ASEES is a refereed journal which publishes scholarly articles, review articles and short reviews on all aspects of Slavonic and East European Studies, in particular, language, literature, history and political science, and also art and social science. Articles should have a maximum length of 8,500 words and review articles 4,000; they should be submitted to the editor electronically, preferably in .doc (Microsoft Word) format. All articles submitted for consideration should conform to the style guidelines set out in the *ASEES* web page.

ASEES replaces *Melbourne Slavonic Studies*, founded in 1967 by the late Nina Christesen, which ceased publication with Volume 19, 1985.

Back issues of most volumes are available for A$20.00 per issue plus GST.

Recent volumes of *ASEES* are available online at:

http://languages-linguistics.unimelb.edu.au/areas-study/australian-slavonic-and-east-european-studies/ and http://miskinhill.com.au/journals/asees/

Indexes to all volumes of *MSS* and *ASEES* are available at http://www.arts.uq.edu/slccs/ - follow the links to Publications, *ASEES*, and Indexes.

ANZSA

Office bearers of the Australia and New Zealand Slavists' Association are:

President:	Dr Marika Kalyuga, Macquarie University
Vice-Presidents:	Assoc. Prof. Kevin Windle, Australian National University
	Dr Mark Swift, University of Auckland
Secretary-Treasurer	Dr David N. Wells, Curtin University

AACPCS

Office bearers of the Australian Association of Communist and Post-Communist Studies are:

President:	Assoc. Prof. Roderic Pitty, University of Western Australia
Secretary/Treasurer:	Dr Anna Taitslin, University of Canberra
Executive members:	Prof. Leslie Holmes, University of Melbourne
	Mr Tony Phillips, University of Melbourne
	Assoc. Prof. Hans Hendrischke, University of New South Wales
	Assoc. Prof. Slobodanka Vladiv-Glover, Monash University
	Dr Lynne Alice, Deakin University

Contents

REVIEWS

STANLEY BILL

FATHER ZOSSIMA'S BODY: DECAY, ABJECTION AND RESURRECTION IN
DOSTOEVSKY'S *THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV*

1. Introduction: Being in the World

At the heart of Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (*Brat´ia Karamazovy*, 1880) lies the vexed question of 'being in the world'. How can rational human beings consent to their existence in a 'world' – in both the natural and social senses of the term[1] – groaning with unjust and inexplicable suffering? Most famously, Ivan Karamazov qualifies his rebellion by insisting that 'it's not that I don't accept God [. . .] it's the world created by Him I don't and cannot accept'.[2] Simultaneously, the central story of his brother Alyosha, the novel's ostensible 'hero', is that of a young monk coming to terms with his mentor's perplexing order that he leave the monastery: 'This is not your place for the time. I bless you for great service in the world.'[3] Alyosha's story is a secularisation narrative in one of the original meanings of this term, denoting the lifting of monastic restrictions from a member of the clergy so that he may enter the secular world. Alyosha must leave the monastery and literally go forth 'to be in the world' ('prebyvat´ v miru').[4] However, he must first reconcile

---

[1] As with the English 'world', the Russian 'mir' and 'svet' have both natural and social meanings: the 'world' of the physical universe and the 'world' of human society. Interestingly, Ivan Karamazov exclusively uses the word 'mir' in his rebellious complaint, in which he largely focuses on the cruelty of the human 'world', while Dmitri alternates between 'mir' and 'svet' in his ecstatic praise of the physical or natural 'world'.

[2] Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnett, New York: The Modern Library, 1995, p. 261.

[3] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[4] Dostoevskii, Fedor, *Brat´ia Karamazovy*, Petrozavodsk : Karel´skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel´stvo, 1970, p. 396.

himself with the reality that 'being in the world' fundamentally means being a physical body subject to death and disintegration. Specifically, he must accept the death and unseemly decomposition of Father Zossima.

When his beloved mentor passes away, Alyosha falls into a very natural grief. Yet when the elder's body betrays the first malodorous signs of decay, the young monk experiences an anguish far more tumultuous than ordinary mourning. Indeed, the narrator pointedly interrupts his account to underline the central significance of this scandalous event, which forms 'a crisis and turning point in [Alyosha's] spiritual development, giving a shock to his intellect, which finally strengthened it for the rest of his life and gave it a definite aim'.[5] The decomposition of Zossima's body forms the crucial moment in the development of Dostoevsky's last positive hero. In this article, I wish to examine how the treatment of this crisis forms part of Dostoevsky's own broader literary and philosophical response to one of the central issues of Christian theology – the promised resurrection of the individual body in the face of physical decay. Dostoevsky's final work brings the Christian dogma of individual corporeal resurrection into question, while exposing a painful dilemma within his thought over the relative significance of individual and collective forms of existence.

The problem of corporeal vulnerability appears prominently throughout Dostoevsky's oeuvre, perhaps most strikingly in Ippolit Terentiev's horrified confrontation in *The Idiot* (*Idiot*, 1869) with Hans Holbein's painting *The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb*. Ippolit concludes that the sight of Christ's tortured corpse must have brought even his disciples to waver in their faith: 'How could they believe, looking at such a corpse, that this sufferer would resurrect? [. . .] If death is so terrible and

---

[5] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 372.

the laws of nature are so powerful, how can they be overcome?'[6] Nature's brutalisation of the human body calls into question the very possibility of individual corporeal resurrection, even for the divine Christ himself. Elsewhere, Liza Knapp argues that the pawnbroker grieving for his dead wife in *The Meek One* (*Krotkaia*, 1876) falls victim to a similar despair before natural 'inertia' and its reduction of human beings to 'physical matter, subject to the laws of nature and thereby to decay and death'.[7] Indeed, these very problems appear to have persistently haunted Dostoevsky throughout his own life, as Irina Kirillova deduces from the pattern of his markings in John's Gospel.[8]

In *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dostoevsky confronts Alyosha with the same difficult questions of physical death and resurrection through his traumatic encounter with the dead body of Father Zossima. The youngest Karamazov must pass through this crisis before he can put his mentor's earlier exhortations into practice via a very bodily embrace of the physical universe that takes place at the halfway point of the novel: 'Alyosha stood, gazed, and suddenly threw himself down on the earth. [. . .] He kissed it weeping, sobbing and watering it with his tears, and vowed passionately to love it, to love it for ever and ever.'[9] The problems of corporeal existence and the status of the 'world' are inextricably linked. Above all, affirmation of the world first demands a positive resolution to the problem of bodily resurrection in the face of in-

---

[6] Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *The Idiot*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, New York: Random House, 2003, p. 408.

[7] Knapp, Liza, 'The Force of Inertia in Dostoevsky's "Krotkaja"', *Dostoevsky Studies*, 6/1985, p. 144.

[8] Kirillova observes: 'The question of bodily resurrection troubled him deeply, and he seeks Gospel authority in this matter.' See: Kirillova, Irina, 'Dostoevsky's Markings in the Gospel According to St John', in: Pattison, George and Diane Oenning Thompson (eds.), *Dostoevsky and the Christian Tradition*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 45.

[9] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 409.

evitable physical death and dissolution. Alyosha must face what he understands as the fundamental 'injustice' of Zossima's disintegration.

My aim in this article is to dissect, as it were, the problem of Father Zossima's decaying body. Why is his subordination to the laws of material nature so significant? How does this question relate to the broader problem of 'being in the world'? How does the human body appear more generally in *The Brothers Karamazov* and how does its depiction differ from representations of corporeality elsewhere in Dostoevsky's work? Finally, I wish to take up the central problem of the individual human 'self' as it presents itself in Dostoevsky's writings. What is the relation of the 'self' to corporeal identity? How can the Christian doctrine of individual corporeal resurrection remain viable if the body must disintegrate into the indifferent matter of the earth? How enduring is the phenomenon of an individual human 'I'? In his final novel, Dostoevsky tackles these theological and philosophical questions in narrative form through Alyosha's encounter with Father Zossima's corpse, with creative, contradictory and highly unconventional results.

2. Dostoevsky's Critique of 'Excarnation'

The Brothers Karamazov constitutes Dostoevsky's most sustained attempt to give literary form to a positive philosophy of the human body. In his final novel, he endeavours to reach beyond the negative, or at least highly ambivalent, characterisations of corporeal identity often evident in his earlier works. First of all, he explicitly sets himself the task of creating a thoroughly 'flesh-and-blood' hero. Early in the novel the narrator's descriptions of the very bodily Alyosha appear almost to comprise a direct response to contrasting characterisations of the anaemic, other-worldly Prince Myshkin in *The Idiot*: 'Some of my readers may imagine that my young man was a sickly, ecstatic, poorly developed creature, a pale, consumptive dreamer. On the

contrary, Alyosha was at this time a well-grown, red-cheeked, clear-eyed lad of nine-teen, radiant with health.'[10] Predrag Cicovacki describes this shift as a marked progression, since Myshkin's failure in *The Idiot* partly results from his being 'too disembodied, too detached from life'.[11] The prince appears as a pure stranger in the physical world, while Alyosha's task is to integrate 'the bodily aspects of his nature' with the 'spiritual realm'. Indeed, the positive physical descriptions of the strapping young Karamazov are at times so belaboured as to verge on the openly programmatic. At the same time, Alyosha's positive embrace of corporeality takes place within certain limitations, since he turns out to be just as asexual and squeamish about the female body as Myshkin.[12]

Nevertheless, through the figure of Alyosha, Dostoevsky endeavours to paint a vision of Christian faith and the Christian life that would resist certain 'excarnating' tendencies inherent within the rationalising drive of modern thought.[13] This means overcoming Ivan's intellectualised vision of human life and the potentially negative views of the physical 'world' associated with it. Accordingly, as Nikolai Losskii

---

[10] Ibid., p. 24. Compare with the description of Myshkin at the beginning of *The Idiot*: '. . . very blond, thick hair, sunken cheeks, and a sparse, pointed, nearly white beard. His eyes were big, blue, and intent; their gaze had something quiet and heavy about it and was filled with that strange expression by which some are able to guess at first sight that the subject has the falling sickness. The young man's face, however, was pleasant, fine, and dry, but colourless, and now even blue with cold' (Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, p. 6).

[11] Cicovacki, Predrag, *Dostoevsky and the Affirmation of Life*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2012, p. 207.

[12] For instance, the narrator tells us that as child he was wont to 'put his fingers in his ears when they talked of "that"' (Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 19).

[13] I have taken the term 'excarnation' from Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007). He defines it as 'a transfer out of embodied, "enfleshed" forms of religious life, to those which are more "in the head"' (p. 554) and 'the exaltation of disengaged reason as the royal road to knowledge' (p. 746).

points out, the form of Christianity espoused by Father Zossima and Alyosha is frequently a 'brightly-hued', world-affirming variety.[14] Zossima teaches a reverence for the earth verging on pagan worship: 'Love to throw yourself on the earth and kiss it. Kiss the earth and love it with an unceasing, consuming love.'[15] Even Ivan cannot entirely reject the world, confessing his love of the 'sticky little leaves as they open in spring' in a gut feeling that persists despite his world negating philosophical views.[16]

In fact, Dostoevsky had mounted strong critiques of world negation and 'excarnation' through memorable literary characterisations long before *The Brothers Karamazov*. In *Notes from Underground* (*Zapiski iz podpol´ia*, 1864), the protagonist openly laments: 'We are oppressed at being men – men with a real individual body and blood, we are ashamed of it, we think it a disgrace and try to contrive to be some sort of impossible generalised man.'[17] Yet he himself cannot escape this very sense of oppression at being an individual body, wracked with physical pains and imprisoned by the material laws he encapsulates in the metaphor of an insurmountable 'wall'. Likewise, the despairing suicide of 'The Sentence' – a famous sketch from the October 1876 edition of *A Writer's Diary* (*Dnevnik pisatelia*) – argues that the happiest people are those who live the most material or corporeal lives, 'like animals'. Yet he himself remains trapped in an alienated 'consciousness', fundamentally at odds with the 'implacable laws of Nature' and doomed to perish together with a body that will

---

[14] Losskii, Nikolai, *Dostoevskii i ego khristanskoe miroponimanie*, New York: Chekhov Publishing House, 1953, pp. 316-317.

[15] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov,* p. 360. Richard Peace finds this dimension of Zossima's teachings so striking that he characterises the monk's religiosity as a heretical hybrid of Christianity and a pagan 'cult of the earth'. See: Peace, Richard, *Dostoyevsky: An Examination of the Major Novels*, Cambridge: UK, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 285.

[16] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 256.

[17] Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *White Nights, and Other Stories*, trans. Constance Garnett, New York: Macmillan, 1918, p. 154.

vanish without hope of resurrection.[18] In a recent article, Yuri Corrigan summarises what he calls the 'Kantian-Bakhtinian' interpretation of this dilemma as 'a cognitive divide between the conscious mind aware of its unlimited potential and the self as an embodied, perceived thing'.[19] Several of Dostoevsky's most troubled characters serve as literary indictments of human existence reduced to one side of this divide – namely, to disembodied consciousness.

Ivan Karamazov is precisely this type of character. He prefers to understand himself as pure intellect, striving to separate himself from the messy material world and perhaps even from corporeal human life. As Gary Saul Morson observes, Ivan intellectualises existence, abstracting from lived experience in a vain attempt 'to find justice and meaning by theory'.[20] This penchant for rationalisation makes Ivan reluctant to embrace what he himself describes as 'loving with one's inside, with one's stomach'[21] – a very bodily love for life. By extension, he cannot love his fellow human beings precisely because they are not abstract entities, but particular physical forms. As he describes the problem, the physical countenance of the human other immediately extinguishes any possibility of love: 'For any one to love a man, he must be hidden, for as soon as he shows his face, love is gone.'[22]

Real human beings take highly individualised – and often objectionable – bodily forms far removed from any intellectualised beauty. They smell, they step on other

---

[18] Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *A Writer's Diary*, Volume 1, trans. Kenneth Lantz, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1997, pp. 654-655.

[19] Corrigan, Yuri, 'Amnesia and the Externalised Personality in Early Dostoevskii', *Slavic Review*, 72.1/Spring 2013, p. 83.

[20] Morson, Gary Saul, 'The God of Onions: *The Brothers Karamazov* and the Mythic Prosaic', in: Jackson, Louis (ed.), *A New Word on* The Brothers Karamazov, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2004, p. 121.

[21] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 256.

[22] Ibid., p. 263.

people's toes, their faces can be displeasing. According to Ivan: 'One can love one's neighbours in the abstract, or even at a distance, but at close quarters it's almost impossible.'[23] Like the Underground Man, Ivan is only able to approve of 'generalised man'. As Rowan Williams puts it, 'love is therefore always "discarnate"',[24] and discarnate love turns out not to be love at all. By contrast, Alyosha's salutary mission is to learn how to love particular human beings in their 'real individual body and blood'. He must become 'practised in love', so that no mere 'stupid face' can prevent him from loving his neighbours in all their particularity and peculiarity.[25] But this thoroughly 'incarnate' love first demands a difficult acceptance of the reality that all human bodies – even those of saintly men like his mentor – are destined to deteriorate, die and decompose.

3. Facing the Abject: Nature, Body and the Self

When the frail Father Zossima passes away, Alyosha anxiously joins the other monks and townsfolk waiting for a sign of the elder's saintly nature to reveal itself. According to the narrator, the Russian Orthodox tradition holds that the dead bodies of venerated men may sometimes prove impervious to corruption, 'as a promise, by God's grace, of still greater glory from their tombs in the future'.[26] The blessed body's resistance to natural decay is a reminder to the faithful of the bodily resurrection promised to all. Yet, despite Father Zossima's saintly reputation, his physical body importunately refuses to follow the script. Less than twelve hours after his passing, 'soon after midday', the first subtle signs of decomposition are already detectable.

---

[23] Ibid., p. 263.

[24] Williams, Rowan, *Dostoevsky: Language, Faith and Fiction*, London: Continuum, 2008, p. 76.

[25] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 263.

[26] Ibid., p. 373.

By three o'clock, the stench is unmistakable, provoking a major scandal in the town and a rush of visitors eager to sniff the monk's fall from grace for themselves.

Not only is Zossima's putrefaction an undeniable fact, but it has commenced unusually early – 'in excess of nature', as the monks claim – thus suggesting the finger of God's judgment. Some of them even blame Zossima's sanguine, world-affirming strain of Christian belief for this apparent sign of divine condemnation: 'His teaching was false; he taught that life is a great joy and not a vale of tears.'[27] There is something dangerously heretical about Father Zossima. As Roger Anderson observes, the eccentric elder's 'spiritual vision' diverges significantly from 'the specifics of church doctrine'.[28] Anderson also follows Richard Peace[29] and various Russian critics – including Vyacheslav Ivanov, Rostislav Pletnev, Leon Zander and G. P. Fedotov – in tracing the 'mythical implications' of Zossima's teachings back to the idea of a pre-Christian Russian cult of the earth, or even to the *Strigol´niki* heresy, 'the old Russian practice of confessing to the soil rather than to Christian priests'.[30] This 'pagan' my-thology does not cohere with the Christian salvation narrative of individual corporeal resurrection, as we shall see, while perhaps offering certain solutions to the shortcom-ings of this narrative in the face of malodorous physical disintegration.

The posthumous humiliation of Father Zossima is too much for the grieving Alyosha, who flees the monastery, 'without asking leave, without asking a blessing'.[31] The shock of his mentor's physical subordination to the natural law of decay drives the young man into a rebellious world-negating posture borrowed, or rather plagia-

---

[27] Ibid., p. 376.

[28] Anderson, Roger B., 'Mythical Implications of Father Zosima's Religious Teachings', *Slavic Review*, 38/2, June 1979, p. 273.

[29] See footnote 15 above.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 380.

rised,[32] from Ivan. He even quotes his brother verbatim: 'I am not rebelling against my God; I simply don't accept His world.'[33] His disillusionment with the order of the universe thrusts him temporarily into a form of indifferent amoralism. Since the world languishes in the evil power of deterministic laws, he decides to wallow in worldly impurity. He leaves the holy sanctuary with Rakitin, who takes him down to temptation, or 'into the world', in the fleshly form of the voluptuous Grushenka. He boldly asks for 'sausage and vodka', both forbidden in the monastery. He resolves to surrender himself to Grushenka's charms. His sense of righteous outrage at the 'breath of corruption' wafting from Zossima's body brings him to the very brink of moral catastrophe.

Once again, the narrator is at pains to emphasise that Alyosha's 'grief and disturbance' have been caused not so much by Zossima's death, but rather by 'the fact that his elder's body had shown signs of premature decomposition instead of at once performing miracles'.[34] Alyosha is not intemperately shaken by human mortality as such, but by the ugly putrefaction of the corpse. In the case of his mentor, he views this process quite simply as 'unjust', borrowing directly from Ivan's critique of the world once again. Instead of being 'exalted above every one in the whole world', Zossima is 'degraded and dishonoured'.[35] Instead of overcoming nature, the deceased

---

[32] Here I am drawing on Robin Feuer Miller's interpretation. See: Miller, Robin Feuer, *Dostoevsky's Unfinished Journey*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, pp. 183-86.

[33] Ibid., p. 385. Undoubtedly, the 'vague and tormenting impression' left behind after his conversation with Ivan contributes to Alyosha's specific sense of 'injustice' here. At the same time, there is a fundamental distinction between their respective rejections of the 'world'. For Ivan grounds his complaint primarily on instances of terrible cruelty inflicted on innocent children by other human beings. His degenerate 'world' is very much the human world. In contrast, the 'world' rejected by the younger brother appears largely to represent the natural 'world' and its unyielding laws.

[34] Ibid., p. 381.

[35] Ibid., p. 383.

monk shows himself to be unusually susceptible to nature's indignities. As Morson points out, the expected miracle 'seems to come in reverse', thus undermining the very idea of eschatological hopes.[36]

The putrefaction of the dead body appears here as the ultimate expression of the human being's subordination to the indifferent laws of the material world. Alyosha bases his rejection of the world on what it does to the vulnerable body of a precious and beloved human individual. Indeed, in his grief at Zossima's fate, he uses strikingly similar language to that of Ippolit Terentiev's articulate response to Hans Holbein's painting in *The Idiot*. Ippolit characterises 'nature' in the painting as 'an enormous, implacable, and dumb beast [. . .] which has senselessly seised, crushed and swallowed up, blankly and unfeelingly, a great and priceless being'.[37] Alyosha, for his part, wants to know why his God has allowed this natural beast to crush his own priceless Father Zossima: 'Why did Providence hide its face 'at the most critical moment' [. . .], as though voluntarily submitting to the blind, dumb, pitiless laws of nature?'[38] As Zossima's positive teachings rapidly fade, a world-negating pessimism familiar from Dostoevsky's 'metaphysical rebels'[39] begins to speak out through Alyosha.

---

[36] Morson, 'The God of Onions', p. 111. Morson goes on to argue that 'the failure of the expected miracle provides the catalyst for Alyosha's change from apocalyptic to prosaic Christianity' (p. 113).

[37] Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, p. 408.

[38] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 383. In the original Russian, Dostoevsky uses the word 'nemy' ('dumb') in both texts, though he uses different words for 'nature' – 'priroda' in the passage from *The Idiot* and an adjectival form of 'estestvo' in *The Brothers Karamazov*. See: Dostoevskii, Fedor, *Idiot*, Moskva: Khudochestvannaya Literatura, 1983, p. 389; and, *Brat´ia Karamazovy*, p. 370.

[39] Frank, Joseph, *Dostoevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865-1871*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, p. 331.

Alyosha's crisis, like Ippolit's in *The Idiot*, springs from an encounter with a corpse.[40] More broadly, I would argue that it emerges from a confrontation with what Julia Kristeva calls 'the abject': 'neither subject nor object [. . .] a massive and sudden emergence of uncanniness, which, familiar as it might have been in an opaque and forgotten life, now harries me as radically separate, loathsome [. . .] a weight of meaninglessness'.[41] Zossima still looks like himself. He continues to resemble a human 'self' or 'subject', the beloved father figure Alyosha never had in his troubled childhood. Yet the loathsome 'breath of corruption' unmistakably signals that he has also taken on characteristics of a mere material 'object'. Zossima's new physical state locates his existence somewhere in the unimaginable realm between human being and lump of dead meat subject to nature's transformative processes.

According to Kristeva, the 'self', or 'subject', must expel the 'abject' in order to set itself up as a discrete entity separated from the 'other' by clear borders. The 'abject' includes the 'maternal body', from which the subject originally separates itself in order to come into being as an autonomous entity, thus giving birth to itself as a being distinct from undifferentiated, pre-subjective existence, which Kristeva obscurely dubs the *chora*, or 'receptacle'.[42] Most importantly, the process of 'abjection' can

---

[40] Admittedly, there is a significant difference here, since – as Carol Apollonio emphasises – Ippolit's encounter is not directly with the corpse of Christ, but rather with 'a cold, dead image'. See: Apollonio, Carol, *Dostoevsky's Secrets: Reading Against the Grain*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009, p. 95.

[41] Kristeva, Julia, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, pp. 1-2.

[42] Ibid., pp. 14-15. It is worth noting here that Kristeva uses Dostoevsky's *Demons* as a specific illustration of her theory. The 'abject' represents the 'object' of the novel, where 'matriarchs lusting for power hold sway' (pp. 19-20). According to Kristeva, 'by symbolizing the abject, through a masterful delivery of the jouissance produced by uttering it, Dostoyevsky delivers himself of that ruthless maternal burden' (p. 20). Later Kristeva would write a piece specifically on Hans Holbein's painting, published in *Black Sun* as 'Holbein's Dead Christ'. See: Kristeva, Julia, *Soleil noir: Dépression et mélancolie*, Paris: Gallimard, 1987.

never reach a definitive conclusion. The 'abject' may always return unbidden to challenge the integrity of the differentiated self. In Kristeva's account, the living subject's confrontation with 'the corpse, the most sickening of wastes', represents a prime example of the abject's return:

> The corpse [. . .] is a border that has encroached upon everything. It is no longer I who expel, 'I' is expelled. The border has become an object. How can I be without a border? [. . .] I behold the breaking down of a world that has erased its borders, fainting away. The corpse, seen without God and outside of science, is the utmost of abjection. It is death infecting life. Abject. It is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object.[43]

In the encounter with the corpse, the very boundary between life and death breaks down and decomposes before our eyes. The 'compelling, raw, insolent thing in the morgue's full sunlight' forces the beholder to confront the fragility of his or her own existence, violating the tenuously established borders of the 'I' with its loathsome power so that 'I *fall in a faint*'.[44] This traumatic violation offers a partial description of Ippolit Terentiev's predicament in *The Idiot*. After all, he reaches the desperate decision to terminate his own 'I' after reflecting on Holbein's visual depiction of nature's power over Christ's dead body. The image prefigures his own imminent fate, as a helpless human 'I' subject to the inexorable processes of terminal illness, death and decay, which assume a malevolent form in his fevered imagination. According to Kristeva's description, the subject is 'deprived of world' by the irruption of the sick-

---

[43] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, pp. 3-4.

