioni: dal Regno d'Italia, a guida fascista e antislava, all'occupazione da parte dei partigiani comunisti jugoslavi a fine guerra, per poi entrare dal 1945 al 1954 con Trieste nella famosa 'zona A', temporaneamente amministrata dalle truppe britanniche e definita nel 1947 Territorio Libero di Trieste (TNT) (cfr. Gon 2004). Le prime esperienze scolastiche di Sergio Bonazza avvennero perciò in ambiente totalmente slovenofono (anche nome e cognome nei registri di quegli anni sono slovenizzati nella forma *Sergij Bonač*). Compiva sedici anni esattamente il giorno in cui Trieste e il suo sottile entroterra tornavano ufficialmente a far parte dell'Italia (26 ottobre 1954) e, come lui stesso amava ricordare, per l'occasione aveva raggiunto la città sul suo ciclomotore per unirsi ai festeggiamenti con la maggioranza della popolazione, nella piazza centrale della città (oggi Piazza Unità d'Italia). Sono tutte tracce in lui di un'identità linguistica e culturale assai composita: slovena, italiana, triestina, carsica, a cui successivamente si aggiunse, per elezione, una forte vocazione germanica e mitteleuropea (peraltro implicita nel robusto substrato asburgico di Trieste). Queste sue diverse anime, a volte tra loro assai contraddittorie, paradossalmente non sono mai state in conflitto: al contrario, gli permisero di sviluppare una coscienza identitaria moderna, europeista e in qualche misura 'post-novecentesca', che si manifestava soprattutto nel rifiuto, ironico e dissacrante, delle identità rigide, dei nazionalismi di ogni risma e bandiera, e di qualunque forma di bigottismo patriottardo, politico o confessionale.

Completati nel 1960 gli studi superiori all'Istituto Tecnico slovenofono "Žiga Zois" di Trieste, il giovane Bonazza cominciò a lavoricchiare e a viaggiare, con mete preferite

l'Austria, la Jugoslavia, la Francia. Tentò anche la carriera calcistica, militando per alcuni anni in squadre di livello semiprofessionistico della Venezia Giulia. Ma le passioni intellettuali, già emerse negli anni triestini, erano più marcate di quella sportiva: nel 1962 si spostò a Venezia per iscriversi alla Facoltà di Lingue e letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari, dove avrebbe conseguito la laurea nel 1968-69 con una tesi dedicata al gruppo dell'avanguardia letteraria russa "Pereval"¹.

Nel 1965 Bonazza trascorse un periodo di studio a Mosca, partecipando a un corso estivo di lingua russa. Ma più che verso la Russia e la sua letteratura, i suoi interessi si erano andati disegnando in maniera sempre più precisa attorno al mondo slavo-germanico, nel quale Bonazza vedeva un ideale di civiltà e un legame con le proprie radici familiari. Prima ancora di terminare gli studi cafoscarini, nel 1966 si recò a Vienna con l'obiettivo di studiare slavistica presso una delle cattedre storicamente più importanti per la disciplina. È qui che trovò completamente il suo profilo intellettuale e scientifico. Vienna divenne la sua patria di adozione. Qui conobbe alcuni degli amici più importanti (tra questi il musicologo torinese Enzo Restagno e l'architetto Boris Podrecca, sloveno triestino come lui), nonché la sua futura moglie; da qui intraprese viaggi frequentissimi, di studio e di piacere, che lo portarono nelle due Germanie, in Jugoslavia, in Polonia, in Cecoslovacchia (più volte visitò Praga durante il '68, e nell'agosto dello stesso anno era lì ad assistere al VI Congresso degli slavisti dell'MKS che, com'è noto, si concluse giusto prima dell'invasione dei carri armati sovietici). Gli studi slavistici viennesi consolidarono la sua vocazione scientifica e determinarono la lingua tedesca come suo *Mittel* espressivo preferito. Si laureò brillantemente, ma solo nel 1977, con una tesi intitolata *Russland unter Ivan IV. Ein unbekannter Bericht aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, con relatore Josip Hamm. Sarebbe stato Hamm, insieme a František Václav Mareš, a introdurre il giovane studioso negli ambienti più importanti della slavistica mitteleuropea, avviandolo alla ricerca².

Tra il 1970 e il 1979 Bonazza, che nel frattempo si era trasferito a Bolzano, lavorò come insegnante di lingua tedesca in una scuola superiore. In questi anni le sue ricerche si concentrarono fondamentalmente negli archivi e si fecero sempre più intense e fruttuose; in particolare, approdò a scoperte significative sulla storia filologica del *Glagolita Clozianus*, il 'monumento' glagolitico appartenuto al conte trentino Paride Cloz, ricostruendo i rapporti tra i filologi che per primi furono chiamati a una descrizione dell'antico manoscritto: il conte milanese Carlo Ottavio Castiglioni e il bibliografo imperiale Jernej Kopitar, del quale Bonazza sarebbe diventato il principale esperto. In tal modo, entrava nel nucleo di una delle questioni cruciali della storia della slavistica ottocentesca, quella dell'antieriorità dell'alfabeto glagolitico rispetto al cirillico. La questione, a lungo dibattuta tra Dobrovský

¹ Il gruppo letterario "Pereval" nel quadro dell'attività polemico-letteraria degli anni '20 in Russia, tesi difesa il 5 marzo del 1970 con relatore Sergio Molinari. Sulla russistica a Ca' Foscari negli anni '60 cfr. Pizzolato *et al.* 2018: 251-256.

² A proposito della scuola slavistica di Vienna negli anni in cui vi studiò Bonazza, cfr. Vintr 1982: 145-150; Hafner 1999: 41-51; Katičić 2004: 195-201; Jembrih 2007.

e Kopitar, su quale fosse l'alfabeto slavo più antico, sarà risolta a favore del glagolitico solo dopo la morte di Kopitar per opera di Franc Miklošič, che ne aveva ereditato l'archivio. Le ricerche di Bonazza fanno luce su dettagli decisivi della disputa Dobrovský-Kopitar, avvenuta in un fitto intreccio di lettere private e scritti pubblici, e soprattutto dimostrano che quest'ultimo, grazie all'analisi compiuta sul *Clozianus*, aveva raccolto gli indizi fondamentali per decretare la preesistenza dell'alfabeto glagolitico e quindi la sua natura di primo alfabeto slavo, e che solo prudenza filologica lo aveva trattenuto dal rendere pubblica la propria convinzione prima di raccogliere prove di maggiore evidenza. Inoltre, studiando per primo la corrispondenza tra Kopitar e Castiglioni, e analizzando i pochi scritti sopravvissuti del secondo riguardanti la slavistica, Bonazza perviene a una scoperta ancora più sorprendente: il linguista milanese, sebbene quasi digiuno di conoscenze in ambito slavistico, aveva intuito quelle stesse caratteristiche del *Glagolita Clozianus* che a ruota avevano attirato l'attenzione di Kopitar, anticipando, addirittura, sebbene soltanto a livello di supposizioni, le conclusioni a cui lo slavista sloveno avrebbe fornito le necessarie prove. In tal modo, emergeva un ruolo inedito, per quanto tangenziale, della filologia italiana nelle fasi pionieristiche della slavistica. Le prime pubblicazioni di Bonazza sono perciò collegate alla tematica cloziana e appaiono su riviste prestigiose quali il "Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch", "Ricerche Slavistiche" e "Zbornik Matice Srpske za slavistiku" tra il 1973 e il 1974³. Negli anni a seguire lo studioso continuerà a sviluppare il tema, allargandolo progressivamente ad altre tematiche e figure, sia centrali che marginali, della storia della slavistica⁴. Da una parte, le piste degli archivi lo porteranno ad approfondire la figura di Kopitar sotto diversi aspetti e nei suoi rapporti con centinaia di corrispondenti; d'altro lato, un filone di ricerca si concentrerà nell'individuare i primi, perlopiù sconosciuti embrioni di filologia slava in ambito italiano: a questi risvolti saranno dedicati lavori su figure come Angelo Mai, Francesco Maria Appendini e altri nomi meno noti (cfr. Aloe 2019: 25-38)⁵.

³ S. Bonazza, *Aus der Korrespondenz Andreas Di Pauli (Beitrag zur Clozianus-Forschung)*, "Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch", XIX, 1973, pp. 7-13; Id., *Una corrispondenza inedita di B. Kopitar con il conte P. Cloz*, "Ricerche Slavistiche", XX-XXI, 1973-1974, pp. 205-225; Id., *Kopitarjevo dopisovanje z Antoninom Bočkom*, "Zbornik Matice Srpske za slavistiku", 1974, 6, pp. 156-166.

⁴ Tra gli altri, si segnalano gli articoli: S. Bonazza, *Jernej Kopitar – His Place in Slovene Cultural History*, in: R.L. Lenčec, H.R. Cooper (eds.), *To Honor Jernej Kopitar, 1780-1980*, Ann Arbor 1982 (= Papers in slavic philology, 2), pp. 179-183; Id., *F. Miklosichs wissenschaftliche Anfänge und Kopitars Erbe*, in: D. Medaković et al. (Hrsg.), *Pontes Slavici. Festschrift für Stanislaus Hafner zum 70. Geburtstag*, Graz 1986, pp. 59-70; Id., *Bartholomäus Kopitar: Versuch einer kritischen Würdigung*, "Die Welt der Slaven", XV, 1995, 2, pp. 285-303; Id., *Auseinandersetzung über die Grossmähnenfrage zwischen Dobrovský und Kopitar*, in: A. Alberti et al. (a cura di), *Contributi italiani al XIII Congresso Internazionale degli Slavisti (Ljubljana, agosto 2003)*, Pisa 2003 (rist. Firenze 2014), pp. 627-641; Id., *Ivan Feretić und der "Glagolita Clozianus"*, in: M.-A. Dürrigl et al. (ur.), *Glagoljica i hrvatski glagolizam*, Zagreb-Krk 2004, pp. 113-121.

⁵ S. Bonazza, *Carlo Ottavio Castiglioni und der Glagolita Clozianus*, in: F.V. Mareš et al. (Hrsg.), *Bereiche der Slavistik (Festschrift zu Ehren von Josip Hamm)*, Wien 1975, pp. 17-23; Id., *Gli*

Grazie agli orizzonti di queste ricerche, e pur restando legato agli ambienti slavistici di lingua tedesca, Bonazza progressivamente si fa conoscere anche in Italia, dove peraltro trova maggiori difficoltà a inserirsi e viene a caratterizzarsi come uno studioso eccentrico, per la sua formazione ‘anomala’ e la sua quasi maniacale, a volte bizzarra germanofilia. Ma per i medesimi motivi, oltre che per un carattere socievole e anticonformista, in Italia raccoglie anche la stima e l’amicizia di numerosi colleghi; a riprova del suo progressivo inserimento nel contesto, nel 1978 partecipa per la prima volta, a Zagabria, a un Congresso degli slavisti dell’MKS come membro della delegazione italiana.

Tra la fine degli anni ’70 e la prima metà degli anni ’80 Bonazza è frequentatore regolare dell’esclusivo circolo slavistico del mecenate ed editore sloveno Rudolf Trofenik (1911-1991) a Monaco di Baviera (cfr. Bernik 1991: 1-2; Bartl *et al.* 2005). E con l’incoraggiamento di Trofenik trova lo stimolo per pubblicare la sua unica monografia, *Bartholomäus Kopitar, Italien und der Vatikan* (München, Verlag Dr. Rudolf Trofenik, 1980), che lo consacra specialista nell’ambito della storia della slavistica.

La carriera accademica di Bonazza iniziò nel 1979 con un incarico di lingua e letteratura slovena presso l’Università Orientale di Napoli, della quale rimarrà formalmente docente fino al 1983. Tuttavia, a seguito del terremoto dell’Irpinia del novembre 1980, l’Università Orientale rimarrà inagibile per alcuni anni. Durante il periodo di sospensione dell’attività didattica, Bonazza consegue una borsa di studio humboldtiana (Humboldt Universität, Bonn) e ottiene i primi incarichi di docenza di filologia slava all’Università di Verona: insieme a Trieste, Vienna e Bolzano, Verona diviene per lui una nuova piccola patria. È infatti a Verona che consacrerà la quasi totalità della propria vita di docente universitario, dapprima come incaricato di un insegnamento e dal 1985 con il titolo di professore associato di filologia slava. Già due anni dopo diventa professore ordinario a Udine per la costituenda cattedra di slovenistica, in assoluto la prima di tal genere istituita fuori dalla Slovenia (Horvat 1987; Petaros 1987: 11). L’istituzione della cattedra udinese suscita attorno a Bonazza un’attenzione internazionale improvvisa e superiore alle aspettative, soprattutto da parte delle autori-

esordi della filologia slava in Italia, “Europa Orientalis“, I, 1982, pp. 77-81; Id., *Il Mai, il mondo slavo e la Germania*, in: D. Rota (a cura di), *Angelo Mai e la cultura del primo Ottocento (Atti del convegno, Bergamo, 8-9 aprile 1983)*, Bergamo 1985, pp. 173-189; Id., *Kopitar als Vermittler zwischen Jacob Grimm und Italien*, in: P. Ivic (ur.), *O dvestagodišnjici Jakoba Grima / Zur Zweihundertjahrfeier von Jacob Grimm*, Beograd 1988 (= “Naučni skupovi Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti”, XL; Odeljenje jezika i književnosti, 8), pp. 215-232; Id., *Il carteggio Pavel Josef Šafařík – Giuseppe Valentinelli*, in: G. Brogi Bercoff *et al.* (a cura di), *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Gracioti*, Roma 1990, pp. 661-668; Id., *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen Sigismund Zois und Francesco Maria Appendini*, in: M. Okuka *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Germano-Slavistische Beiträge. Festschrift für Peter Rehder zum 65. Geburtstag*, München 2004, pp. 335-348; Id., *Die Slavistik in Italien im Rahmen ihrer Entwicklung in verschiedenen Imperien*, in: S. Aloe (a cura di), *Lo sviluppo della slavistica negli imperi europei. Atti del convegno internazionale della Commissione per la Storia della Slavistica dell’MKS / Razvitje slavjanovedenja v evropskih imperijah. Materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii Komissii po Istorii Slavistiki pri MKS (Verona 16-17 ottobre 2007)*, Milano 2008, pp. 125-146.

tà accademiche slovene; fatto che, forse, abbinato alla sua insofferenza verso le dimensioni dell'ufficialità e del cerimoniale, spiega la sua decisione repentina di ritornare a Verona al termine del primo triennio di ordinariato (1987-1990)⁶. La decisione, va detto, fu controversa, perché la cattedra di slovenistica andò in tal modo perduta. Del resto, lingua e linguistica slovena erano nella formazione di Bonazza materie accessorie, mentre facevano parte attiva, ma non esclusiva, dei suoi interessi la letteratura e la storia culturale slovena. Ad esse dedicò un corpo significativo di studi, ritagliandosi un ruolo di primo piano nella slovenistica di cui sono attestazione l'attiva collaborazione con la "Society for Slovene Studies" diretta da Rado L. Lenčec e i lemmi dei principali dizionari biografici sloveni (Jevnikar 1992; Mikhailov 2002: 17-18; Zoltan 2018: 120-121; cfr. anche Bidovec 2018: 36-50)⁷.

Bonazza si dedicava con non minore intensità anche ad altre direttive di studio: alla serbocroatistica, con studi su Vuk Karadžić, Dositej Obradović, Niccolò Tommaseo, Vatroslav Jagić⁸; al glagolitismo in ambito croato, sloveno e friulano⁹; alla storia della slavistica

⁶ Lo stesso Bonazza mi confidò più d'una volta di come gli fosse pervenuta da emissari dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Lubiana la proposta di nomina ad accademico, a condizione che accettasse di 'ritornare' al cognome sloveno Bonač; proposta che lui aveva esplicitamente rifiutato, sottolineando come la versione italiana del cognome fosse quella da considerarsi originaria.

⁷ Tra gli apporti alla slovenistica, vanno menzionati: S. Bonazza, *Le letterature slave della monarchia asburgica e quella austriaca del XIX secolo*, in: J. Křesálková (a cura di), *Mondo slavo e cultura italiana (Contributi italiani al IX Congresso Internazionale degli Slavisti, Kiev 1983)*, Roma 1983, pp. 38-54; Id., *Slovenistica*, in: G. Brogi Bercoff et al. (a cura di), *La slavistica in Italia. Cinquant'anni di studi (1940-1990)*, Roma 1994, pp. 377-399; Id., *Echi del Barocco nella cultura letteraria slovena*, in: G. Brogi Bercoff (a cura di), *Il Barocco letterario nei paesi slavi*, Roma 1996, pp. 77-89; Id., *La periodizzazione della letteratura slovena*, in: G. Brogi Bercoff (a cura di), *Le letterature dei paesi slavi: storia e problemi di periodizzazione*, Milano 1999, pp. 109-118; Id., "Krst pri Savici" in vprašanje Prešernove ideološke orientacije, in: M. Juvan (ur.), *Romantična pesnitev*, Ljubljana 2002 (= "Obdobja", 19), pp. 83-92; Id., *Ideološki vidiki slovenskega romana v 19. stoletju*, in: M. Hladnik (ur.), *Slovenski roman*, Ljubljana 2003 (= "Obdobja", 21), pp. 11-17.

⁸ S. Bonazza, *Recepcija Vuka S. Karadžića u Italiji*, "Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane", XVII, 1987, pp. 485-500; Id., *Vuk Stef. Karadžić und der Austroslavismus*, "Europa Orientalis", VII, 1988 (= *Contributi italiani al X Congresso Internazionale degli Slavisti, Sofia 1988*), pp. 361-371; Id., *Dositej Obradović i italijanska kultura*, in: "Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane", XIX, 1989, 2, pp. 317-328; Id., *Južnoslavjanskaja problematika v žurnale Vatroslava Jagića "Archiv für slavische Philologie"*, "Slavjanovedenie", 2002, 4, pp. 43-56; Id., *Nikola Tomazeo, istraživač srpske književnosti*, in: *Srpska književnost i balkanske književnosti. Istorija i istoričari srpske književnosti*, Beograd 2004 (= "Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane", XXXII/2), pp. 395-409; Id., *Dositej Obradović u zapisima policije u bečkim arhivima*, "Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane", XXXVIII, 2008, 2, pp. 505-513; e altri.