[44] Ibid., p. 4.

13

ening cadaver.[45] Ippolit, too, is effectively 'deprived of world', which has become loathsome to him, and thus he resolves to deprive the world of himself: 'It is impossible to remain in a life that assumes such strange, offensive forms.'[46]

The cadaver of Christ, 'seen without God' and boldly represented as nothing but maltreated matter, goes far beyond even Kristeva's 'utmost of abjection'. For it shows death infecting the immortal divine, a violation of the border separating the absolutely transcendent subject from the natural order established by Him. As Kristeva suggests elsewhere in an essay on Holbein's painting, which she opens with Ippolit Terentiev's anguished 'explanation', the image explodes the Christian hope of ultimate unification with the 'absolute Subject (Christ)'.[47] In other words, we might say that Ippolit had made the same discovery as Nietzsche's famous madman in the marketplace: 'Gods, too, decompose.'[48] The painting undermines the very basis of Christian faith. Indeed, Ippolit says of the depicted corpse that 'the people who surrounded the dead man, none of whom is in the painting, must have felt horrible anguish and confusion on that evening, which at once smashed all their hopes and almost their beliefs'.[49] Even Prince Myshkin exclaims that 'a man could lose his faith from that painting'.[50] In *The Brothers Karamazov*, Alyosha faces a similar smashing of his hopes, and perhaps of his faith, when Zossima's body begins to decay on the afternoon after his death.

Of course, Zossima is not Christ, and the young man does not expect any immediate triumph over physical death. Yet he still holds out hope for something 'su-

---

[45] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 4.

[46] Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, p. 411.

[47] Kristeva, Julia, *Soleil noir: Dépression et mélancolie*, Paris: Gallimard, 1987, p. 145.

[48] Nietzsche, Friedrich, *The Gay Science*, trans. Walter Kaufmann, New York: Vintage Books, 1974, p. 181.

[49] Dostoevsky, *The Idiot*, p. 408.

[50] Ibid., p. 218.

pernatural', for the signs of saintly immunity to the regular course of nature to reveal themselves. Instead, the monk's body begins to metamorphose into a hunk of decomposing flesh in the shape of a man – in Kristeva's terms, a thing that 'no longer signifies anything'.[51] His flesh ceases to indicate anything beyond the purely material. This abjection of his mentor throws Alyosha's fragile sense of the world's beneficent order into turmoil. The narrator suggests that his confusion stems largely from his forgivably immoderate adoration of Father Zossima rather than from any philosophical crisis. But Alyosha's rebellion ultimately expresses itself through a passionate refusal to accept the most basic realities about individual human existence at the mercy of what he calls 'the blind, dumb, pitiless laws of nature'.

Each human 'I' exists in a body. Each body is destined to die a biological death. Soon afterwards, the lifeless physical material of the body must decompose, breaking down into simpler forms of matter, devoured by other organisms and recycled into new manifestations of life. Bacteria disintegrate the basic proteins of the flesh and organs, excreting noxious gases in the process, while the body's own gases are purged from the bloated carcass. What was once a human 'I' becomes a stinking 'thing'. Before long it is unrecognisable as a distinct entity at all. Zossima, too, will putrefy into foul liquids and gaseous effusions. The rising stench, the 'breath of corruption', is merely the first detectable sign of this process. From a living human 'I' with appreciable borders separating him from the surrounding world, a distinct configuration of matter endowed with the capacity to think and feel, Zossima's dead flesh will slowly disintegrate back into the undifferentiated storehouse of the earth's material.

Ultimately, this unpleasant natural process suggests the end of Zossima's 'I'. For how can his body be resurrected if it has rotted into the earth to nourish new

---

[51] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 4.

forms of life there? And if his physical body cannot be raised, then how can his unique individual existence endure? These are complex theological problems, which have resonated across Christianity's historical denominational divisions. Indeed, as Caroline Bynum explains in her book on *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity* (1995), such questions lay at the very heart of Christian thinking on the body long before the Great Schism separating the Western from Eastern Orthodox forms of the religion. Many early Christian theologians believed that physical resurrection was fundamental to maintaining any strong notion of a discrete 'self' to be saved. As Pope Gregory the Great observed in the sixth century: '*I am not "I" if I rise in an aerial body.*'[52] The 'I' can only remain self-identical in strictly physical form. From this perspective, the processes of decay and putrefaction are especially disturbing, since they threaten the final integrity of the body, the very idea of the self and thus the whole Christian conception of salvation. In Kristeva's useful explanatory terms, Christianity is anxious about 'the abject', and this is precisely the tension that Dostoevsky evokes in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

Christian disquietude with bodily disintegration has expressed itself historically in various cults surrounding the incorruptible flesh of the 'impassible saints', whose bodies supposedly remain untouched by the natural processes of material decay.[53] In *The Brothers Karamazov*, the narrator observes that this tradition was 'cher-

---

[52] Bynum, Caroline Walker, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995, p. 60.

[53] Such beliefs have always been strong within Eastern Orthodoxy. Indeed, even today, the casual visitor to the caves of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra in Ukraine may join the faithful as they process through cramped catacombs, holding votary candles over the mummified bodies of monastic saints. Decorative textiles cloak the desiccated bodies, but some reveal blackened hands through openings in the embroidered cloth. The distinctive shapes of these shrivelled appendages, with their dappled patterns of pores and folds of wrinkled skin, suggest individualised human beings more than any generic bones could ever do. The incorruptible flesh of these 'impassible saints'

ished as something blessed and miraculous'.[54] After the deaths of saintly monks, their faces reputedly shone with a 'holy light', while 'some people even insisted that a sweet fragrance came from their bodies'.[55] Yet no such benediction comes to Father Zossima. His flesh turns out to be corruptible. His body is eminently 'passible'. It exudes the unholy stench of the abject: 'A body without a soul, a non-body, disquieting matter, [. . .] to be excluded from God's *territory* as it is from his *speech*.'[56] Immediately the jealous monks and gossiping townsfolk begin to exclude Father Zossima from the territory of the sacred. He is no longer a holy man. As Rakitin sadistically puts it to Alyosha: 'Your old man has begun to stink.'[57]

4. The End of the Ego: Fusing the 'I' into the 'All'

So what does Dostoevsky mean to convey by this incident? What does Alyosha learn from his 'critical moment'? How does it subsequently strengthen him 'for the rest of his life'? What will become of Father Zossima's 'I'? Before answering these questions, we must first recall that confrontations with 'the abject' of the human corpse were considerably more common in Dostoevsky's time and place than they might be in ours, thanks to both lower life expectancy at birth and different cultural practices. Dostoevsky himself was well acquainted with the traditional Russian Orthodox custom of performing a vigil by the body of a deceased family member. Typically for the era, two of these rituals were for his own children.

---

continues to offer a sign to Orthodox believers that the return of the individual 'I' in his or her physical body is possible.

[54] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 373.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 109.

[57] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 384.

In 1868, Dostoevsky's first daughter, Sonya, died at the age of only three months old. According to his wife, he 'sobbed and wept like a woman, [. . .] standing in front of the body of his darling as it grew cold'.[58] Dostoevsky himself wrote in a letter: 'This tiny, three months old being, so pitiful, so miniscule – for me was already a person, a character. [. . .] Where is that little individual for whom I dare say, I would have accepted crucifixion so that she might live?'[59] In April 1878, less than a year before Dostoevsky published the first instalment of *The Brothers Karamazov*, his fourth child – three-year-old Alyosha – died of epilepsy, the disease he had inherited from his father. Once again, the family beheld the terrible sight of a beloved child's lifeless body. Joseph Frank tells us that it was after this event that Vladimir Solovyov took Dostoevsky to find solace at the Optina Pustyn monastery, where he met the famous Father Ambrose who probably became one of the models for Zossima.[60]

These confrontations with the little bodies of precious, irreplaceable human individuals had a profound effect on Dostoevsky's thought. Indeed, Liza Knapp suggests that Ippolit's reaction to Holbein's Christ in *The Idiot* may contain 'an echo of Dostoevsky's despair' at the death of his daughter.[61] Robert Belknap proposes that he wrote *The Brothers Karamazov* partly 'to create a rich identity for the namesake of his dead son'.[62] Yet even these tragic events were by no means the first direct occasions for Dostoevsky to reflect on the fate of the individual human being subject to corporeal death and decay. Many years earlier, in 1864, his first wife, Maria Dmitrievna,

---

[58] Frank, *The Miraculous Years*, p. 293.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Frank, Joseph, *Dostoevsky: The Mantle of the Prophet, 1871-1881*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 384-386.

[61] Knapp, *Dostoevsky's* 'The Idiot'*: A Critical Companion*, p. 26.

[62] Belknap, Robert, *The Genesis of* 'The Brothers Karamazov'*: The Aesthetic Ideology and Psychology of Making a Text*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990, p. 54.

died of tuberculosis at the age of just forty. Despite the often troubled nature of their relationship, Dostoevsky was distraught. As he kept the mourning vigil over her dead body, he somehow gathered his thoughts to shape a chain of tender and philosophical reflections that he would later record in an astonishing notebook entry:

> *16 April*. Masha is lying on the table. Will Masha and I see one another again? To love a person *as oneself*, according to Christ's commandment, is impossible. The law on earth that there must be such a thing as an individual person is binding. The *I* is an obstacle. Only Christ was able to do it, but Christ was an eternal ideal toward which man strives and, by a law of nature, must strive. After the appearance of Christ as the *ideal of man in the flesh*, however, it became as clear as day that the highest, the ultimate development of the individual person must reach the point (at the very end of the development, at the very point of attainment of the goal) where man can find out, recognise, and, with all the force of his nature, be convinced that the highest use he can make of his individual person, of the fullness of the development of his *I*, is, as it were, to annihilate this *I*, to give it over completely to each and to all, undividedly and selflessly. And this is the greatest happiness. In this way, the law of the *I* fuses with the law of humanness, and in the fusion both, that is, both the *I* and the *all* (to all appearances, two extreme opposites), being reciprocally annihilated for one another, attain at the same time, each by itself, the highest goal of their individual development. [. . .] Thus man on earth is a being that is merely developing and consequently not finished but transitional. [. . .] Just how each *I* will be reborn at that time — in the general Synthesis — is difficult to represent. But that which lives, that which has not died all the way up to the very attainment, that which is reflected in the ultimate ideal must

enter into a life that is ultimate, synthetic, infinite. We shall then be persons who never cease to fuse with the 'all', persons who neither are given in marriage nor marry, persons of various sorts ('In my Father's house are many dwelling places'). Everything at that time will feel and know itself forever. But how this will occur, in what form, in what nature — this is hard for humanity to imagine in any definite way.[63]

According to Joseph Frank, 'nowhere else does [Dostoevsky] tell us so unequivocally what he really thought about God, immortality, the role of Christ in human existence, and the meaning of human life on earth'.[64] In my view, the passage also sheds a great deal of light on Dostoevsky's understanding of the human body's ultimate meaning and purpose, and indeed on the questions I have raised about Zossima's corpse in *The Brothers Karamazov*. For Dostoevsky seems to propose precisely that the end of the body means the end of the 'I'. The 'ultimate development'[65] of the individual person is his or her 'annihilation', or 'disintegration', and subsequent 'fusion' with the 'all'. This is the paradoxical purpose of individual, bodily existence. The individual takes bodily form in order to die, thereby liquidating his or her 'I' and entering the 'all'.

For Dostoevsky, the ultimate 'Synthesis' demands an 'annihilation' of individual selves, so that 'we shall then be persons who never cease to fuse with the "all"',

---

[63] Quoted in: Cassedy, Steven, *Dostoevsky's Religion*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005, pp. 116-118. I am partly indebted to Cassedy's remarks on the passage for my own own interpretation.

[64] Frank, Joseph, *Dostoevsky: The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, p. 296. Various other scholars have also drawn attention to the passage. To name just two other works, see: Steven Cassedy's *Dostoevsky's Religion*, and Travis Kroeker's and Bruce Ward's *Remembering the End: Dostoevsky as Prophet to Modernity*, Boulder: Westview Press, 2001.

[65] We should note here that both the English 'development' and the Russian 'razvitie' etymologically denote 'unfolding', 'unravelling' or 'unfurling'.

in which 'everything [. . .] will feel and know itself forever'. Individual 'egos' must be renounced entirely so that human beings may achieve their ultimate potential beyond individual existence.[66] Moreover, this renunciation can only take place when human beings follow the example of Christ by willingly embracing the material life and death of incarnate existence. After all, Dostoevsky does not dismiss fleshly life in this passage. On the contrary, he characterises it as an indispensable developmental or 'transitional' phase. At the same time, the Christian idea of individual corporeal resurrection is entirely absent from his speculation. Instead, we have the individual's disintegration into a higher *sobornost´*, or spiritual community, perhaps even suggesting what Anderson characterises as the '*rod* cult', representing a sort of communal extension of 'Slavic agricultural mythology'. As G. T. Fedotov explains, 'Russian paganism [. . .] considered the individual only as a transient moment in the eternal life of the rod.'[67] Dostoevsky combines this myth with the Christian myth of the death of God, while conspicuously passing over the question of corporeal resurrection.

Christ's role as the '*ideal of man in the flesh*' is to lead the way: to show us that we must destroy the 'I' by surrendering the physical body to death. The epigraph of *The Brothers Karamazov*, a verse taken from the Gospel of John, delivers a similar message in metaphorical form: 'I tell you the truth, unless a kernel of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains only a single seed. But if it dies, it produces many seeds' (John 12:24). Christ is God become seed, God *se*-cularised,[68] God become

---

[66] Yuri Corrigan has argued in a different context that Dostoevsky's earliest writings explore the 'self' as an 'interpersonal phenomenon' through which 'the personality can become externalised and extended' (Corrigan, 'Amnesia and the Externalised Personality in Early Dostoevskii', pp. 99-101).

[67] Quoted in: Anderson, 'Mythical Implications of Father Zosima's Religious Teachings', p. 288.

[68] There is probably an etymological connection between the Latin '*saeculum*' and Proto-Indo-European root words meaning 'seed' or 'to sow' – '*se(i)*.' See: *Online Etymology Dictionary*:
http://etymonline.com/?term= secular [Accessed 30 June 2014]

flesh, God become an individual 'I'. When this individual 'seed' dies, 'it bringeth forth much fruit', as the King James translation of the same passage would have it. God takes individual, fleshly form only to allow his physical body to be annihilated, to become the abject thing depicted in Hans Holbein's painting – or, more recently, in Mel Gibson's cinematic pageant of abjection, *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Christ fuses his 'I' into the 'all'. He allows his body to be brutally destroyed so that all may partake of his flesh and blood in the communion ritual that symbolically transforms the Church into Christ's living body. Hence, Paul the Apostle writes: 'Now you are the body of Christ, and each one of you is a part of it' (1 Corinthians 12:27).

For Dostoevsky, as he meditates before Masha's corpse, the disintegration of the physical body appears as 'the greatest happiness', as 'the ultimate development of the individual person', and as the end of the differentiated 'I'. Jesus is the inimitable and perfect model, but human beings must aspire to follow the same path. The disintegration of the body represents the final fulfilment of its development, since the destiny of each individual being is a form of self-sacrifice for which Jesus himself is the eternal archetype. Of course, faith is a necessary part of this vision, while Dostoevsky himself is vague on the details, as he struggles to rationalise the untimely end of Masha's 'I'. Her physical body has reached the very point of its ultimate destination as an individual identity. Perhaps the faint 'breath of corruption' is already detectable. Meanwhile, her husband battles to square the logical circle, to reconcile the individual and the universal, the physical and the spiritual, death and immortality.

As Dostoevsky freely admits, his solution raises more questions than it answers. For how can he reconcile his emotional attachment to 'little individuals' and his philosophical commitment to accepting 'men with a real individual body and blood' when the ultimate destination of human existence is the effacement of individual identity in the 'synthesis' of a greater spiritual community? In this contradiction,

the broader conflict in Dostoevsky's writings between individual and collective forms of existence reveals itself in a very specific modulation.

Building on the work of Roger Anderson and various Russian scholars occupied with the 'pagan' myth of the earth, we might characterise the tension here as a direct confrontation between a pre-Christian worldview 'yielding individuality to the whole of nature' and the traditional Christian emphasis on continuous individual corporeal existence as a fundamental condition for salvation. At the same time, this confrontation does not merely imply the atavistic presence of 'pagan' vestiges in Dostoevsky's ostensibly 'Orthodox Christian' religion, but rather suggests a direct and creative response to a wavering belief in the Christian doctrine of physical resurrection in the face of 'the abject'. Instead of despairing at the physical annihilation of the human individual, like Ippolit Terrentiev, Dostoevsky seeks to find something salutary in the very process of dissolution. The same endeavour forms a crucial part of his project in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

As Kristeva helps us understand, the disintegrating corpse undermines the borders that make the existence of the differentiated human 'self' possible, thereby posing a distinct threat to the Christian salvation narrative. Yet Father Zossima's 'pagan' myth of the soil offers a very different perspective on the end of the 'I' signalled by physical death and decay. Like Dostoevsky in the notebook passage, he anticipates a positive annihilation of the individual ego, while his visionary gifts allow him to go beyond his literary creator's hesitant hope for future transformation. The monk sees signs of the great 'synthesis' or 'fusion' here on earth.

Zossima's religious philosophy insists that 'all is like an ocean, all is flowing and bending; a touch in one place sets up movement at the other end of the earth'.[69] He consistently proposes ways of looking at the world beyond the constraints of the

---

[69] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 357.

'ego'. He learns from his youthful encounter with a 'mysterious visitor' that destructive atomism has come to prevail in the modern world, where 'every one strives to keep his individuality as apart as possible [. . .] all mankind in our age has been split up into units . . . each in his own groove [. . .] and accustomed to rely upon himself alone and to cut himself off from the whole'.[70] In protest, he teaches Alyosha and the other monks that 'every one of us is undoubtedly responsible for all men and everything on earth, not merely through the general sinfulness of creation, but each one personally for all mankind and every individual man'.[71] Steven Cassedy argues that this lesson suggests a vision of individuals existing 'in solidarity', rather than any complete abandonment of individual identity.[72] But the Russian monk may go even further than this.

Throughout his exhortations, Zossima espouses an uncompromising doctrine of mutual forgiveness and self-forgetfulness, at times counselling a self-effacement so complete that even when we are wronged we ought to ask forgiveness of the person who has wronged us.[73] He illustrates this code through a tale from his own life. As a young man, he once challenged a romantic rival to a duel, the archetypal social ritual to defend the rights of one's individual 'I' or public self. However, on the morning of the duel, he wakes to find a glorious day in an enchanting world, with the sun 'warm and beautiful' and the birds singing.[74] He experiences a powerful epiphany, realising that 'in truth we are each responsible to all and for all'.[75] He renounces his ego's demands for satisfaction and honour. Instead, he chooses not to take his shot, after first

---

[70] Ibid., p. 339.

[71] Ibid., p. 182.

[72] Cassedy, *Dostoevsky's Religion*, p. 140.

[73] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 359.

[74] Ibid., p. 331.

[75] Ibid., p. 332.

exposing his own body to possible death by the bullet of his opponent. Literally, he offers his individual physical 'self' up for destruction. Then he figuratively repeats the gesture of self-annihilation in another register by asking for forgiveness, an abject humiliation for a military man of 'honour'.

Significantly, the young Zossima's astonished army comrades ask him: 'Chto ty nad *soboi* delaesh´?' ['What are you doing to your*self*?'].[76] In the terms of military honour, he is annihilating his social '*self*'. He swiftly discharges himself from the regiment and enters the monastery, thus symbolically leaving the corrupt 'world' of egoistic human relations and joining a more authentically – at least ostensibly – collective body.[77] Zossima's quasi-pantheism even suggests a renunciation of any human superiority over the non-human world: 'It's all like an ocean, I tell you. Then you would pray to the birds too, consumed by an all-embracing love, in a sort of transport, and pray that they too will forgive you your sin.'[78] Accordingly, when Zossima dies, his final act is to 'bow his face to the ground' and kiss the earth.[79] He willingly accepts his own impending annihilation and embraces abjection, giving his body to the earth. He joyfully fuses his 'I' with the 'all'.

Zossima's final bodily gesture expresses his central message, which seems to owe a great deal to Dostoevsky's own reflections beside the dead body of his first wife. Yet this lesson sits uncomfortably with the traditional Christian idea of individual corporeal resurrection. Indeed, Dostoevsky appears to respond to the scandal of 'the abject' precisely by dispensing with dogmatic commitments to the renewed existence

---

[76] Dostoevsky, *Brat´ia Karamazovy*, p. 352.

[77] Of course, the representations of the monastery in the novel as a place of petty jealousies and personal rivalries suggest that the tyranny of the self simply can never be overcome, even by supposedly ascetic monks.

[78] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 358.

[79] Ibid., p. 363.

of the human individual in any physical sense, and perhaps even at all. His contradictory solution to the eschatological problem of the rotting corpse is to embrace 'abjection' – in part through a quasi-pagan myth of an all-embracing earth – and thus to de-emphasise the notion of bodily resurrection after death.

Alyosha Karamazov must face a trial of faith before he can truly grasp his mentor's message of self-renunciation. He must overcome his bitter rejection of the natural world and the human body's subjection to it. In the end, he passes the test with anticlimactic ease. Instead of falling into sin, he at once finds salvation in Grushenka's merciful offering of an 'onion', literally representing her pity for him in his hour of grief. Robin Feuer Miller describes this moment as a 'preconversion conversion', where Alyosha is saved 'even *before* he undertakes his fantastic conversion journey'.[80] Grushenka's 'loving heart' raises his soul 'from the depths' and restores his faith in the potential goodness of the world.[81] From an archetypal earth temptress or destroyer – a 'dreadful' woman'[82] – Grushenka transforms in Alyosha's mind into the goodly earth of Zossima's teachings, bestowing love on those who would tend her chastely.[83] The eloquent symbol of this earthy love is the humblest gift of Russian soil – the onion.

Strengthened by this revelation of the earth's bountiful goodness, Alyosha returns to the monastery and the decomposing body of his mentor. He arrives to find an even stronger stench of corruption, yet still he feels 'joy, joy [. . .] glowing in his mind

---

[80] Miller, *Dostoevsky's Unfinished Journey*, p. 171.

[81] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 396.

[82] Ibid., p. 393.

[83] Ksana Blank has pointed out that Grushenka's full name, Agraphena, 'consists of two roots, the first of which (*agra*) means 'earth' in Greek, and the meaning of the second (*phen*) corresponds to the verb "to show"'. Therefore, according to Blank, 'Agraphena herself, like Persephone, is an earthly deity'. See: Blank, Ksana, *Dostoevsky's Dialectics and the Problem of Sin*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010, p. 46.

and in his heart'.[84] Father Paissy is reading the 'Marriage at Cana' passage from John's Gospel, where Jesus turns water into wine at a country wedding. As Gary Saul Morson argues, the story of Christ's first miracle emphasises 'the peculiar theology that regards Jesus as the bringer of small prosaic delights'.[85] Alyosha grasps that part of Christ's mission on earth was to give humble people a very worldly, corporeal joy. He falls asleep and beholds a rapturous vision of a resurrected Father Zossima, who enjoins him to begin his own worldly work. What follows is the symbolic core of Dostoevsky's novel, almost precisely at its midpoint, as Alyosha goes forth from the sanctuary of the monastery 'into the world'.