⁹ S. Bonazza, *Glagolica na Tržaškem, Goriškem in Čedajškem*, "Goriški letnik", IV-V, 1977-1978, pp. 103-116; Id., *Die westliche Ausdehnung der glagolitischen Schrift*, "Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde", II, 1979, pp. 1-17; Id., *Vatroslav Oblak und die Frage der glagolitischen Schrift bei den Slovenen*, in: H. Miklas (Hrsg.), *Glagolitica. Zum Ursprung der slavischen Schriftkultur*, Wien 2000, pp. 33-42.

tedesca e italiana¹⁰; all'austroslavismo, rivalutato nella sua componente ideologico-culturale rispetto al panslavismo ceco e russo¹¹; a Primož Trubar e al protestantesimo nei paesi slavi¹². A questo così ampio ventaglio di interessi corrisponde una notevole rete di relazioni accademiche internazionali. Tra gli anni '80 e il primo decennio del nuovo millennio Bonazza era di casa negli ambienti slavistici di Belgrado, Zagabria, Praga, Mosca, Monaco, Vienna, Lubiana, oltre che ovviamente in Italia e in altri centri dell'Europa slavistica. A partire dai primi anni '90 è particolarmente intensa la sua attività in seno alla Commissione per la storia della slavistica dell'MKS, che dal 1992 vedeva Giovanna Brogi Bercoff nel ruolo di presidente e lo stesso Bonazza segretario. La Commissione, con una così importante componente italiana ai vertici, fu attivissima e organizzò numerosi convegni, giornate di studio e pubblicazioni tematiche di notevole rilievo storico per più di venti anni¹³. Nel 2011 Giovanna Brogi Bercoff lasciò la Commissione e Sergio Bonazza ne fu nominato nuovo presidente, assolvendo a tale compito in occasione del XV Congresso degli Slavisti a Minsk (2013) e fino al ritiro dalla Commissione avvenuto nel 2016.

Negli ultimi anni di attività accademica Bonazza ebbe degli incarichi di insegnamento all'Università di Vienna, la sua *Alma Mater*. Andò in pensione nel 2010, all'età di 72 anni. Due anni prima gli avevamo dedicato un'affettuosa *Festschrift* a cui parteciparono slavisti di ogni angolo d'Europa (*Die slavischen Grenzen Mitteleuropas*. Festschrift für Sergio Bonazza, hrsg. von S. Aloe, München, Otto Sagner, 2008)¹⁴. Ha proseguito alacremente le sue ricerche per diverso tempo, in particolare lavorando a una monumentale monografia, *Kopitar und Deutschland*, frutto di trent'anni di ricerche, che comprende una grande quantità di materiali epistolari inediti e un apparato critico ricchissimo, purtroppo non portato a compimento. Grande amante dei viaggi in treno, ha continuato a lungo le sue instancabili peregrinazioni tra Bolzano, Verona, Vienna e Trieste, fino alla decisione di risiedere sta-

¹⁰ Oltre ai saggi già citati, vedi S. Bonazza, *Mythen und Tatsachen über die Rolle der slawischen Gemeinsamkeit in der Geschichte der Slavistik*, in: S. Bonazza, G. Brogi Bercoff (a cura di), *L'idea dell'unità e della reciprocità slava e il suo ruolo nello sviluppo della slavistica / Ideja slavjanskoj vzajimosti i ee rol' v razvitii istorii slavistiki. Atti del Convegno della Commissione per la Storia della Slavistica (Urbino 28.IX-1.X 1992)*, Roma 1994, pp. 27-37.

¹¹ Si veda in particolare: S. Bonazza, *Austro-Slavism as the motive of Kopitar's work*, "Slovene studies", v, 1983, pp. 155-164, oltre ad altri lavori dedicati a Kopitar, a Vuk e a Ján Kollár.

¹² S. Bonazza, *The Protestant Movement and the Question of the Glagolitic Alphabet in the South Slavic Cultural Tradition*, "Slovene studies", vi, 1984, 1-2, pp. 147-151; Id., *Il libro protestante nel bacino adriatico (XVI secolo)*, in: S. Graciotti (a cura di), *Il libro nel bacino adriatico (sec. XV-XVIII)*, Firenze 1992, pp. 85-97; Id., *Primož Trubar in italijanska reformacija*, in: F. Jakopin et al. (ur.), 3. *Trubarjev zbornik*, Ljubljana 1996, pp. 22-33.

¹³ Per una storia della Commissione e la bibliografia dettagliata dei convegni e volumi prodotti rimando al sito: <<https://slavicorumhistoria.com/commission-history/>>.

¹⁴ Vi si può trovare un elenco quasi completo delle sue pubblicazioni (Aloe 2008: 9-20; cfr. anche Rehder 2008: 7-8).

bilmente a Vienna, sua città di elezione della giovinezza, dove ha trascorso gli ultimi anni della propria esistenza.

Sergio Bonazza è stato uno slavista poliedrico, ardito e a volte temerario nelle proprie ipotesi di lavoro, ma anche rigoroso nell'investigarle e dotato di grande intuizione e di fiuto per gli archivi; capace inoltre di spaziare in aree diverse della disciplina e anche di sconfinare nella germanistica. Proprio la prossimità con la lingua e la cultura tedesca gli ha permesso di dedicare i propri studi principali alla storia della slavistica di area germanica, e in particolare alla figura di Jernej Kopitar e ai suoi corrispondenti. Ma restano significative anche le sue ricerche sulla storia della slavistica italiana, sul glagolismo in area friulana, sui rapporti fra le culture e letterature della Slavia meridionale (serba, croata, dalmata, slovena) e le culture italiana e tedesca.

Non andrà inoltre dimenticato che Bonazza è stato persona generosa, ricca di acume, ironia, curiosità, e di indomita energia. Un "italiano germano-slavico", che metteva insieme in modo originale e un po' paradossale tratti delle tre culture a cui apparteneva. Più di ogni altra cosa, sarà la formula originale e irripetibile della sua personalità a lasciare un vuoto in chi l'ha conosciuto.

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Abstract

Stefano Aloe

The Role of Sergio Bonazza in Italian Slavic Studies

This contribution aims to give a scholarly and human profile of the Italian Slavist Sergio Bonazza (1938-2021), recently passed away. Bonazza was born in a Slovene-speaking village nearby Trieste to a mixed family. He studied in Venice and Vienna, where he started his activity as a researcher in the field of Slavic studies history, especially in the Austro-German and Italian contexts of the 19th century. His academic career unfolded mostly at the University of Verona, but also in Naples, Udine and Vienna. In 1987 in Udine, he was assigned the first chair of Slovene studies out of Slovenia. Gifted with a strong personality, he touched on a wide variety of concerns in different fields of Slavic studies, overcoming academic and cultural stereotypes, and often opening up new perspectives in the fields of history of Slavistics, Slovene culture and literature, Austro-Slavism, Slavic-Italian cultural relationships, Glagolitic writing in Eastern Italy, and more. Bonazza is well known as a specialist in the scholarly biography of the prominent Slavist Jernej (Bartholomäus) Kopitar, to whom he devoted his best works, including a monograph.

Keywords

Sergio Bonazza; History of Italian Slavic Studies; Slovene Studies; Jernej Kopitar; Slavic Philology.



RECENSIONI

M. Mihaljević, A. Radošević (ur.), *Studije o Drugome Beramskom Brevijaru*, Staroslavenski institut-Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za hrvatsko glagoljaštvo, Zagreb 2021 (= Bibliotheca glagolitica croatica, 4), pp. 455.

I saggi raccolti in questo volume, curato da Milan Mihaljević e Andrea Radošević, costituiscono una vera e propria monografia collettiva dedicata ad uno studio esaustivo del cosiddetto Secondo breviario glagolitico di Beram (d'ora innanzi BrBer II) e completano l'edizione in due volumi del medesimo breviario, realizzata dallo Staroslavenski institut di Zagabria (nella sua ipostasi di Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za hrvatsko glagoljaštvo), fra 2018 e 2019 (*Drugi beramski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 15. stoljeća*, I. dio, sv. 1. *Faksimil*, sv. 2. *Transliteracija*, priredio M. Mihaljević, Staroslavenski institut-Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za hrvatsko glagoljaštvo, Zagreb 2018, pp. 580 e *Drugi beramski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 15. stoljeća*, II. dio, sv. 1. *Faksimil*, sv. 2. *Transliteracija*, priredio M. Mihaljević, Staroslavenski institut-Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za hrvatsko glagoljaštvo, Zagreb 2019, pp. 383). Tale progetto scientifico ed editoriale ha prodotto, oltre all'edizione del manoscritto (in facsimile e in trascrizione), anche l'allestimento di una base dati digitale interrogabile dei testi translitterati del breviario, del suo repertorio lessicale completo e delle più rilevanti caratteristiche paleografiche. A coronamento dell'impresa, questa monografia collettiva, uscita nel 2021, affronta questioni specifiche concernenti il codice ma con un approccio mirato ad affinare le metodologie di indagine dei manoscritti croato-glagolitici e ad offrirne una presentazione quanto più possibile completa.

E invero BrBer II è un esemplare notevole della tradizione manoscritta croato-glagolitica, costituita, com'è noto, per lo più da libri liturgici e paraliturgici del rito romano o di varia edificazione, scritti nella variante angolosa dell'alfabeto glagolitico e in slavo ecclesiastico di redazione croata, o anche in registri prossimi al volgare parlato. Datato, su base linguistico-paleografica, al XV secolo, BrBer II è un codice di elegante fattura tanto nella scrittura quanto negli elementi decorativi. È oggi conservato nella biblioteca nazionale di Lubiana (Narodna in Univerzitna knjižnica, NUK), con la segnatura Ms 163 (*olim* C 163a/2), dove era arrivato nel XIX secolo con la biblioteca del bibliofilo e mecenate Sigismund Zojs, insieme a due messali glagolitici, al cosiddetto Primo breviario di Beram (datato alla fine del XIV sec.), alla *Postila* glagolitica del 1627 nella trascrizione di Juraj Črnić, e a vari altri frammenti glagolitici. BrBer II è stato oggetto di indagine fin dalla seconda metà del XIX secolo ad opera di Vatroslav Jagić e Ivan Berčić.

A quanto si può ricostruire, il manoscritto era stato in uso a Beram (it. Vermo), località dell'Istria centrale a pochi chilometri da Pazin (Pisino), donde trae la denominazione. Per via della sua

posizione sulla linea confinaria tra i possedimenti veneziani e quelli austriaci in Istria, Beram visse tragiche vicende di attacchi e distruzioni, ma conobbe da vicino il fenomeno del glagolismo, ossia l'attività del clero glagolizzante artefice di una tradizione pastorale (e con fasi alterne anche liturgica) parallela a quella in lingua latina, contraddistinta appunto dall'uso della scrittura glagolitica e della lingua (paleo)slava, più o meno impregnata di tratti vernacolari.

Le tipologie librarie usate dai glagolizzanti ricalcano quelle in uso nella Chiesa romana, quanto meno relativamente a libri liturgici come il messale e il breviario; sono parimenti diffuse le miscelanee a contenuto misto, veri e propri codici-biblioteca al servizio di chierici e laici dalle non grandi possibilità economiche. In particolare il breviario, repertorio di letture bibliche e testi devozionali ed eucchetici correnti nella prassi liturgica romana, ordinati secondo i giorni nell'anno e secondo le ore nel giorno, è stato un prezioso e agile strumento in questo contesto, sia ai fini pastorali sia liturgici. Nella struttura assunta nel XIII secolo il breviario era costituito dal temporale (letture per le domeniche e le feste) e dal santorale (uffici dei santi nell'anno). Nella forma di un solo volume, contenente le due parti e generalmente di maneggevole formato e modesta fattura, esso fu largamente utilizzato dai francescani. Ma nel periodo aureo della tradizione glagolitica non mancano esemplari di breviari molto curati ed evidentemente preordinati o a una committenza abbiente o a chiese di un certo rilievo. BrBer II appartiene a questa categoria: realizzato in due volumi pergamenei, uno contenente il *Proprium de tempore* (temporale) e l'altro il *Proprium sanctorum* (santorale), rispettivamente di fogli 264 e 176, che presentano una messa in pagina su due colonne, con mediamente 33 righe di scrittura e lettere iniziali ornate, è da considerarsi un codice tutt'altro che modesto. Tra le sue peculiarità va ricordato il fatto che la parte finale del temporale (dal f. 232) proviene da un altro breviario, mentre il santorale contiene la *Vita Constantini* e la *Vita Venceslai*, a suo tempo pubblicate da Jagić. Annotazioni marginali, apposte da varie mani dal XVI secolo in poi, collocano il codice a Beram, benché non vi sia certezza che lì sia anche stato confezionato.

Il codice presenta molti punti di interesse, che sono sistematicamente analizzati nei saggi di questo volume, organizzati in quattro sezioni tematiche.

La prima sezione mette a fuoco l'assetto grafico (Mateo Žagar) e l'ornamentazione del manoscritto (Ljiljana Mokrović). Žagar utilizza un approccio grafematico, di cui lo studioso dà un'ampia descrizione, la cui fondamentale specificità consiste nell'esaminare la lingua scritta attraverso gli elementi grafici distintivi usati per rappresentarla, il che implica un costante riferimento e alla componente grafica e alla componente fonetica. Questo tipo di indagine è però coniugato dallo studioso anche ai risultati della paleografia tradizionalmente intesa, sia al fine di indagare la scrittura delle varie mani che hanno lavorato all'allestimento del codice sia anche per darne una organica descrizione che possa servire da modello per la descrizione di altri manoscritti, altrettanto significativi, del XIV e XV secolo. L'analisi dell'ornamentazione, eseguita da Lj. Mokrović, punta parimenti a elaborare un nuovo metodo di indagine, basato sull'individuazione degli elementi costitutivi di lettere ornate e miniature da usare come indicatori per la descrizione e la catalogazione. Sulla base di questo, la studiosa elabora una nuova classificazione delle lettere iniziali e sperimenta innovative descrizioni delle miniature, auspicando che esse siano in futuro studiate comparativamente con le miniature degli altri codici glagolitici provenienti da Beram. L'analisi effettuata si avvale del software *Minijature*.

La seconda sezione raccoglie saggi dedicati alle problematiche testuali, letterarie e liturgiche di BrBer II. Vesna Badurina Stipčević analizza le peculiarità testuali di BrBer II in relazione agli altri breviari glagolitici, inferendone l'appartenenza al cosiddetto gruppo meridionale dei breviari (recenziore), esattamente a quel sottogruppo 'intermedio' che presenta molti elementi comuni con il più antico gruppo settentrionale. Andrea Radošević illustra la funzione delle letture patristiche nei

testi del breviario, in generale, ed esamina specificamente, le peculiarità, i modelli e la composizione dei testi omiletici in BrBer II. Anche questa analisi evidenzia elementi di significativa antichità nei testi patristici presenti in questo breviario. Il saggio di Josip Vučković e Marija-Ana Dürrigl esamina la funzione di breviari e miscellanee nel sistema letterario croato-glagolitico con particolare attenzione al ruolo di BrBer II. Una specifica disamina degli aspetti liturgici del codice è effettuata nel saggio di Ante Crnčević e Kristijan Kuhar che hanno appurato come BrBer II sia stato tradotto da un breviario latino *secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae*, e tradisca un significativo sforzo di stabilizzare una terminologia specifica in slavo ecclesiastico dei termini tecnici latini, che appare effettivamente recepita da traduzioni successive dello stesso tipo di libro.

La terza sezione del libro è costituita da saggi dedicati ad aspetti precipuamente linguistici di BrBer II, suddivisi per argomento: fonologia e sistema pronominale (Milan Mihaljević); declinazione nominale e preposizioni (Jasna Vince); morfologia di aggettivi e participi (Sandra Požar); morfologia del verbo (Sanja Zubčić); avverbi, particelle e altri indeclinabili (Ana Šimić). In un saggio collettivo, Mihaljević, Šimić e Jozo Vela tracciano un quadro delle caratteristiche sintattiche di BrBer II, rilevando la compresenza di elementi arcaizzanti, ereditati da più antichi modelli in slavo ecclesiastico, e di elementi recenziatori introdotti sotto l'influsso dei modelli latini e della lingua parlata, mentre Marinka Šimić analizza il lessico, individuandone varie stratificazioni, di carattere topico (moravismi, preslavismi, ohridismi, croatismi) o cronologico (arcaismi), o di origine non slava. Nell'ultimo saggio della sezione, Silvana Vranić effettua una sistematica ricerca in BrBer II di elementi di chiara ascendenza čakava e specificamente collegati alla variante ekava del dialetto čakavo dell'Istria centrale.

La quarta sezione del volume è mirata a fornire il quadro storico in cui si colloca BrBer II. Essa è costituita da un unico e corposo saggio collettivo firmato da Ivan Botica, Tomislav Galović e Elvis Orbanić, che ripercorre la storia di Beram dalla preistoria al XVII secolo, al fine di contestualizzare dati direttamente collegati a BrBer II, ma che ambisce anche a tratteggiare il più ampio scenario in cui si sviluppò la produzione croato-glagolitica più rilevante. Ovviamente, maggiore attenzione è dedicata al periodo a cavaliere del tardo medioevo e incipiente evo moderno in cui si collocano i quattro codici glagolitici interi legati a Beram. La ricostruzione si basa sulla letteratura già esistente ma introduce anche nuove letture delle fonti note. In particolare, il saggio cerca di rispondere alla domanda, ancora aperta, se Beram sia stato anche il luogo di produzione dei codici pervenuti, questione fondamentale nella valutazione del peso e dell'impatto della tradizione glagolitica in Istria, ma di non facile soluzione per via dello stato desultorio della documentazione. Ciononostante, secondo gli autori, le fonti disponibili attestano, per un certo periodo, un numero tale di allievi di sacerdoti glagolizzanti a Beram da autorizzare l'ipotesi che essi abbiano praticato attività di copia di libri glagolitici, assimilabile a quella di un vero e proprio centro scrittoria.

Complessivamente, un lavoro così articolato quale quello profuso nei saggi di questo volume nell'affrontare e sviscerare questioni nodali, non solo in relazione al singolo breviario, ma a tutta una tradizione scrittoria, non può che essere considerato meritorio, anche nella prospettiva delle ulteriori ricerche che da esso potranno scaturire. Merito che si somma a quello, di per sé grande, di aver reso accessibile con un'edizione impeccabile un importante monumento della tradizione glagolitica.

Č.Dž. de Mikelis, *Židovstvujuščie. Novgorodsko-moskovskaja eres' xv veka i rannjaja Reformacija*, perevod A.V. Byčkovej, Novgorodskij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet im. Jaroslava Mudrogo, Velikij Novgorod 2021, pp. 210.

La lunga militanza critica di Cesare G. De Michelis, come per altro la sua attività di traduttore, è sempre stata caratterizzata dal gusto dell'investigazione, dal desiderio di districare nodi irrisolti attraverso un'attenta ricostruzione storico-culturale animata da una non comune curiosità intellettuale. Molto spesso nei suoi lavori sia il lettore specialista sia quello mosso dagli interessi più diversi trova, in pagine dense di rimandi testuali e di richiami storici, una fitta serie di indizi utili a ricomporre il mosaico di una determinata vicenda culturale, a ricostruire la storia di un testo o di uno scrittore in quella che può essere definita una vera e propria *detective story* letteraria.