The symbolism here presents a great uniting of the earthly and the heavenly, the immanent and transcendent realms: 'The mystery of earth was one with the mystery of the stars.'[86] Even the humble earthly onion appears in sublimated form, soaring towards the heavens in the quintessentially Russian architectural form of 'the golden domes of the cathedral [gleaming] out against the sapphire sky'.[87] Alyosha ecstatically throws himself down on to the earth in the ritual gesture of penance and worship, so familiar from Raskolnikov's reluctant moment of atonement in *Crime and Punishment*.[88] Yet as he does so he feels himself in contact with 'all those innumerable worlds of God'. He feels the presence of these worlds through his loving embrace of the earth, as if transcendence could only be reached through the embrace of earthly or bodily immanence. In the last words of the chapter, the narrator lays out Alyosha's

---

[84] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 405.

[85] Morson, 'The God of Onions,' p. 116.

[86] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 409.

[87] Ibid., p. 408.

[88] Raskolnikov undergoes this purging at Sonya's insistence. In *Demons*, Marya Timofeevna gives similar advice to Shatov. See: Dostoevsky, Fyodor, *Crime and Punishment*, trans. Constance Garnett, New York: The Modern Library, 1932, p. 330; and, *Demons*, p. 145.

destiny: 'Within three days he left the monastery in accordance with the words of his elder, who had bidden him "sojourn in the world".'[89]

Alyosha has finally followed his teacher's counsel and learnt the central lesson of his teachings. When he throws himself on the earth and kisses it, he imitates Zossima's final gesture. His voluntary fall to the ground is a symbolic death willingly accepted, an annihilation of the 'I', a self-abjection. Indeed, Kristeva reminds us that the root of the word 'cadaver' is the Latin '*cadere*', meaning 'to fall'.[90] Zossima and Alyosha consent to fall into abjection, into the state of an earthly life that inevitably ends in the death and putrefaction of the corpse. They consent to 'fall into the ground and die', like the seed of wheat from the novel's epigraph that 'bringeth forth much fruit'. They consent to follow the example of Christ, the divine being who falls to earth in living flesh, in the form of an individual 'I', so as to annihilate that 'I' in a sacrifice for the earth and the 'all'. In Alyosha's case, this is more a statement of resolve than accomplished fact, for he immediately rises to his feet, resurrected as a 'resolute champion', and still very much a bodily individual.[91]

After the symbolic period of three days, Alyosha leaves the monastery for good to 'be in the world' ('prebyvat´ v miru').[92] Constance Garnett translates this phrase as 'sojourn in the world', but we might also render '*prebyvat*´' as 'dwell', 'reside', 'abide', 'spend time', or simply 'be'. Literally, the verb means 'to be through', signifying a 'being' that lasts only for a certain duration. This is not the eternal 'Being' of metaphysics, but rather a worldly, bounded, delimited being. The lesson that Alyosha learns – and that the Underground Man, Ippolit Terentiev and Ivan Karamazov

---

[89] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 409.

[90] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 3.

[91] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 409.

[92] Dostoevsky, *Brat´ia Karamazovy*, p. 424.

cannot accept – is that being in the world means being a body. It means being a man 'with a real individual body and blood', and not 'some sort of impossible generalised man'. The body defines our 'being' in the world. This bodily existence as an individual human 'I' has a certain duration. Eventually, it reaches its 'ultimate development' in death and disintegration.

5. Conclusion: Drops of Water in a Flowing Ocean

Before reaching my conclusion, I would like to consider briefly the possibility that the whole schema presented above in fact suggests a radically negative understanding of corporeal existence. After all, the bodily sojourn in the material world might very easily be understood here as a burdensome phase to be endured and then joyfully left behind. In this way, Zossima's acceptance of corporeal death and disintegration would appear in the spirit of Platonic or 'Gnostic' contempt for the body. We might even refer to the 'Orphic' mantra cited by Plato's Socrates – '*soma-sema*', 'the body is a tomb for the soul'.[93] Zossima's spiritual essence has departed from the foul prison of his earthly body, joyfully leaving his corporeal chains behind, like Socrates at his execution or the Christ who appears 'glad and laughing' over his own crucified body in the Gnostic 'Apocalypse of Peter'.[94] Our true identity is the bodiless soul, eternal and impervious to the ravages of earthly decay. As Alyosha discovers, there can be no miracles on earth. Our only hope is to escape the stinking world of matter

---

[93] 'Sema' more literally means 'sign' or 'marker' – and by association 'grave' or 'tomb'. The tomb is the sign of the absent person. Thus the '*soma-sema*' mantra suggests that the body is both the 'tomb' and the 'sign' of the absent soul. See: Yelle, Robert A., *Explaining Mantras: Ritual Rhetoric and the Dream of a Natural Language in Hindu Tantra*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 63. The '*soma-sema*' association appears most famously in Plato's *Gorgias* (493a) and *Cratylus* (400c).

[94] Robinson, James M. (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Library: The Definitive New Translation of the Gnostic Scriptures Complete in One Volume*, New York: HarperCollins, 1990, p. 377.

and return to the spiritual realm. The true Father Zossima has gone 'home', while his rotting carcass represents nothing but the rusting fetters of an empty prison cell.

Such an interpretation makes sense, but Zossima's own teachings would seem emphatically to exclude it. After all, though he says little specifically about the body, he teaches that 'life is a great joy and not a vale of tears' – perhaps contrary to Orthodox doctrine, as Roger Anderson suggests. Accordingly, Alyosha does not kiss the earth in acceptance of suffering, but rather with ecstatic tears of love. Moreover, it is Zossima who refers directly on two occasions to the 'seed' passage from John's Gospel used by Dostoevsky in the epigraph. Indeed, as the elder orders Alyosha to go out 'into the world', he quotes the passage and instructs his young charge to remember it.[95] His optimistic teachings seem to suggest that corporeal life on earth is a necessary phase leading to future development, just as the seed and its 'death' in the ground form a necessary phase in the growth of the wheat plant.

In his own grief-stricken meditations over his wife's body, Dostoevsky was more explicit: 'Man on earth is a being that is merely developing and consequently not finished but transitional.'[96] The body is not a grave or prison cell, but rather a necessary transitional phase, a seed that must perish and disintegrate. The immortal soul – which will be mysteriously 'fused' with the 'all' in Dostoevsky's final 'Synthesis' – is not some pure essence escaping from the fetters of the foul body. Instead, it is the very *fruit* of the individual seed-body's earthly being ('prebyvanie'), death and decomposition – a de-individualised and integrated form of higher collective existence with other humans and with God. Instead of the Orphic *soma-sema* mantra, Dostoevsky speculatively gives us *soma-sperma* – the body is the seed of the soul. This

---

[95] Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, p. 317.

[96] Cassedy, *Dostoevsky's Religion*, p. 116.

mythical formula is clearly at odds with the traditional Christian vision of individual bodily resurrection.

Moreover, the de-individualised vision of souls fused together in eternity remains in irresolvable tension with Dostoevsky's own unflagging interest in the immortality of the individual person and the resurrection of the individual body.[97] The seed symbol has more often carried an individually corporeal meaning within the dominant streams of Christian thought, where – according to Caroline Bynum – it represents 'the oldest [. . .] metaphor for the resurrection of the body'.[98] The individual person, discrete and unfused, has always been the main protagonist within Christian narratives of salvation and eternal life. And despite his unconventional speculations on future integration, the fate of human individualities undoubtedly weighed heavily on Dostoevsky. 'Where is that little individual?' he asks with tender emotion on the untimely death of his first daughter. Is it enough for her to exist in a 'general Synthesis' of souls or does he yearn to see her again as a differentiated, corporeal being? And if 'all is like an ocean, all is flowing and bending', as Father Zossima insists, then how can we ever hope to recognise the singular and distinct identities of the individual drops of water fused within it? Can they possibly endure in any autonomous form for more than a brief moment in the synthetic flood of existence?

In both his private and public writings, Dostoevsky strove to frame answers to these burning questions and to reconcile some form of enduring individual existence with the dissolution of the physical body. Nevertheless, as Yuri Corrigan remarks, Dostoevsky's understanding of individual identity remains 'among the most confusing

---

[97] As the Polish poet Czesław Miłosz suggests, 'by fixing his imagination on the person of Jesus, [Dostoevsky] was led to pose a question, the answer to which would spell the difference between a Christian and a non-Christian: was He resurrected or was He not?' See: Miłosz, Czesław, *The Land of Ulro*, trans. Louis Iribarne, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000, p. 266,

[98] Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body*, p. 3.

and double-edged aspects of his writing'.[99] On the one hand, we find his constant aspiration to attain a glimpse of what Corrigan calls 'cosmological unity and *sobornost*'.[100] On the other hand, we can never question his strongly emotional commitment to the immeasurable value of distinct, particular, autonomous human beings. The ultimate symbol of this precious and fragile individual existence is the 'real individual body and blood', which remains irreversibly subject to death and decay like the rest of organic nature.

Fyodor Dostoevsky's own individual body succumbed to nature's implacable laws in 1881. By all accounts, he passed away peacefully and in good spirits.[101] His mortal remains were evidently as corruptible as Father Zossima's, since on the morning of the funeral, four days after his death, the coffin was closed on Konstantin Pobedonostsev's orders 'so as to spare Anna and the children'.[102] In his writings, Dostoevsky never definitively answered the question of how or whether an individual identity could endure once the physical body had decayed. Today, almost a century and a half after his death, all we can say with any certainty is that his brief bodily sojourn in the world has brought forth much fruit.

---

[99] Corrigan, 'Amnesia and the Externalised Personality in Early Dostoevskii', p. 79.

[100] Ibid., p. 81.

[101] A drawing by Ivan Kramskoi, authenticated by numerous other visitors, even testified to the presence of an enigmatic half-smile on his pale face. See: Frank, *The Mantle of the Prophet*, p. 749.

[102] Ibid., p. 755.

BAKTYGUL ALIEV

ETHICS OF COMMUNICATION IN DOSTOEVSKY'S *DEMONS*

In his novel *Demons* (1871-1872), Fyodor Dostoevsky fictionalised the widely publicised murder of a St. Petersburg student, I. Ivanov, in 1869 by a group of radical political activists led by S. Nechaev.[1] Dostoevsky's artistic imagination transformed the Nechaev affair into a prism through which to survey the contemporary ideological landscape, whose fault lines had been traced by such radical spokesmen of the 1860s as Nikolai Chernyshevsky, Varfolomei Zaitsev, Nikolai Dobroliubov and Dmitrii Pisarev. For Dostoevsky, the Nechaev affair exemplified senseless violence driven by self-serving ambition acting in the name of the common good. Dostoevsky saw the roots of such violence in the ideas of the Russian liberal thinkers of the 1840s, such as Vissarion Belinsky, Alexander Hertsen and Timofei Granovsky. He explicitly based the novel's two principal characters, Stepan Verkhovensky and his son Petr Verkhovensky, upon the key figures of the two cultural and revolutionary generations. While the antagonism and similarities between the two characters have been studied

[1] For similarities and differences between Sergei Nechaev and Petr Verkhovensky, one of the principal characters of Dostoevsky's novel, see Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky. The Miraculous Years,* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995, pp. 443-446; F. I. Evnin, 'Roman Besy', in: *Tvorchestvo Dostoevskogo*, N. L. Stepanov (ed.), Moscow: Izdatel´stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1959, p. 226; Richard Peace, *Dostoyevsky: an Examination of the Major Novels*, Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1971, pp. 146-150; Konstantin Mochul´skii, *Dostoevsky: His Life and Work*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967, pp. 417-418.

through their historical prototypes,[2] their juxtaposition as two distinct personalities and individuals *within* the world of the novel remains unexamined. Rather than approach the novel's characters as illustrations of historical material, I would like to use the novel's historical background to explore the internal dynamic of how the characters relate to each other. Using Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of dialogism, Jurgen Habermas's idea of discourse ethics, and concepts from communication theory, I argue that the two figures' communication pattern reveals their inability to recognise and respect the integrity of another human being, posited as an interlocutor in their acts of communication.

The central theme of the novel is the question of moral, philosophical and political continuity between the generations of the forties and sixties in terms of their goals and methods of influencing the future development of Russian society.[3] The novel may be seen as a critical examination in literary form of the contemporary belief held by the old liberals that the new radical generation had abandoned and departed from the original principles and ideas brought into the public consciousness in the forties. This perspective is expressed by Stepan Trofimovich who initially disowns the revolutionary fervor of his son Petr Verkhovensky. Stepan Trofimovich abhors the lack of aesthetic taste, unscrupulous morality and a certain tendency towards violence that he detects in the new revolutionary cohort. However, at the end of the novel and on his deathbed Stepan Trofimovich owns up to the fact that the new generation is in fact a direct and accelerated realisation of the principles inherent in the ideas of the

[2] For some of the most comprehensive overviews of the historical-political context of the novel, see F. I. Evnin's article 'Roman Besy', cited above, and D. C. Offord, 'The Devils in the Context of Contemporary Russian Thought and Politics', *Dostoevsky's the Devils: A Critical Companion*, William Leatherbarrow (ed.), Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern UP, 1999, pp. 63-99.

[3] In accordance with the established cultural paradigm, the 'forties' refer to the period from the late 1830s to the early 1850s, while the 'sixties' began in late 1850s and continued to the end of the 1860s proper.

forties. He recalls the Biblical scene of the Gadarene swine to compare himself, his son and the revolutionary movement as a whole to the demons that exit the sick body of Russia:

> [...A]nd out will come all these demons, all the uncleanness, all the abomination that is festering on the surface ... and they will beg of themselves to enter into swine. And perhaps they already have! It is us, us and them, and Petrusha ... *et les autres avec lui*, and I, perhaps, first, at the head, and we will rush, insane and raging, from the cliff down into the sea, and all be drowned, and good riddance to us, because that's the most we're fit for.[4]

The parable of the Gadarene swine also serves as the novel's epigraph and expresses Dostoevsky's belief in the continuity and the shared moral nature of the two revolutionary ideologies.

In order to approach the two characters as distinct personalities on their own terms, I would like to draw upon Bakhtin's idea of dialogism. Bakhtin famously argues that Dostoevsky's characters inhabit a dialogical space: not only are their actions, thoughts and conflicts revealed to the reader through the dialogues in his novels, but the protagonists define and learn about themselves through their intersubjective relationships with others, expressed through external and internal dialogues. According to Bakhtin, 'a character's self-consciousness in Dostoevsky is thoroughly dialogised: in its every aspect it is turned outward, intensely addressing itself, another, a third person. Outside this living addressivity toward itself and toward the other it does not exist,

---

[4] Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Leningrad: Nauka, 1972, vol. 10, p. 499. English translations are taken from: Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Demons: a novel in three parts*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, New York: A. A. Knopf, 1994.

even for itself.'[5] More than a means of contact with another being, dialogue is a tool for the construction of one's own self. This is why Dostoevsky's characters have internal dialogues, or what Bakhtin calls 'microdialogues', in which they realise their inner existential need for the presence of another consciousness. Bakhtin further stipulates that in Dostoevsky's dialogues we observe the interaction of 'split voices' rather than 'whole voices'.[6] Bakhtin explains that such dialogues, while carried out between two or more protagonists, usually involve an externalisation of an internal debate, disagreement and moral schism within a single individual (for example, Ivan Karamazov and Smerdiakov in *The Brothers Karamazov*; or Stavrogin and Kirillov, Shatov, and Verkhovensky in *Demons*). In other words, dialogue becomes a form in which an individual's conflicting and unrealised thoughts or inclinations receive their actualisation in the voice of another being.

I would like to expand upon Bakhtin's idea of dialogue to reveal its wider framework as social dialogue between generations and intellectual political camps. Bakhtin treats the idea of dialogue primarily as dialogue between individuals: 'The basic scheme for dialogue in Dostoevsky is very simple: the opposition of one person to another person as the opposition of "I" to "the other".'[7] However, the dialogical principles exceed the bounds of a concrete dialogue between particular individuals or a micro-dialogue within a single consciousness, and are applicable to people grouped into categories and types – therefore, we can speak of inter-generational dialogues or dialogues between intellectual camps. Such a wider approach to the notion of dialogue is implicit in Bakhtin's understanding of dialogue as mingling of diverse social lan-

---

[5] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problemy poetiki Dostoevskogo*, Moscow: Sovetskaia Rossiia, 1979, 4th ed., p. 293. Translations are my own or based on: Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

[6] Ibid., p. 299.

[7] Ibid.,, pp. 294-295.

guages, codes and worldviews so that 'a dialogue of voices immediately emerges from the social dialogue of "languages"'.[8] In this expanded form, the idea of dialogue is the 'embodied coexistence of social-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the past, between different social-ideological groups of the present, between trends, schools, circles'.[9] Ultimately, for Bakhtin a social language represents a certain worldview shared by a given social group so that we can speak of a dialogue between languages as between ideological viewpoints.

The above concept of dialogue as a social and inter-generational dialogue will now be used to analyse the conflict between Stepan Trofimovich Verkhovensky and Petr Stepanovich Verkhovensky in *Demons*. These protagonists represent two historical generations of revolutionaries: the liberals of the 1840s and the radicals of the 1860s, respectively. I argue that Petr Verkhovensky's ideas and worldview constitute a latent part, a concealed segment of the voice and existential perspective of Stepan Trofimovich. While the two figures may appear to embody opposite ideological, political and cultural perspectives, a closer look at the nature of their dialogue and communication methods reveals their intimate affinity. In the end, we see two different variations of the same consciousness and world outlook – the two voices differ in emphasis and the degree to which they express the same regard toward another person.

The differences between the two figures are varied and many, but they are focused upon their intersubjective stance towards the other. Stepan Trofimovich believes that an aesthetic appreciation of beauty represents that humanistic core which can be found in all individuals and which bespeaks the deepest humanity present in all. In his interactions with others Stepan Trofimovich acts on the presumption of this common humanity in order to find an agreement on issues that are both personal and

---

[8] M. M. Bakhtin, *Voprosy literatury i estetiki: Issledovaniia raznykh let*, Moskva: Khudozh. Lit., 1975, p. 98.

[9] Ibid., p. 104.

social. On the other hand, his son represents the utilitarian position, which views social relations as tools used by individuals pursuing their own selfish ends. According to this latter view, it is morally justified to engage in strategic interactions with others in order to achieve one's personal goals. The difference between these two perspectives revolves around the notion of one's relation towards another person: for Stepan Trofimovich the other must be seen as a carrier of a universally shared humanity and approached as such, while for Petr Verkhovensky the other must be instrumentalised and seen as an appendage to one's own being. While it may appear that Stepan Trofimovich adheres to the ethical position which preserves the authentic personhood of the other by addressing the inner human being within, I am going to argue that Stepan Trofimovich's view is based on the assumption that the other is like himself. While addressing the common humanity which he assumes is to be found in all, Stepan Trofimovich has a rather limited understanding of this humanity which closely reflects his own ideas and desires, rather than those of a genuine other. Herein then lies the dialogical distortion that can be defined as the central artistic idea of the novel: Stepan Trofimovich opposes in his son the very qualities that he possesses himself. It is Stepan Trofimovich's lack of awareness as to the ramifications of his own worldview that make him a vehement opponent of the radical ideology that grew out of his generation. Further explication of the ideological positions of the father and the son in the novel as multiple layers of the same type of mindset requires the use of theoretical tools best adapted for studying political and philosophical aspects of communication.

When communication is studied with a view of its effects on the independence and autonomy of interlocutors in an intersubjective network of social relations, communication is viewed a means of strengthening social ties on the basis of voluntary co-operation, not domination. Such is Jurgen Habermas's framework of communication as communicative action, which outlines the linguistic principles of human inter-

action most conducive to the preservation of the distinct individualities and freedoms of addressees while incorporating them into a wider communicative network of mutual understanding and social cohesion. Considering that different forms of dialogue are the predominant mode of existence and manifestation of the self-consciousnesses of Dostoevsky's protagonists, it is plausible to assume that the vitality and autonomy of self-consciousness in Dostoevsky's novels depends upon the favourable dialogical conditions of communication in the portrayed social environment. Relying on Habermas's concept of discourse ethics, we can examine the ethical quality of communication between Dostoevsky's protagonists, e.g. the extent to which their communicative stances and interactions respect the freedom of the other and avoid various forms of coercion or manipulation.[10]

According to Habermas's notion of communicative action, an ethical communicative stance toward another person presupposes an attempt to 'harmonise [each other's] plans of action on the basis of common situation definitions'.[11] Such an ethical stance means that we have to strive toward a 'consensus' as the condition of communication with another being whose co-operation matters for achieving our objectives.[12] It would be ethically wrong simply to use others without their awareness as to the role they play in our plans – only their willed and informed participation, however passive it may be, can justify their contribution toward our goals. Habermas's argument

---

[10] Dialogue plays an important role in the theories of Bakhtin and Habermas. While there are some similarities in the non-objectifying nature of dialogical and communicative discourses, there are also significant divergences, even contradictions, concerning the transparency of one's motifs. For the latter, see Gregory Garvey, 'The value of opacity: a Bakhtinian analysis of Habermas's discourse ethics', *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 33/4, 2000, pp. 370-390. For a more general juxtaposition of the two thinkers, see Greg Nielsen, *The Norms of Answerability: Social Theory between Bakhtin and Habermas*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002, pp. 23-24.

[11] Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, 2 vols, Boston: Beacon Press, 1984, vol. 1, p. 286.

[12] Ibid., p. 183.

amounts to the claim that whenever individuals are prevented from directly confirming and acknowledging their voluntary participation in the social processes which they help to propagate, this results in the estrangement of the individuals from their own fate. Habermas identifies the 'steering media' of 'money and power' as the force that breaks down 'consensus-oriented' interactions:

> The transfer of action coordination from language over to steering media means an uncoupling of interaction from lifeworld contexts. Media such as money and power attach to empirical ties; they encode a purposive-rational attitude toward calculable amounts of value and make it possible to exert generalised, strategic influence on the decisions of other participants while bypassing processes of consensus-oriented communication. [….T]he lifeworld is no longer needed for the coordination of action.[13]

The above statement outlines the basic mechanism through which opportunities for consensus are exchanged for a direct exercise of power and influence by force. The avoidance of consensus-building processes in communication is present whenever we lie or knowingly mislead others, or deny them an opportunity to realise fully the role they play in the processes to which we subject them.

In *Demons*, Petr Verkhovensky's communicative stance towards others exemplifies the mechanism of estrangement of individual decision-making capacities. The ideological atmosphere in the world of the novel can be traced to the manipulative propaganda of Petr Verkhovensky, whose tactics of steering public opinion illustrate the modern practice of public relations. According to Habermas, the emergence of public relations as a distinctive tool of controlling public discourse both epitomises

---

[13] Ibid.

and legitimates the practice of subverting a rational consensus and willful agreement of the public to a given initiative.[14] The term 'public relations', or simply PR, refers to a set of activities by an organisation to create favourable publicity and public awareness of the organisation's goals and functions. PR is a part of a general marketing approach to present and 'sell' the company to its actual and potential clientele as well as other publics who are affected by the organisation or who may in turn influence the organisation.[15]

Petr Verkhovensky employs the gamut of classical PR techniques, all of which have been described by Habermas as part of the process of the commodification of the public sphere: media-events, news leaks, and rumours. Public relations practitioners use media events, also called news events or 'pseudoevents', to draw public attention and generate coverage by the media.[16] In a way that exemplifies this PR tactic, Petr Verkhovensky obtains a patronising influence and 'control[s]' Iulia Lembke, the wife of the new *gubernator* (regional governor), to inspire her to organise a literary festive evening with a large audience.[17] The festive evening is meant to bring together people from all layers of the local community, from the governor's family to the local factory workers, to raise funds for the progressive goal of the public education of women. For the purposes of Petr Verkhovensky's propaganda, this celebration serves as a news event which is defined as 'an occasion usually conceived and set up by a public rela-

---

[14] For Habermas's discussion of public relations as a form of commodification of political discourse, see his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991, pp. 181-235.

[15] For an overview of public relations tools and methods from a professional practitioner's standpoint, see Dennis Wilcox, *Public Relations: Strategies and Tactics*, New York: Longman, 2000.

[16] Ibid., p. 28.