Non fa eccezione *La Valdesia di Novgorod. "Giudizzanti" e prima riforma (sec. xv)* pubblicato da Claudiana nel 1993, in cui De Michelis, sulla base di un minuzioso confronto delle fonti e con tutte le necessarie prudenze di chi sa di basarsi su materiale da interpretare e che nuove scoperte potrebbero illuminare di nuova luce, avanza l'ipotesi che la "vicenda misteriosa degli eretici di Novgorod-Mosca" altro non sia "che la manifestazione 'russa' di un'antica tradizione eterodossa che si richiama al movimento valdo-hussita", come si legge nella breve presentazione del volume nella quarta pagina di copertina.

A più di venticinque anni dalla pubblicazione, le edizioni dell'Università di Novgorod ne presentano la traduzione in russo, curata da A.V. Byčkova. Rispetto all'edizione italiana il volume non riporta l'Appendice che la corredeva e che comprendeva tre contributi rispettivamente a firma di Nicoletta Marcialis, Luigi Marinelli e Silvia Toscano e alcuni testi sia in russo sia in traduzione. Vengono invece riproposti, rispettando lo stesso ordine dell'originale, l'introduzione e tutti gli undici capitoli di pugno di De Michelis.

Correda l'edizione una postfazione dell'autore di particolare interesse perché, nel riproporre il volume, De Michelis passa in rassegna alcune osservazioni critiche mosse al suo studio al momento della prima pubblicazione e lo fa con argomenti molto convincenti, volti a ribadire le ragioni della sua ricerca e l'assunto di fondo del suo lavoro, confortato anche dal giudizio di Jakov Lur'e, uno dei più importanti studiosi russi dei movimenti ereticali. L'autore ci tiene a precisare che ancora oggi aderisce pienamente alla metodologia allora adottata e, senza minimamente metter in dubbio le ipotesi che aveva avanzato e cercato di dimostrare, conferma le conclusioni a cui ritenne di arrivare sulla base delle fonti studiate. Questo convinto e fermo ribadire le proprie posizioni ha spinto De Michelis a non riscrivere il testo, limitandosi ad apportare nella versione russa, rispetto alla versio-

ne italiana, alcune correzioni e approfondimenti sulla base di nuove risultanze emerse negli ultimi anni, che sono sostanzialmente la pubblicazione di un manoscritto che conferma la presenza della comunità valdo-hussita in Rutenia e la scoperta di una nuova copia (databile alla fine del XV secolo) della versione russa dell'Epistola ai Laodicesi, conservata al Museo Storico di Mosca.

Ferma restando la sagace affermazione di Nicoletta Marcialis che concludendo la sua rassegna di studi sull'eresia dei giudaizzanti, presente nell'edizione italiana, nel descrivere gli approcci critici più recenti che segnano un ritorno allo studio delle fonti rispetto ai contributi più orientati allo studio filologico di inizio del XX secolo, lo definisce come: "una sorta di vittoria periodica dell'idea che non ne sapremo mai niente", la traduzione russa di questo lavoro di De Michelis, per altro edita sotto l'egida dell'Università di Novgorod, attesta non solo la validità di questa opera e la sostanziale solidità del suo impianto, ma ci consente anche di rileggere una pagina sempre affascinante della storia russa e ancora oggetto di possibile indagine in nome del principio sostenuto da De Michelis nell'introduzione al volume che in studi come questo: "tutto si gioca, allora, sul filo della lama che separa 'una supposizione non assurda' dalla 'massima verosimiglianza' [...]" e che quindi "per procedere nell'indagine scientifica bisogna pur rischiare la seconda, consci che potrebbe sconfinare nella prima. Sta al ricercatore operare perché così non avvenga [...]. Sta poi al lettore, ovviamente, giudicare se c'è riuscito" (pp. 12-13).

Gabriele Mazzitelli

F. Dostoevskij, *Lettere*, a cura di A. Farina, trad. di G. De Florio, A. Farina, E. Freda Piredda, Il Saggiatore, Milano 2020, pp. 1376.

Il volume *Lettere* del Saggiatore, curato da Alice Farina, raccoglie 438 lettere indirizzate da Fëdor Michajlovič Dostoevskij a un eterogeneo novero di destinatari (prevalentemente, familiari, amici, editori, redattori, scrittori, critici letterari). Pur mancando le lettere/repliche (dei destinatari allo scrittore), si tratta di una parte fondamentale dell'epistolario dostoevskiano, quasi esaustiva rispetto al corpus accessibile in lingua russa. L'interesse dell'opera è dato anche dal fatto che numerose lettere vengono qui pubblicate per la prima volta in lingua italiana. La traduzione dal russo è firmata dalla curatrice Farina (Responsabile Ufficio Stampa e Comunicazione del Saggiatore), da Giulia De Florio (Ricercatrice, russista) e Elena Freda Piredda (Dottoranda, russista). La traduzione è accompagnata da un sobrio apparato di note a piè di pagina. Le lettere sono numerate in progressione cronologica sia nel testo, sia nel *Sommario* iniziale, che funge da indice dei contenuti e che occupa 19 pagine (non numerate). Seguono l'introduzione della Curatrice e, subito dopo, gli *Appunti di traduzione* (firmati da due delle tre traduttrici: De Florio e Piredda; pp. 39-49). L'opera si chiude con l'*Indice dei nomi*, utile per accedere alle lettere in base ai destinatari o ai riferimenti al loro interno (pp. 1359-1370), e con l'*Indice delle opere di Dostoevskij* (menzionate, si sottintende, nei testi epistolari, pp. 1371-1372).

Pubblicate nell'autunno del 2020, le *Lettere* di Fëdor Dostoevskij costituiscono uno dei più corposi contributi editoriali italiani connessi al bicentenario della nascita dello scrittore russo (nato a Mosca il 30-X/11-XI 1821), ricorrenza che ha avuto risonanza nel mondo intero. L'ambizioso progetto, si deduce dall'insieme, mirava ad attirare l'attenzione dei lettori italiani interessati all'opera e/o alla figura di Dostoevskij, ma privi di accesso linguistico alle fonti russe. In tal senso, al di là dell'opportuna coincidenza con il bicentenario, il progetto si è attenuto ad alcuni fondamentali parametri dei *long seller*: personaggio famoso, materiali inediti, casa editrice prestigiosa, veste editoriale 'solida'. Manca solo il rigore, cioè il parametro che avrebbe garantito all'opera non solo la 'visibilità', ma anche la qualità duratura che rende un libro un riferimento obbligato per chiunque, esperto e non, cerchi un lavoro rigoroso. Infatti, è difficile che slavisti o studiosi di mestiere possano affidarsi senza riserve a questa edizione, in quanto non sono stati rispettati gli standard accademico-scientifici: l'affidabilità epistemologica, storico-critica e traduttologica. Chi ha curato il progetto editoriale ha scelto di non avvalersi della consulenza di studiosi esperti di Dostoevskij, del genere epistolare, della traduzione. Dispiace poiché si trattava di un'eccezionale opportunità per creare un'opera di alto profilo, in grado di fornire quello "strumento di studio" cui Farina esplicitamente allude nell'introduzione (p. 23). Il volume, invece, suscita notevoli perplessità a livello progettuale e procedurale.

Al lettore più esigente l'apparato scientifico appare limitato nella forma e dilettantesco nella sostanza. L'introduzione, dal titolo ad effetto (*Il romanzo di una vita*, pp. 23-38), è priva di elaborazione concettuale ed estranea alle consuetudini accademiche (coerenza e ordine espositivo). Senza argomentare la sue idee, Farina equipara l'epistolario a uno "strumento per interpretare Dostoevskij e la sua opera" (p. 26, corsivo mio), convinta (senza alcuna consapevolezza critica) che "le lettere fungono per Dostoevskij [...] da vero punto di partenza creativo, da fonte inesauribile di verità" (p. 27, corsivo mio). Si tratta di sentenze ingenuie (e, per uno studioso serio, anche irritanti) che palesano l'estraneità di Farina ai numerosi studi sul genere letterario epistolare: nell'arco di mezzo secolo è stata ampiamente argomentata a livello scientifico l'incompatibilità tra epistolari e "verità" (concetto, peraltro, estraneo alla terminologia scientifica). Non c'è alcun cenno nell'Introduzione non solo ai singoli saggi e articoli sull'argomento, ma neppure alle fondamentali monografie di studiosi di chiara fama (come N. Bonifazi, S. Hubier, V. Kaufmann, P. Lejeune, J. Starobinski). Sebbene alcune idee meno ingenuie, con debiti approfondimenti, avrebbero incuriosito, sebbene si succedano citazioni e riferimenti (che vanno, senza logica consequenzialità, da Hitchcock a Berdjaev, da Hugo a Girard), le esigue pagine introduttive di Farina ammiccano in modo pretestuale (e anche in questo caso, parrebbe, inconsapevole) a un desueto soggettivismo post-moderno. Si rilevano frasi prive di coerenza contestuale e di senso compiuto (ad es., "La storia di una vita è sempre stata la storia di un corpo. Il corpo che lo si voglia o no, è vessillo e sospiro, compagno esigente, mappa del nostro presente e del nostro futuro"; p. 27). Per quanto riguarda il corpus, la tipologia e le fonti delle lettere, la Curatrice si limita a poche, vaghe parole sul criterio di selezione: "si è scelto di pubblicare qui la quasi totalità delle lettere. Sono state escluse soltanto le missive che nulla avrebbero aggiunto" (p. 26). Nulla si dice sul Testo di Partenza russo in nessuna parte del volume.

Non meno deludenti e confuse appaiono le pagine degli *Appunti di traduzione*, poiché predispongono il lettore ad aspettarsi le fondamentali informazioni sul progetto traduttivo, sulle strategie, sulle principali difficoltà incontrate, mentre si tratta di una 'seconda introduzione' che, pur migliore della prima, crea false aspettative. Neppure qui, comunque, si riflette sulla specifica complessità del genere epistolare. Parlando della scrittura dostoevskiana, infatti, le autrici trascurano le cruciali differenze tra generi testuali che, nel caso di Dostoevskij, sono al centro d'importanti dibattiti; inoltre, contraddicono Farina stessa quando attribuiscono una "frequente intenzione manipolatoria" alla "nervosa" scrittura dostoevskiana (pp. 40-41): per quanto non venga definita (e sia concettualmente subdola), l'idea di un'"intenzione manipolatoria" contraddice quella di Farina, cioè che le lettere di Dostoevskij siano un deposito di "verità".

Quanto alla traduzione dal russo, la sistematica resa della sintassi e della fraseologia *non marcate* del testo russo con quelle *marcate* dell'italiano (ad es., "per l'amor di Dio" invece di "mi raccomando", "ci nominano" invece di "ci chiamano", "in nome di Dio" invece di "per carità", "Che Dio sia con loro!", invece di "Buon per loro!" [cioè, "vadano a farsi benedire!"], "la sua opinione degli uomini" invece di "la sua opinione sugli esseri umani", "siamo stati amareggiati dal sapere" invece di "ci ha amareggiato venire a sapere") rende faticosa e sgradevole la lettura di queste lettere, così come a) i ripetuti calchi dei pronomi *non marcati* in russo, resi con ridondanti e obsoleti pronomi *marcati* in italiano (disturbano, soprattutto, esso/essa/esse/essi) e b) i calchi della punteggiatura russa, la cui asimmetria rispetto a quella italiana è fatto noto e vistoso anche al di fuori della traduttologia. Le traduttrici, lettera dopo lettera, impongono al lettore italiano il sintagma vistosamente *marcato* dall'esclamativo "Caro/a ___!" che calca il russo *non marcato* "Dorogoj/aja ___!", il quale corrisponde (senza eccezioni) all'italiano *non marcato* "Caro/a ___". In questa formula epistolare, l'equivalenza *esclamativo [Ru] ⇔ virgola [It]* non è materia di opinione o di gusto. Per quanto riguarda le varie

forme ipocoristiche derivate da antroponimi russi presenti nelle lettere – quasi sempre opache e ostiche agli stranieri – le traduttrici le calcano senza nulla fare, né dire al lettore, come se il problema (ben studiato sia in onomastica, sia in traduttologia) non esistesse. La responsabilità di questa traduzione – che avrebbe richiesto ancora un lungo e capillare lavoro di revisione – spetta senza dubbio alla Curatrice, sia perché chi ‘cura’ risponde sempre del progetto editoriale nel suo complesso, sia perché Farina ha direttamente partecipato alla traduzione.

Per quanto, infine, riguarda la veste materiale delle *Lettere*, si riscontrano pregi e difetti. Nonostante l’ottima leggibilità dei caratteri, l’apprezzabile veste tipografica e la buona qualità della carta, il libro è troppo voluminoso e pesante; ha, infatti, le dimensioni di un corposo dizionario monovolume, come se funzione dell’opera fosse di essere ‘consultata’ e non ‘letta’, il che andrebbe bene se la Curatrice non avesse sostenuto l’ipotesi che queste lettere (“romanzo di una vita”) vadano lette come un’“opera letteraria”. Anche la copertina rigida, che pur favorisce l’impatto estetico e la conservazione del libro, rende difficile gestire la lettura senza un appoggio. La versione in due volumi avrebbe avvantaggiato *la lettura*.

In sintesi, se l’editore avesse mirato alla qualità del progetto e del libro, cioè al suo rigore e al conseguente prestigio scientifico, avrebbe inevitabilmente fatto ricorso a consulenti di mestiere: letterati, affermati studiosi di Dostoevskij, esperti di traduzione. Il volume, invece, appare impostato e realizzato in modalità prettamente amatoriale, ma ben al di sotto dello standard (più elevato) dei pionieri della slavistica di metà XX secolo (che erano almeno eruditi interpreti). È davvero inspiegabile che oggi, nel 2021, nel momento in cui la qualità delle opere tradotte sta raggiungendo i più alti standard professionali sul mercato editoriale italiano, si sia optato per un approccio così ‘approssimativo’. Anche a voler ragionare in base a criteri meramente commerciali, come sa qualsiasi ‘imprenditore’, deludere i ‘clienti esigenti’ non è mai una scelta saggia.

Laura Salmon

F. Venturi, *Il populismo russo*, I-III, Mimesis, Milano 2021, pp. CXXIX-375, 479, 460.

Il populismo russo di Franco Venturi, uscito per la prima volta da Einaudi nel 1952, resta ancora oggi l'*opus magnum* sulla storia dei movimenti rivoluzionari russi dell'Ottocento che precedettero la diffusione in Russia del marxismo (con la conseguente nascita del partito socialdemocratico, a fine secolo). Un'edizione rivista di questa monumentale storia apparve nel 1974, arricchita da un ampio saggio introduttivo in cui l'autore discuteva nuovi studi e materiali comparsi nel ventennio trascorso dalla prima edizione. Da allora *Il populismo russo* è diventato una in-trovabile rarità, menzionato come una leggenda ma non più letto. Ora il libro è restituito ai lettori dalla casa editrice Mimesis (collana "Passato prossimo"), con una introduzione di Daniela Steila.

Nel 1936, durante il suo primo viaggio nell'Unione Sovietica, Venturi fu colpito dal silenzio imposto sulla storia del *narodničestvo*, silenzio che contrastava con l'appassionato interesse suscitato da esso negli anni Venti, testimoniato da numerosi e brillanti studi storici sull'argomento. La censura è però comprensibile, se si pensa che Stalin aveva da poco realizzato la collettivizzazione forzata delle campagne, cancellando così definitivamente ogni traccia di quelle 'comuni agrarie' (*obščiny*) in nome delle quali si erano battuti i socialisti russi della prima ora, i *narodniki*. Nel 1947, Venturi torna a Mosca in veste di addetto culturale dell'ambasciata italiana e, nei tre anni successivi, si immerge ogni sera, alla biblioteca Lenin, in un lavoro di ricostruzione della storia del populismo russo. Ha alle spalle una lunga militanza antifascista, l'esilio in Francia, una prigionia nella Spagna franchista, il confinamento, l'attività clandestina per la Resistenza, la partecipazione al movimento socialista e libertario di "Giustizia e Libertà". Non c'è dubbio che il compito di salvare dalla 'pattumiera della storia' le biografie di coloro che tutto sacrificarono nel nome della giustizia sociale e della libertà, era sentita dallo storico anche come 'una questione privata'. "Man mano che procedevo nel mio lavoro ero colto da un senso di sempre maggiore ammirazione per coloro che in condizioni difficilissime, vollero andare fino in fondo, integralmente, sulla 'via stretta' che avevano scelto" (vol. I, p. XXVII).

Se la generazione di Lenin sentì la necessità di superare le idee populiste, quella di Venturi, viceversa, avvertì il bisogno di lasciare da parte i giudizi di Lenin (e, a maggior ragione, quelli di Stalin) sul populismo e di 'risalire alle fonti' del movimento rivoluzionario russo. A guidare lo storico era la convinzione che il *narodničestvo* andasse considerato come "una pagina di storia del movimento socialista europeo" (*ibidem*, p. CXXV), vale a dire che le radici teoriche del populismo fossero comuni al movimento occidentale. Non si tratta solo di Proudhon, Owen o Feuerbach: la riscoperta stessa delle *obščiny* si doveva al libro di un economista tedesco, August von Haxthausen.

Libero dalle strettoie ideologiche e nazionaliste della storiografia sovietica, dai suoi pregiudizi (il populismo come malattia infantile del socialismo scientifico e via dicendo), Venturi 'spazzola la storia a contropelo', dando diritto di cittadinanza a una realtà quanto mai eterogenea, carica di possibilità, attraversata da innumerevoli fiumi carsici, gremita di gruppi e organizzazioni accomunate dal desiderio di vedere il cosiddetto 'popolo' (masse di servi o ex-servi della gleba) trasformarsi nella "classe vendicatrice, che porta a compimento l'opera di liberazione", per dirla con Walter Benjamin. Come è tipico di ogni vero storico, Venturi riesce ad assolvere magistralmente il duplice compito che gli sta dinanzi: combinare una viva comprensione dei punti di vista e dei fini soggettivi dei propri personaggi con una superiore valutazione della portata oggettiva della loro opera.

Tre imponenti volumi narrano e chiosano e vagliano criticamente le drammatiche peripezie del populismo, il suo tenace e sempre più disperato tentativo di risvegliare le masse contadine, così da innescare in Russia una rivoluzione decentrata, molecolare, dal basso. Il primo volume è dedicato ai tre maggiori *mâîtres à penser* del movimento, molto diversi tra loro: Herzen, Bakunin, Černyševskij. Molto amato da Venturi, Herzen elabora la dottrina del 'socialismo russo', individuando per primo nella comune agraria il possibile perno di una società egualitaria. Dopo Herzen e per suo merito, a queste ataviche comunità contadine faranno riferimento coloro che intendono scongiurare l'avvento del capitalismo in Russia. Ossia coloro che giudicano l'arretratezza delle campagne russe non un ostacolo, ma un'occasione. Innumerevoli saranno le divergenze in seno al populismo a proposito dei mezzi da usare per elevare l'antica *obščina* al rango di nuovissima istituzione politica. Si sa che Bakunin, teorico dell'anarchia, riteneva che soltanto una violenta, 'onnidistruttiva' rivolta dei contadini avrebbe potuto conferire dignità alle comuni agrarie.