[17] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 354.

tions practitioner and designed to attract attention'.[18] One month prior to the fête, Iulia Lembke 'babble[s] about her fête with whoever happen[s] along, and … even send[s] a notice to one of the metropolitan newspapers'.[19] The preparations for the fête and the expected publicity in its aftermath point to its news-generating function in the eyes of the organisers, Iulia Lembke and Petr Verkhovensky. Iulia Lembke hopes that the toasts to be proclaimed during the fête will be 'passed on in the form of reports to the metropolitan newspapers … [and] go winging over all the provinces'.[20] While her naïve hopes for the fête do not materialise, the fête nevertheless serves well to advance Petr Verkhovensky's revolutionary propaganda. He purposefully distributes free tickets among the town's radical youth whose boisterous presence, with their shouts and threats, morally overwhelms the local high society attending the evening. As Petr Verkhovensky wishes, the aftermath of the event reverberates with a public image of social disorder and upheaval.

An ethically controversial technique in public relations is a news leak, by means of which a PR practitioner may use discreet channels to provide information to a mass media outlet and make it known to broad publics: '[A news] leak may appear to occur by accident, but the intent of the leaker may be to convey information that would otherwise not have been made public.'[21] In effect, Petr Verkhovensky simulates a news leak by dictating to Kirillov the latter's suicide note. The note points to the existence of an underground revolutionary movement which is functional enough – such

---

[18] Richard Weiner, *Webster's New World Dictionary of Media and Communications*, New York: Macmillan, 1996, p. 369.

[19] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 356.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Weiner, *Dictionary of Media*, p. 388.

is the impression to be made – to cleanse its own ranks. Petr Verkhovensky knows that this note will become an object of public attention as soon as it is revealed.

Among other media, PR practitioners rely on rumours which they recognise as a powerful tool to influence public opinion. PR professionals admit that 'informal conversations among peers and friends influence our thinking and behaviour more than TV commercials or newspaper editorials do'.[22] Petr Verkhovensky also points out the power of rumours or 'legends' as he calls them which, coupled with clandestine activities of revolutionary quintets, can surpass the periodicals: 'The main thing is the legend! … These crews, these fivesomes – no need for the newspapers!'[23] He wants to position Stavrogin as the legendary Ivan the Tsarevich, for whom people 'weep' in longing,[24] to start a massive wave of rumours:[25] '[I]t's even possible to show [Stavrogin/Ivan the Tsarevich], for example, to some one person out of a hundred thousand. And it will start spreading all over the earth: "We've seen him, we've seen him".'[26] The PR activities of Petr Verkhovensky illustrate his instrumental and strategic use of others. His PR tactics allow him to avoid consensus-building processes and involve the townspeople in his revolutionary scheme without their full awareness of the falsehood of his propaganda.[27]

---

[22] Wilcox, *Public Relations*, p. 533.

[23] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 326.

[24] Ibid., p. 325.

[25] In the aftermath of Russian serf emancipation, the serfs spread the rumour that the true and more generous terms of the Great Reform have been swapped by the cunning gentry. A mythical Ivan Tsarevich, so the rumour went, was going to announce the true text of the law. See Joseph Frank, *Miraculous Years*, p. 452, and Richard Peace, *Dostoyevsky: An Examination of the Major novels*, Cambridge: University Press, 1971.

[26] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 326.

[27] Petr Verkhovensky's gimmicks in manipulating public reception of his messages reflect Dostoevsky's own professional awareness of how journalism affects readers. In a letter to A. N. Maikov in 1870, Dostoevsky is critical of the fact that the editors of the journal *Zaria* (which Dostoevsky supports ideologically) announce

If Petr Verkhovensky's media tactics are explicitly manipulative and wilfully disregard any ethics in communication, Stepan Trofimovich is blissfully ignorant of the coercive nature of his communicative stance toward the other while maintaining his ideal of a disinterested friendship between people. Having lived for years at Varvara Petrovna Stavrogina's estate in the dubious role of a close family friend or a distant relative, he declares that the mere pursuit of food and shelter 'has never been a guiding principle' of his life.[28] He tells Varvara Petrovna: 'I always thought that there is something between us that is higher than food – and never, never have I been a scoundrel!'[29] Stepan Trofimovich utterly denies that his self-interest could have tainted his relation toward Varvara Petrovna and he shows his readiness to give up 'all his belongings, all the gifts, all pensions and promises of future benefits' in order to prove the sincerity of his friendship.[30]

Stepan Trofimovich's perceived ideal of disinterested relations with others on the basis of common interests and shared values evokes the ideal of the public sphere as described by Habermas in his early work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962). The Habermasian public sphere is a cultural and social space where participants ostensibly set aside their economic self-interests and engage in intellectual exchanges (discussions, debates, conversations) that are 'emancipated from

---

beforehand the complete list of its contributors for the upcoming year: "So why did they expose all the names and articles in this year's publication? If they'd keep silent, people would think they are rich. Otherwise, having read the list of announced articles, everyone would say: 'Oh, that's all they've got!'" (Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 29/1, p. 106).

[28] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 266.

[29] Ibid., p. 239.

[30] Ibid., p. 266.

the constraints of survival requirements' and 'dictates of life's necessities'.[31] Such a purported separation of reason and interest supposedly allows for an unbiased consideration of ideas and taking sides on issues in response to their rational and moral appeal to the universal community of rational beings rather than their specific consequences to the interests of particular individuals. On the surface, this was the tacit assumption of those who attended various discussion circles, centred on philosophy, politics and art, in Western Europe in the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Following the European example, a similar culture of 'familiar associations' of private salons and circles developed in Russia in the late eighteenth century and reached its heyday in the 1840s.[32] The circles of the 1840s provided the breeding ground for the Russian liberal discussions of what was considered to be the revolutionary aspects of Hegel's political philosophy or the social theories of Proudhon and Fourier. The Russian liberal activists and advocates, collectively personified in the figure of Stepan Trofimovich, both defined and were defined by the culture of the liberal circles.[33] In the liberal tradition of the forties, Stepan Trofimovich hosts his own

---

[31] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991, p. 160.

[32] I am borrowing the term 'familiar associations' from William Todd's study of the Russian salon culture in the first half of the ninetenth century and its role in the development of the Russian literary tradition. See William Todd, *Fiction and Society in the Age of Pushkin: Ideology, Institutions, and Narrative*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986.

[33] Stepan Trofimovich closely resembles Timofei Granovsky, a professor at Moscow University, who used his class and public lectures to talk about the eventual (as he saw it according to his understanding of Hegel) course of Russian historical development following the path of the European nations which overthrew the monarchy. See Offord's article in *Dostoevsky's The Devils*, Leatherbarrow (ed.), pp. 75-76; Peace, *Major Novels*, p. 144; Evnin, 'Roman *Besy*', p. 236.

friendly circle to indulge in 'jolly liberal chatter' and reaffirm his self-imposed 'highest duty of the propaganda of ideas'.[34]

Of course, one cannot ascribe the normative standard of a neutral and objective discourse to the culture of private salons and circles. As has been pointed out by numerous critics of the Habermasian public sphere, in reality the circles culture was an arena for predominantly white, male, property-owning, up-and-coming bourgeois to develop an ideological leverage over the old aristocratic and monarchic families. The rational-critical discourse of the public sphere was not neutral in relation to the social balance of power, but was enmeshed in the struggle for political domination between the social strata, even if it made appeals to objective reason and rationality.[35] In other words, there is a performative aspect to communication which explicates how it can serve to promote certain goals quite apart from its content.[36]

Moreover, the idea of the public sphere is premised upon the assumption that critical-rational communication operates on the basis of a *transfer* of knowledge, information and facts. Participants in a discussion circle may assume that they are engaging in the 'transmission and amplification' of critical-rational argumentation.[37] In effect, the normative paradigm of critical-rational communication is that of the transmission model which 'describes communication as a linear, one-way process' of mov-

---

[34] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 30.

[35] See Nancy Fraser's article 'Critique of an Actually Existing Democracy' as well as other articles on the topic of the public sphere in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1992.

[36] John Austin's speech act theory outlines how communicative utterances can have a constative meaning (what is said) in addition to their performative function (what is done and communicated beyond the narrow content of a message). See his monograph *How to Do Things with Words*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975 and article 'Performative-Constative' in *Philosophy and Ordinary Language*, Charles Caton (ed.), Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, pp. 22-54. Habermas relies on Austin's theoretical formulations to determine his own distinction between ethical and unethical discourse in his mature works on the communicative action.

[37] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, p. 189.

ing a message from a sender to a receiver.[38] To conceive of communication, however implicitly, according to the transmission model is to presuppose that the subject (i.e. content, idea) of messages is objectively given and exists independently from the participants in the discourse. For communication to occur successfully, the sender and the recipient must share the same interpretative approach and worldview to make the transfer of information meaningful. This means that the normative context of communication as transmission presupposes a similarity between the sender and recipient – the more identical they are, the more likely the recipient is to understand the communicated idea in the same manner that is intended by the sender. In other words, the notion of the public sphere implies that communication occurs between people who share the same worldview or, in practical terms of the historical situation, same social status, education, lifestyle and mindset. The philosophical implications of the public sphere as a medium of transmission of ideas dismantle the notion of the public sphere as an arena where different people from different layers of society meet, presenting it rather as a place where a narrow circle of people with already overlapping points of view confirm each other's position vis-à-vis the rest of society.

Stepan Trofimovich studied in Berlin in the 1840s, the hotbed of the idealist philosophy to which Russians looked with adulation in this period. Idealist thought is marked by the assumption that truth exists objectively quite apart from the contemplating person – one only needs to grasp it conceptually and communicate it to others. As a quintessential Russian liberal, Stepan Trofimovich carries in his ideological orientation the 'monological principle'[39] inherent in the European utopian thought which

---

[38] Denis McQuail and Swen Windahl, *Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communications*, London: Longman, 1993, p. 17.

[39] In general terms, Bakhtin locates the origins of monologising discourse of the modern 'ideological creativity' in the Enlightenment, European rationalism, idealist philosophy, and European utopian thought, particularly utopian socialism. Bakhtin finds the clearest example of the monological principle in idealist philosophy, with its tendency

historically provided the basis of the liberal movement of the forties in Russia. Stepan Trofimovich's studies in Germany were not only a matter of his intellectual quest but also a sign of distinction, allowing him to look down upon others. Varvara Petrovna reproaches Stepan Trofimovich for making her feel less than his equal when she attempted to engage him on the intellectual level: 'When you returned from abroad, you looked down your nose at me and wouldn't let me utter a word, and when I myself came and spoke with you later about my impressions of the Madonna, you wouldn't hear me out and began smiling haughtily into your tie, as if I really could not have the same feelings as you.'[40]

Among scholars who have studied Alexander Herzen and his generation of Russian intelligentsia, including such figures as Bakunin, Belinsky, Granovsky and others – all of whom served as prototypes of Stepan Trofimovich in *Demons* – Martin Malia argues that these individuals were amplifying their own personal injuries, fears and ambitions to a national level and projecting their own desires into the necessities of the entire Russian nation: 'In its alienation this intelligentsia generalises its discontent into the demand for the total renovation of society, and for the full liberation, not just of itself, but of all men.'[41] Malia's approach to the Russian intelligentsia of this period sees their political zeal as a result of their personal and professional frustration of finding no outlet for their talents in the oppressive Russian state, rather than a result of an objective consideration of the needs for reform in society. Whatever the historical necessity of democratic reforms in Russia was, their advocates in the 1840s were

---

to explain observed phenomena from the perspective of a single consciousness – regardless of the forms it may take, such as 'consciousness in general', 'absolute spirit', 'normative consciousness', 'spirit of the nation', 'spirit of history' – which sees 'the unity of being' as 'the unity of consciousness'. See Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, pp. 91-93.

[40] Dostoevsky, *Sobranie*, vol. 10, p. 264.

[41] Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism*, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1961, p. 116.

driven by personal ambitions of leadership as much as by a zeal for public good: 'The desire to know the truth and expound it, to be a moral authority and point the way to reform, is also a desire for leadership and power, however consciously disinterested the intellectual may be.'[42]

As I have tried to show, Stepan Trofimovich's self-perception as an actor in a neutral sphere of rational discourse is premised upon the idea of the objectivity of his intellectual notions, while such a view is based on the effacement of the Other from his existential horizon. In his search for a sphere of human interaction based on pure reason, he assumes that he is free from non-intellectual and egotistic drives, while, in fact, his intellectual constructs and his communicative stance promote his personal position as a universal state of affairs. For Stepan Trofimovich, his theoretical vision of progressive social change nurtured by his understanding of idealist philosophy obstructs the perspective of the Other and blocks the intersubjective pathways for consensus-building communication. In his turn, Petr Verkhovensky uses the mechanism of public relations to avoid consensus building and to arrive at a forced and false consciousness of his organisation in the public. Therefore, both Stepan Trofimovich and Petr Verkhovensky engage in the kind of communication which avoids consensus building. The father's communicative stance is based on self-deception which results in the intellectual elimination of the other's presence in one's worldview. His son forces his opinion and predisposition toward a given ideological issue through manipulative publicity. Inability and refusal to recognise the Other are the unifying features of the consciousness of both characters.

---

[42] Malia, *Alexander Herzen*, p. 116.

JOHN COOK

EVENTS SET IN AMBER: BAKHTIN'S 'CHRONOTOPE OF THE CASTLE' AS SOLIDIFIED SPACE-TIME

Introduction: The concept of the chronotope

Together with 'dialogism' and 'carnival', the chronotope is one of Bakhtin's most recognisable contributions to literary theory. Until fairly recently, it was generally assumed that the scope of this construct was confined to literary works. However, developments in narratology have been increasingly focused on the relation between fictional and factual narration (Schaeffer 2009), causing a re-evaluation of their boundaries. This paper starts with an introduction to the chronotope, briefly reviewing some of its definitions, problems and typology. It then analyses one type of chronotope — that of the Castle — linking it with Goethe's very concrete approach to visualising time. It proceeds by situating this type of chronotope in the context of historical narrative, extending the application of the chronotope to history and lived experience. This is in addition to its original scope of imagined experience as manifested in literature. It concludes by summarising the main points and suggests some directions for further research.

In a relatively early review of *The Dialogic Imagination*, Samuel Kinser (1984, 304) characterises the chronotope as 'a distinct set of presuppositions about … time-space … designed to draw attention to the way assumptions about time generate a certain articulation of space and "to a significant degree the image of man in literature as well"'. Holquist (2004, 109) summarises the term as 'particular combinations of time and space as they have resulted in historically manifested narrative forms'. In his introduction to *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel* Bakhtin uses the

chronotope to name 'the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature' (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 84).[1]

The matter is, regrettably, not as straightforward as these three definitions would suggest. The genesis of the chronotope is a result of two influences: Kant and Einstein. Whilst these influences are explicitly acknowledged, Bakhtin qualifies them in significant ways. Kant's view of 'space and time as indispensable forms of any cognition' (FTC, 85) is confirmed by Bakhtin, with the important caveat that they are *not* transcendental, as Kant represents them,[2] but 'forms of the most immediate reality' (FTC, 85, n. 2). Construing this in Bakhtin's terms, space and time manifest themselves in 'concrete', particularised, embodied events, rather than as abstract entities. The qualification of the Einsteinian influence is more subtle. Whilst mentioning Einstein directly in the introduction, the physicist's influence is mediated through Ukhtomsky, a neurobiologist contemporary of Bakhtin (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 84, n. 1). Secondly, Bakhtin is evasive when he says that the 'special meaning it has in relativity is not important for our [Bakhtin's] purposes; we are borrowing it for literary criticism almost as a metaphor (almost, but not entirely)' (FTC, 84).

As his essay proceeds, Bakhtin continually tinkers with the concept of the chronotope, whilst falling short of clearly defining and fully articulating this construct in ways the reader might expect. Combined with the issue of 'the still rather limited number of studies engaging with the literary chronotope' (Bemong & Borghart 2010,

---

[1] I have followed the naming conventions for Bakhtin texts established by Carol Adlam and David Shepherd in *The Annotated Bakhtin Bibliography*, xi-xii: **FTC** (in Bakhtin 1981) refers to *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel* (*Формы времени и хронотопа в романе*); **BSHR** (in Bakhtin 1986) refers to *The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism* (*Роман воспитания и его значение в истории реализма*); and **PDP** (in Bakhtin 1984) refers to the 1963 edition of *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (*Проблемы поэтики Достоевского*).

[2] Kant treats space and time as *a priori* 'intuitions'(Rohlf 2014, 18; Janiak 2012, *passim*).

14, n. 1), Bakhtin's seeming imprecision has led to a wide variety of treatments, interpretations, and applications of this concept. I use the word 'seeming' because Bakhtin has an ingrained disinclination to systematise (e.g. Perlina in Emerson 1983).[3] This observation is confirmed by Scholz (2003, 146) when he describes Bakhtin's method of fleshing out a concept: '[the] meaning only gradually unfolds as the argument progresses and the examples accumulate. Bakhtin's terms … are frequently encountered "in use" without explicit statement of the rules governing such use.'

My initial analysis concluded that the outcome of this process is a style of writing that could be characterised as 'sedimentary', in that the same ground is covered time and again, with cumulative traces of meaning that are deposited with each pass. However, readers of Bakhtin need to be vigilant. Some of these passes leave traces that are fundamentally at odds with previous layers, almost surreptitiously. Subsequent research has convinced me that this writing process contains instances of what Stanley Fish (1982, 717) describes as 'simultaneously us[ing] and call[ing] into question a vocabulary and a set of concepts'.[4] Using J. L. Austin's theoretical model of Speech Acts, these instances described by Fish have been identified as 'performative shifts', 'where the performative dimension of speech acts rises in importance … while the constative dimension of these acts become open-ended, indeterminate' (Yurchak 2006, 26).[5]

---

[3] Perlina is quoted by Emerson as saying of Bakhtin's development of concepts: "Ne teoriia, a techeniia": "…not a theory, but a flow" (Emerson 1983, 24).

[4] It seems to me no coincidence that firstly, this description was used in the analysis of the style of J. L. Austin, whose Ordinary Language philosophy is so akin to that of Bakhtin, and secondly, that it was an explication of the Derridean term 'writing "under erasure"'.

[5] Simply put, *performative* language relates to the validity of ritualised utterances bound up with action, whereas *constative* utterances involve statements that can be evaluated as true or false see Austin (1963, 1975) and Yurchak (2006, 18-26) for an exhaustive coverage.

A Bakhtinian example of this is represented by one important shift which occurs in Section X of *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel* (Wall 2000-2001, 139-141). This represents a significant misdirection of the reader. This section was written in 1973, much later than the previous sections. At the beginning of Section X, Bakhtin explicitly undertakes to sum up the previous sections, adding no substantive new material. By the end of the 'Concluding Remarks' however, this undertaking is comprehensively breached by a shift that expands the objects of chronotopic analysis from those of art and literature to include lived experience as well. Thus the performative nature of the shift translates into a far more radical shift in paradigm. It can be inferred from this instance that, in order to gain a fresh view of this construct, one needs to read and re-read the original closely.

Bemong and Borghart (2010, 5-6) point out that Bakhtin's 'Concluding Remarks' (Section X of *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel*) attribute significance to the chronotope on four counts. The first relates to the organisation of narrative: 'The chronotope is where the knots of narrative are tied and untied' (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 250). The second relates to the representability of events '…the chronotope, functioning as the primary means for materializing time in space, emerges as a centre of concretizing representation' (FTC, 250). The third relates to genre: 'The chronotopes we have discussed provide the basis for distinguishing generic types; they are at the heart of specific varieties of novel genre…' (FTC, 250-251). And finally, the relation of chronotope to word: 'Also chronotopic is the internal form of a word, that is the mediating marker with whose help the root meanings of spatial categories are carried over into temporal relationships (in the broadest sense)' (FTC, 251).[6]

---

[6] Hence the implications of the roots *chuzh-* (Russian) and *chuzhd-* (Church Slavonic) for meanings relating to 'foreign' and 'alien' respectively.

CHRONOTOPE OF THE CASTLE

The tensions between, on the one hand, the organic, relatively predictable, exploration of the development of the chronotope in Sections I – IX of *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel*, and, on the other, the subtle but, nonetheless, real paradigm shift in Section X has led to confusion about the number and types of chronotopes, and the significance of these values. In view of Bakhtin's manner of development and exploration of his concepts, combined with his explicit denial of pretensions 'to completeness or precision in [his] theoretical formulations and definitions' (FTC, 85), it would seem naïve to expect Bakhtin scholars to agree on the counts of chronotope types (Bemong & Borghart 2010, 5).

While Bemong and Borghart accept this divergence of opinion, they nonetheless devote a significant amount of space (ibid., 6-8) to detailing an exact typology of chronotopes. Bemong and Borghart's basic divisions of chronotopes are: *micro chronotopes* (sub-sentence fragments); *minor chronotopes* (renamed by the authors *motivic chronotopes* and described as the '"building blocks" of narrative texts' (2010, 6)); and generic chronotopes (also known as *major* or *dominant*), to which Ladin refers as 'chronotopes that … can be abstracted from the individual works in which they appear and serve as the basis for categorisation and comparison for those works' (Ladin 1999, 232).

The examples given for the 'motivic' chronotope by Bemong and Borghart include the Chronotope of the Castle, described by Bakhtin as having an 'historical intensity', where its 'organic cohesion of spatial and temporal aspects and categories … determined its productivity' (FTC, 246). This type is, thus, of considerable interest in considering the issues surrounding historical narrative that are broached in this paper.

The Chronotope of the Castle

European literature[7] is a productive source of material for the application of this particular chronotope, owing to the pervasiveness of the image of the castle, and its instantiation not only to the tradition of the historical novel, but also the Gothic novel. The imagery continually draws on the continent's rich architectural heritage. Whilst the treatment of this chronotope occupies a relatively small part of Section X of *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel* (FTC, 245-246), it is significant in that it encapsulates a number of aspects of time-space that are characteristic of the chronotope itself (the interpenetration of time and space, the visibility of time) as well as instantiating concrete examples of these aspects, which are explored below.

The examples that Bakhtin uses are both densely packed and interestingly graduated in sets. The density of this short section is due to the number and fertility of associations with each example. The first set concerns itself with artistically constructed things — architecture, furnishings and weapons — which evoke the changing social usages surrounding the castle and its contents. The agglutinative nature of some castle architecture is particularly evocative of changes in the preferences of castellans, as is the accumulation of furniture from different periods.[8] Weapons represent the history of technology (as the displayed weapons are progressively refined), social and religious mores (as embodied in the Chivalric Code or the Crusades), and politics (as they represent changes in the emphasis on war as an instrument of policy).

The second set embraces the ancestral portrait gallery, the family archives and certain customary aspects of generational links. All three focus explicitly on artistically or socially constructed views of people and relationships rather than things. The ancestral portrait gallery represents not only the lineage of the rulers of the castle, but

---

[7] For examples, see Hajdú (2003, *passim*) and Bemong (2010, 172).

[8] The Alcázar in Seville is a good example (refer to http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/383 [accessed 3/11/2014]).

also changes in the historical interpretation and artistic representation of these people. Like the characters in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 157), all these people exist at 'the point where all times are present, *il punto a cui tutti li tempi son presenti*' (Kermode 1967, 6) or, as Quine has expressed it, as 'denizens of space-time, however remote in any dimension, [which are recognised] as tenselessly coexistent' (Quine 1990, 197-198).[9] This coexistence is true, not only of their artistic representations, but also of the documentary traces that they leave in the family archives. Bakhtin draws this second set together into one generational and genetic thread by means of those customary and legal constraints that channel 'dynastic primacy and … hereditary rights' (FTC, 246) from one generation to another.

These two sets are merged with the 'legends and traditions [which] animate every corner of the castle and its environs through their constant reminders of past events' (FTC, 246). This correlates closely with Bakhtin's description of Goethe's creative plan centred on the locality of Pyrmont, which is 'steeped in historical time … the ancient ramparts still remain …everywhere there are markers of the historical past penetrating space' (Bakhtin 1986 [BSHR], 48). Set in the late sixteenth century, Goethe's plan envisioned a story covering the historical transformation of this locality, driven by the 'spontaneous migration toward Pyrmont's miraculous spring' (BSHR, 49) of a group of people, led by a knight. This past is artfully connected to the future by means of a prophecy involving three generations. So many of the elements of the Castle chronotope are present in Goethe's unrealised project, that Bakhtin characterises it as profoundly chronotopic, where the 'plot … and the characters do not enter the locality from the outside … but are unfolded in it as though they were present from the very beginning' (BSHR, 49).