Il ritratto di Černyševskij tratteggiato da Venturi assomiglia poco a quello messo a punto dalla storiografia sovietica. In rilievo, per esempio, è posta la presenza nel pensatore di una 'esigenza religiosa' il cui contenuto dalla fine degli anni Cinquanta diventa però esclusivamente politico e distaccato dalla tradizione della chiesa. Lo storico spiega che la visione storica dell'*obščina* di Černyševskij aveva una origine occidentalista e che Marx, alla fine della sua vita, si avvicinerà alle idee sulla comune contadina elaborate proprio da Černyševskij. Il suo romanzo *Che fare?* – composto nel 1863, mentre era detenuto nella fortezza di Pietro e Paolo – sarà il libro su cui si formerà tutta una generazione di rivoluzionari populistici, il codice di vita di una giovane *intelligencija*.

Il secondo volume, intitolato *Dalla liberazione dei servi al nichilismo*, racconta vicissitudini e differenze di orientamento dei gruppi rivoluzionari, cioè dei movimenti studenteschi, contadini e operai suscitati dall'epocale manifesto zarista, che con una mano liberava giuridicamente i lavoratori delle campagne dai loro padroni e, con l'altra, li condannava a nuove forme di schiavitù economica. Sono gli anni dell'emancipazione femminile, delle rivolte nichiliste, del fallito attentato di Karakozov allo zar Alessandro II (1866), dell'eclatante e controverso *affaire* Nečaev. Quest'ultimo chiuderà il decennio iniziatosi il 19 febbraio 1861, "sarà l'ultima eco diretta della riforma contadina, l'ultimo rivoluzionario populista che collegherà la sua azione alla grande speranza d'un rifiuto da parte dei villaggi d'accettare la riforma" (vol. II, p. 267). Fu allora, secondo Venturi, che per il populismo si cristallizzarono due prospettive inconciliabili: agire subito, prima che il capitalismo ormai incipiente disgregasse le comuni agrarie, facendo emergere una nuova classe di contadini ricchi, i *kulaki* (Tkačëv); oppure lavorare sul tempo lungo, con una paziente opera di istruzione e propaganda in mezzo al popolo (Lavrov). Imboccando la seconda via, migliaia di studenti universitari 'andarono nel popolo', ossia diedero luogo a un autentico esodo verso i villaggi. "Un populismo più spontaneo e romantico, meno politico e più legato alle campagne s'affermava così come primo risultato

dell'eliminazione violenta degli elementi più coscienti e occidentalizzati che Černyševskij vi aveva introdotto" (vol. II, p. 208)

Il terzo volume dell'opera di Venturi, intitolato *Dalle andate nel popolo al terrorismo*, si apre raccontando fatti e stati d'animo di questa migrazione di massa: l'«estate folle» del 1874, la voglia di rinunciare a qualsiasi privilegio, di liberarsi finalmente del «debito» contratto nei confronti del popolo. Vivere in mezzo ai contadini, vincerne la diffidenza, istruirli con umiltà: fu un moto spontaneo, etico più che politico, certamente non promosso da un comitato centrale. Vestiti da *mužiki*, questi populisti si affrettano a imparare un lavoro manuale: diventano operai, ciabattini, falegnami, ebanisti, tutti mestieri che saranno loro utili durante le successive deportazioni. Si sa che il risultato fu catastrofico: denunce, arresti, processi. Sarà l'impressionante «processo dei 193», celebrato nel 1877-78, a porre fine alla fase propagandistica del populismo.

Costretto a perdere la propria innocenza, il movimento ritiene ormai legittimo il ricorso ad azioni di guerriglia contro lo Stato autocratico. Il fallimento dell'«andata nel popolo» del 1874 rende inevitabile la cospirazione clandestina e, quindi, la costruzione di una organizzazione centralizzata. Nasce così *Zemlja i volja*. Lo sparo di Vera Zasulič contro il governatore di Pietroburgo, il generale Trepov, inaugura la sequenza di attentati politici dell'«anno di piombo» per eccellenza, il 1878. Il terrorismo populista, rivolto dapprima contro i più odiosi ufficiali della gendarmeria, non tarda però a eleggere a proprio bersaglio la persona stessa dell'imperatore. Sarà la nuova organizzazione *Narodnaja volja*, anzi il suo Comitato esecutivo, ad addossarsi il compito di colpire il potere autocratico nel modo più estremo e incisivo: assassinando lo zar.

Si arriva così all'acme che ne è anche l'epilogo: l'attentato contro l'imperatore Alessandro II, eseguito con successo il 1° marzo 1881. Al processo per l'attentato, uno dei capi del Comitato esecutivo, Željabov dichiarò che la lotta armata era stata una conseguenza logica di tutto lo sviluppo del movimento: «Abbiamo tentato diversi mezzi per agire a favore del popolo [...]. Un movimento lontano dal voler versare sangue, che ripudiava ogni violenza, venne soffocato. Da metafisico e sognatore si fece positivista e aderì al suolo. Invece della lotta pacifica ci demmo alla lotta coi fatti» (vol. III, pp. 427-428). Il finale è tragico, e non solo per la sconfitta politica, le forche e la Siberia. Amara è soprattutto la sordità dei contadini a ogni istanza sovversiva, il loro ostinato affidare le proprie speranze di giustizia allo zar. Cinque *narodniki* coinvolti nell'attentato furono condannati a morte. Il libro di Venturi si chiude così: «Alle 9,30 della mattina del 3 aprile 1881, salivano al patibolo Rysakov, Željabov, Michajlov, Kibal'čič e la Petrovskaja. Gli ultimi quattro si abbracciarono per l'ultima volta, e tutti vennero impiccati» (*Ibidem*, p. 429).

Venturi mette in guardia dalla tentazione di imparare la storia leggendo i grandi romanzieri: «È altrettanto vano cercar d'intendere il «nihilismo» deducendolo dai romanzi di Turgenev quanto narrare le vicende del partito repubblicano sotto la monarchia di luglio parlando di Balzac. Pochissimo c'è da imparare da Dostoevskij per chi voglia cercare di capire Nečëv» (vol. I, p. CXXVI). Al contrario, aggiungiamo, la conoscenza della storia è imprescindibile per una corretta comprensione della letteratura russa dell'Ottocento.

Resta auspicabile che il libro di Venturi venga finalmente tradotto e pubblicato in Russia.

P. Muratov, *Immagini dell'Italia*, I-II, trad. di A. Romano, a cura di R. Giuliani, Adelphi, Milano 2019-2021, pp. 465-306.

A più di un secolo dalla pubblicazione dei due volumi di *Obrazy Italii* (Mosca 1911-1912), seguiti da una successiva edizione, integrata di un terzo volume (Berlino 1924), trova finalmente compimento il dubbioso auspicio di Ettore Lo Gatto, evocato da Rita Giuliani nella *Postfazione* al primo volume ("è certo difficile che un giorno un editore italiano possa decidersi a pubblicare la traduzione dei tre volumi di Muratov"). È tuttavia doveroso ricordare che di *Obrazy Italii* negli anni Settanta e Ottanta sono apparse le traduzioni di alcuni singoli capitoli (per un elenco completo di tali pubblicazioni si veda la voce *Pavel Pavlovič Muratov*, a cura di Patrizia Deotto, in *Russi in Italia*, <<http://www.russinitalia.it/dettaglio.php?id=129>>).

Immagini dell'Italia è un *unicum* nell'odeporica russa innanzi tutto per la sua composita natura. Se a tutta prima si presenta come una erudita guida di viaggio, si colgono, con il procedere della lettura, le altre sue anime: compendio di storia, saggio di estetica e di critica d'arte, trattato di letterature e culture comparate, studio sociologico, diario di viaggio e il suo prezioso valore risiede nell'esito, pienamente realizzato, di un intento che l'Autore con la sua consueta modestia esprime nella *Prefazione*: "questo libro è un tentativo di descrivere l'Italia per immagini – immagini delle sue città e dei suoi paesaggi, del suo genio storico e artistico".

Pavel Pavlovič Muratov (1881-1950), storico dell'arte, scrittore e traduttore, tra il 1908 e il 1911 compì tre viaggi in Italia, dove avrebbe desiderato stabilire la sua dimora definitiva. Ma il suo successivo ritorno, a Roma, nel 1923, segnò, in realtà, l'inizio di un soggiorno destinato a interrompersi, probabilmente a causa di gravi difficoltà finanziarie, nei primi anni Trenta, quando si trasferì a Parigi. Nel 1937 vide l'Italia per l'ultima volta e, due anni dopo, si stabilì a Londra, invitato dallo storico e mecenate inglese William Allen, nella cui tenuta irlandese Pavel Pavlovič si spese nel 1950.

Con *Immagini dell'Italia* il lettore odierno compie dunque un lungo viaggio attraverso città, cittadine e piccoli centri che, dall'epoca di Muratov spesso hanno, e notevolmente, modificato la propria fisionomia: nel primo volume egli ha modo di incontrare, per esempio, Venezia, Padova, Ravenna, Ferrara, Bologna, Firenze, Prato e Pistoia, Pisa, Lucca e San Gimignano; nel secondo Roma e numerose località del Lazio (come Ostia, Ninfa, Cori, Subiaco, Olevano), Napoli e la Campania, Palermo e la Sicilia greca.

La prima immagine di ogni luogo che Muratov prende in esame è, sovente, una vivida impressione derivata dalla soggettiva esperienza dell'Autore: la Venezia turistica, pigra e chiassosa, si contrappone alla Venezia silenziosa delle calli solitarie e dall'ipnotico potere dell'acqua; Ferrara

assomiglia a un cimitero e suscita nel visitatore un senso di venerazione; Bologna comunica una sensazione di leggerezza, mentre Padova è tetra e antica. Se è consigliabile raggiungere Pisa quando piove, perché con la pioggia “le vie sono più deserte e negli antichi marmi [...] risiede la caratteristica bellezza di Pisa”, Pompei è la testimonianza del desiderio, proprio dell’uomo moderno, di incontrare l’antico. Al patrimonio artistico dell’Italia Muratov consacra pagine dense di informazioni storiche, minuziose descrizioni e osservazioni critiche: ne sono esempi le trattazioni dedicate all’opera di Giovanni Bellini, di Tintoretto o di Mantegna; o, ancora, la complessa rappresentazione di Roma, che Muratov suggerisce di visitare seguendo i percorsi della sua storia: Roma è innanzi tutto antica, poi cristiana – “chi a Roma ha il tempo e la voglia di cercare le ipostasi dei primi secoli cristiani rimarrà folgorato dalla loro inesauribile ricchezza e dalla loro freschezza singolare” – è rinascimentale e barocca ed è deplorabile la trasformazione inflitta dai “tempi nuovi”: la costruzione del viale dell’Esposizione, le modifiche apportate alla via Flaminia, l’edificazione delle fabbriche sulla sponda del Tevere. E immaginiamo la sua profonda tristezza, quando osserva che “la febbre edilizia sembra una malattia cronica della nuova Italia parlamentare e delle municipalità. A Roma i nuovi quartieri spuntano con una rapidità che difficilmente si può giustificare alla luce di qualsivoglia urgenza”.

Accanto all’arte musaica, sulla quale si diffonde in particolare nei saggi dedicati a Ravenna, Roma e Palermo, la civiltà del Quattrocento suscita nell’Autore un peculiare interesse, che lo induce a rivalutarne l’importanza, contrapponendosi con accenti garbatamente polemici agli scrittori dell’Ottocento e di inizio Novecento, inclini a trascurare “il momento più alto del Rinascimento”.

Numerose sono le incursioni digressive nella storia della cultura italiana, come altrettante rivelazioni di usi e costumi, di personaggi storici o episodi meno noti, quali soggetti pittorici, letterari o teatrali. Le tragedie della famiglia de’ Medici sono motivo di ispirazione dei drammi cinquecenteschi di John Webster e della stendhaliana novella *Lorenzaccio*, mentre il Settecento è il secolo della maschera, che a Venezia si impone come vera e propria istituzione e ricorre nei dipinti di Pietro Longhi; le acquaforti di Piranesi, note come *Carceri*, rinviano alle successive visioni delle *Confessioni di un mangiatore d’oppio* di Thomas de Quincey.

L’Italia di Muratov è anche una successione di immagini della natura, che sorprende il viaggiatore per la sua varietà. La campagna romana, cui l’Autore riserva un ampio capitolo, produce un’impressione incomparabile ad alcun’altra; l’Etna illuminato dal sole al tramonto conferisce al paesaggio “una solennità ineffabile”, mentre il tratto che separa Firenze da Siena “possiede [...] una raffinata anima artistica”.

Ma l’elemento unificante di tutte le dotte enunciazioni, le erudite spiegazioni, i commenti critici e le riflessioni intime è la memoria, come patrimonio personale – “Le immagini qui fissate possono altresì definirsi ‘memorie’” precisa Muratov nella già ricordata *Prefazione* – e come eredità che l’arte e la letteratura nel corso della storia affidano all’umanità. Dell’intenso valore a un tempo individuale e collettivo Pavel Muratov diviene espressione vivente nei momenti di raccoglimento, non di rado suscitato dalle ore vespertine, allegorico *memento homo* che rinvia, anche, al tramonto di quella stessa civiltà cui appartiene Muratov.

Di grande utilità per il lettore sono gli apparati peritestuali: l’ampia *Postfazione* di Rita Giuliani ricostruisce il percorso esistenziale di Pavel Muratov, soffermandosi lungamente sul significato che l’Italia assume per l’Autore delle *Immagini* e sull’impatto che l’opera ebbe sulla cultura russa del tempo. Il ricchissimo apparato delle note, a cura del traduttore, Alessandro Romano, conferisce all’opera carattere di scientificità. Esse indicano puntualmente le fonti delle citazioni riportate dall’Autore; contengono approfondimenti e precisazioni in merito alle opere e ai personaggi citati, ricorrendo a fonti coeve delle *Immagini*, così completando il contesto culturale nel quale si colloca

il testo muratoviano e, infine, dialogando con il testo stesso, talvolta, quando necessario, emendando errori, imperfezioni o fraintendimenti interpretativi e svolgendo così la funzione dei *marginalia*, richiamata da George Steiner nel saggio *The Uncommon Reader*.

Giulia Baselica

O. Mandel'stam, *Il programma del pane. Come lievita la poesia*, a cura di L. Tosi, Jouvence, Milano 2021, pp. 272.

Si dovrebbe immaginare una speciale macchina volante, un aereo che in volo tragga da sé, dal proprio interno una seconda parte e un'altra ancora, tutte egualmente dinamiche. Questa l'immagine utilizzata da Osip Mandel'stam per dare corpo-forma visiva alla materia poetica, nella sua *Conversazione su Dante*. Si potrebbe forse applicare alla struttura, inconsueta, del volume con cui Lia Tosi ripropone un suo innovativo libro del 2004, arricchito di un'ampia parte, del tutto originale, dedicata al rapporto fra Mandel'stam e lo psicologo Lev Vygotskij al punto d'incontro della loro ricerca sull'origine 'biologica' della parola, della parola poetica in particolare. Un libro costruito secondo un principio di tessitura dritto-rovescio, dove la figura finale sarà ricostruita solo a lettura ultimata. La struttura a cornice del primo libro, composto di quattordici capitoli, si suddivide duplicandosi, riportando la traduzione di alcuni saggi di Mandel'stam sulla parola poetica e sulla sua funzione nella cultura percepita come organismo vivente, *Parola e cultura, Sulla natura della parola, Umanesimo e tempo contemporaneo*, a loro volta incastonati fra due scritti che ne sono poli e insieme asse portante, cintura e capienza, *Fumento umano e Il programma del pane*. Essi danno senso al titolo del libro e attendono la chiosa finale: *Come lievita la poesia*. Segue ogni brano o saggio una prima interpretazione dei maggiori studiosi di Mandel'stam, riportata con probità a mo' di *incipit* per un commento da parte dell'autrice, che si avvale di altro materiale per intervallare l'esegesi, con poesie, brani di prosa, citazioni da altri poeti e prosatori (soprattutto da Rozanov) che a loro volta ne rinsaldano il significato e aprono a nuovi ventagli di senso. Anche Lia Tosi sa l'arte del cucire, sicché sutura abilmente, chiosando le linee di pensiero che va seguendo, rintracciando, interpolando. Seguono ai saggi singole poesie che puntellano il discorso sul *Programma del pane*, quindi, a mo' di chiusura, le due *Odi* tarde, entrambe degli anni Trenta: *Ode a Stalin* e i *Versi sul soldato ignoto*, Oratorio in otto parti, scrive Jurij Levin, attorno a cui far convergere le fitte linee di attraversamento dell'intera poetica di Mandel'stam. Anche la veste tipografica segue e assicura questa sorta di carotaggio esegetico, affilando fino al cosiddetto 'corpo minore' l'indagine, quasi carne viva, la poesia che vibra in onde, empiti (*poryvy*), sussulti, poi si distende, con un andamento, si suggerisce, proprio alla parola di un asmatico, quale era il poeta, che sa la difficoltà del dire: "Amo l'apparizione del tessuto, / quando dopo due oppure tre / ma anche più respiri ansimati / arriva il respiro a pieno petto" (*Ottave*, novembre 1933). Insegue, Lia Tosi, immagini, metafore, interrato rizoma, singole parole-segnaletta che tessono nella poetica di Mandel'stam un disegno coerente e persistente. "Certe metafore per Mandel'stam sono come giuramenti, si rinnovano, si conservano". Così la formazione

organica della parola poetica, predeterminata come in natura la “foglia embrionale del nasturzio”, eppure imprevedibile e spontanea, viene captata dalla vela tesa di un “udito sensibile”, un orecchio interno, addestrato alle sponde dello Stige creativo, in cerca del suono amato. “È la figura interna che emana suono, è l’udito poetico che la percepisce”, come nelle poesie fra loro concatenate: “Ho dimenticato la parola che volevo dire...” e le gemellari: “Quando scende alle ombre Psiche -vita”. Procede, questo indagare a più piste, verso alcuni nuclei itineranti: il calore, la famiglia, il nutrimento, la potenza dinamica della parola in formazione, paragonabile alla “velocità cosmica dell’esplosione di un baccello di nasturzio” (*Viaggio in Armenia*). Sviluppo organico che aveva trovato anticipazione nelle immagini del saggio *Parola e cultura*, come “la parola è carne e pane”, “chi alzerà la parola [...] un secondo Giosuè” fino alla sacralità eucaristica. Da qui origina il glossario neotestamentario, il fondaco da cui attingere le iterate metafore del campo di grano, del seminatore e delle sementi, del raccolto. Ma se queste si svolgono tutte con le contigue immagini del vomere, “La poesia è un vomere che rivolta il tempo in modo da far riemergere in superficie i suoi strati profondi”, dei solchi e della ‘terra nera’ fertile, *Il programma del pane* guarda al cielo, in parte echeggiando le teorie allora in voga di Gurdžiev, che altrettanto ebbero influenza su poeti come Chlebnikov o Zabolockij, sintetizzate nell’esortazione: “Dicono che causa di rivoluzione sia la fame negli spazi interplanetari. Bisogna spargere frumento nell’etere”.

Si parla di una letteratura calda e intima, indossata “come i pantaloni”, ‘così vicini e così miei’” scriveva Vasilij Rozanov, esaltando l’elemento domestico, familiare della letteratura che in Mandel’stam si conserva come materia organica vivificatrice attraverso i secoli. La lingua umana, dotata di un calore biologico, quasi si identifica, come nella *Glossolalija* di Andrej Belyj, col luogo in cui risuona e con l’organo che la dice, come l’ancipite significato della parola stessa, lingua. Così Lia Tosi riesce a seguire lo sviluppo di immagini, parole-lemmi itineranti che dalle prime poesie degli anni Dieci crescono nelle solenni forme architettoniche, ‘classiche’ degli anni Venti, rinnovando nei versi di *Tristia* gli stretti legami che saldano la poesia e il nome di Mandel’stam ai suoi numi tutelari: Ovidio e Dante.

Parola colta che emana tepore, evoca il “focolare”, perché nutrita di filologia affettiva: “la filologia è famiglia, perché ogni famiglia si tiene su intonazioni, citazioni, virgolette”, esalta il calore umano e si oppone, resiste al rigore dei ghiacci inospitali delle terre oltre Ponto, come al *rigor mortis* della massa umana indistinta (*Versi sul soldato ignoto*), maciullata in “pastone arabo, tritato” dalla guerra e dagli ordigni bellici, “corpi volanti a sei braccia”, “ali assire di libellule / vibrazioni di angolose tenebre” (*Il vento a noi consolazione portò*). Cresce negli anni in Mandel’stam l’orrore per la cupa eredità bellica del primo conflitto mondiale e la funesta preveggenza del prossimo futuro, con nuovi micidiali armamenti per il martirio dei singoli corpi in un ‘pastone’ (*mesivo*) indistinto, indifferente, per le avidi, sornione, ciniche Potenze mondiali. Colpisce la lettura dei reportages di guerra (citati nelle note ai *Versi sul soldato ignoto*) che preconizzano l’oggi dell’Afghanistan, a noi tristemente ben noto, colpisce la sollecitudine del poeta per l’umanità, resa campo di spighe falcidiato dall’orrida macchina bellica. Convergono nell’oratorio sul *Soldato* immagini evangeliche, patristiche, ortodosse, aboliti i nessi logici, gli otto brevi cicli si inanellano per attrazione musicale, condensando la riflessione di anni, aprendo a una visione cosmica davvero originale. Tra le sorprese di questa apertura nell’*Ode a Stalin*, spicca la qualità della traduzione, mentre l’autonomia del commento scava la progressione dell’immagine originaria del mietitore, sicché Stalin, colui che “ha spostato l’asse del mondo”, “vomere gigante”, sarà connesso ad Augusto, tormentatore di Ovidio. Eppure Lia Tosi vi legge un desiderio assurdo e pur autentico di riscatto del Tiranno, la speranza che il calore filiale possa “curare” il padre, riconnettendo così l’ultima parte di questo primo libro alla “cura” che sanerà

la “Guernica cosmica” della belligeranza, in apertura. Conosciamo meglio Mandel’stam, contemporaneo del suo secolo, nella Mosca del “Moskvovšej” (Moscacuci), pronto all’arruolamento – “Io polone selvatico impaurito della luce / diverrò soldato semplice di quel paese” (*Versi sul soldato ignoto*).

Mentre l’ultima parte del libro approfondisce e coglie con sottili pinzette d’orefice il complesso meccanismo della morfogenesi della poesia, la sua “natura materica”, “fiamma a due lingue” che negli anni Trenta genera la metafora del tessuto, *tkan’*, e della spoletta, del fuso, *veretenò*, collegando l’azione di sparizione e ricomparsa di fili, immagini, metafore costanti nel tempo. Vicino alla simultanea ricerca di Lev Vygotskij, espressa in *Pensiero e parola* (*Mysl’ i slovo*), ma ancora nei taccuini ora riordinati con lavoro certosino, dove più si mostra, anche con esplicite citazioni dal poeta, l’affinità e coincidenza della loro ricerca. Mandel’stam, affascinato dalle spiegazioni scientifiche del giovane biologo Boris Kuzin, con cui stringe amicizia nel soggiorno in Armenia, dalla lettura dei Naturalisti (*Viaggio in Armenia*) suggellata dalla poesia a *Lamarck*, attinge ora a una nuova terminologia o meglio una affinità di percezione per definire la morfogenesi del linguaggio. Psicologo e poeta individuano concordi, nel ‘linguaggio per sé’, interiore, insonoro, l’assenza di sintassi ipotattica, il logico costruito, verticale, del ‘linguaggio per gli altri’, e la presenza, percepita e indimostrabile, di un magmatico, disarticolato e orizzontale generarsi di suono-immagine, ciò che sta ‘prima’ del pensiero, parola che si vuole dire.

Questo libro infine, commovente per la sua verità, è scritto in una lingua non convenzionale, robusta, adeguata e inventiva insieme, dove senti risonare la colta origine toscana, un lessico dantesco a volte, reso però domestico, alla Rozanov, non artefatto, simpatico e libero. Ed è la lingua con cui Lia Tosi si applica al tradurre un tale poeta. Non ne tenta traghettamenti prosodici, piuttosto mira a conservarne la sintassi fratta, la tensione della ricerca attorno a “come lievita la poesia”. Intatte le faglie temporali del pensiero “interno” che muove verso la parola non ancora strutturata - “Ho dimenticato la parola che volevo dire”. Una parola incipiente, che ancora tenta la sortita, “mugolio / di sonore conchiglie entro la sabbia”.

Caterina Graziadei

И.И. Бунаков-Фондаминский, *Пути России*, составление, подготовка текста и общая редакция О.А. Коростелева, Е.А. Андрущенко; послесловие и примечания Е.А. Андрущенко, ИМЛИ РАН, Москва 2020, с. 683 [4].

Книга *Пути России*, вышедшая в конце 2020 года, замечательна по нескольким причинам. Во-первых, этой книгой издательство Института мировой литературы РАН запускает новую серию публикаций, посвященную формам взаимодействия русской литературы и журналистики в кризисную эпоху начала XX века, – период, когда к традиционному для русской культуры сплетению литературы, философии, историософии, культурологии добавляется журналистика. Во-вторых, *Пути России* принадлежит перу Ильи Бунакова (наст. имя и фам.: Илья Исидорович Фондаминский, 1880–1942), – человека, игравшего заметную роль в культурной и политической жизни России, после 1919 года – русской эмиграции, близкого друга Д. Мережковского и З. Гиппиус, матери Марии (Скобцовой) и Н. Тэффи, И. Бунина и В. Набокова и многих других видных представителей русских эмигрантских кругов в межвоенной Европе. Однако ценность Бунакова-Фондаминского – не только, а может, и совсем не в тесном знакомстве с известными личностями: книга *Пути России* открывает читателю неординарного мыслителя, философа, культуролога с оригинальными взглядами на историю России, ее историческое развитие и механизмы взаимодействия с другими странами и культурами задолго до победного шествия глобализации по планете. Труды Фондаминского, большей частью опубликованные в эмиграции, по понятным причинам не переиздавались в советское время; по менее понятным причинам они ни разу не были переизданы и после 1991 г. Поэтому новая книга – это двойное возвращение: несомненно, заслуженное возвращение имени Фондаминского и его идей в широкий научный обиход, но также и долгожданное возвращение на Родину, в Россию, куда путь самому Илье Исидоровичу, бывшему эсеру-активисту и противнику большевистской власти, был заказан. Наконец, настоящую публикацию можно рассматривать как логическое продолжение большой работы по исследованию мира “Современных записок” – важнейшего литературно-общественного журнала русской эмиграции 1920-1940-х гг., в котором Фондаминский активно публиковался, пытаясь “привить журналу некое основанное на христианстве особое мирозерцание, состоящее в примирении религиозности и определенных политических постулатов” (*Современные записки (Париж, 1920-1940)*. Из архива редакции, I, под ред. О. Коростелева, М. Шрубы, Москва 2011, с. 59). Издание этой книги, к огромному сожалению, стало последней реализованной задумкой недавно ушедшего от нас

О.А. Коростелева, которую после его безвременной кончины успешно довела до логического завершения его коллега и неоднократный соавтор Е.А. Андрущенко.

Издание включает в себя, собственно, *Пути России* – почти 500-страничный *magnum opus* И.И. Фондаминского и 8 его публицистических статей, вышедших в различных журналах в эмигрантский период. Тексты Фондаминского, напечатанные по единственному прижизненным изданиям, сопровождаются подробными академическими примечаниями (с. 573-656). Кроме того, издание предлагает библиографическую справку об авторе (с. 659-664), подготовленную О.А. Коростелевым, и смкую статью Е.А. Андрущенко *Ошибки западного глаза-мера: о книге Пути России* (с. 668-684).

Сочетание текстов собственно Фондаминского и безупречного научного аппарата издания придает книге особую ценность. Авторы издания избрали стратегию минимального редактирования работ: книга *Пути России* “воспроизводится в том составе и редакции, в которой она публиковалась в журнале “Современные записки” с начала 1920 до конца 1939 г.” (с. 537), кроме того, сохранены и авторские примечания к тексту. Серия статей, из которых позже сформировался целостный текст *Путей России*, изначально не имела объединяющего названия; лишь позже, приступив к описанию Российской империи, Фондаминский дал новым статьям общий подзаголовок *Империя*. В настоящем издании, стремясь максимально следовать авторскому замыслу, кураторы предлагают разделение книги на две большие части, разбивающиеся, в свою очередь на главы, соответствующие статьям в эмигрантской периодике. С той же точностью приведена и поздняя публицистика Фондаминского, в которой кураторы ограничились исправлением типографских опечаток.

Несомненный интерес представляет научный аппарат издания. Так, объемная библиографическая справка, подготовленная О.А. Коростелевым, кроме данных о работах Фондаминского, вышедших в дореволюционных и эмигрантских изданиях, содержит подробный перечень хранящихся в архивах документов, связанных с Фондаминским, причем речь идет не только о традиционных для таких изданий сведений о фондах РГАЛИ или РГАФ, но, например, Гос. архиве Тамбовской области, Доме-музее Марины Цветаевой и целом ряде зарубежных архивных фондов – Hoover Institution, Amherst Center, Princeton Library и других. Содержит эта справка и список работ, посвященных Фондаминскому, прежде опубликованный в первом томе редакционной переписки “Современных записок”. Впервые этот материал публиковался в 2011 г. под ред. О.А. Коростелева и М. Шрубы (*Современные записки [Париж, 1920-1940], cit.*, с. 29-31) и теперь он доступен широкому кругу исследователей.

Подчеркнем, что идеи Фондаминского до сих пор не получили должной научной интерпретации: кроме отдельных статей, в основном, касающихся либо его сотрудничества с “Современными записками”, либо эсерского периода, защищена лишь одна диссертация по общественно-политическим взглядам Фондаминского (А.А. Берзина, *Общественно-политическая деятельность И.И. Бунакова-Фондаминского*, дис. канд. ист. наук, Орел 2005). Хочется верить, что рецензируемое издание способствует зарождению широкого интереса к фигуре этого неординарного мыслителя. В этом отношении хочется подчеркнуть роль научных примечаний к текстам Фондаминского (автор – Е.А. Андрущенко): несмотря на их “библиографический характер” (*Пути России*, с. 537), трудно переоценить их значимость как для понимания собственно работ Фондаминского, так и для осознания научного кругозора автора, тем более, что во второй части *Путей России* сам автор отказался от комментариев. Подробные, выверенные комментарии Е.А. Андрущенко помогают полнее воспринять идеи, изложенные

Фондаминским, актуализировать и донести до современного читателя тот интертекстуальный и межкультурный потенциал, который изначально был заложен в текст.

Как указывают кураторы издания, “историсофские наблюдения и размышления И. Фондаминского не устарели до сих пор и настоятельно требуют полноценного введения в научный и читательский оборот” (*Пути России*, с. 670). О чем же, собственно, размышлял Фондаминский? Конечно же, о России. Но о России в ту трагическую, переломную эпоху писали многие, а в среде русской эмиграции 1920-1940-х гг. это была ключевая, смыслообразующая тема. Об исторических судьбах, прошлом и будущем страны писали многие эмигранты, – Н.А. Бердяев, Н.О. Лосский, И.А. Ильин; упомянем и коллег Фондаминского по журналу “Новый град. Философский, религиозный и культурный обзор” Ф.А. Степуна и Г.П. Федотова, с которыми Фондаминского объединяла идея обращения к христианству как залога выхода России из кризиса. В отличие от Н.А. Бердяева, Фондаминский никогда не писал о себе и о своих личных переживаниях. В сложном анализе судьбы России и ее места в мировой истории Фондаминский опровергает концепцию поступательного развития общества и связывает ее с формами хозяйствования, прежде всего, с формой земельной собственности: “С формами хозяйствования на земле он связывал уровень культуры народов в широком смысле этого слова” (с. 670). В книге *Пути России* автор стремится, как кажется, объять необъятное – исследует историю взлета и падения древнегреческой цивилизации, модели хозяйствования Средневековой Европы и Киевской Руси, рассуждает о сущности народничества (в котором он видел парадоксальную, на первый взгляд, форму русской религиозности), предлагает свое толкование борьбы западников и славянофилов и размышляет о причинах победы большевистской революции в 1917 г.

Отличительная черта работ Фондаминского – резкое неприятие идеи универсального применения западной теории прогресса. Напротив, красной нитью в его творчестве проходит мысль об особом пути России, predetermined ее географическим положением, историей, культурой. Так, для Фондаминского русская земельная община – высший тип земельного хозяйствования, неизвестный Западной Европе, и потому ошибочно объявленный примитивным. Исторические эпохи в развитии России он соотносит с различными периодами из истории отдельных стран и целых континентов – от Китайской империи до древнего Египта, отвергая мысль о многовековой отсталости российской цивилизации по отношению к европейской и в то же время называя XIX столетие “веком возрождения России”. Фондаминский стремится к универсализму; особое значение в его трудах занимает идея христианства, с которым связывается возрождение России после революции. Христианский гуманизм у Фондаминского ассоциировался с гуманностью, и рассматривался как ключевой элемент в построении будущего России, в которую ему не суждено было вернуться. Сам Фондаминский долго шел к христианской вере; в Париже он стал близким другом матери Марии (Скобцовой), вошел в объединение *Христианское дело* и незадолго до гибели в Освенциме принял крещение.

Н. Тэффи писала: “Я бы не стала писать о Фондаминском. Мне трудно рассказать о нем так, как я бы хотела” (Н. Тэффи, *Моя летопись*, <<http://translatyr.org/librusec/442142>>). Представляется, что лучше всего об Илье Исидоровиче Бунакове-Фондаминском расскажет эта книга.

Дмитрий Новохатский

B. Pasternak, *Quando rasserena*, trad. e cura di A. Niero, Passigli, Bagno a Ripoli 2020, pp. 193.

1. L'EDIZIONE. Da un po' di tempo l'editoria italiana ha preso la buona abitudine di pubblicare le raccolte dei grandi poeti russi secondo la conformazione della loro prima apparizione, superando così la fase delle 'scelte', delle 'antologie'. L'editore Passigli nella collana di "Poesia" fondata da Mario Luzi, che ancora nel 2015 aveva pubblicato un florilegio delle poesie d'amore di Boris Pasternak (*Anch'io ho conosciuto l'amore. Poesie 1913-1936*, a cura di Marilena Rea), viene adesso pubblicando il retaggio poetico del grande scrittore secondo le raccolte col quale era primamente apparso. Così, dopo *Temi e variazioni* (a cura di Paola Ferretti, 2018), *Sui treni del mattino* (a cura di Elisa Baglioni, 2019), *Mia sorella la vita* (a cura di Paola Ferretti, 2020), pubblica adesso l'ultima raccolta poetica, *Quando rasserena* (a cura di Alessandro Niero, 2020). Nel caso specifico, la pubblicazione riserva al lettore – oltre a poter leggere la raccolta nella sua logica originaria – l'opportunità di affrontare in traduzione italiana l'insieme di questa raccolta, che in precedenza era apparsa solo per frammenti in varie raccolte antologiche di diversi traduttori e, come specificato in nota (p. 21), mai nella sua interezza.

2. IL TESTO. Le liriche della raccolta *Kogda razguljaetsja* (titolo tradotto anche come *Quando torna il sereno*, o *Quando il tempo si rasserena*, e che si potrebbe rendere anche *Quando mette al bello* [p. 19]) sono state composte tra il 1956 e il 1959, cioè dopo la stesura del *Dottor Živago*, comprese le liriche ivi attribuite al protagonista. Questo pone subito al lettore una grossa questione, anzi due: come va visto il ritorno alla composizione in versi dopo la lunga e complessa prova ("l'unica di cui non mi vergogno") del romanzo, e dunque – di nuovo – se Pasternak è un poeta che ha scritto un romanzo, o un prosatore che s'è fatto le ossa scrivendo versi; e se il ritorno alla scrittura di versi sia guidata dalla tensione verso la "semplicità inaudita" del poema *Le onde* (del 1931), come sembra propendere nella prefazione (p. 13) il curatore. Il quale nella stessa pagina motiva con l'impressione che qui il poeta si sia "scollato dallo sgargiante groviglio metaforico-metonomico delle sue prime raccolte", il che riconduce a una vecchia ma sempre intrigante questione posta da Roman Jakobson, il quale scorgeva nelle prime prove, con l'avallo dello stesso Autore (in una pagina de *La reazione di Wassermann*, 1914) la predilezione per la metonimia sulla metafora. Al lettore l'ardua sentenza (ma anche qui fanno capolino costruzioni sostanzialmente metonimiche), che comporta un non ovvio esercizio esegetico. Un altro interrogativo, si porrà il lettore italiano, meglio se in grado di leggere il testo a fronte: qual è il valore di queste liriche? Qui mi limito a dire la mia, cioè che più delle poesie "civili" (*Vo vsem mne chočetsja..., Byt' znamenitym..., Nobel'skaja premija*) gratificate dalla grande no-

torietà, a me sembra che il meglio sia espresso di nuovo dal senso del vivere còlto attraverso il vivere della natura, mettendo in prima fila *Vento* (*Quattro frammenti su Blok*), del 1956.