---

[9] This treatment of time is often referred to as 'block time' (see Smart 2008).

Goethe's visualisation of time

Around the half-way mark of the *Bildungsroman*, Bakhtin summarises his initial analysis of Goethe's method of envisioning time. This summary is worth quoting in its entirety, as such concentrated distillations from Bakhtin are rare:

> The main features of this visualisation [of time] are the merging of time (past with present), the fullness and clarity of the visibility of time in space, the inseparability of the time of an event from the specific place of its occurrence (*Localität und Geschichte*), the visible *essential* connection of time (present and past), the creative and active nature of time (of the past in the present and of the present itself), the necessity that penetrates time and links time with space and different times with one another, and, finally, on the basis of the necessity that pervades localised time, the inclusion of the future, crowning the fullness of time in Goethe's images. (BSHR, 41-42)

There are a number of points that can be picked out of this summary, following two main logical threads. The first thread starts with Goethe's propensity to respond to events visually as well as verbally: '… for Goethe the word coincided with the clearest visibility' (BSHR, 28). This visual response leads to a recognition of 'the visible movement of historical time, which is inseparable from the natural setting (*Localität*) and the entire totality of objects created by man, which are essentially connected to this natural setting' (BSHR, 32). This 'inseparable unity and interpenetrability' (BSHR, 49) of locality and history manifests itself in necessity, a causal linkage between time and space that Bakhtin articulates as 'visible, concrete, and material … a materially creative historical necessity' (BSHR, 39).

The second thread concerns itself almost exclusively with time. It starts with the view that past and present time merges, establishing an essential connection between the two. The 'power of time … [is a] productive and creative power' (BSHR, 42). This power makes the landscape 'a speaking vestige of the movement of history (historical time)' and predetermines 'its subsequent course' (BSHR, 49). Unsurprisingly, this perspective is entirely consistent with a genre-based view of history, such as that encapsulated by Frow, when he says 'the writing of history is generically structured by the narrative problems of binding the singularities of events and their multiplicity of times into the coherence of a structural explanation' (Frow 2006, 99). Both the logical threads outlined above can be tied back to Bakhtin's concerns in *Forms of Time and the Chronotope in the Novel*, thus: 'A locality is the trace of an event, a trace of what has shaped it. Such is the logic of all local myths and legends that attempt, through history, to make sense out of space' (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 189). It is this sense-making that lies at the heart of the chronotope.

The connection between Goethe's visualisation that makes sense out of space-time and the chronotope of the Castle is nowhere more evident than when Bakhtin observes that 'the traces of centuries and generations are arranged in it [the castle] in visible form' (FTC, 246).

The Chronotope of the Castle in historical narrative

As has been mentioned in connection with both Goethe's capability to envision space-time and Bakhtin's reformulation of the scope of the chronotope, there is a body of scholarly opinion that seeks to apply the concept of the chronotope to both history *and* literature. Narratives conforming to the Chronotope of the Castle constitute a particularly rich source of material for this viewpoint. Two types of applications are prominent: that of records of historical events and that of historical fiction. Bakhtin's examples of the castle 'being saturated through and through with a time that is

historical in the narrow sense of the word' (FTC, 246) can also be presented as different types of historical records: utilitarian records (such as architecture) and inscribed records (such as archives).

The link between archives and records of historical events is immediately apparent. Castles had specific rooms devoted to archives called 'muniment rooms',[10] devoted to the protection of important documents. The link with architecture requires a little more articulation, however. A castle was originally a highly functional building that constituted 'the defended focus of feudal administration' (Pounds 1990, 11). But changing political and social conditions altered its function to 'domestic comfort [rather] than military strength' (Pounds 1990, 249), best exemplified by Tretower Castle and Court in Brecon, Wales. This is confirmed by evidence of the gradual diminution of grants of license to crenellate (i.e. make the castle defendable), culminating in 1589 (Davis 2006-2007, 245).

From a different point of view, Michel de Certeau's subtle work *The Freudian Novel* cleverly links history and literature. De Certeau employs the Janus-like nature of psychoanalytic discourse to link the literary and the historical, using Freud's view of 'the dream as a Trojan horse to historicise rhetoric and to reintroduce it to the citadel of science' (de Certeau 1986, 23). The Freudian narrative is thus characterised as a 'sculpture of events, previously unknown, in the structural framework of knowledge' (de Certeau 1986, 21).

The domain of historical fiction is a broad church, offering many instances of the Chronotope of the Castle. Bakhtin specifically refers to Sir Walter Scott in the last paragraphs of the *Bildungsroman* (Bakhtin 1986 [BSHR], 53-54) and Scott's *Kenilworth* is a classic case of this chronotope, with its detailed evocation of the castle's

---

[10] "A document (such as a title deed, charter, etc.) preserved as evidence of rights or privileges belonging to a person, family, or corporation. Chiefly in *collective plural*." (OED Vol VI, M, 767-768)

structure, history and surrounding demesnes (for example Scott 1920, Chapter XXV, 301-302), providing 'the link between the castle and its historically conceived, comprehensible setting' (Bakhtin 1981 [FTC], 246). Scott's influence on Bakhtin's literary theory was not only directly through his 'Waverley' novels, but also indirectly through his influence on such Russian historical novels as Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter* (Davie 2012 [1961], 11).

However, the examples that I wish to explore in this paper are those of the Gothic novels that Bakhtin cites first; works by Walpole (specifically *The Castle of Otranto*), Radcliffe and Lewis. All of these novels contain references to the supernatural, but Horace Walpole's work is of interest for other, more technical, reasons concerned with space and time.

This novel purports to be a translation of an Italian manuscript. The translator's preface baldly states that '[t]he scene is undoubtedly laid in some real castle' (Walpole 2010, 5). This is reinforced by 'the inclusion of [a] relatively technical architectural vocabulary — "vaults", "cloisters", "battlements" and "oriel window"' (Morrissey 1999, 124). However, despite these reassurances of feudal normality, *The Castle of Otranto*'s central concern is the issue of wide variations of proportion or scale. This is most obvious when expressed in relation to the descriptions involving the spatial dilation of significant objects. For example, Manfred's son, Conrad, is killed by 'an enormous helmet an hundred times more large than any casque ever made for human being' (Walpole 2010, 11). Frederic's company includes an 'enormous sabre' (ibid., 96), carried by 'an hundred gentlemen' (ibid., 74).

The spatial dilation noted above is accompanied by temporal changes in scale, but Walpole presents these indirectly, by invoking the concept of the folly — with its connotations of uselessness, superfluity, even madness (Morrissey 1999, 119) — in his representation of the castle. The folly also evokes temporal anomalies in that its

changed scale of historicism involves a paradox: 'the fact that the viewer's memory is being "refreshed" by a relatively new object' (ibid., 121), purpose-built to 'imitate or recollect the past' (ibid., 120). This warping of the spatio-temporal continuum presents the reader with an unusual instance of the Chronotope of the Castle, providing an insight into the chronotope at work.

Application of the chronotope to history

Whilst most scholars of Bakhtin's chronotope focus on fiction, specifically novelistic fiction, another legitimate application domain is that of history. One of the earliest historians to employ the chronotope in this context was Hayden White when he construed Bakhtin to be indicating that 'chronotopes … function … as effective organising structures of individual and social consciousness … within the domain of reality we designate by the term "history"' (White 1987, 122). In stark contrast to the recent scholarship (e.g. Kent 2009, 74) that has equated 'generic chronotopes' with 'the world view of a text' (Bemong & Borghart 2010, 8), White categorically denies this, asserting that 'the chronotope directs attention to the effective conditions of possibility of both *thought* and *action*, *consciousness* and *praxis* within discrete milieux, structured as fields of institutional and productive arrangements' (White 1987, 122). This is entirely consistent with his view that historical narrative regularly uses the devices of narrative fiction, such as 'emplotment' (White 1973).

Extending White's general use of chronotope, I will focus briefly on two specific applications of the chronotope to history: i) the temporalities of law, tradition and ethnography in a Hopi Tribal Court (Richland 2008); and ii) the fiction/history divide and its application to narrating the 'truth' of a heteroglot Canadian past (Lawson 2011).

Richland (2008, 10) analyses the discourses of a Hopi Court from the perspective of 'the way speakers link up their current talk with other speech events', either

past or anticipated. He observes that these links generate chronotopes, which he describes as 'time-space envelopes … by and through which current talk is marked as either an ongoing part of or separated from the discourses of past and future speech events' (ibid., 10). Richland's analysis embraces the differing (and conflicting) chronotopes of Hopi *navoti* (customary knowledge which includes 'the reception of knowledge via listening and hearing' (ibid., 15)) and Anglo-American evidentiary law relating to hearsay evidence (ibid., 19). He traces through one instance of this conflict and its attempted resolution, using conversational analysis.

He concludes that 'when the interdiscursive character and transcendental temporalities inherent in litigants' normative [i.e. traditional] discourses get subsumed under the (inter)discourses and temporalities of the court's Anglo-style evidentiary limits on hearsay testimony, there is a diminishment and distancing of those norms from the experiences of the very Hopi people whose lives they supposedly characterise' (ibid., 24).

Lawson's paper focuses on the bridge (or connection) between literary and real-world chronotopes (Lawson 2011, 389). Traffic on this bridge is two-way. 'Real-world space-times inform the "literary *forms* of texts"' (ibid., 389) and as a result narrative form 'reveals otherwise elusive truths about real-world activities, processes, and developments' (ibid., 390). This connection implies two relationships between these types of chronotopes: firstly, *engagement*, and secondly, *affordance* (Lawson uses the word 'production') and *constraint* (ibid., 396). Lawson theorises not one, but many, connections between the 'real world' and narrative, each one of which will have a different truth claim associated with it. This allows him to adopt a stochastic perspective toward truth claims, which avoids a binary view of history and fiction.

Lawson works through the types of truth claims made by indigenous 'traditional knowledge' (ibid., 400), their complications and responses, all in the context of

dispossession of the indigenes' land and resources by the dominant group(s). One of the responses to a truth claim is to test that claim, and he outlines a test method, starting with the suspension of disbelief. Other steps include 'checking the "footnotes"', i.e. factual truth about the past (ibid., 404), understanding the bridging relationships between narrative chronotopes and their real-world cognates, checking for evidence of monoglot, rather than heteroglot content, and finally, 'ground truthing', the establishment of 'material traces embedded in the landscape' (ibid., 406). This last may well be accompanied by a 'successful *re-enactment of the actions of the* (mythic) *past'* (ibid., 401). Lawson concludes that 'chronotopes are therefore the proper tools of historians and social scientists, including geographers, at the heart of a specifically narrative method of capturing and engaging with real space-time structures' (ibid., 407).

Summary

In summary, I wish to draw together a few threads. The first thread is that the chronotope is a tool for framing *any* narrative, because all narratives, whether 'historical' or 'fictitious' are reliant on causal linkages of, and in, time and space. This can be seen from the previous analysis of the way in which Goethe visualises time, and the view that the two-way bridges made explicit in Lawson are implicit in Goethe's envisioning of time, as represented in the *Bildungsroman*.

Secondly, the Chronotope of the Castle provides a 'timescape' (Davies 1995, 72), where 'block time' lays out past and present, and, according to Bakhtin, 'the aspect of the past and present being linked to a necessary future' (Bakhtin 1986 [BSHR], 36).

Thirdly, the Castle construct can be applied with equal relevance to records of events or historical fiction, not only because of the causal linkages referred to above, but also because the distinction made by 'the positive sciences … between the 'objective' and the imaginary … has been subject to revision' (de Certeau 1986, 17). This

has resulted in the membrane that separates empirical truth from fiction becoming somewhat permeable, owing to Bakhtin's dissolution of the theoretical boundaries between the 'real' and the 'fictional'.

The essence of this paper is thus that it is more appropriate to speak of a fiction-history *continuum*, rather than a *divide*. If this position is accepted, then influences travel in both directions between the poles of this continuum, like the traffic on the bridge described in Lawson's paper.

Some interpretative directions

Based on the state of the current literature (see Bemong & Borghart 2010, 14, note 1), more work needs to be done on the general qualities of the chronotope, while keeping the construct firmly anchored to Bakhtin's texts (in conjunction with other scholars' applications of the chronotope). Specifically, the twin debts to Kant (Scholz 2003) and Einstein need to be further analysed and assessed, using current concepts from mathematics and science where appropriate and defensible.[11]

Narratological overviews of the fact/fiction divide must be explored and unpacked. The somewhat artificial divisions of approach to this divide (Schaeffer 2009) seem both binary and resistant to hybridisation, and thus unduly simplistic.[12] A socially constructivist view of fact and fiction might make the membrane between fact and fiction much more porous.

The third direction for research is the exploration of the two-way traffic on the bridge that connects history with literature. Bakhtin has theorised the nature of this bridge, and has explicitly described the traffic one way: from history to literature. However, his theories leave a tantalising glimpse of traffic the other way: from literature to history. This track has so far been only lightly explored by historiographers,

---

[11] Candidates would be quantum mechanics, stochastics and complexity theory.

[12] Semantic, syntactic and pragmatic approaches are covered in Schaeffer 2009.

and the implications of the spatial and temporal dilations observed in the Gothic novels for the narratives of history have yet to be fully articulated. The hazards of this two-way traffic are also recognised in the 'tension between the singularity of facts and their organisation into patterns of narrative explanation, with all the questions of causality and necessity that arise from this patterning' (Frow 2006, 93).[13]

Whilst the third interpretive direction is both the most important and — in all probability — the most satisfying, it cannot proceed without progress on the other two fronts.

---

[13] This would doubtless raise the vexed *siuzhet*/*fabula* distinction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

—, 1970: 'muniment', in: Murray, J.A.H. (ed.), *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. VI, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 767-768.

Adlam, C. and D. Shepherd, 2000: *The Annotated Bakhtin Bibliography*. Leeds, UK: Maney Publishing for the Modern Humanities Research Association.

Austin, J. L., 1963: 'Performative-Constative', in: Caton, C. E. (ed.), *Philosophy and Ordinary Language*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, pp. 22-54.

Austin, J. L., 1975: *How to do things with words*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M., 1981: *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. M., 1984: *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Bakhtin, M. M., 1986: *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bemong, N., 2010: 'Internal Chronotopic Genre Structures: The Nineteenth-Century Historical Novel in the Context of the Belgian Literary Polysystem', in: Bemong, N. *et al.* (eds.), *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Gent, BE: Academia Press, pp. 159-178.

Bemong, N. and P. Borghart, 2010: 'Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives', in: Bemong, N. *et al.* (eds.), *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Gent, BE: Academia Press, pp. 3-16.

Brandão, L. A., 2006: 'Chronotope', *Theory Culture Society*, 23 (2/3), pp. 133-134.

Clark, K. and M. Holquist, 1984: *Mikhail Bakhtin*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University.

Davie, D., 2012 [1961]: *The Heyday of Sir Walter Scott*, Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Davies, P., 1995: *About Time: Einstein's Unfinished Revolution*, London, UK: Penguin Books.

Davis, P., 2006-2007: 'English Licences to Crenellate 1199 – 1567', *The Castle Studies Group Journal*, 20, pp. 226-245.

de Certeau, M., 1986: *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Emerson, C., 1983: 'Translating Bakhtin: Does his Theory of Discourse Contain a Theory of Translation?', *University of Ottawa Quarterly/Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 53(1) , pp. 23-33.

Fish, S. E., 1982: 'With the Compliments of the Author: Reflections on Austin and Derrida', *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), pp. 693-721.

Frow, J., 2006: *Genre*, London, UK: Routledge.

Hadjú, P., 2003: 'The double chronotope in Kálmán Mikszáth's novel *The Siege of Beszterce'*, *Hungarian Studies*, 17(2), pp. 267-294.

Holquist, M., 2004: *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World*, London, UK: Routledge.

Hull, L., 2009: *Understanding the Castle Ruins of England and Wales: How to interpret the History and Meaning of Masonry and Earthworks*, Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Kent, S. J., 2009: 'Novelizing Simultaneous Interpretation', *Paper presented at Second International Interdisciplinary Conference on Perspectives and Limits of Dialogism in Mikhail Bakhtin*. Stockholm, SE: Department of Scandinavian Languages, Stockholm University, pp. 74-86.

Janiak, A., 2012: 'Kant's Views on Space and Time', in: Zalta, E. N. (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford, CA: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, pp. 1-58.

Kermode, F., 1967: *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kinser, S., 1984: 'Chronotopes and Catastrophes: The Cultural History of Mikhail Bakhtin', *The Journal of Modern History*, 56(2), pp. 301-310.

Ladin, J., 1999: 'Fleshing Out the Chronotope', in: Emerson, C. (ed.), *Critical Essays on Mikhail Bakhtin*, New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, pp. 212-236.

Lawson, J., 2011: 'Chronotope, Story, and Historical Geography: Mikhail Bakhtin and the Space-Time of Narratives', *Antipode*, 43(2), pp. 384-412.

Morrissey, L., 1999: *From the Temple to the Castle: An Architectural History of British Literature 1660 – 1760*, Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.

Pounds, N. J. G., 1990: *The Mediaeval Castle in England and Wales: a Social and Political History*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Quine, W. v. O., 1990: *Quiddities: An Intermittently Philosophical Dictionary*, London, UK: Penguin Books.

Richland, J. B., 2008: 'Sovereign Time, Storied Moments: The Temporalities of Law, Tradition, and Ethnography in Hopi Tribal Court', *PoLAR*, 31(1), pp. 8-27.

Rohlf, M., 2014: 'Immanuel Kant' , in: Zalta, E. N. (ed.), *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Stanford, CA: Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, pp. 1-75.

Schaeffer, J.-M., 2009: 'Fictional vs. Factual Narration', in: Hühn, P. *et al.* (eds.), *Handbook of Narratology*, Berlin, DE: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 98-114.

Scholz, B. F., 2003: 'Bakhtin's Concept of "Chronotope": The Kantian Connection', in: Gardiner, M. E. (ed.), *Mikhail Bakhtin*, London, UK: SAGE, pp. 145-172.

Scott, Sir W., 1920: *Kenilworth*, London, UK: J M Dent & Sons.

Smart, J. J. C., 2008: 'The tenseless theory of time', in: Sider, T., Hawthorne, J. P. and Zimmerman, D. W. (eds.), *Contemporary Debates in Metaphysics*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell, pp. 329-348.

Wall, A., 2001: 'Loopholes in a "Theory" of Time and History', *Dialogism*, 5/6, pp. 134-147.

Walpole, H., 2010: *The Castle of Otranto*, London, UK: Penguin Books.

White, H. V., 1973: *Metahistory*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

White, H. V. 1987: '"The nineteenth-century" as chronotope', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 11(2), pp. 119-129.

Yurchak, A., 2006: *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

SVETLANA CHELOUKHINA

FROM ACMEISM TO *AVANT-GARDE*: MIKHAIL ZENKEVICH
IN THE LATE-1910s – EARLY-1920s[1]

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Zenkevich (1886-1973), the longest surviving Acmeist, together with Vladimir Narbut represented Adamism, the left wing of Acmeism.[2] The association of these two poets with Acmeism has often been referred to as one of a societal and rather conventional nature.[3] Narbut, however, had no doubts about his own and his friend's importance for Acmeism, stressing this on many different occasions. 'I am sure, there are only two Acmeists: you and I', he wrote, for instance, in one of his letters to Zenkevich.[4] The failing unity within Acmeism and the desire of the younger Acmeists to rid themselves of pressure from the 'older' Acmeists, among other reasons, cut the life of Acmeism short. Even though the features of Acmeist aesthetics were still displayed in Zenkevich's post-Acmeist poetry, certain signs of his incorporation into the *avant-garde* became apparent in the early 1920s. Known as 'the Saratov cultural explosion' (approximately

[2] Cheloukhina, S., 'Vladimir Narbut: An "Old Chronicle" Survived', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 39/2005, 80-106.

[3] Lekmanov, O., 'Adamisty-kritiki, ili siamskie bliznetsy', in his: *Statʹi. Retsenzii. Pisʹma. Vladimir Narbut. Mikhail Zenkevich*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2008, pp. 3-17.

[4] Pustilʹnik, L., '"Dlia menia mir vsegda byl prozrachnei vody…"', *Arion*, 1995, 47-50.

1918-1932), this period witnessed the advent, flourishing, and departure of the *avant-garde* in its various forms in this city.[5] By examining Zenkevich's most representative works created in the late 1910s to early 1920s, this article will provide an overview of this poet's contribution to Acmeism and focus on his transition to the *avant-garde* while in Saratov.

Within and beyond Acmeism, Zenkevich's input into Russian literature has long been underestimated. His legacy is significant and diverse, embracing poetry, prose, poetic dramaturgy and literary criticism in the form of theoretical articles and literary reviews, poetic translations, and biography. The overall volume of his poetry is not large, amounting to about one thousand texts created between 1906, the year of the publication of his first poem, and 1973, the year in which he died. His poetic collections include twelve books. The first one, *Dikaia porfira* (*Savage Purple*, 1912),[6] occupies a central place in his Acmeist poetry.[7] His two long dramatic poems, 'Al´timetr' ('Altimeter', written between 1919 and 1922, and first published in 2004), and later 'Torzhestvo aviatsii' ('The Triumph of Aviation', 1937, still unpublished), exemplify his major input in the genre of poetic dramaturgy.[8] His two major novels,

---

[5] See Vodonos, E., *Ocherki khudozhestvennoi zhizni Saratova epokhi 'kul´turnogo vzryva'. 1918-1932*, Saratov: SGKhM im. A.N. Radishcheva, 2006.

[6] Also translated as 'The Wild Porphyry', e.g. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikhail_Zenkevich.

[7] Other books are: *Chetyrnadtsat´ stikhotvorenii* (*Fourteen Poems*, 1918), *Lirika* (*Lyrics*, 1918), *Pashnia tankov* (*Plough Land for Tanks*, 1921), *Pozdnii prolet* (*The Late Fly-Over*, 1928), *Mashinnaia strada* (*Mechanised Harvesting*, 1931), *Izbrannye stikhi* (*Selected Poems*, 1932), *Izbrannye stikhi* (*Selected Poems*, 1933), *Pod parokhodnym nosom* (*Under the Steamship's Bow*, 1936), *Nabor vysoty: stikhi* (*Altitude Increase*: *Poems*, 1937), *Skvoz´ grozy let: stikhi* (*Through the Stormy Years: Poems*, 1962), and *Izbrannoe* (*Selections*, 1973). A collection of Zenkevich's poetry and prose was published posthumously by his grandson, Sergei Zenkevich, as *Mikhail Zenkevich. Skazochnaia era. Stikhotvoreniia. Povest´. Belletricheskie memuary*, Moscow: Shkola-Press, 1994.

[8] 'Mikhail Zenkevich. '"Al´timetr"'. Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in: *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, pp. 274-349.

Muzhitskii sfinks (*The Peasant Sphinx,* 1921-1928) and *Na strezhen´* (*To the River Bend,* end of the 1920s), did not see the light of day during his lifetime owing to censorship, and were published only after *perestroika* and, of course, after his death.[9] Zenkevich also authored the first biography of the Wright Brothers in Russian, *Brat´ia Rait* (*The Wright Brothers*, 1931) and wrote a number of short stories, which were also published posthumously. Finally, his editorial work, no less significant, comprises several books, including Akhmatova's translations and Narbut's collection of poetry.[10]

Fame came to Zenkevich in March of 1912 after the publication of *Savage Purple*, which had appeared simultaneously with Anna Akhmatova's first book of poems, *Vecher* (*Evening,* 1912), and a month before Narbut's *Alliluiia* (*Halleluiah,* 1912).[11] Before its publication, *Savage Purple* was extensively edited and revised by Gumilev and Gorodetsky. Georgii Ivanov recalls:

М. Зенкевич, теперь несправедливо забытый, пришел весной в 'Аполлон' с тетрадкой удручающе банальных стихов. После

---

[9] In Mikhail Zenkevich. *Skazochnaia era: stikhotvoreniia, povest´, belletristicheskie memuary*, Moscow: Shkola-Press, 1994, pp.412-624 and pp. 361-41 respectively.

[10] Akhmatova, A., *Golosa poetov. Stikhi zarubezhnykh poetov v perevode Anny Akhmatovoi. Seriia 'Mastera poeticheskogo perevoda'*, Moscow: Progress, 1965; Vladimir Narbut, *Izbrannye stikhi*, Paris: La Presse Libre, 1983.

[11] The two new authors, Akhmatova and Zenkevich, were celebrated at the Guild on March 10, 1912. Akhmatova's recollections about that meeting are well-known: 'В Цехе, когда одновременно вышла 'Дикая Порфира' и 'Вечер', их авторы сидели в лавровых венках. Хорошо помню венок на молодых густых кудрях Михаила Александровича. […] Веночки сплела я, купив листья в садовничестве [А.Я.] Фишера', ('After *Savage Purple* and *Evening* had been published simultaneously, their authors were sitting at the Guild, wearing small bay wreaths. I remember very well the wreath on the young, thick curls of Mikhail Aleksandrovich […] I wove these little wreaths myself, after I had bought the leaves at [A. Ia.] Fisher's nursery'), Akhmatova, A., *Desiatye gody*, Moscow: MPI, 1989, pp. 78-79. All translations are the author's own, unless noted otherwise (SC).

нескольких встреч с Гумилевым он привез с каникул свою
великолепную 'Дикую порфиру'.[12]

M. Zenkevich, now unfairly forgotten, had come to *Apollo* in the
spring with a notebook full of irksomely trivial poems. After several
meetings with Gumilev, he brought from his vacation his magnificent
Savage Purple.

Savage Purple is a well-structured book which consists of fifty-five poems. The author's imagination extends from the boundless macrocosm of the universe with its variety of planets and pre-historic animals, to the microcosm of the human body with its labyrinths of vessels and arteries. These two opposite poles are connected by an aesthetic and philosophical bridge, and by the poet's universality of thinking. Zenkevich 'paints' vividly and colourfully, with red and gold being the dominant colours in the majority of his poems.[13] His descriptions of nature often display the ugly and the deformed, over-ripeness and decay as indisputable signs of the continuity of the Baudelairean tradition.[14] The book's historical time period encompasses centuries, beginning from the age of the dinosaurs, moving through the times of ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Greece, and ending in the Roman Empire.

Zenkevich's second – and last – Petersburg collection of poetry was entitled *Pod miasnoi bagrianitsei* (*Under the Meat-Hued Burgundy*, 1912-1918). He planned to publish it as a book, but only a small part of it, *Chetyrnadtsat´ stikhotvorenii* (*Four-*

---

[12] Ivanov, G., *Sobranie sochinenii v 3-kh tt.* T. 3, Moscow: Soglasie, 1994, p. 618.

[13] See: Lekmanov, O., 'Krasnoe i zolotoe: O knige M. Zenkevicha *Dikaia porfira*', *Voprosy literatury*, 40/1999, pp. 302-320.

[14] On further similarities with Nikolai Zabolotsky's *Stolbtsy* see: Cheloukhina, S. *The Poetic Universe of Nikolai Zabolotsky*, Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul´tury', 2006, pp. 49-96.

teen Poems), was printed as a separate edition in 1918, after his departure from the capital. The whole collection with the author's original title first appeared only in the 1994 collection.[15] Taken as a whole, *Under the Meat-Hued Burgundy* presents a well-structured, cohesive composition of sixty-three poems. At first sight, it looks like a continuation of *Savage Purple*, but significant stylistic differences from the latter prove otherwise. A change is already noticeable in the title itself: here, gold, red, and purple – the dominant colours of wild earthly nature and of the universe in *Savage Purple* – are transmuted into bloody burgundy – a colour more suitable to illustrate war, brutality, and death. This suggests that Zenkevich will no longer be continuing with his former dominant theme of purely natural – geologic or cosmic – catastrophes. The book's many poems engage with a whole array of new – social – cataclysms, particularly the catastrophic events of World War I and subsequent revolutions. The entire collection, thus, undeniably attests to a new, socially attuned stage in his evolution as a poet.

In addition to writing poetry, Zenkevich the Acmeist had a keen interest in literary theory. In 1914, he stepped forward as a theoretician of Acmeism by articulating his views in the report, 'Deklaratsiia kul´turnykh prav akmeizma' ('The Declaration of the Cultural Rights of Acmeism'). While putting forward the concept of the new artistic principle of 'Acmeist neo-realism', the 'Declaration' bears the first clear signs of growing disagreement with Gumilev:

> Если хотите, назовите акмеиста неореалистом. Такое название
> для него почетнее названия символиста или романтика. Но этот
> 'неореализм акмеизма' не имеет ничего общего ни с

---

[15] In this book, the poems were grouped in two parts, *Pod miasnoi bagrianitsei* and *So smert´iu na brudershaft* (*In Brotherhood with Death*). The latter was also previously compiled by the author himself as a separate book, intended for publication, but remained mostly unpublished during his lifetime.

обывательским реализмом, ни с подновленным академизмом парнасцев. Представить явление во время его наибольшего напряжения изнутри, наибольшей готовности ко взрыву, а снаружи подвергнуть его давлению, во много раз превышающему давление воздушного столба над землей – вот задача для акмеиста, и такой идеал наиболее соответствует современной культуре. [16]

One might call an Acmeist a neo-realist. This title accords him more honour than that of symbolist or romanticist. But this particular 'Acmeist neo-realism' has nothing to do with either the petty realism or the renovated scholasticism of those belonging to the Parnassian school. To introduce a phenomenon at the time of its highest inner tension, at its utmost readiness for an explosion, and simultaneously to put it under a pressure much stronger than the pressure of a column of air over the Earth – this is a job for an Acmeist, this is the ideal that is most appropriate for contemporary culture.

After the demise of Acmeism, Zenkevich remained a part of the cultural scene of St. Petersburg/Petrograd for three more years. His last poetry reading there took place on December 16, 1917, at an 'Evening of Poetry', at the Union of the Activists of Art of the Academy of Arts, this time together with Akhmatova and Mandelstam. Zenkevich recited his poem 'Svet luny' ('The Light of the Moon', 1912), one of the key poems in *Savage Purple*. Soon afterwards he left Petrograd for his native Saratov,

---

[16] *Den´*, April 27, 1914.

hoping for a safer, hunger-free life.[17] There he spent the next five years – from the end of December 1917 to March 1923.

Contrary to his own expectations, however, Zenkevich was unable to find a safe haven here. In 1918, as in the rest of the country, the city was aflame with the fire of revolution, balancing on the edge of open armed confrontation.[18] The political and military situation was getting worse by the day, determined, in part, by the growing disobedience of the majority of city dwellers who were in no rush to accept the new authorities. Despite the many hardships and the rapidly approaching famine of 1921-1923, which would take millions of lives in the Volga region, Saratov had unexpect-edly become a cultural Mecca for escapees from both capitals who flocked there after the Revolution. New artistic and cultural venues – theatres, organisations, newspapers, and magazines – were springing up. Zenkevich, obviously, could not stay away from all this and was swept up into the whirlpool of Saratov's cultural and social life. Even though the 'Saratov cultural explosion', with the *avant-garde* as its dominant trend, may seem to have occurred contrary to any common sense, in the middle of war and famine – a (cultural) feast amidst the plague – , in reality it reflected the beginning of the *avant-garde*'s victorious progression in the major cities of the country. It would not be an overestimation to claim that the Saratov *avant-garde* stands out as no less significant a phenomenon than its famous counterpart, the Leningrad *avant-garde*.

The Saratov period falls within the larger timeframe of the evolution of Zen-kevich's style from Acmeist to *avant-gardist* (approximately 1916-1928). During this time his contact with Narbut, Akhmatova, and Mandelstam continued, while the influences of the 'older' Acmeists, especially Gumilev, steadily became less signi-

---

[17] Timenchik, R., 'O trudakh i dniakh Akhmatovoi', *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie,* 29/1989, p. 428.

[18] Raleigh, D., *Revolution on the Volga: 1917 in Saratov*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.

ficant before disappearing completely.[19] An emblematic illustration of Zenkevich's liberation from Gumilev's authority can be found in his first Saratov article, 'Buria revoliutsii i fakel pobedy' ('The Storm of Revolution and the Torch of Victory', 1918).[20] While making a clear reference to Acmeism, he, once again, questions the necessity of the existence of art which represents a narrow, closed guild of artists. Instead, he advocates the need for a new art which reflects the new revolutionary moods and expectations of the people. By alluding to André Chénier's tragic fate, both within the article's title and in its opening paragraph ('The storm of revolution has extinguished the torch of poetry'), Zenkevich, as if foreseeing Gumilev's destiny, also cautiously warns about the possibility of a similar outcome for artists as one of the consequences of the revolution which has just occurred. In his following article, 'Ob ogne iskusstva' ('On the Flame of Art'), published within ten days of the first one, Zenkevich compares the new art to 'Adam, naked, handsome, made from dead clay by a miracle of the revolution', and contemplates its new purpose.[21] Using more Acmeist-Adamist imagery and characters, from *Savage Purple* in particular, such as 'skull', 'troglodytes', 'savage cannibal', 'mammoth', 'blood thirsty ancestors', 'bloody fog of fight', 'caves', etc., he also projects, in an allegorical way, the development of art upon the history of mankind from its dawn to the present day. He, thereafter, concludes that the new Socialist art will enrich world art with even greater creations, because this new art will reflect a liberation from slavery brought about by the victory of

---

[19] Narbut, for instance, cherished the idea of publishing a book of poetry together with Zenkevich which would reflect the true, Acmeist, nature of their poetry, but his hopes never materialised. See Pustil´nik, L., '"*Dlia menia mir vsegda byl prozrachnei vody...*"', *Arion*, 1995, 47-50.

[20] *Khudozhestvennye izvestiia otdeleniia iskusstv saratovskogo soveta narodnogo obrazovaniia*, 24, December 18–20, 1918, pp. 4-5.

[21] '[…] созданный чудом революции из мертвой глины нагой прекрасный Адам'. *Khudozhestvennye izvestiia otdeleniia iskusstv saratovskogo soveta narodnogo obrazovaniia*, 27, December 28-31, 1918, pp. 6-7.

the Revolution. Both articles thus serve as a good illustration of the poet's search for new forms of self-expression, paving the way to his transition to this new art.

As a part of this quest, Zenkevich began experimenting with new rhyme schemes and poetic forms, and, quite naturally, became subjected to various influences. He also began exploring different venues and writing in various genres, some traditional, others radically new. Some critics were able to find traces of Futurism in his post-Acmeist poetry, while others saw in it elements of Imagism. However, *avant-garde* features were becoming more noticeable in his works. Although never a completely committed *avant-gardist* in any way, Zenkevich managed to create his own, unique style by employing Acmeist principles in new, *avant-garde* forms. Unlike Mayakovsky, he was never a poet of revolution in a radical sense, but, ultimately, he became one of the most remarkable representatives of the Saratov *avant-garde*.

A practical side of this artistic search was Zenkevich's membership with the Russian Union of Writers and his service in the Red Army, both of which he had joined in 1919. Since literary work did not provide sufficient income, for the next three years he worked as a secretary-recorder of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Caucasian Front, whose headquarters were located in Saratov, and as a lecturer in the infantry-machine-gun courses. The next year, 1920, was one of total artistic silence on his part – possibly, because of the difficulty of combining military service with creative work, or, perhaps, a break taken in order to comprehend better the new political component of the emerging revolutionary art.[22] Still, merely receiving a guaranteed income was not enough for the poet, and in 1921 he also assumed the position of secretary of the Art Department in the newspaper *Saratovskie izvestiia*, a magazine much closer to his artistic persona. As is well known, this milestone year marks the end of

---

[22] At the time this article was written, no known publications of his from 1920 existed.

the Silver Age and the collapse of the old artistic world. A year later, and about a year after Gumilev's execution, as part of his tribute to a poet he greatly appreciated and despite their former artistic contradictions, Zenkevich wrote a review of Gumilev's *Ognennyi stolp* (*A Column of Fire*) and dedicated a book of translations from André Chénier to him.[23] Having then witnessed the deaths of Blok and Khlebnikov, Zenkevich also commemorated those tragic events in two other articles.[24]

A significant part of Zenkevich's life and work in Saratov was associated with this city's leading newspapers and magazines, including *Saratovskie izvestiia, Khudozhestvennye izvestiia otdeleniia iskusstv Saratovskogo Soveta narodnogo obrazovaniia, Khudozhestvennye izvestiia saratovskogo otdela iskusstv, Sarrabis,* and *Kul´tura: Zhurnal nauki i iskusstva.* Here, he regularly published new poems and critical articles, reviews of the latest books by Narbut, Esenin, Zabolotsky, and those of younger, lesser known poets, as well as documentaries and sport reports.[25] In 1922,

---

[23] 'Poeziia Shen´e', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 201, September 5, 1922, p. 2; 'Khronika. Literaturnye sredy pri soiuze "Rabis"', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 206, September 10, 1922, p. 3; 'N. Gumilev. "Ognennyi stolp"', *Sarrabis*, 3/1921, p. 12; also in: *Stat´i. Retsenzii. Pis´ma. Vladimir Narbut. Mikhail Zenkevich*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2008. On the relations between Zenkevich and Gumilev, see Anemone, A. (quoting Ivan Martynov), 'Konstantin Vaginov and the Death of Nikolai Gumilev', *Slavic Review*, 48/4, 1989, pp. 631-636.

[24] 'Aleksandr Blok (1921)', *Sarrabis*, 2/1921, p. 4; 'Velimir Khlebnikov (1922)', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 156, June 12, 1922, p. 2.

[25] In addition to the articles listed in the notes 20 and 21, they included: 'Ob ogne iskusstva', *Khudozhestvennye izvestiia otdeleniia iskusstv saratovskogo soveta narodnogo obrazovaniia,* 27, December 28–31, 1918, pp. 6-7; 'O poetakh "revoliutsionnogo sotsializma"', *Khudozhestvennye izvestiia saratovskogo otdela iskusstv*, 4 (31), January 15-17, 1919, pp. 5-7; [Rets. na: Pushkin. Dostoevsky. [Sbornik statei]. Petersburg (1921), *Kul´tura. Zhurnal nauki i iskusstva*; 'O gazete "Nakanune"', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 141, June 24, 1922, p. 2; 'Zhenatyi don Zhuan [rets. na: S. Antimonov, 'Bezbozhnyi obol´stitel´', Saratov, 1922], *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 186, August 16, 1922, p. 2; Zen´kevich [sic] M. 'Na begakh', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 196, August 30, 1922, p. 2; 'Negritianskii roman', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 284, December 12, 1922, p. 4; '9-go ianvaria v Berline', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 16, January

alongside several other *avant-garde* artists and literati, he took part in the creation of a new literary and art journal, *Gavan´* (Harbour). His *avant-garde* experiments in this venue were criticised in a sarcastic review by the activists of the Proletkul´t:

> [...] каждый, заплатив сто тысяч рублей (стоимость 'Гавани'), может наглядно убедиться, что в городе Саратове действительно живут Петры Ивановичи Бобчинские [...] и в эту бойкую и крикливую семейку каким-то образом попали талантливый художник, имеющий крупное имя, – Петр Уткин и автор недурно принятых критикой сборников стихов – Михаил Зенкевич.[26]

> [...] anyone, having paid one hundred thousand rubles (the price of *Gavan´*), may rest assured that there really are Peter Ivanovich Bobchinskys living in the city of Saratov. [...] and a talented artist with a well-known name – Peter Utkin – and the author of books of poems, assessed favourably by the critics – Mikhail Zenkevich – have somehow been taken into this jaunty, loud family.

Zenkevich also became fascinated with theatre. As a first step, he wrote two critical articles on plays by Mayakovsky and Meyerhold, in which he vigorously discussed both of these new works and their stage productions.[27] In 'Misteriia revoliutsionnogo buffa' ('The Mystery of Revolutionary Buff'), Zenkevich states:

21-22, 1923, p. 1; 'Russkaia ekspeditsiia v Tibet (Ot nashego moskovskogo korrespondenta)', *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 65, March 22, 1923, p. 3.

[26] *Gavan´. Risunki khudozhnikov. Avtografy poetov*, Saratov: OKHNIS, 1922.

[27] *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 89, April 22, 1923, p. 4.

[...] но в общем пьеса далеко не театральна. Она обстановочна и декоративна, дает богатый, хотя и однообразный, материал для читки, но не для игры актеров. В ней нет напряженного драматического действия, а лишь ряд внешне связанных с фабулой положений и эпизодов. [...] Быть монументальным, открывающим новую эпоху в искусстве памятником нашего времени, хотя бы таким, как проект памятника III Интернационала Вл. Татлина, ей […] не удастся.[28]

[...] but, in general, this play is far from being theatrical. It is formal and ornate; it gives rich, though monotonous, material for reading, but not for performance by actors. It does not contain tense dramatic action, but only a chain of situations and episodes superficially connected with the plot. [...] It will not [...] succeed in becoming monumental, opening a new epoch in the art of our time, a memorial, at least like the model of the Monument to The Third International by Vladimir Tatlin.

In 'Teatr Meierkhol´da' ('The Theatre of Meyerhold', 1923), published in *Saratovskie izvestiia* on Lenin's birthday, April 22, he compares the ways Meyerhold and Mayakovsky try to create 'the theatre of revolution' and discusses the actual production of these plays:

[...] Театр Мейерхольда – единственная пока попытка создать театр революции. [...] Мейерхольд, стремясь поспеть за революцией, поступает так же, как Маяковский, дает театральный злободневный фельетон, ряд театральных агит-

---

[28] *Sarrabis*, 2/1921, p. 7.

плакатов. Отсюда несомненная поверхностность и плакатность постановок Мейерхольда, построенных на принципе, если можно так выразиться, 'условного натурализма'.[29]

[...] The theatre of Meyerhold still remains the only attempt to create a theatre of the revolution. [...] Meyerhold, trying to keep abreast of the revolution, acts the way Mayakovsky does, creating a fervent theatrical feuilleton, a chain of theatrical campaign posters. From this there emerges the indisputable flamboyance and poster-like nature of Meyerhold's theatrical productions which have been built upon the principle of what could be called 'conditional naturalism'.

Clearly, Zenkevich did not seem content with either of the two plays – a possible reason and impetus was to create his own theatrical work, new in form, style, and language. He took this second step and wrote a long dramatic poem 'Altimeter'. Following *Plough Land for Tanks*, his only book of poems published in Saratov, 'Altimeter' became, perhaps, the most important work of the Saratov period. Together with *The Peasant Sphinx,* another major work commenced in this city, 'Altimeter' became Zenkevich's tribute to Acmeism as the first biographer of this movement.

Independent and extravagant by its nature, 'Altimeter' elegantly illustrates Zenkevich's transition and his major contribution to the *avant-garde*. It displays strong connections with classical and pre-revolutionary works, including Greek, French, and Russian, such as, for instance, Baratynsky, and Fet, as well as Acmeist poetry and works of other modernist poets. According to the author's own preface which was added during the 1960s, the poem's subtitle, '*tragorel´ef v prozo-stikhe*'

---

[29] *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 89, April 22, 1923, p. 4.

('tragic relief in prose-verse'), comes from an analogy with the 'reliefs' and 'counter-reliefs' of his Petersburg friend, the futurist and *avant-garde* artist and architect Vladimir Tatlin.[30] This poem consists of three parts. Part I, 'Rel´ef' ('The Relief'), is full of autobiographical references presented allegorically. This is apparent from the beginning, in the opening monologue of Mstislav, the king of poets and a pilot ('I am only thirty three' – 'Мне только тридцать три...' – both Gumilev's and Zenkevich's own age in the year the poem was begun, 1919). Even though the names of the poem's characters do not coincide with those of the Acmeists or other members of 'The Guild of Poets' (Mstislav, Victor, Larisa, Armais, Konstantin, Iury, and other characters, with no last names), allusions to the members of the Acmeist circle are unmistakable. Obviously, the use of fictitious names is justified by the poem's very nature as a fictional work. 'The Relief' begins with a short preface which describes a tense but still manageable atmosphere within this group of younger poets and their admirers, called the '*gridnia Mstislava*' ('Mstislav's guards'):[31]

> Архитектурное скопление масс, находящихся в напряженном равновесии. Внутренняя максимальная взрывчатость форм уравновешивается таким же предельным внешним давлением.

---

[30] Zenkevich's input into the genre of poetic dramaturgy, in addition to his two dramatic poems, includes his translations of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Measure for Measure*, and a review of Pasternak's translation of Goethe's *Faustus,* RGALI, f. 613, 8, d. 1498; f. 613, 0.1, d. 4651.

[31] Zenkevich's use of the Old Russian word '*gridnia*' ('гридня') instead of the contemporary '*druzhina*' ('дружина') or a more neutral '*gruppa*' ('группа'), has ironic connotations, emphasising stagnant, outdated relations among its members.

An architectural cluster of masses remaining in a state of tense equilibrium. An internal maximal explosiveness of forms is counterbalanced by adequate ultimate external pressure.

The poem's complex polyphonic structure is permeated with the many voices of its characters. The plot contains at least three main themes. The first one describes the happy beginning of a future tragic story about a love triangle between Mstislav, Maria, his fiancée, and Larissa, his former lover. Maria's initial expectations of love and blissful marriage soon become overshadowed by Mstislav's increasing disbelief about his mission as the king of poets, his fears of advancing old age, loss of influence on younger poets, and his disproportionately growing attention to his own persona. The sudden arrival of an unknown woman, a *femme fatale* (Larissa), who will, ultimately, become the cause of Mstislav's unfaithfulness to Maria, and his own and Maria's deaths, spoils the initial festive atmosphere. This clichéd love plot, however, conceals a more important theme – a conflict which is growing inside this otherwise contented community. Even though competitions are still held among the younger poets and awards distributed (a traditional laurel wreath is laid on the head of Armais, Maria's secret admirer),[32] a revolt is imminent. One of the poets, Konstantin, wants to blow up a rock called 'The Devil's Finger' in order to clear the entry to the harbor ('Я хочу взорвать "Чертов Палец". Скалу у входа в бухту' – 'I want to blow up "The Devil's Finger". The rock near the harbor's entrance'). Indeed, he does so towards the end of 'The Relief' and this radically and irreversibly changes the mood and the tone of the narration.

At the beginning of Part II, 'The Counter-Relief', Zenkevich presents his new, *avant-garde* version of the myth of creation of matter and a new man from primordial

---

[32] Compare with Akhmatova's reminiscences (see note 11).

chaos, followed by the creation of a new art. Part II's preface differs meaningfully from that of Part I: here, the action is transferred from the reality of Part I's sea coast to the surreal 'hall of the Fifth Dimension':

> Зал Пятого Измерения. Напряженное беспредметное сцепление и нагромождение блестящих и матовых плоскостей и масс, разрешающееся в узлы рельефов и контррельефов. Толпа мужчин и женщин в масках, похожих на противогазы, в движении.

> The hall of the Fifth Dimension. A tense chaotic cluster and pile of glossy and matte flat surfaces and masses, transforming into knots of reliefs and counter-reliefs. A moving crowd of men and women in masks which look like gas masks.

An *avant-garde* theatrical performance is unravelling on stage, in front of the audience. The act of creation is presented by the three choirs, emerging from the darkness, out of the chaotic cubistic structures. Choir I is declaiming recognisably Mayakovsky-type campaigning verses filled with puns ('Нервов нарыв, Ноющее окаянное Я, Я – в Мы! Я – в Мы! В ямы!' – 'A pustule of nerves, Aching damned Me, I – into We! I – into We! Into the pits!'), choir II – almost calquing Narbut's physiological naturalistic poems ('Яичников яйцепроводы, Головастиков спермы привады' – 'Ovarian tubes, Lures for the tadpoles of sperm'), and choir III – quoting from Zenkevich's own, Acmeist, *Savage Purple* ('И мозга фосфоры, и крови пурпуры [...] от горько-соленого солонца [...] В крематорий солнца!' – 'And phosphori of brain, and purples of blood [...] from bitter salty aridisols [...] Into the crematorium of the Sun'). Ultimately, as a culmination, all three choirs blend into one,

86

addressing Tiamat, the goddess of primordial chaos, and enunciating Kruchenykh-Khlebnikov-type *zaum*:

> **Все три хора**: Мумму Тиамат! Мумму Тиамат!
>
> Иоту Нату Йорани!
>
> Матиа нон! Матиа нон!
>
> Язмы цы Дзяр! Язмы цы Дзяр!
>
> Лиоямаия! Лиоямаия!!! [33]

> **All three choirs**: Mummu Tiamat! MummuTiamat!
>
> Iotu Natu Iorani!
>
> Matia non! Matia non!
>
> Iazmy tsy Dziar! Iazmy tsy Dziar!
>
> Lioiamaia! Lioiamaia!!!