3. LA TRADUZIONE. Come dichiara con franchezza il traduttore (p.19), egli ha rinunciato alla riproduzione degli schemi rimari, scegliendo di avvalersi per lo più d'una struttura metrica, peraltro non sempre corrispondente nella sua conformazione a quella del russo. Il risultato è generalmente gradevole, anche se talora non si capisce bene l'impiego di un lessico colloquiale, discorsivo ("... al nocciolo, al nucleo", p. 27) per rendere una dizione filosofico-astratta ("*do samoj suti*", all'essenza stessa), e talaltra l'alternarsi di metri nella stessa lirica pare accostare la traduzione più a una prosa ritmica che alla resa dell'impianto tonico-sillabica dell'originale (*Arano*, p. 153). In ogni caso, si tratta di scelte linguistiche consapevoli e meditate (che riferirei al punto c., "decisione non necessaria e motivata", della tassonomia elaborata da J. Levý) atte, nell'insieme, a offrire al lettore italiano un'immagine convincente di questo tardo Pasternak-poeta.

Cesare G. De Michelis

A.M. Ripellino, *Lo splendido violino verde*, ed. introdotta e commentata da U. Brunetti, con due scritti di C. Bologna e A. Fo, Artemide, Roma 2021, pp. 301.

Dal Barocco a Gozzano, dai crepuscolari all'espressionismo e al futurismo, arrivando fino a Montale l'incedere poetico di Angelo Maria Ripellino sembra muoversi in un territorio composito e pieno di insidie per chi ne voglia affrontare una lettura critica. Si tratta di versi caratterizzati da una amalgama lirica capace di assorbire ogni tipo di suggestione artistica, ma che nasconde sempre, quale doppiofondo, il sé riflesso del poeta. Perché i versi de *Lo splendido violino verde*, forse l'apice della produzione di Ripellino, sono un colloquio continuo con la propria anima, con la sofferenza dell'essere, con la malattia che si tramuta quotidianamente in male di vivere, ma che è anche lo specchio attraverso il quale filtrare la propria visione dell'esistenza.

Quasi penalizzato dalla sua attività di critico e cultore delle letterature slave, come lui stesso lamentava ('Slavista! Mi gridano donne con frappe sul capo'), il poeta Ripellino è stato visto e viene forse ancora percepito come un'appendice, magari a volte anche un po' troppo enfatica, del traduttore innamorato e divertito, filologo ineccepibile, del saggista dalla prosa creativa, capace di fantastiche esibizioni da circo, quasi fosse una sorta di trapezista della scrittura, un equilibrista sempre in bilico tra mondi artistici diversi.

Grazie a questa edizione critica curata da Umberto Brunetti possiamo invece renderci conto di come sia vero il contrario e Brunetti stesso lo afferma con decisione: prima di tutto Ripellino è un poeta ed è da questa vocazione, verrebbe da dire senza appello, che scaturisce lo studioso, l'appassionato cultore di tutte le letterature, il fascinoso affabulatore, l'autore di un'incredibile messe di critiche letterarie e teatrali. Anche per questo Ripellino occupa un posto centrale nella vita letteraria e nella poesia italiana del secondo Novecento. Con un portato di novità lessicali e ritmiche che ha pochi contendenti.

Corrado Bologna nella sua bella prefazione al volume ci fornisce chiavi di lettura molto acute e interessanti per avvicinarci alla comprensione di questi versi, così ricchi di sottotesti, di richiami letterari, alimentati dalla cultura ripelliana, che per molti di noi si identifica *tout court* con la cultura. Perché chi è stato suo allievo, magari anche per il pochissimo tempo che, ad esempio, fu a me concesso dall'orribile chiasso della storia alla fine degli anni Settanta del secolo scorso e dalla malattia che lo stroncò, nutriva non il sospetto, ma la certezza che Ripellino sapesse tutto di musica, di pittura, di teatro e di letteratura. Tutto, ma proprio tutto.

I versi di Ripellino sono fortemente incastonati in un determinato periodo storico, caratterizzato dal boom economico e dalla guerra fredda, dalla contestazione giovanile, in Italia anche dalla

strategia della tensione e dal terrorismo e al tempo stesso si muovono in un mondo reinventato, popolato di personaggi letterari e teatrali, nella vita parallela che ci regalano la letteratura e l'arte per chi voglia avventurarsi in quell'*itinerario nel meraviglioso*, titolo ma anche contenuto di una sua famosa raccolta di saggi. Lungi dall'essere un poeta laureato Ripellino assimila, metabolizza il presente storico e lo mescola con la sua vicenda personale e con il materiale letterario, creando una scrittura originale, ricca di vocaboli desueti, di parole straniere, ma anche non scevra dall'uso del linguaggio comune. La sua poesia percepisce il crepuscolo, si balocca con il barocco, non disdegna i giochi futuristici, ma il fasto è solo apparente. È una poesia colta, certo, ma non aristocratica. Di sicuro la lingua, lo stile sono anche debitori ai tanti poeti russi e cechi che Ripellino ha tradotto e reinterpretato. Ma la sua straordinaria originalità è nell'utilizzare queste reminiscenze creando un *pastiche* linguistico/musicale senza eguali. A me pare, inoltre, che, nella volontà totalizzante di abbracciare tutto l'universo percepibile, la lirica di Ripellino sia anche definibile come poesia civile: il suo è uno sguardo costante sul mondo, di denuncia, di rimpianto non per un passato felice quanto per un impossibile futuro. In questo senso la sua lirica, il suo splendido violino, suona come un grido di allarme, come il tentativo di chiamare a raccolta quanti, pochi, troppo pochi, sentono come lui l'urgenza, la necessità di stabilire un'equivalenza tra vita e letteratura, l'una nell'altra confuse.

Così come Pasternak riteneva il *Dottor Živago* la sua unica opera veramente compiuta, Ripellino non fa mistero di sentirsi poeta e di volere essere riconosciuto come tale, non di certo per ostentare la fama di un premio letterario, quanto per il desiderio di venire apprezzato come uomo.

Scrive Bologna che: "Con questa edizione, la prima commentata di una sua raccolta di versi, quarant'anni dopo la scomparsa che tutti portiamo tagliente nel cuore, memoria d'una ferita terribile (1978), Ripellino entra finalmente nel mondo dei Classici, come ha sempre meritato e come pochi poeti contemporanei hanno ottenuto" (p. 11) e sottolinea come: "Il lettore troverà nelle pagine che seguono un fenomenale apparato ermeneutico, rigoroso, sensibilissimo, che si fonda su uno studio insieme accanito e innamorato" (p. 22). Alla prefazione di Bologna segue l'*Introduzione* di Brunetti che fa il punto sullo stato degli studi dedicati alla poesia di Ripellino, ma ci offre anche delle riflessioni che sommate a quelle di Bologna, danno un quadro molto ampio delle possibili chiavi interpretative de *Lo splendido violino verde*, tanto da poterci portare a sostenere che si tratta di un'analisi davvero esaustiva per la profondità delle considerazioni e degli spunti critici offerti. Segue la pubblicazione dell'intera raccolta che consta di 86 poesie composte tra il 1972 e il 1975. Ciascuna lirica è preceduta da un breve scritto introduttivo che ne spiega il carattere e il contenuto. Corredano ogni testo delle accuratissime note che ci consentono di penetrare appieno il significato e i possibili rimandi di ogni verso, un "fenomenale apparato" che: "mira a districare la vasta eterogeneità di influssi culturali presenti nelle liriche di Ripellino e approdare a una visione più definita di questa voce poetica non ordinaria, che meriterebbe di trovare posto nel canone del nostro secondo Novecento" (p. 39).

Il volume è chiuso da uno scritto di Alessandro Fo che rievoca la sua casuale scoperta de *Lo splendido volume verde*: un ricordo personale che, inevitabilmente, così come pure accade nella prefazione di Corrado Bologna, si colora di accenti commossi. Non so se Ripellino si possa definire come "poeta del rimpianto", ma certamente è questo il sentimento che attraversa quanti, anche grazie a questo volume curato da Umberto Brunetti, sono sicuri di poterlo celebrare come una delle voci liriche più alte del Novecento.

D. Franzoni, *La prosa sovietica nel contesto socio-culturale dell'epoca brežneviana*, FUP, Firenze 2020, pp. 170.

Per chi ha l'età per ricordare l'interesse smisurato di cui era oggetto negli anni Ottanta (non solo in Unione Sovietica) e la repentina caduta di questo interesse nel decennio successivo, trovare oggi Čingiz Ajtmatov tra gli eroi di un saggio che punta a riscrivere una pagina di storia della letteratura (della letteratura, e non del costume) non può che costituire una sorpresa (una sorpresa dal sapore dolcemente amaro, ma non è questo il punto).

La felice idea di fondo del libro di Franzoni è quella di riprendere, rivalutare, nel periodo della cosiddetta 'staginazione' brežneviana, periodo di cui oggi studiamo soprattutto la letteratura clandestina, underground (o *andegraund*), la letteratura che chiama "consentita" – una letteratura, cioè, che si pubblica sulla stampa sovietica, senza per questo potere, o dovere, essere definita letteratura 'ufficiale' o essere considerata espressione diretta delle intenzioni del regime: gli autori scelti come oggetto principale di indagine – i capitoli monografici sono dedicati a Rasputin, Šukšin, appunto Ajtmatov e Trifonov – sono quasi tutti autori che camminano in equilibrio più o meno precario sullo steccato dell'ammissibile. Autori, senza dubbio, degni di un interesse attento, che oggi sono scarsamente trattati dalla critica letteraria, e mai insieme. Un'indagine dei rapporti tra questa letteratura e quella intenzionalmente sommersa, rapporti probabilmente più intensi e complessi di quanto non si tenda a dare oggi per scontato, aiuterebbe a precisare meglio i contorni della mappa. Ma questa non è una mancanza da imputare all'autore (che ha tutto il diritto di porre dei limiti al suo campo di indagine) quanto un suggerimento per una ricerca futura; non avrebbe senso valutare un lavoro di questo tipo per quello che non contiene: ogni lettore con un minimo di competenza potrebbe indicare, a seconda delle sue preferenze, questo o quell'autore che si sarebbe potuto prendere in considerazione. Oggetto del giudizio su un libro del genere dev'essere quello che nel libro c'è.

E quello che c'è in questo libro è, nonostante l'autore si sforzi di negarlo, il tentativo di presentare, per il suo campo limitato, un canone (i paragrafi introduttivi ai capitoli monografici rendono conto di un contesto più ampio, sono presi in considerazione, oltre agli autori già citati, tra gli altri Astaf'ev, Iskander, Makanin). Un tentativo del genere, per di più rispetto ad un'epoca storica ancora viva nella memoria di alcuni, è destinato, gioco forza, a suscitare discussioni. Chi scrive, per esempio, resta convinto che – all'interno del tentativo, estremamente interessante, di tracciare un quadro di una letteratura 'sovietica', letta in russo ma prodotta originariamente anche in altre lingue nelle repubbliche periferiche – la scelta di privilegiare Ajtmatov rispetto, per esempio, a Fazil' Iskander non sia particolarmente felice (è questo un caso in cui, forse, la scelta di escludere dal quadro tut-

to quanto non sia stato pubblicato e dibattuto dalla stampa sovietica mostra qualche limite). Così come quella di trattare Rasputin e, ancora di più, Šukšin lasciando la questione della lingua come in qualche modo secondaria e accessoria rispetto agli intenti di analisi sociale o morale.

Si potrebbe continuare. È un libro, insomma, destinato a far discutere: evento piuttosto raro nella slavistica italiana. Tanto che il capitolo più interessante e coraggioso (più interessante e più coraggioso di quelli monografici che, per quanto ben documentati e ben condotti, raramente stravolgono il ritratto già noto degli scrittori in oggetto), è il capitolo che tira le somme. L'analisi complessiva della letteratura 'consentita' mette qui in evidenza sia i compromessi cui gli autori sono costretti per accedere alla possibilità di pubblicare, sia le aperture che si distaccano dai canoni realisti socialisti in modo quasi sorprendente, dimostrando una vitalità della letteratura sovietica degli anni Settanta raramente riconosciuta nell'immagine contemporanea, e arrivando a proporre di riconsiderare l'applicabilità del termine 'stagnazione' al campo letterario.

Il libro di Franzoni, insomma, riporta all'attenzione un periodo, e una serie di autori, oggi quasi dimenticati dalla critica, che meritano invece di essere ripresi in considerazione in prospettiva storica; lo fa avanzando con coraggio affermazioni a volte discutibili. Ha dunque, vale ripeterlo, il pregio raro di essere in grado di provocare dibattito: difficile immaginare un merito maggiore per un testo di storia letteraria.

Duccio Colombo

Ch. Delsol, J. Nowicki (éd.), *La vie de l'esprit en Europe centrale et orientale depuis 1945. Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris 2021, pp. 1000.

Intermittente: così si potrebbe definire l'interesse che, da circa un secolo, la Francia dimostra nei confronti dei paesi dell'Europa centro-orientale. Un'intermittenza spesso condizionata da considerazioni ideologiche o politiche.

Dopo la prima guerra mondiale, la nascita o l'ingrandimento, a scapito degli imperi centrali e della Russia zarista, di un gruppo di stati centro ed esteuropei – Cecoslovacchia, Polonia, Jugoslavia, Romania – protetti dalla Francia e da essa considerati altrettanti alleati in caso di un nuovo conflitto con la Germania suscitò una prima ondata di curiosità per quell'area. La creazione di riviste interamente o parzialmente dedicate all'Europa centro-orientale ("Le monde slave" [1917], la "Revue des études slaves" [1921]), l'istituzione di cattedre di polacco e ceco all'École des Langues orientales (1921) costituirono alcune manifestazioni di quest'interesse.

Il fallimento della politica estera francese, la guerra e, soprattutto, la sovietizzazione di quasi tutti i territori situati ad est dell'Elba cambiarono radicalmente la situazione. L'Europa centrale e orientale appariva ormai un blocco uniforme controllato da Mosca e di cui, all'infuori degli addetti ai lavori, si sapeva in fondo ben poco. Gli anni '80 segnarono una svolta nella visione francese di quell'area. Fu determinante in questo senso un saggio di Kundera, pubblicato nel 1983 nella rivista "Le débat": secondo l'autore de *Lo scherzo*, l'Europa centrale – il romanziere ceco limitava la sua analisi alla Polonia, all'Ungheria e al proprio paese di origine – non era l'avamposto del sovietismo bensì un Occidente "kidnappé", artificialmente strappato dalla storia recente al resto dell'Europa. Nel clima di speranza suscitato dalla *perestrojka* e sulla scia del saggio kunderiano, varie riviste si assunsero il compito di esplorare quel continente dimenticato: "Lettre internationale", "L'autre Europe" (entrambe nate nel 1984), "Le messenger européen" (1987). Da queste pubblicazioni emergeva l'immagine di un'Europa centro-orientale serbatoio di valori umanisti – libertà, rigetto della violenza, protezione dei diritti dell'individuo –, ma anche avversa ad ogni nazionalismo e dotata di una buona dose di umorismo dissacrante e di autoironia: Kafka, Hašek e Kiš figuravano fra i numi tutelari di "Lettre internationale". Contemporaneamente, man mano che si sgretolava l'impero sovietico, l'editoria francese licenziava ogni anno un numero sempre crescente di libri provenienti dall'area centro-orientale del continente europeo (vedi Ioana Popa, *Traduire sous la contrainte. Littérature et communisme – 1945-1989*, [2010]). La guerra e lo scatenarsi dei nazionalismi nell'ex Jugoslavia segnarono una battuta d'arresto. Tutte le riviste sopramenzionate smisero le pubblicazioni negli anni '90 e, senza abbandonarli del tutto, le case editrici francesi si disinteressarono degli autori centro e esteuropei.

Alle soglie del 2000, l'integrazione nell'Unione europea di vari paesi dell'ex blocco sovietico risvegliò la curiosità francese per quell'area. Risveglio ben timido in realtà e la cui manifestazione principale consistette, un anno dopo il primo allargamento, nella pubblicazione del libro di Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine, *Esprits d'Europe* (2005). Specialista della Shoah e buona conoscitrice della Romania novecentesca (*Cioran, Eliade, Ionesco: l'oubli du fascisme. Trois intellectuels roumains dans la tourmente du XX^e siècle*, 2002), l'autrice vi esaminava il pensiero antitotalitario ma anche antinazionalista di tre grandi intellettuali centroeuropei: Miłosz, Patočka e Bibó.

Con la *summa* pubblicata a cura della filosofa Chantal Delsol e di Joanna Nowicki, la ricezione francese delle culture centro e esteuropee sembra essere entrata in una quarta fase. Nuova epoca, sì, ma non meno legata delle precedenti alle circostanze particolari del momento in cui è stata inaugurata, cioè di un momento in cui, agli occhi di molti francesi, i paesi del centro e dell'est del continente europeo stanno cambiando status e, da alleati potenziali (fase 1), modelli rivoluzionari antitotalitari (fase 2) o meri *partner* economici (fase 3), sono diventati i protagonisti di una rivoluzione conservatrice. Sembra infatti che i dissidenti di una volta siano stati sostituiti dagli inquietanti portavoce di un populismo illiberale. Per molti cittadini dei paesi più ricchi dell'UE, l'Europa centrale e orientale ha ormai il volto di un Orbán o di un Kaczyński e non suscita quasi altro che diffidenza o, semmai, indifferenza. Una situazione inaccettabile per Chantal Delsol e Joanna Nowicki che, con il loro dizionario enciclopedico, hanno voluto "participer au rétablissement des ponts rompus par le silence, la méconnaissance ou les préjugés mutuels" (p. 23). Per le due autrici in effetti non c'è nessun dubbio: se, per più di 40 anni, le nazioni europee sono state divise dalla guerra fredda o se, ancora oggi, esprimono pareri diversi su alcune questioni (l'immigrazione, l'aborto), procedono tutte da una stessa matrice "marquée par la culture de liberté issue du judéo-christianisme et de la révolution des Droits de l'homme" (p. 15). Una migliore comprensione reciproca è dunque possibile.

Per attuare un tale proposito, le voci del dizionario sono state suddivise in due parti. La prima, enciclopedica, passa in rassegna tematiche che hanno alimentato il dibattito intellettuale in vari paesi dell'Europa centro-orientale dal 1945 ai nostri giorni (pp. 27-535). Precisiamo subito che, per ragioni materiali, le curatrici del volume non hanno preso in considerazione tutti i territori interessati operando scelte talvolta sorprendenti. Così, malgrado la loro evidente appartenenza all'area studiata, le componenti dell'ex Jugoslavia sono state escluse dalle trattazioni, mentre l'Estonia, sebbene si consideri generalmente più nordeuropea che esteuropea, è ben presente nel libro.

Ciononostante questa parte enciclopedica è ricca di contenuti e affronta argomenti diversi quanto interessanti come *Centre(s) et périphérie(s)*, *Environnement et société dans l'Europe centrale après 1945*, *Nationalismes et minorités*, ecc. Benché la maggioranza dei contributi si concentri su tematiche prettamente centro ed esteuropee, questa prima sezione non trascura neanche i *transfer* culturali svoltisi tra l'Europa centro-orientale e la Francia (*Exil francophone, Transfert culturel, Visiteurs français et Hongrie*). Se nell'elenco dei contributori compaiono i nomi di alcuni noti specialisti francesi (Maria Delaperrière, Liouba Jurgenson, Xavier Galmiche), le curatrici del volume hanno scelto di affidare la stesura della maggior parte dei lemmi a studiosi centro o esteuropei "pour provoquer un dialogue, en acceptant parfois une vraie différence de style d'approche" (p. 23).

Questo principio vige anche nella seconda parte del libro (pp. 539-932), costituita da circa 260 schede biografiche dedicate a varie personalità centro ed esteuropee: scrittori (Hrabal, Kundera, Škvorecký, Herling-Grudziński, Konwicki, Różewicz, per fare qualche esempio appartenente all'area slava), storici (Lucian Boia, Jenő Szűcs, Bronisław Geremek), filologi e teorici della letteratura (Adrian Marino, Jiří Levý). Tuttavia la categoria più rappresentata in questo repertorio biografico è

senz'altro quella dei pensatori *lato sensu* (filosofi, saggisti, teologi). Il libro annunciava del resto sin dal titolo l'intenzione di trattare della "vie de l'esprit" nell'Europa centrale e orientale.

A dir la verità, il tema dell'Europa centrale (e orientale) come 'supplemento d'anima' esiste da tempo. Dagli anni '80, la lettura degli scrittori e pensatori centro ed esteuropei viene regolarmente presentata come un antidoto alle presunte debolezze delle società capitaliste europee: la rinuncia ai valori dell'alta cultura, la politicizzazione del pensiero e la conseguente incapacità degli intellettuali occidentali di veder il vero volto del regime sovietico in Kundera; l'abbandono di ogni idea di Europa e il vuoto burocratico dell'Ue che ne deriva in Laigniel-Lavastine. Da questo punto di vista, il libro qui recensito non è molto diverso dai testi suddetti. Parlando dell'Europa centrale e orientale, intende *anche* parlare dell'Europa occidentale. Ma lo fa in un modo militante che, a mio avviso, nuoce considerevolmente all'opera. Certo un volume collettivo che coinvolge quasi 200 collaboratori non può offrire una visione unitaria e omogenea del suo oggetto di studio. Nondimeno molte pagine de *La vie de l'esprit en Europe centrale et orientale depuis 1945* veicolano un messaggio politico chiaro e coerente. Da questo punto di vista, l'articolo introduttivo di Chantal Delsol è emblematico. Autrice di varie opere in cui difende posizioni alquanto conservatrici, la filosofa sostiene che "pour comprendre l'Europe centrale, il faut faire appel non seulement au logos et à la raison occidentale bien maniée, mais aussi aux mystères abyssaux dont se nourrit toute culture, aux mythes et aux symboles qui en portent les significations. Ainsi les Centre-Européens ont-ils souvent l'impression qu'aux Occidentaux, il manque pour ainsi dire une case, celle qui relie au sacré, car il n'y a d'homme complet que sous l'horizon du mystère – d'où le sentiment nourri par certains d'une décadence de l'Occident" (pp. 22-23). Un sentimento condiviso dalla stessa Delsol che, nell'articolo *Démocraties illibérales* analizza in questi termini i populismi che dominano oggi la vita politica in alcuni paesi centro ed esteuropei: "Il y a probablement la demande d'une révolution conservatrice, celle qui combat le matérialisme, la décadence des mœurs, l'universalisme excessif, pour défendre l'enracinement, la spiritualité éthique et les identités. Les sociétés d'Europe centrale se rebellent contre une certaine modernité que voudrait leur imposer l'Union européenne" (p. 157). Una modernità – globalizzazione, dissoluzione delle identità, elogio del multiculturalismo, abbandono delle fedi religiose – che costituisce da tempo il bersaglio principale dei suoi libri.

Se è possibile non concordare con tale visione, chiaramente espressa varie volte nel volume, si deve, però, ammettere che essa è plausibile e non si può rimproverare alle curatrici del libro di aver dimostrato una certa soggettività nel ritratto dell'Europa centrale e orientale che emerge da queste mille pagine di articoli e di schede biografiche. Sennonché, in un'opera che ha pretese scientifiche, l'esercizio della soggettività non può fare a meno della massima onestà intellettuale nel trattamento dell'informazione. Non è purtroppo sempre così in questo volume. A furia di voler fare dell'Europa centrale e orientale un 'regno dello spirito' a cui i suoi vicini più occidentali farebbero bene ad ispirarsi, si tende talvolta a trascurare o addirittura a cancellare gli aspetti più imbarazzanti della biografia e dell'opera di alcuni intellettuali indicizzati. Significativa è a questo riguardo la scheda dedicata a Mircea Eliade. Non vi si trova una sola riga sull'impegno dello storico delle religioni nella Guardia di ferro, movimento fascista rumeno violentemente antisemita, sebbene il fatto sia oggi ben documentato. Per fortuna non tutte le schede sono simili a questa, ma tali omissioni non possono che gettare discredito sul contenuto generale del volume.

Segnaliamo infine che il libro avrebbe necessitato di un serio lavoro di *editing*. Errori ortografici dalle prime alle ultime pagine, nomi propri mal riportati (*Giedroyc* sistematicamente scritto *Giedroyé* nell'articolo intitolato "Giedroyé [*sic*]. Les écrivains du cercle de *Kultura*"; Jan Zábřana chiamato ora *Zadrana* ora *Zrana* nell'articolo sull'*Incommunicabilité d'expériences Est/Ouest*), frasi

dalla sintassi incerta, riferimenti bibliografici mancanti (come nell'interessante saggio di Michel Maslowski, "Europe du centre-est, Europe médiane, Europe centrale... Tribulation [*sic*] du terme et de ses connotations"): tutto questo nuoce alla qualità dell'insieme e suscita la perplessità del lettore più benevolo.

Peccato perché, nonostante i suoi difetti e il suo *parti pris* ideologico, questo volume offre un panorama, parziale ma interessante, di più di 70 anni di vita intellettuale centro ed esteuropea.

Laurent Béghin

A. Amenta, T. Kaliściak, B. Warkocki (red.), *Dezorientacje. Antologia polskiej literatury queer*, Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa 2021, pp. 909.

The 2015 decision of the National Program for the Development of Humanities, an important Polish government agency, to fund an anthology of Polish queer literature was followed by consternation in the mainstream media. The national character of the Program and its focus on tradition and heritage clashed with queer studies, a field often envisioned as foreign, subversive, and set against national values. It was argued that queer and LGBT studies refer only to minorities, while state funds should be spent on universal projects, connected to the heritage of the whole nation. The agency director had to justify the decision, explaining that the aim of the project was to acknowledge the existence of Polish queer literature and to fill under-researched gaps in a larger vision of tradition. However, *Disorientations* do achieve more than this: by reinterpreting the Polish canon, they subvert its common, heteronormative understandings.

The anthology was published in 2021; on 900 pages it includes almost 300 texts by over 100 authors. Its vast scope legitimizes queer as a major part of Polish culture. Second, the volume confirms that queer literature should not be considered just a periphery referring to minorities, but must be placed also in the center of the canon. In *Disorientations*, the works written by the icons of Polish literature turn out queer. Because of its legitimizing, canonical character, this edition is audacious, but not radical, subversive, but not revolutionary.

The editors associate queer with non-heteronormativity. Thus, the anthology presents a variety of threads connected to untypical genders, sexualities, and desires. After Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, it grasps their entanglement in homophobia and homosocial attraction, and it stresses both variability and centrality of masculinities. Such an approach, founded in the methodology formulated in the 1990s, may seem rather narrow today, as it excludes from the range of queerness all untypical bodies whose oddness is not connected to sex or gender. On the other hand, this focus ensures coherence of the selection. *Transgressions* – a series of books by Maria Janion focusing on otherness and exclusion, especially the two first volumes published at the beginning of the 1980s entitled *Galley-slaves of Sensitivity* and *The Misfits* provide the second theoretical approach important to the concept of the anthology. This tradition exposes femininity, which indeed finds a decent representation in *Disorientations*, including visions of the feminine homosocial continuum, lesbian threads, and diverse variants of non-normative gender. Furthermore, the editors continue the tradition of *Transgressions* when they include Jewishness into the orbit of queerness. Certainly, it is crucial for Polish practices of queering and exclusion.

The volume focuses on literary texts. Poetry and novel excerpts prevail, but essays, letters, diaries, literary criticism and drama are also covered. The editorial apparatus deserves attention: an extensive introduction, biographical notes that expose queer experience, footnotes, contexts, as well as detailed bibliographical data respond to the needs of the non-professional reader. The footnotes that contextualize an excerpt in the whole work are indispensable especially in cases of longer texts, such as novels or dramas, shown only in passages that usually do not exceed 5 pages. Such an economic formula proves exceptionally useful in teaching. Also, thanks to its form, the anthology presents a panorama, a compendium, or a reader, a point of departure for following inquiries.

The volume consists of four chapters, divided by the turning points of Polish history: 1918, 1945, and 1989. The Old-Polish period is missing; the reason for this may be the previously published anthology, although based on different theoretical assumptions, entitled *Old-Polish Homosexuality* (2014). As a result, *Disorientations* refer to modern literature, covering the period from the late Enlightenment till the 100th anniversary of the Poland's independence, celebrated in 2018. The volume starts with the poem *To a Friend* by Franciszek Karpiński, the author of a popular Christmas carol, who stereotypically would be linked to anything else but queerness. Every next chapter is more extensive, while the last one proves exceptional vividness of queer topics in the most recent Polish literature. It also emphasizes the activity of women writers, who seem to destabilize particularly enthusiastically (and effectively) the Polish patterns of gender and sexuality.

The compilation of short excerpts written by numerous authors encourages the reader to trace intertextual relations. The editors suggest links; they explain where to look for queerness and clarify references and allusions, which otherwise would require expert knowledge to decipher. Thanks to these glosses, non-professional readers can observe the long duration of queer imagery and the process of shaping certain queer tradition. At the same time, the edition displays radical changes and transformations in the way gender and sexuality are approached and therefore proposes to broaden the language to describe non-normative forms of intimacy. In consequence, it seems that the tenor of the anthology is accordant to the assumptions of LGBT identity politics.

Polish literature describes a whole range of queer practices: erotic fascination, desire, pleasure and fulfillment, melancholy and mourning, shame, cruising, activism, and coming out. At the same time, the authors' bios show that their life experiences were similar to the very conventional, normative visions of the fate of the Polish intellectual: emigrations, deportations, war traumas, clandestine political activism, and subsequent waves of emigrations. The tension between sexual and national identity still organizes the way gender and sexuality are perceived in Poland. This matter is also problematized in the texts in the anthology. Witold Gombrowicz in the novel *Trans-Atlantic* connects homosexuality with a project of "sonland" – a formula of modernity and masculinity opposed to the "fatherland" that reevaluates the fossilized national tradition. Paweł Demirski in the drama *Rainbow Tribune* asks about the possibility of creating a sector for queer fans at the European Football Championship, while in Poland football stadiums are considered a space of nationalism, homophobia, and antisemitism. Joanna Bednarek in her avant-garde novel *On the Origin of Family* criticizes the conventional mental image of a sanctified, traditional, patriarchal Polish family, using a perspective of a daughter-Jewess. Thus, the anthology destabilizes existing identities and at the same time it refreshes the canon.

Most importantly, it queers the authors of the national literary pantheon. The most important figures in the first chapter are Polish romantics, among others Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki, great "national" poets, as well as Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Nobel-awarded novelist aiming in his writings to "uplift Polish hearts". Discussing Romanticism, the anthology features the

model of masculinity and male homosocial relations, whose tenderness – as the editors notice in the introduction – seems surprising and suspicious today. These relationships are distinguished, on the one hand, by the asexual character of practices that today are linked to sexuality (sleeping together, kisses, embraces), on the other hand, by deep emotional engagement (exclusiveness and secrecy of feelings, jealousy, sadness after separation, readiness for sacrifice, etc.), often greater than in the heterosexual relations. The romantic authors turn out queer in the sense that they actualize a different organization of desire, an alternative intimacy: anti-hierarchical, anti-productive, founded in identity, not in difference. Therefore, the anthology shows that love beyond the dichotomic sex regime is obvious for some leading figures of the school literary canon.

In November 2021, the Polish Parliament dominated by the populist right announced 2022 the year of Polish Romanticism. The resolution perpetuates the stereotype that romantic literature shaped Polish national identity, underlying its conservative character. *The Anthology of Polish Queer Literature* complicates this oversimplified narration, showing that sentimentalism and romanticism marked the beginning of a new model of love that later has become an important element of homosexual identity. The polyphonic anthology explores numerous forms of sexuality, femininity, masculinity, and community that are not only contested by the today's Polish authorities, but even openly and persistently erased.

A protagonist of Michał Głowiński's autobiographical narrative *Bar Ganymede* fights against his prejudices, fears, and reluctances that restrain him from entering a gay bar in an anonymous western city in the 1980s. He quotes ironically the words of Henryk Sienkiewicz's historical novel *With Fire and Sword*: "Bar... has been taken". Bar, today a town in Ukraine, was a Polish frontier fortress unsuccessfully defended against rebelled Cossacks. Gay bar's door turned out impassable for the Głowiński's protagonist; afraid of exposure, overwhelmed by personal complexes, and estranged by persons seen in the window, he did not decide to come in. Today a safe space of gay bars is accessible for better-off inhabitants of Polish metropolises. Still, if entering the bar means overcoming homophobic complexes, transgressing restrictive visions of Polish literature, and formulating alternative traditions, then the anthology helps to side with the queer Cossack rebels to finally step in.

Ewa Róża Janion

M.C. Bragone, M. Bidovec (a cura di), *Il mondo slavo e l'Europa. Contributi presentati al VI Congresso Italiano di Slavistica (Torino, 20-30 settembre 2016)*, FUP, Firenze 2019, pp. 368.

Ben descritti nella *Premessa* dall'allora Presidente dell'A.I.S. G. Ziffer, i contributi presentati al VI Congresso Italiano di Slavistica sono suddivisi in 3 sezioni: *Filologia e linguistica*, *Letteratura e Cultura*. Data la loro grande varietà essi permettono di ricostruire alcune linee di sviluppo tanto delle tematiche tradizionali quanto delle nuove tendenze della slavistica italiana.

In alcuni studi è evidente la continuità rispetto all'opera dei grandi maestri del passato. Così, M. Garzaniti ci offre un panorama denso ma chiaro delle discussioni che nell'ultimo sessantennio hanno dominato il discorso interpretativo delle letterature e culture slavo-bizantina e latino-germanica. Ne risultano evidenti tanto la longevità di cui i risultati derivati dalla discussione di Picchio e Lichačev su Rinascimento e Rinascita est-europea hanno goduto, quanto l'importanza dei successivi approfondimenti specifici e la dimensione internazionale della slavistica italiana di quegli anni.

A illustri 'maestri' della slavistica italiana – a cominciare da Maver e Cronia – si rifanno vari saggi che testimoniano della continuità e ampiezza della tradizione italiana di studi serbi e croati. M.R. Leto descrive in poche, dense pagine le traiettorie degli spostamenti di uomini e idee che hanno fatto del "campo letterario" croato il punto d'incontro dei vari 'modernismi' europei: la conciliazione delle contrapposizioni geografica (Vienna e Praga vs. Monaco e Parigi), generazionale ('giovani' vs. 'vecchi' praguesi e viennesi) e ideologica (cosmopoliti vs. nativisti, 'vecchi praguesi' vs. 'viennesi') ha portato alla mutazione della letteratura croata verso una reale e definitiva modernità. L'analisi di P. Lazarević evidenzia la novità e alta qualità della *Kaligrafija* di Z. Orfelin e rileva che, più che al precedente manuale di J.I. Felbiger, si allaccia alla scuola calligrafica slesiana e trova alcuni antecedenti nella tradizione umanistica e in quella settecentesca francese. Z. Krpina tenta di definire la percezione reciproca delle letterature croata italiana, tedesca e francese in due riviste a cavallo fra '800 e '900: alcune osservazioni interessanti avrebbero meritato maggiore chiarezza espositiva. Si amplia a tutte le culture della ex-Jugoslavia la rassegna di M. Mitrović sulle nuove interpretazioni date a Kopitar, Čop e Prešeren rispettivamente in Slovenia e in Serbia dopo il 1990 e sulla difficoltà di definire e usare in modo appropriato i termini e i concetti di classicismo e romanticismo, spesso intrecciati nelle letterature croata, serba e slovena in modo tale da renderne difficile l'applicazione. Nel suo denso saggio Lj. Banjanin affronta lo studio dell'epistolario di Lj. Nenadović da vari punti di vista: la percezione di Germania, Svizzera e Italia, l'evoluzione letteraria ed esistenziale

dello scrittore, le dinamiche fra identità serba e montenegrina (presentazione di Njegoš), il genere letterario come spostamento e forma espressiva del romanticismo.

Fa paradossalmente parte della tradizione anche la scarsità dei contributi di polonistica ai congressi degli slavisti italiani. L'importanza della 'scuola' polonistica torinese è tuttavia ben rappresentata da K. Jaworska, che introduce il lettore ai molti aspetti, biografici e letterari, dell'opera poetica di K. Iłakowiczówna, non apprezzata a sufficienza nella sua pluralità culturale. Alla polonistica in questo volume ha contribuito invece uno studioso che conosciamo da altri campi della slavistica: R. Caldarelli propone una rivisitazione dell'annoso e ancora irrisolto problema della relazione fra il *Genezis z Ducha* di C. Norwid e il pensiero scientifico, nel più ampio contesto francese e americano.

È certo difficile tracciare tutte le linee di continuità fra la tradizione della slavistica italiana e la sua attualità. Di questa il volume offre una visione ampia, che abbraccia gran parte delle discipline oggi coltivate nei nostri atenei: oltre alla slavomeridionalistica e alla polonistica, di cui si è già detto, ricordiamo la russistica, gli studi sulla cultura ebraica, l'ucrainistica, la linguistica e la filologia slava.