The reference to Tiamat was taken by Zenkevich from *Enuma Elish*, a Babylonian epic of creation. Translated into Russian during the 1910s by Akhmatova's second husband, Vladimir Shileiko, it remained unpublished at that time.[34] Also, in 1919, with Shileiko's assistance, Gumilev published his own translation of *The Epic of Gilgamesh* from the existing French version.[35] Zenkevich's use of the ancient epic

---

[33] 'Mummu' has several meanings, including the name of Tiamat's son, her vizier, and 'chaos, confusion'. See Leonard William King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Netlancers Inc, 2014, p. 102.

[34] Shileiko's translations of *The Assiro-Babylonian Epic* and *The Epic of Gilgamesh* were published in 2007: *Epos o Gil´gameshe (stat´i i fragment). Assiro-vavilonskii epos. Perevody s shumerskogo i akkadskogo iazykov V.K. Shileiko*, Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2007. The author is grateful to Emily Wang for pointing out the reference to Tiamat and to Viacheslav Ivanov's, 'Zvezdnaya vspyshka. Poeticheskii mir N.S. Gumileva', in Nikolai Gumilev. *Stikhi. Pis´ma o russkoi poezii*, Moscow: Zabytaia kniga, 1989, pp. 5-32.

[35] Gumilev N. S. *Gil´gamesh. (Perevod-perelozhenie s frantsuzskogo)*, Peterburg: Izd. Grzhebina, 1919.

suggests that he might have been familiar with both translations. 'The Counter-Relief' may thus be viewed as his response to Gumilev within the continuation of their earlier Acmeist polemic and as Zenkevich's own application of the Assyro-Babylonian epic tradition. Zenkevich could have seen the text of *Enuma Elish* and, possibly, heard the reading of it in the original, Akkadian, language, since at least one phrase, 'Mummu Tiamat', was borrowed by him from this epos. Hence, the whole stanza which may initially look like *zaum* can, in fact, be a combination of both, Zenkevich's quotation from *Enuma Elish* and his own *zaum*. All in all, Zenkevich, known for his poetic logic and previously uncompromising rejection of *zaum*, must have had strong reasons for employing it in his poem.

Furthermore, within the context of creating new art, 'The Counter-Relief' also displays a number of interesting cross-textual references. Among the most frequently used is the '*zolotoi treugol´nik*' ('golden triangle'), applied as a general reference to the love triangle and as a metaphor for a certain part of the female body. In the following quotation, both the call to Aphrodite to 'betroth [...] the golden triangle of love' and the comparison of 'the triangle' to a halo may seem blasphemous, yet here the contents of these phrases do not contradict the challenging principles of *avant-garde* aesthetics:

> **From 'Altimeter':**
> Венчай же венчиком алым, венчай
> Золотой треугольник любви, Афродита.
>
> Betroth with crimson aureole, betroth
> The golden triangle of love, Aphrodite.
>
> Армаис:
> О, не сияй так, Луна! Луна!

На миг я видел в серебряной пене
Золотой треугольник, горящий, как нимб...

Armais:
Oh, Moon! Moon! do not shine so [bright – SC]!
For a moment, I saw, in silver foam,
The golden triangle, burning like a halo…

From Part II, 'Kontr-rel´ef' ('Counter-Relief'):
У женщин остаются черные полумаски. Крики: 'Danse macabre',
'Танец золотого треугольника', 'Танец удавов', 'Гелиотанец'. [...]
на выдвинувшуюся из стены площадку с экраном взбегают три
обнаженные девушки. [...] Вокруг их пояса узкие повязки,
прикрывающие нижнюю часть живота треугольными золотыми
щитами, сверкающими драгоценными переливами.

Black half-masks remain in the women's possession. Screams: 'Danse
macabre', 'A dance of the golden triangle', 'A dance of boa constric-
tors', 'Helio-dance'[...] three naked girls run up on to a small square
with a screen which has moved out of the wall. [...] Narrow bandages
circle their waists, covering the lower part of their bellies with trian-
gle-shaped golden shields, sparkling with precious tints.

From 'Zolotoi treugol´nik' ('A Golden Triangle'):
Вот смотри – я, твой господин и невольник,
Меж колен раздвинув передник из роз,
Целую на мраморе царственный треугольник
Нежно курчавящихся золотых волос. (1913)

> Look here – I, your lord and prisoner,
> Having spread wide the apron of roses between [your –SC] knees,
> Kissing the royal triangle of tenderly curling golden hair
> On the marble.

Finally, the poem's last important theme – the tragic death in flight of a pilot-poet as a symbolic representation of his utmost devotion to his mission – appears in the last Part III, 'Apofeoz' ('The Apotheosis'). Aviation, a major accomplishment of mankind at the beginning of the twentieth century, and especially its tragic-heroic aspects, served as an important theme for Zenkevich for more than two decades, the 1920s and 1930s. Real events, such as the crash of Lilienthal's glider in 1896 and a series of Zeppelin crashes during the 1910s and 1920s, provided the historical background for plots and motifs in a number of his poems. These include a short poem with the identical title, 'Altimeter', a part of *Savage Purple*, 'Smert´ aviatora' ('The Death of the Aviator', 1917), 'Aviarekviem' ('Avia-requiem', 1918), 'Gibel´ dirizhablia "Diksmude"' ('The Demise of the Zeppelin "Diksmuide"', 1923, a part of the collection of poems *In Brotherhood with Death*); 'Avio-plakat' ('The Aviation Poster', 1923), *Pozdnii prolet* (*Late Fly-Over*, 1928), and *Nabor vysoty: stikhi* (*Altitude Increase: Poems*, 1937), plus the aforementioned *The Wright Brothers* and 'The Triumph of Aviation'. In the majority of these works, including the long 'Altimeter', the idea of flight is connected with the motif of untimely tragic and heroic death in public. Here it is expressed in a most pronounced way: the representation of the pilot as poet rests upon a comparison of the ultimate missions of both, namely, the goal to reach the ultimate heights. The altimeter, the device for measuring altitude, becomes in Zenkevich's poem a metaphor which 'measures' the degree of the poet's devotion to art and the importance of his mission in society similar to that of the aviator. It is

noteworthy, that in this sense, Pasternak's poem 'Noch´' ('Night', 1956) with its leit-motif of the 'pilot – poet – star' bears a close similarity to 'Altimeter'.

The theme of heroic public death depicted as triumph over death and the way to attain immortality reflects a common philosophical idea of this time, namely man's triumph over nature. A brief comparison of 'The Triumph of Aviation' and Nikolai Zabolotsky's 'Torzhestvo zemledeliia' ('The Triumph of Agriculture', 1929-1933) can serve as an illustration. Similarities which are obvious in the poems' titles can also be found in the ideas presented in them. If Zabolotsky believes that the immortal-ity of the soul occurs due to metamorphoses as ongoing eternal transformations in na-ture and society, Zenkevich, a former Acmeist, views immortality as attained through an Icarian heroic public death as the ultimate point of the mission of the aviator-poet. At the same time, Zabolotsky's *Naturphilosophie* displays a certain affinity with the views of Zenkevich and Narbut as 'nature-realists' and 'earthly ones'.[36] However, in 'Aviation Poster', written two years after 'Altimeter', the mission of the aviator be-came more politicised.[37] Once again, the influence of Mayakovsky's poster-type verses is clear:

> Товарищи! Рабочие! Крестьяне! Граждане!
>
> Поддержите бескрылого летчика-пилота;
>
> Соберите посильные дани
>
> На скорейшее создание
>
> Красного воздушного флота!
>
> [...] Пусть, не динамит пудами бросая,
>
> Золотокрылые хищники, ястреба,
>
> А тюками газеты и почту сея,

---

[36] See Narbut's aforementioned letters to his friend.

[37] Published in *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 81, April 13, 1923, p. 1.

Парят над простором твоим, Россия,
Сеялки света, тьмы истребители!

Comrades! Workers! Peasants! Citizens! / Support the wingless avia-
tor-pilot; Collect feasible tributes / For the earliest creation of / The
Red Air Fleet! // [...] Let the golden-winged predators, hawks / Fly
over thy vast spaces, Russia, / Not throwing tons of dynamite / But
sowing newspapers and mail instead, / Like sowers of light, destroy-
ers[38] of darkness!

This new task of the aviator, who brings enlightenment to the rest of the popu-
lation in the new Russia ('Russia' – 'sowers' – 'light'), is described through the proc-
ess of planting grains of knowledge – and propaganda – from the skies. Newspaper
news as a metaphor for 'nutrients' for the soul and tokens of enlightenment here sub-
stitute grains as nutrients for the body. He is also portrayed as the pilot of a military
jet whose conventional bellicose mission has changed to a peaceful one (presumably,
as a result of his belonging to the *Red* Air Fleet and not to that of an imperialistic
country). In 'The Triumph of Aviation', which would be written almost two decades
later, this interpretation became dominant. Thus, Zenkevich's exploration of the
theme of airplanes, flight and a pilot's destiny does not merely fall into a general pat-
tern of 'fascination with modernity, speed, and rhythm characteristic of the post-
Symbolist search for synthesising aesthetic impulse'.[39] More likely, it epitomises the
mission of art and the artist while projecting it on to a socio-political background.

---

[38] Both '*istrebitel'*' ('destroyer') and '*iastreb*', or '*iastrebok*' ('hawk'), are terms for a 'jet fighter'.

[39] See Tim Harte's *Fast Forward: The Aesthetics and Ideology of Speed in Russian Avant-Garde Culture, 1910-
1930*, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.

After 'Altimeter' was completed, Zenkevich read three parts of it before an audience consisting predominantly of students and other young people in the Hall of Workers of the Arts. It was received 'with interest and approval', and its lyrical parts, which the author considered the core of the poem, were especially welcomed by the audience.[40] Almost simultaneously with 'Altimeter', he wrote an article 'O novom stikhe' ('On the New Verse', 1921?), in which he laid out an extensive theoretical background for both 'Altimeter' and 'The Triumph of Aviation'.[41] In this example of literary criticism, groundbreaking in its nature and its scope, Zenkevich defines the term 'prose-verse' for the first time. Tracing the development of the entire Russian prosodic system, he compares and contrasts prose-verse and syllabic-tonic verse, *vers libre,* symbolist, futurist, Acmeist, and *avant-garde* poetry. He draws parallels between prose-verse and folk poetry, pointing out the unique character of the former, and proving that precisely this type of versification is to be used by the new generations of poets in order to overcome the burdensome heritage of earlier poetic schools and movements. He then follows the genesis of prose-verse from prose. Once again, the theme of aviation and the aviator is metaphorically used here to highlight the author's theoretical investigations.

---

[40] Years later, in the 1960s, Zenkevich regretted not publishing 'Altimeter' at that time because it would have sounded 'much brighter and stronger' and 'would have been preserved in print rather than just as a manuscript' ('[…] прозвучал бы по-молодому ярче, сильней и сохранился бы в печатном виде, а не в рукописном'). Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 283.

[41] *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, pp. 342-348.

According to Zenkevich, 'Prose-verse is free verse developed through to the very end.'[42] It does not have a monotonous rhythm; its musicality bases itself upon a certain unity of the undecided quantity of the rhythms with waves of different length, continuity and strength. To break prose-verse into small squares of metrical schemes is as difficult and useless to do as with any abstract of a newspaper or colloquial prose. From the very beginning, classical verse raised an obstacle between itself and prose: 'like a balloon, it is inflamed with a much lighter gas, a rhythm which helps it to separate itself from the earth and to begin flying into the sky of poetry, speaking figuratively. In this sense, classical poetry means flying apparatuses which are lighter than air itself, the Zeppelins.'[43] To emphasise the advantage of prose-verse over classical verse, Zenkevich compares the former to airplanes which can fly although they are heavier than air. Prose-verse takes as its basis the heaviness, clumsiness and stagnancy of prose and only as a result of the motor of its lyrical inspiration does it force the latter 'to separate from the earth and hang in the air like an airplane'. No external rhythmical scheme prevents a poet from creatively taking off. The success of poetic flight depends on the skillfully used force of lyrical inspiration. In case of failure, prose-verse 'falls heavily to the ground and breaks into shards of prose – something from which even the weakest poet of classical verse is insured (at least) externally'. In it, the external rhythmical smoothness seems to the inexperienced public like a poem even in the most unsuccessful things, although, in its essence, it *is* prose which has been tastelessly converted into poetry:

---

[42] 'Прозостих – развившийся до конца свободный стих', Zenkevich, M., ''Al´timetr''. Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 344.

[43] '... он, как воздушный шар, надут более легким газом, ритмом, помогающим ему отделиться от земли и лететь, выражаясь фигурально, в небо поэзии', ibid., p. 344.

[...] Всякое прозаическое сочетание слов, в обычной жизни кажущееся совершенно не ритмическим, может лечь в основу прозостиха, стать одним из элементов его ритма; от искусства поэта зависит дать этой неритмической прозе выявить свой скрытый ритм в поворотах и изгибах ритмических течений прозостиха, – превратить потенциально спящий ритм материи, прозы, в активный одухотворенный ритм поэзии.

Any prosaic combination of words which in everyday life seems absolutely non-rhythmical, may both create a basis of prose-verse and become one of the elements of its rhythm; it depends on the poet's skill how to allow this non-rhythmical process to reveal its internal rhythm within the turns and curves of rhythmical flows of prose-verse, – to turn the potentially sleepy rhythm of the material of prose into the active spiritual rhythm of poetry.[44]

In addition, Zenkevich compares prose-verse to Russian folk poetry, stressing their similarities, based, for instance, on stress count within the line (for example, three or four) or on meaningful imagery (two to three per line), allowing for various deviations from this scheme. Folk verses were sung, and the voice of the singer filled in the gaps in this approximate scheme. Prose-verse developed further rhythmic variations which were presented in the past, first in folk and then in classical verses, thus showing that it is deeply rooted in the Russian language. Furthermore, he characterises prose-verse as both individual and different when it is used by different poets (for example, by Mayakovsky, Khlebnikov, Pasternak, Narbut, the Imagists, *et al.*). He describes it as a phenomenon which gives the poet his greatest freedom, yet requiring

---

[44] Ibid., p. 345.

from him, at the same time, the greatest responsibility. The opportunities provided by it are endless, including those to create its form, without any textbooks or theories, by using only the internal sense of rhythm. Finally, Zenkevich concludes that prose-verse has earned the right to exist only recently, and has not yet been revealed in its pure form. These are the verses of the future, which are taking the place of classical verses now.

Among Zenkevich's other significant Saratov works remain an unpublished book of translations of the poetry and articles by André Chénier, *Iamby i elegii* (*Iambs and Elegies).* The idea of another collection of poetry, *Porfibagr*, a compilation of two books, *Savage Purple* and *Under the Meat-Hued Burgundy*, was also born in Saratov.[45] It was ready for publication, but was not destined to see the light of day. Neither did three other new books, *In Brotherhood with Death*, *Lyrics*, and *Liricheskii dnevnik* (*Lyrical Diary*). Zenkevich worked on these during his stay in Saratov and after his departure to Moscow.[46] The non-publication of *Porfibagr* became one of his major artistic defeats. From that time on, his desperation as an author continued to grow, aggravated by the lack of interest from publishers. Finally, Zenkevich began *The Peasant Sphinx* in Saratov as well, but completed it in 1928, in Moscow.

In *The Peasant Sphinx*, the leitmotif of sudden heroic death, so prominently displayed in Zenkevich's poetry of this time, resounds with that of the abrupt and irreversible end of the epoch of the Silver Age.[47] 'What an unrealistic truth this is', –

---

[45] The book title – *Porfibagr* – is a combination of two parts of two different words: *porfira* – 'porphyry', 'purple' and *bagrovyi* – 'burgundy', 'purple flush burgundy' or 'meat-hued burgundy'.

[46] These three collections first appeared in Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004.

[47] After an unsuccessful attempt to publish his manuscript at the end of the 1920s, Zenkevich did not try again. The novel remained unpublished for almost sixty years by the author's own wish. It first appeared in the journal *Volga*, 1991, 1-3, and as a part of the book collection, in Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka

these words by Akhmatova describe the novel's essence most accurately.[48] Indeed, these 'fictional memoirs' present a *melange* of realism and fantasy and, according to the sense embodied in the title, also contain a mystery in itself. It is more than just a continuation of the legacy of Gogol's fantastic realism – it is a precursor to Bulgakov's artistry in *The Master and Margarita.* In the preface to *The Peasant Sphinx*, Zenkevich states that all this is 'the autobiographical truth', but this truth is seen through the spectacles of phantasmagoria.[49]

As described by the author himself, 'the novel is structured according to the principles of a long lyrical poem, with a stanza-like, abrupt sequence of chapters, episodes, and characters.'[50] The unnamed protagonist who narrates the story comes to Petersburg in search of his blue coat (an explicit allusion to Gogol) and ends up touring a mad house located in the centre of the new, Soviet, Moscow. This journey becomes one within historic events and on the waves of the protagonist's memory.[51]

---

teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, pp. 412-621. Also, a part of this novel was published as another separate book, *El´ga* (Moscow: Kor-inf, 1990). The latter was subsequently translated into German by Alexander Nitzberg (Michail Senkewitsch: *Elga.* Düsseldorf: Grupello Verlag, 1999). According to Sergei Zenkevich, *The Peasant Sphinx* has influenced several contemporary Russian authors, among them Vladimir Pelevin, *Chapaev i pustota* (*Chapaev and the Void*), Moscow: Eksmo, 2004, and Andrei Lazarchuk, Mikhail Uspenskii, *Posmotri v glaza chudovishch* (*Take a Look into the Monsters' Eyes*), Moscow: Eksmo, 1997.

[48] Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 412.

[49] See Dolezel, Lubomir, 'Fictional Worlds: Density, Gaps, and Inference', *Style,* 29/2, 1995, 201-214; 'The Visible and The Invisible Petersburg', *Russian Literature*, VII/1979, 465-490.

[50] 'Роман построен по принципу лирической поэмы, со строфическим, отрывистым чередованием глав, эпизодов и действующих лиц', Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 657.

[51] Vladimir Nabokov would later use a similar device in his short story, 'Poseshchenie muzeia' ('The Visit to the Museum'), 1938.

Two fictional worlds – the real and the fantastic – come to be mixed, producing a unique artistic effect, which differentiates Zenkevich's novel from any other contemporary work created within the canons of the realistic novel. On his way, the protagonist meets former acquaintances from Zenkevich's own Petersburg life, including Gumilev, Akhmatova, and a mysterious El´ga (a personification of Akhmatova) who emerge as semi-real, both as living and ghostly characters. The uneasy tone of the conversation, which takes place during the protagonist's meeting with Gumilev, points to the old differences of the author with his Acmeist mentor which, as we know, existed in reality. This complicates the narration further, making the narrator-protagonist identical to the author himself. Furthermore, the narrator observes certain well known historical events, such as the murder of Rasputin or his meeting with Nicholas II, and visits the place of Uritsky's assassination. In Moscow he attends Lenin's mausoleum and takes a long walk near the OGPU headquarters. These last two events mark his return to present-day reality.

Seemingly indifferent, he then documents the complaints of an unnamed peasant about the catastrophic destruction of the fish population caused by the hydropower station 'Volkhovstroi' which, in reality, was a symbolic representation of the Bolsheviks' economic and political successes. These tragic outcomes caused by the new enterprise, which was initiated and implemented for the good of the peasants, have, in fact, destroyed their lives, foretelling future major cataclysms. There is a meeting and a conversation with a worker at the 'Krasnyi Putilovets' metal production plant, another symbol of Bolshevik power, whose atmosphere acutely reminds the narrator of the smith's workshop in the author's own native village of Nikolaevskii Gorodok. It feels as if the narrator-protagonist-author returns home, at least in his thoughts, and this return raises an anticipation of the novel's happy ending. However, neither the peasant nor the worker (nor even the narrator himself) seems happy at all; the trou-

bling mystery which occupies their minds remains undisclosed. This aura of the unknown as presented in these two portraits is metaphorically embodied and expressed in the sphinx, who in this novel becomes a '*muzhik*' sphinx as a symbol of Russia's own unpredictable, enigmatic, and frightening future.[52]

While in Saratov, Zenkevich remained active in other spheres as well. He taught theory and practice of poetry writing at *Literaturnaia masterskaia* ('The Literary Workshop'), cooperated with the artistic organisations '*Poekhma*' ('Poety, khudozhniki, muzykanty, artisty' – 'Poets, Artists, Musicians, and Actors') and OKHNIS ('Obshchestvo khudozhnikov novogo iskusstva' – 'The Society of Artists of the New Art'), delivered lectures at literary evenings devoted to Blok, Korolenko, Khlebnikov, Gumilev and Chénier, was involved in numerous public discussions about poetry, and headed the local section of ROSTA ('Rossiiskoe telegrafnoe agentstvo' – 'The Russian Telegraph Agency'). Like Narbut, who welcomed the works of his former fellow-Acmeists as publisher of his own literary magazine, *Serena,* in Voronezh, Zenkevich did the same for his Acmeist friends in Saratov magazines and newspapers. Nor did cultural news from Moscow and Petrograd escape the poet's attention. He visited both capitals on several occasions and met with Akhmatova and Mandelstam. Appalled by both the destruction of the previously blossoming literary life of Petersburg and by the loss of many prominent literati who had either fled or been exiled abroad, he wrote in his article 'O literaturnoi zhizni Moskvy' ('On the Literary Life of Moscow'):

---

[52] The adjective *muzhitskii* ('peasant', from *muzhik* – a peasant), used in the Russian title of the novel, carries a broader meaning than 'peasant'; it may equally be applied to a worker as a member of the lower classes. Historically, impoverished peasants who had flocked to the cities in search of jobs after the elimination of serfdom in 1861 became industrial workers.

Москва, ставшая с восемнадцатого года политическим центром
России, понемногу становится и центром литературным вместо
Петербурга. [...] Петербург становится провинцией. [...] Литера-
турная жизнь Москвы переживает затяжной кризис. Главным [,]
почти монопольным издателем является государство [...].[53]

Moscow, which since 1918 has been the political centre of Russia, is
slowly becoming a literary centre as well, in place of Petersburg. [...]
Petersburg is turning into a province. [...] The literary life of Moscow
is experiencing a lengthy crisis. The state is the main and virtually ex-
clusive publisher [...].

Zenkevich's brother, Boris Zenkevich (1888-1972), a painter and graphic artist,
also played a prominent role in Saratov's cultural life. From the beginning of 1918, he
cooperated with well-known artists, such as Zinovii Grzhebin, Valentin Iustitsky, and
Aleksei Kravchenko, in various venues and institutions, including the Saratov
VKHUTEMAS (*Vysshie khudozhestvenno-tekhnicheskie masterskie* – 'Higher Art and
Technical Studios'), the Art Institute and the Art College. Like his brother, Boris also
worked for various Saratov periodicals, including *Saratovskie izvestiia* and *Gornilo*,
and was equally active in social organisations, such as Rabis (*Professional′nyi soiuz
rabotnikov iskusstv* – 'Professional Union of the Activists of the Arts') and AKhRR
(*Assotsiatsiia khudozhnikov revoliutsionnoi Rossii* – 'The Association of Artists of
Revolutionary Russia'). Artistic cooperation between the two brothers spread into
several spheres, including literature, visual art, and theatre. For instance, Boris de-
signed the front cover of 'The Plough Land for Tanks'. Both were fascinated with
theatre and worked in different Saratov theatres in various occupations, Boris – as a

---

[53] *Saratovskie izvestiia*, 265, November 19, 1922, p. 2.

stage designer, and Mikhail, as we have seen, – as a theatre critic and a dramatist. 'Altimeter' illustrates clearly the close artistic ties of the two brothers, partially reflecting the *avant-garde* influences of their allies, Tatlin and Iustitsky, on both Mikhail's writing and Boris's graphic art. After Mikhail's departure to Moscow, Boris stayed in Saratov for a while, and in 1925 created a local section of AKhRR here. In the late-1920s he followed his brother to the capital where he became well known as a graphic artist during the 1930s. The two remained close until Boris's death. In this connection a parallel with two other brothers – Zenkevich's close Acmeist friend, Vladimir Narbut, and his brother, Georgy (Egor), an artist, – is noteworthy. For instance, Georgy also illustrated Vladimir's works, including the front cover of *Halleluiah.*

By 1923 Zenkevich's life and creative work in Saratov were being increasingly disrupted by a worsening of living conditions, the devastation of the city, and famine.[54] The intelligentsia from both capitals, who had settled on the banks of the Volga River five years before, began to leave, this time for Moscow and abroad. Zenkevich, however, was hesitant about leaving Saratov. In March 1923 he finally left, but before his departure he paid his last tribute to the Saratov 'epoch' of his life. On December 22, 1922, eight years after the demise of Acmeism, in a city stricken by famine, he read poems from *Savage Purple* to a public audience at a literary evening at Saratov University. His readings were preceded by a lecture entitled 'Poet "Dikoi porfiry"' ('The Poet of "Savage Purple"') by his long-time friend and future renowned religious philosopher, Georgy Fedotov.[55] Fedotov's lecture shed light on Zenkevich's 'unfairly forgotten' role and his outstanding input in the Acmeist movement, and outlined the new perspectives in literature which lay before him. However, Zenkevich's

---

[54] *A Russian Civil War Diary: Alexis V. Babine in Saratov,* 1917-1922. Edited, annotated, and with an introduction by Donald J. Raleigh, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988.