Il maggior numero dei contributi, com'era da aspettarsi, è dedicato alla letteratura e cultura russa, sempre in prospettiva europea o in confronto con l'Italia. Le riflessioni sulla 'alterità' della cultura russa portano B. Ronchetti ad auspicare approcci che tengano conto delle varie forme di intertestualità, di dislocazione e disseminazione dei fatti culturali e letterari, al fine di cogliere la possibile 'traducibilità' di fenomeni 'altri': "lo sguardo di confine della slavistica italiana potrà offrire un contributo centrale (anche) alla pratica interculturale", conclude l'autrice. Tali riflessioni programmatiche trovano varie attuazioni particolari negli altri contributi. Tradizionale è l'impostazione di L. Skomorochova che, analizzando la natura dei dati storici, lo stile e l'uso linguistico del *Viaggio del monaco Avramij* a Firenze, suggerisce la possibilità che lo scrittore quattrocentesco fosse un laico dotato di educazione abbastanza elevata. N. Kardanova ha il merito di aver tratto dagli archivi di stato di Venezia due 'gramoty' inviate al doge da Pietro I e da Elizaveta Petrovna. L'interesse per i 'grandi' della letteratura russa è ampiamente rappresentato: A. Cavazza suggerisce possibili fonti patristiche (in particolare S. Agostino) nella sua ricerca sull'aforisma "Vinci te stesso e vincerai il mondo" che compare in varie forme in Dostoevskij; G. Strano segue complesse fila di possibili nessi tra il *Ruslan i Ludmila* di Puškin e ben noti scrittori europei, dai classici al Tasso, da Perrault, Tieck e Hoffmann, ai settecenteschi Casti e Parny. Sono improntati a tematiche e metodologie più vicine a noi nel tempo lo studio filologico di G. Ghini dedicato ai racconti giovanili di Čechov; l'articolo in cui D. Di Leo affronta un tema faustiano nella produzione poetica di V. Ivanov; le riflessioni di G. Imposti sui temi a lei cari di *Guerra e nazionalismo nel futurismo italiano e nel futurismo russo*; a un più preciso rapporto fra Italia e Russia si dedica A.E. Visinoni che espone i risultati di un progetto di ricerca effettuato dall'Università di Bergamo: ne risulta una documentatissima sintesi sulle molte personalità e settori culturali che hanno legato la città alla Russia, in campo letterario, musicale, artistico, storico, sociale, cinematografico, economico. Con approccio intertestuale e attenzione alle lingue e all'identità I. Marchesini dedica complesse riflessioni a proposito di *Lezioni armene* dello scrittore russo A. Bitov. Di carattere più culturale è l'approccio di G. Baselica all'idea di Europa in M. Koval'skij, come anche quello di N. Caprioglio che affronta il "caso di studio" di D. Merežkovskij per cogliere qualche fase dell'elaborazione che lo scrittore russo ha realizzato di alcune idee di Nietzsche, percepito come "specchio" per una migliore comprensione del retaggio nazionale. Il discorso filosofico induce D. Steila a soffermarsi sull'ambiguo rapporto tra scienza e religione, empiriocriticismo e sistema di idee, quale esso si manifesta nella peculiare concezione del marxismo di Lunačarskij per influenza delle teorie di E. Mach e R. Avenarius. In una raccolta di studi programmaticamente dedicata alle intersezioni fra mondo slavo e occidente europeo occupano un posto speciale alcuni

articoli centrati su argomenti e personaggi che per loro natura si sono trovati nel punto d'innesto di molteplici epoche e culture. Tale fu T. Zieliński che G. Larocca descrive come filologo al tempo stesso accademico e mediatore della conoscenza del mondo classico in Russia, parte integrante della scuola di studi classici polacca, amico di V. Ivanov e partecipe del sistema filosofico fondato sull'idea del Terzo Rinascimento slavo. Non manca, in questo volume dedicato alla slavistica italiana del presente, l'attenzione per la 'Ottava musa', il cinema: C. Olivieri prende l'avvio dal recente serial *Ot-tepel'*, ma esamina in realtà le vicende della collaborazione fra Italia e URSS nella creazione di *Italiani brava gente*, e la diversa percezione che ne ebbero i sovietici e gli italiani.

Da sempre attenta allo studio della tradizione ebraica e della Shoah, la slavistica italiana si arricchisce di un interessante contributo di M. Boschiero sul *Treblinskij ad di V. Grossman*, dedicato a un tema complicato come le manipolazioni cui sono state sottoposte le testimonianze dei campi nazisti da parte sia dei negazionisti, sia dell'URSS.

Per quanto variamente attuata per tematiche e metodo, la filologia slava ha sempre rappresentato in Italia il nucleo fondamentale della slavistica. In questo volume essa appare marginale, anche se studiosi e docenti in realtà sono più numerosi degli articoli qui presentati, e se la filologia, come metodo, è ben presente in molti ambiti. In continuità con i suoi lunghi studi, M. Enrietti offre un utile strumento di informazione sui fondamentali problemi del baltoslavo, protoslavo e le loro connessioni iraniche, romanze e altre: lettura lucida e ricca per studiosi e studenti interessati alla glottologia. La centralità dell'attività scientifica di Padova risulta evidente dall'attenta analisi filologica di R. Benacchio e H. Steenwijk, che rivelano la finora ignorata importanza del modello della Crusca nella *Copia padovana del Vocabolario di tre nobilissimi linguaggi di G. Tanzlingher-Zanotti*.

Ancorata negli studi slavistici già fra le due guerre (basti ricordare i nomi di Palmieri e Salvini), proseguita nel secondo dopoguerra (da Graciotti e Picchio), è esplosa con grande vitalità l'ucrainistica, soprattutto dopo il 1991. I frutti di questa tradizione sono qui ben rappresentati in primo luogo dallo studio di A. Achilli, particolarmente interessante per l'impianto teorico e per la sottigliezza nel cogliere le molte 'varianti' e alcune peculiarità di modernismo, post- e neo-modernismo in area slava centro-orientale, in particolare russa (e sovietica), e ucraina. All'intersezione tra filologia, culturologia e ucrainistica si trovano gli studi di S. Del Gaudio (*v. infra*), e quelli di L. Goletiani e M.G. Bartolini. Goletiani sottolinea l'importanza, nell'evoluzione del pensiero e della cultura giuridica della Russia imperiale, di S. I. Zarudnyj, il traduttore di Beccaria: nato in una famiglia cosacca, di solida formazione accademica, egli ebbe profonde conoscenze di lingua e cultura italiana, e tendenze decisamente 'liberali'. Legata alla tradizione filologica italiana (dalla picchiana "chiave tematica" agli studi sul barocco), ma attenta a nuove tendenze 'culturologiche' è la rivisitazione fatta da Bartolini della tradizione medievale sui santi Boris e Gleb, mutata nelle terre rutene dal contatto con la cultura della Controriforma: depurati dei toni stalinistici e dinastici, i due santi armonizzano la spiritualità del martirio col ruolo di patroni di una nuova dottrina ecclesiastica che ha funzione di compattamento non solo confessionale, ma anche sociale delle terre rutene.

Autorevolmente rappresentata fin dai tempi di G. Maver, la linguistica mantiene in Italia il suo forte legame col testo e con la cultura, ma si inserisce anche nelle più moderne tendenze di ricerca 'pura'. Frutto di un progetto pluriennale, il lavoro 'di squadra' di F. Biagini, A. Bonola e V. Nosedà illustra le caratteristiche del nuovo *Corpus parallelo italiano-russo*, utile strumento per vari ambiti – dalla traduzione, alla didattica, alla linguistica tipologica e contrastiva, – e ulteriori progetti teorici o di applicazione tecnologica. Di carattere linguistico è lo studio sulla *Componente romanza del lessico ucraino* di Del Gaudio, che prende in esame italiano, francese, provenzale, spagnolo, portoghese e rumeno, dimostrando la prevedibile dominanza del francese, seguita a distanza dall'italiano.

Se, com'era logico aspettarsi, non si trovano rivelazioni spettacolari, questo nuovo volume dedicato alla slavistica italiana ne mette in luce la varietà di argomenti affrontati, la sostanziale serietà degli approcci metodologici, la capacità di mantenere viva la memoria e, insieme, di elaborarla traendo profitto dalla quantità di conoscenze, teorie, discipline e tecnologie sviluppate negli ultimi decenni. Un grazie particolare va alle curatrici Bidovec e Bragone che, con certosina pazienza, sono riuscite ad armonizzare tanti articoli così eterogenei quasi senza refusi. Si assiste oggi a una maggiore frammentazione dei campi di ricerca e specializzazione dei vari periodi delle singole letterature e culture slave. Come scrive G. Mazzitelli citando, nel suo contributo sulla collana "Piccola biblioteca slava" edita dall'Istituto per l'Europa orientale, un'affermazione di Picchio,

[s]olo personalità particolarmente dotate potevano mirare a sintesi conglobanti molti ambiti di studio – dalla russistica alla polonistica, alla boemistica, alla slovenistica, alla serbocroatica e alla bulgaristica – non trascurando neppure lingue e letterature e culture minori, o allora meno in auge, quale l'ucraina, e spaziando per di più dalla letteratura alle tradizioni popolari, al pensiero politico...

Oggi, simili qualità sono assai rare e la massa di nuove conoscenze rende difficile qualsiasi tentativo serio di sommare tutte queste competenze. Mancano poi in questo volume discipline importanti quali la slovenistica, la boemistica e la bulgaristica. Ciò riflette le difficoltà che incontrano le cosiddette 'lingue minori'. Tuttavia, non si può negare alla slavistica italiana la capacità di inserirsi in vari 'discorsi critici' a livello internazionale e di spaziare in molti ambiti di studio, con buoni, a volte ottimi risultati.

Giovanna Brogi Bercoff

M. Łaziński, *Wykłady o aspekcie polskiego czasownika*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2020, pp. 315.

La monografia di Marek Łaziński, concepita come un corso universitario dedicato all'aspetto verbale del polacco, è un evento importante per la linguistica polacca e slava, anche perché vede la luce diversi decenni dopo gli studi di Koschmieder (*Nauka o aspektach czasownika polskiego w zarysie. Próba syntezy*, Wilno 1934) e di Piernikarski (*Typy opozycji aspektowych czasownika polskiego na tle słowiańskim*, Wrocław 1969).

L'aspetto verbale polacco viene descritto in questo lavoro con frequenti riferimenti alle altre lingue slave e ai numerosi importanti contributi teorici su questo tema prodotti a livello mondiale e in ambito slavistico dedicati principalmente al russo. Fin dall'introduzione l'A. anticipa che il funzionamento dell'aspetto è determinato da una serie di parametri, spesso in concorrenza tra loro, che vengono sviluppati nella trattazione successiva. Il volume è organizzato in sei capitoli che si concludono con la presentazione di un algoritmo degli usi delle forme aspettuative sulla base dell'interazione di diversi fattori. Il libro si chiude con un'interessante appendice divisa in due parti intitolate rispettivamente *Lineamenti soggettivi della storia degli studi aspettuologici* e *L'aspetto nei dizionari*, quest'ultima dedicata alla presentazione delle forme aspettuative nei dizionari polacchi e ai suggerimenti per la loro etichettatura nei *corpora*.

Il cap. I in cui si tratta dell'opposizione aspettuale, delle sue marche formali, dei parametri semantici e della statistica d'uso delle varie forme, vera novità di questo lavoro, è concepito come una sorta di lezione introduttiva e potrebbe anche essere considerato come una lezione unica, una sorta di corso base. I singoli argomenti, presentati alla luce delle diverse teorie, vengono approfonditi nei capitoli successivi.

Così, il cap. II si apre con considerazioni sul rapporto tra tempo e aspetto e le sue conseguenze diversificate nell'uso aspettuale nelle lingue slave, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'espressione del presente perfettivo. Per l'A. "il tempo grammaticale determina lo scorrere del tempo logico, mentre l'aspetto determina la maniera in cui una situazione si svolge nel tempo" (p. 54). Viene poi delineata l'origine dell'aspetto polacco e slavo nato dall'evoluzione del sistema dei tempi grammaticali e dai processi derivazionali di prefissazione e di suffissazione che modificano il significato dei verbi dando luogo ai vari modi dell'azione (*Aktionsarten*) passati in rassegna ed associati ai singoli prefissi. Insieme ai prefissi verbali e alla loro funzione nella formazione delle coppie aspettuative, viene esaminata anche la suffissazione e il suo ruolo nel fenomeno delle cosiddette *trójki* (terzetti) aspettuative.

Nel cap. III vengono affrontate le classi azionali (semantiche) dei verbi e viene discusso l'adattamento della nota classificazione di Vendler alle peculiarità delle lingue slave. Si passa quindi all'esame dei verbi di moto che in molte lingue formano una classe distinta mentre in quelle slave hanno anche svolto un ruolo nello sviluppo dell'aspetto. Oltre a presentare le caratteristiche relative alla (in)determinatezza del movimento, alla deissi o alla sua mancanza, l'A. prende in esame i verbi di moto alla luce della classificazione semantica in *path verbs* e *manner verbs*, *verb framed* e *satellite framed verbs*, proposta negli ultimi decenni dalla tipologia linguistica di stampo cognitivista (Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, 2000).

Il cap. IV è dedicato alla relazione tra le classi semantiche e il contesto da una parte, e la scelta delle forme perfettive od imperfettive dall'altra; l'interazione tra questi fattori dà luogo a vari tipi di coppie aspettuali. Nella ricerca dell'invariante delle due forme aspettuali l'A. assegna il valore fattivo concreto al perfettivo che identifica l'evento, mostrando anche come i significati subalterni all'invariante perfettivo distinguano il polacco dalle altre lingue slave. Rinuncia invece ad identificare l'invariante dell'imperfettivo in quanto polisemico, distinguendone i valori più specifici quali durativo, attuale permanente, iterativo, potenziale, fattivo generale, presente storico e scenico, performativo e definitorio, di cui gli ultimi due raramente sono trattati negli studi aspetnologici.

Nel cap. V vengono esaminate le funzioni e gli usi delle forme aspettuali finite ed infinite e i dati sulle loro occorrenze nel Corpus Nazionale della Lingua Polacca. Il ricorso ai *corpora* costituisce una vera novità nella descrizione dell'aspetto in polacco, un vero e proprio banco di prova per le descrizioni teoriche. In questo capitolo viene anche messo in evidenza come le forme aspettuali verbali finite ed infinite (queste ultime poco descritte nei lavori sull'aspetto) siano condizionate dalla semantica delle situazioni e come assumano una funzione narrativa: il perfettivo indica i confini degli eventi, mentre l'imperfettivo gli stati o i concatenamenti degli eventi. Questa parte contiene anche considerazioni sull'aspetto e sulla modalità con qualche accenno al fenomeno della negazione. Interessanti osservazioni riguardano, inoltre, l'uso delle forme aspettuali nelle costruzioni verbali spesso neglette nell'uso ufficiale del polacco, anche se piuttosto frequenti nel registro colloquiale, come il quasi-perfetto (*mam to zrobione*), l'assentivo (*byłam się dowiedzieć*), l'aspetto di *nomina actionis* e la loro distribuzione. Le conclusioni riguardo all'uso delle singole forme aspettuali, basate sui dati del *corpus*, registrano in maniera oggettiva le conseguenti tendenze della lingua.

Il cap. VI offre un'importante illustrazione dell'utilità dell'analisi semantica dell'aspetto verbale applicata al linguaggio dei testi giuridici polacchi, che appare cruciale per una corretta interpretazione degli articoli dei Codici. Questa interessante analisi viene condotta anche a livello comparato con altre lingue slave e con il tedesco, i cui Codici, per ragioni storiche, hanno avuto un'influenza su quelli polacchi.

Nel cap. VII sono presentate le conclusioni sotto forma di un algoritmo dell'uso aspettuale in polacco, che prende in considerazione solo le forme finite dei verbi e rappresenta, per necessità, una semplificazione dell'esposizione precedente. I parametri che determinano le scelte delle forme aspettuali sono le classi azionali, l'iteratività, il registro (narrativo o discorsivo) ed infine i condizionamenti testuali, come il modo condizionale e la negazione (p. 234). La prima distinzione riguarda la categoria dell'iteratività: se l'azione del verbo è singola o non definita da questo punto di vista, la scelta aspettuale avviene secondo una serie di parametri complessi: classe azionale, registro, semantica della situazione (raggiungimento o meno del cambiamento e dello stato risultante), o ancora grammaticali (tempo, modo) e pragmatici (ad es. negazione). L'azione iterativa comprende invece da una parte le situazioni abituali e non delimitate, espresse dalle forme imperfettive, mentre dall'altra, le situazioni limitate o 'esemplificanti' che possono essere espresse da entrambi gli aspetti (par. 4.2.).

Il libro si chiude con un'appendice sullo stato dell'arte degli studi e sulla loro storia (panorama di cui si sottolinea nel titolo della prima il taglio "soggettivo"), che normalmente, come riconosce l'A. stesso, dovrebbe aprire una monografia dedicata all'aspetto e non essere collocata alla fine. Tale scelta viene giustificata con il fatto che l'aspettologia rappresenta un campo d'indagine così variegato, con una ricchezza teorica e terminologica spesso non condivisa, da richiedere una conoscenza preliminare del fenomeno e dei diversi approcci alla descrizione, per capirne la storia (p. 237). La seconda parte dell'appendice, dedicata a come l'aspetto viene trattato nei dizionari, affronta la spinosa questione del criterio dell'individuazione della coppia aspettuale e la conseguente decisione su quale membro della coppia vada considerato come basico, come forma di citazione nella redazione sia nei dizionari monolingui, sia nei più recenti dizionari bilingui o in altri ancora. Diversi dizionari ormai hanno adottato un approccio più avanzato nella presentazione delle coppie aspettuali e nella scelta delle forme basiche, individuate in base alla classe azionale di appartenenza del verbo.

L'appendice si conclude con delle considerazioni sull'aspetto nei *corpora* linguistici che riconoscono correttamente i valori aspettuali dei lemmi, ma riscontrano difficoltà nei casi di omonimia (come ad es. in *pochodziec*¹ – 'provenire' e *pochodziec*² – 'camminare un po'). Inoltre, appare problematica la ricerca delle opposizioni aspettuali nei *corpora*, data l'assenza di mezzi per identificare i membri della coppia, ostacolata anche dall'esistenza dei *perfectiva* ed *imperfectiva tantum*. Viene quindi illustrata la soluzione adottata dal gruppo dell'Università di Varsavia (con la partecipazione dell'A.) e quello di Magonza che lavora al *corpus* polacco-tedesco. Nel *corpus* vengono inseriti i *tags* che si riferiscono alle coppie aspettuali, nonché l'informazione sulle caratteristiche formali prefissali o suffissali di tali coppie (p. 272). Grazie a questo sistema si possono condurre ricerche con metodi nuovi, più semplici rispetto al passato.

Nel complesso si tratta di un'opera molto ricca, difficile da presentare in maniera esauriente nello spazio limitato di una recensione. Il lavoro è arricchito da puntuali considerazioni terminologiche, molto utili, dato che la frequente variazione terminologica negli studi sull'aspetto rende più difficoltosa la fruizione delle descrizioni. Il libro è prezioso sia perché presenta da diverse angolazioni lo stato della ricerca e le sue applicazioni, sia perché apre nuove prospettive grazie all'uso statistico degli strumenti elettronici per la descrizione dell'aspetto.

Lucyna Gebert

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