[55] (Anonymous) 'Poet "Dikoi Porfiry"', *Novyi khudozhestvennyi Saratov*, 2/1923, p. 7.

own thoughts about future artistic opportunities in the new capital were full of scepticism and disbelief about any possibility of having the inspiration to create.

> Я живу мыслью о переезде, но, вероятно, все же в Москву, а не в Петербург, хотя более чем когда уверен, что без его гранитной строгости и дисциплины из всех московских дерзаний и беспорядочных новшеств мало получится 'вечного'.

> I live with the thought of moving, but, probably, to Moscow and not to Petersburg, although, I am more sure than ever, that without its granite strictness and discipline, a little of 'the eternal' will come from all my Moscow-type aspirations and jumbled innovations.[56]

His premonitions turned out to be true – not by his own will, but as a result of the times he lived in.

Zenkevich spent the following fifty years (1923-1973) in Moscow, more than half of his life. He began working as a secretary at the magazine 'Rabotnik prosveshcheniia', and then, between 1925-1935, as an editor of foreign literature at the country's second largest publishing company 'ZiF' ('*Zemlia i fabrika*' – 'Land and Factory'), headed by his old friend Narbut. In this capacity, he maintained connections with many prominent Russian literati and cultural activists, including Fedotov (who had left the country by that time), by acquiring their works for publication in 'ZiF'. Later on Zenkevich served as head of department in the prestigious *Novyi mir* (1934-1936). His often uncompromising position as a critic and his frank reviews of the works of others were resented by many, leading to the exclusion of his name from the

---

[56] Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 45.

'list' of publishable authors. Gradually, translating and writing reviews of works from foreign literatures became Zenkevich's main occupation. He translated poetry from a wide array of languages, including English, French, German, and various languages of the Soviet republics. Most importantly, however, he is known as the first translator of several American poets into Russian, including Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Michael Gold, Robert Frost, Edgar Allen Poe, Ezra Pound and Joe Hill, among many others, and for publishing three collections of his translations (the first one together with Ivan Kashkin).[57] He lived through the years of political repression cautiously and without fame. His mood during this time is well reflected in the poem 'V bezvremen´e vremeni turbiny voli…' ('In the obscurity of time, the turbines of will…').[58] His former association with the Acmeist movement, labelled as decadent and antagonistic to the ideological requirements of Socialist Realism, had much to do with the ongoing rejection of his earlier poetic works. Towards the end of his life, he was hailed as a patriarch of Russian poetry for helping to nurture a new generation of poets during the 1950s-1970s, and for being one of the founders of a contemporary school of poetic translation.

Nevertheless, in the early 1920s, the political atmosphere had allowed for some creative work to continue. Such work for Zenkevich was connected with the Saratov *avant-garde* and is brilliantly reflected in his poetic dramaturgy, prose, and

---

[57] *Poety Ameriki, XX vek. Antologiia. Sostavletnie i vstupitel´naia stat´ia: Mikh. Zenkevich, Ivan Kashkin (The Poets of America, the 20th Century. An Anthology. Compilation and Introductory Article by Mikh. Zenkevich and Ivan Kashkin),* Moscow: Gosdarstvennoe izdatel´stvo 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura', 1939; *Iz amerikanskikh poetov (From the American Poets),* Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel´stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1946; *Amerikanskie poety v perevodakh M. Zenkevicha (American Poets in Translations by M. Zenkevich)*, Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1969.

[58] Zenkevich, M., '"Al´timetr". Publikatsiia, podgotovka teksta i predislovie S. E. Zenkevicha', in *V. Ia. Briusov i russkii modernizm*, Moscow: IMLI RAN, 2004, p. 165. Also see Nadezhda Mandelstam's critical reflections of Zenkevich's survival, in Mandelstam, N., *Vospominaniia*, Moscow: Soglasie, 1999, p. 55, p. 56, p. 58, p. 429.

literary critical works of this period. In his many creative occupations, he was indeed an innovator, and an *avant-gardist* in the true sense of this word. His affiliation with Acmeism and the *avant-garde* during the 1910s-1920s, and his ability to embrace both of these two major artistic movements make Zenkevich a unique representative of the epoch. A growing interest in Zenkevich's *oeuvre* can be seen in a number of critical publications, but a detailed study of his role in twentieth-century literature is yet to be produced.

'THERE'S *NON-PLACE* LIKE HOME': DOMESTIC SPACE, IDENTITY AND (POST-) SOVIET RUSSIA IN ZVIAGINTSEV'S *ELENA*[1]

ANDREW MCGREGOR AND ROBERT LAGERBERG

This article analyses the role of domestic living space and its connection with identity in the Russian feature film *Elena* (Andrei Zviagintsev, 2011), winner of the Grand Jury Prize at the 2011 Cannes Film Festival. The film uses a spatially symmetrical structure based on two separate apartments frequented by the film's eponymous heroine, both of which represent distinct socio-economic and historical aspects of Soviet and Post-Soviet life. The first is Elena's husband's large, modern, upmarket and centrally located apartment that is as cold, tomb-like and indeed lifeless as it is chic. The second is her son's older, tiny, squalid relic of the Soviet past situated on the periphery, with its claustrophobic walls providing a sense of human contact and warmth, despite its toxic air of decadence, indolence and violence. As in the earlier Russian film *Little Vera* (Vasili Pichul, 1988), it will be argued here that in *Elena*, identity is inextricably linked with physical living space in a specifically Russian context: indeed a striking frame shot of Elena's son almost literally framed by the apartment block behind him makes this graphically clear at one point. *Elena* is an ironic ode to the apartment, both Soviet and modern. Drawing on Marc Augé's theory of the *non-place*, it will also be argued here that the universal aspiration to live in comfort, while human and understandable, is shown, in the post-Soviet landscape depicted by Zviagintsev's powerful film, to result in a form of living death.

---

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented by Andrew McGregor at the *Domestic Imaginaries: Homes in Film, Literature and Popular Culture* conference held at The University of Nottingham on the 21st of January, 2014.

ANDREW MCGREGOR

The conceptual framework for our discussion of the film is founded on the premise that Marc Augé's theory of non-places, as developed in his seminal work *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (2008),[2] may be as applicable to the domestic space as it is to the increasingly ubiquitous public spaces that are of primary concern to Augé; namely airports, hotels, shopping centres and other typical non-places in this supermodern globalised world (Augé 2008). Primarily an anthropological study, as its original French title suggests,[3] Augé's work is concerned with the increasing omnipresence of spaces in the built environment that have little or no anthropological value as 'places'; that is, they are spaces created for transience rather than being, staying, or indeed meaning. They are spaces whose principal function is to move people towards some 'place' else: a perpetual in-between space, or no man's land, lacking in cultural specificity or local character, where 'staying' and the setting down of roots is most likely a criminal offence. Indeed, in the design of airports, hotel lobbies, shopping centres and other public spaces, every effort is made to cater to the tastes and expectations of everybody and nobody, for a pre-determined period of time.

The living spaces in *Elena*, it will be argued here, take on the characteristics of the non-place, in so far as they constitute spaces of transcience in the form of aspirational social movement. As the disturbing narrative of the film unfolds, it also becomes apparent that the domestic non-place of Vladimir's apartment is ultimately occupied by Elena and her family as a result of criminal behaviour; i.e. it is a domestic space that, as for all non-places, the occupants have no right to claim as their own. The blurring of boundaries in the film between anthropological place and non-place,

---

[2] Augé's work was originally published in French in 1992 by Seuil under the title *Non-Lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité*, which was subsequently translated into English and published in 1995 by Verso under the title *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. Reference in this article is made to the second edition of the English translation, which was published by Verso in 2008.

[3] See note 2 above.

particularly in the domestic space, resonates with the assertion by Augé that in the supermodern environment, 'people are always, and never, at home' (Augé 2008, 87). While the home may be defined as private and personal, as opposed to public and impersonal, it will be argued here that the domestic space, far from being a comforting and reassuring destination in itself, can be read as liminal (Thomassen 2006, 322), as a transitory space located, so to speak, between a departure from an apparently undesirable past situation or location and a perceived – and indeed illusory – arrival at a point of socially aspirational self-realisation.

Augé defines *place* as 'relational, historical and concerned with identity'. Merriman (2010, 29) explains Augé's concept of place as 'localised, occupied, familiar, organic, historical and meaningful to its occupants and visitors'. He continues, 'Place, here, is associated with prolonged fixities and practices of dwelling, echoing humanistic ideas and those associated with Martin Heidegger, as well as popular constructions of local place as always under threat from external global forces.' It stands to reason, therefore, that Augé should define non-place as 'a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity' (Augé 2008, 63). As Merriman (2010, 29) states, 'In *non-lieu* there is a denial of the event, of the space.' Augé hastens to point out, however, that the distinction between place and non-place is not to be imagined as a mutually exclusive binary opposition:

> [The non-place] never exists in pure form; places reconstitute themselves in it; relations are restored and resumed in it […]. Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed; they are like palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly written. (Augé 2008, 64)

107

Indeed, as it shall be argued in this article in relation to the domestic space: 'The possibility of non-place is never absent from any place' (Augé 2008, 86).

Elena was met with generally good critical acclaim upon its screening at the 2011 Cannes International Film Festival and also at the time of its commercial release later that year.[4] While a taut screenplay, good acting, intelligent cinematography and the music of Philip Glass accounted for much of that positive appraisal, the film also operates at a more complex level. Ostensibly a film whose main storyline involves one family's upwardly-mobile move from a shabby, Soviet-era flat to a chic and spacious city apartment through the deadly machinations of the central and eponymous protagonist, this rather 'idealistic' surface plot is, as we shall argue, undermined by an implicit and subtle irony involving the two main living spaces of the film. The focus of this article is on the evocation of what we shall argue are the non-places inhabited by the characters in both of these living spaces and, therefore, we attempt a reinterpretation of the film as a pessimistic, sombre appraisal of modern Russian life as well as its Soviet roots. At the heart of the argument is the fact that these non-places are central to the identity of the characters.

At the centre of the film's structure are the two living spaces (apartments) which bind Elena both physically and morally, and create a strikingly clear symmetry of both plot and location between past and future (with the present an apparently perpetual liminal space of its own), old and new, Soviet and post-Soviet, a Bakhtinian 'time-space warp' juxtaposing the temporal with the physical. As Augé observes, 'individual and collective identity is always constructed in relation to and in negotiation

---

[4] See, for example, the review in 'The Guardian' newspaper: http://www.theguardian.com/film/2012/oct/25/elena-review (accessed 13/11/2014) or the 'four star' ratings on the ABC's 'At the Movies' television show: http://www. abc.net.au/atthemovies/txt/s3509335.htm (accessed 13/11/2014).

with otherness' (Augé 2008, ix). The film opens (and closes – this framing technique will be discussed below) with a striking and lengthy shot of Vladimir's modern apartment as it awakens at dawn through the branches of a leafless tree and the rather sinister cawing of a crow. The living space – both this particular apartment as well as the motif of the living space – thus appears as the central element from the very outset. The location for the setting is unknown. The apartment could be located in any city in Russia, and indeed the world. This universal quality to the apartment is also important. Its international appeal and amenity make it all the more characteristic of a non-place, and indeed we find ourselves 'in a world where there is no longer an elsewhere' (Augé 2008, xxii). We are not in some culturally specific Russian space in this apartment, making it all the more appealing for Elena's family seeking to escape the confines of their cramped and typically Soviet apartment, and, at the same time, seeking to escape their and the nation's past. The force of this is to open up the age-old debate about Russia's identity, even with echoes of Chaadaev's 'Philosophical Letter' of 1836 (Chaadaev 1836) in which he berated Russia's lack of national history and dignity, imbuing it with a new sense of post-colonial disconnectedness. As Clowes (2011, 11) puts it, 'Chaadaev's words eerily anticipate Julia Kristeva's image of the postcolonial condition when he asserted, "we Russians" are "strangers to ourselves"'. Although, of course, Russia was not literally colonised, the Soviet era represents a period of cultural colonisation, with the post-Soviet period its post-colonial equivalent. Both the atmosphere of the Soviet-era apartment and the displaced 'universality' of the modern apartment show two aspects of non-place respectively, non-place as physically alienating living-space and non-place as aesthetically alienating living-space. The film explores contemporary identity by using the embodiment of the past (the older apartment) within the present time-space.

As the camera moves from exterior to interior, the people who inhabit the apartment, Elena and her husband Vladimir, almost take second stage to the spacious apartment itself through which the camera is free to move and linger as it chooses. The series of long shots that serve to showcase the modern apartment, much like a feature article on the pages of *Vogue Living* magazine, resemble a still-life – aesthetically beautiful and yet seemingly impossible to live in. The way the apartment is shot reflects 'the spatial overabundance of the present' (Augé 2008, 28), with the non-places of Augé's supermodern world characteristically large in scale, dwarfing the human subject, and ensuring that 'the dominant aesthetic is that of the cinematic long-shot' (Augé 2008, xiii).

At the film's opening we see the early morning routine of Elena and her husband Vladimir who, as we learn later, has been married before. Even without this knowledge, however, the strained, formal and artificial character of their marriage is apparent. All this is played out in the large, spacious, modern apartment that the wealthy Vladimir has acquired through his business interests. Elena's son Sergei, his wife Tatiana, their son Alexander and their newly born baby, meanwhile live in a shabby, Soviet-era apartment in a remote suburb to which Elena must travel at length on public transport. Sergei is desperate for Elena to get hold of a considerable sum of money to pay for his son to enter a private college, so that he can avoid military conscription. Subsequently, Elena's husband (in one of the few scenes not involved with one of the two apartments) has a heart attack in a swimming pool, recovers, and, while still in hospital, has a meeting with his estranged daughter Ekaterina (from his previous marriage), a world-weary and cynical young woman. After this meeting, Vladimir resolves to leave Ekaterina the lion's share of his will and tells Elena of his intention. Before the will is formalised, Elena decides she must kill her husband as a way of gaining access to at least some of his money and thus giving her grandson the

chance to escape military service. After murdering Vladimir with an overdose of Viagra, a somewhat ironic end for a man wielding his power and virility with gusto late in life, Elena takes a large amount of money from the safe to her son's family. After an extremely violent gang brawl in which Alexander is badly beaten up, the film ends with what can only be assumed to be the permanent arrival of Sergei and his family in the spacious apartment of the late Vladimir.

After the initial longshot of Elena's (separate) bedroom, we are presented with a fragmented and fractured image of the protagonist looking at herself in the mirror, brushing her hair in a repetitive and despondent fashion. The image is reminiscent of François Truffaut's Antoine Doinel in his mother's bedroom in *Les quatre cents coups/The 400 Blows* (1959) – another depiction of a protagonist who finds himself in a space in which he does not belong and who resorts to crime in order to escape his domestic and social predicament and find his own identity. The space of the modern apartment may well be universal in its appeal, but just as apparent is Elena's isolation in it, both within and beyond the confines of her marriage. As Augé puts it: 'The current globality consists of networks that produce both homogenization and exclusion' (Augé 2008, ix). Elena is alone both in her marriage and in the modern world. Her physical appearance, middle-aged and thick-set with the requisite headscarf tied under her chin, suggests Soviet Russia, leaving Elena cutting a somewhat anachronistic figure in 'a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality' (Augé 2008, 63).

Elena moves slowly through the house, opening doors with a sound which increasingly seems to suggest the heavy sound of a tomb being opened – important later when the reverse sound, the door to Vladimir's bedroom being closed, signals his imminent demise after he is poisoned and his apartment becomes his tomb. The irony is increased by the fact that Elena is his personal carer and a nurse by profession.

The wide space and lack of (human) movement which the apartment is able to give to the camera are utilised to the maximum: as Vladimir and Elena have breakfast together, the camera is able to take in with ease the entire length of the table at whose opposite ends they sit. The viewer is acutely aware of the magnitude of the space that separates the two characters. The composition of the shot places an empty chair in the centre of the frame, once again reminiscent of Truffaut's landmark film (1959), except that in this instance the protagonist occupying the chair is not the young Antoine Doinel, but rather the 'spatial overabundance' (Augé 2008, 28) that characterises the non-place in which the couple lives. Indeed, the fact that the camera is able to rest and take in the scene without movement highlights even more acutely the tense and unnatural tone of their dialogue and their slight movements and gestures. The intention of this opening scene is ironic: the modern, chic apartment, appearing at dawn from the city gloom as if the harbinger of a better future, is not a home to its two inhabitants; rather, it represents a non-place for them as they live out their dysfunctional lives and marriage within it. The marriage is essentially a sham, a convenience for both Vladimir and Elena. The dysfunctional balance is only disturbed when Elena attempts to extend the significance of their union to her own family. Then it becomes apparent the extent to which her marriage is a fantasy, sustained by the apartment in which she appears to be more of a maid and a nurse than a wife, living in her own quarters and performing her housekeeping tasks diligently. What should be a triumphant movement up the social scale for her through the economic benefits of her marriage thus becomes like '[c]ertain places [that] exist only through the words that evoke them, and in this sense they are non-places, or rather, imaginary places: banal utopias, clichés' (Augé 2008, 77).

The rendering of Elena's domestic space as a non-place is further evidenced by the juxtaposition of the scene involving her pottering in the kitchen with the shot of

her standing immediately afterwards in the lift lobby outside the apartment. The décor is almost identical – modern, aesthetically pleasing and yet lifeless. Likewise, once she finds herself downstairs in the street, the streetscape appears just as universal, soulless and artificial. This exterior scene is reminiscent of Jacques Tati's 1967 film *Playtime*, for which Tati constructed an entire cityscape of homogenised modern buildings, architecturally designed and engineered for a promising future, and yet assuring a dehumanising and unsettling present. As Augé (2008, 70) states, 'The traveller's space may thus be the archetype of non-place', and, indeed, when Elena boards the tram and then the train to visit Sergei and his family, we are in an even more universal and familiar non-place, sitting in silence with our physically and emotionally isolated protagonist whose constant movement between her two worlds betrays her stagnation.

In order to reach Sergei's Soviet-era flat, Elena must traverse what can only be described as a no man's land flanked by forest on the one hand and the towering presence of Soviet-era nuclear power installations on the other. The distance between the two apartments is clearly more than geographical. The contrast with Vladimir's apartment could not be greater: as Elena leaves Vladimir's building, she is given a polite greeting from the concierge on the ground floor, whereas upon arriving at Sergei's dilapidated, Soviet-era block of flats, she is greeted by a rather intimidating group of youths, the same youths who will later be involved in a gang fight of shocking violence with Sergei's son Alexander in their midst. Whereas in Vladimir's apartment the camera has the space to roam freely and rest on objects uninhibited, in Sergei's apartment the camera cannot find the space to rest on anything, confined as it is by the cramped conditions and the people living there. In this regard, *Elena* resembles another Russian film, *Malen′kaia Vera/Little Vera* (Pichul 1988), which, we have

argued previously (Lagerberg & McGregor 2011), also represents an ironic ode to the cramped and squalid (Soviet) apartment. As van Baak (2009, 383) states:

> Though architecture was seen to be extremely important for the material expression of Socialist and Communist doctrine, the results were such that the basic domestic needs of the people in general, especially in terms of privacy and convenience, were never given a high priority. [...] The House, as an anthropological concept, implies a set of basic values that include privacy, personal security and individual freedom, and [...] the doctrinal dogmas that directed Soviet society led to the deliberate repression, or at least to the systematic and planned neglect, of these values.

This, then, is the atmosphere immediately evoked by Elena's arrival at her son's apartment.

Mention must also be made of surely one of the most striking images in the film: as Elena approaches this apartment on foot, we are presented with a medium shot of Sergei himself as he stands perfectly centred in the middle balcony of the apartment block, an image where geometry and culture intersect – humankind framed and defined by its living spaces with the historical context (here Soviet) also present. Sergei is smoking, and lets fall from his lips a ball of spit which he watches fall to the ground some distance below. Just as the film's opening scene makes it clear that we are dealing first and foremost with the theme of living spaces and their relation to human life, so here too we see the human race defined and contained by its living space. The descent of the ball of spit is determined by gravity as much as the life of this particular man is confined and defined by the non-place he is forced to inhabit. As Augé observes: 'What he is confronted with, finally, is an image of himself […]. The space

of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude and simili-tude' (Augé 2008, 83). Sergei is surrounded by other living spaces, yet, in this re-markable image, his isolation perfectly illustrates the precise nature of the non-place.

In a curious way, the atmosphere in Sergei's confined apartment is more lively than Vladimir's apartment. Although Sergei and his son continue to play on the computer in spite of Elena's arrival and the pleading of Tatiana for them to join them in the kitchen, the overall impression is of a family with at least some degree of inter-action, though of course the close physical living conditions enforce that to some de-gree. Nevertheless, in Sergei's apartment, just as in Vladimir's, we are within the realm of the non-place again: the thudding sounds of the computer game echoing through the other rooms of the apartment are akin to the almost lifeless sounds of the televisions in Vladimir's apartment which are *de rigeur* switched on every waking hour of the day (and night). The squalor of Sergei's apartment block is clearly instru-mental in moulding the identity of Sergei's son Alexander who, towards the end of the film, is involved in a horrific fight with another gang living on the same estate for no apparent reason: domestic non-places lead to non-reason and to non-lives.

Sergei's son's involvement with the gang is perhaps indicative of the struggle for identity experienced by all of Elena's family. Just as the young male seeks to have his identity bolstered by involvement with a group of equally lost and misguided de-linquents, so too does Elena's family's rise – through social aspiration at all costs – seem to fall in line with Augé's observation that: 'The temptation to narcissism is all the more seductive […] in that it seems to express the common law: do as others do to be yourself' (Augé 2008, 85).

This brings us to the film's conclusion: after Elena has murdered Vladimir and taken the required amount of money to her son, the film concludes with the 'invasion' of Elena's relatives (Sergei and his family) into the late Vladimir's flat, ostensibly on

115

a permanent basis. One of the final images is that of Sergei and Tatiana's youngest child, the baby: while in the cramped conditions of their flat, the baby is never seen alone, but is constantly held by either mother or grandmother (i.e. Elena). With the move of Sergei's family to Vladimir's spacious apartment we see the rather disturbing image of the baby placed alone in a bedroom, suggesting the overriding irony – that while conditions here are vastly superior, there is also moral emptiness: the cuckoo has taken over the nest, but the nest determines lives and it will not bring to this invader any more joy than it did to the rightful owner.

Just as the film opened to the lifeless awakening of Vladimir and Elena as their day begins, so at the film's end – the closing of the frame – the camera draws away after showing the vacuous scene of the new inhabitants making themselves comfortable and Sergei settling down to television and a bowl of snacks. From 'non-place 1' to 'non-place 2', the migration appears complete; yet, for the viewer, it seems far from final. The family's occupation of the post-Soviet living space seems in no way convincing as a long-term proposition, and one wonders how long it will take for these illegitimate interlopers to be 'found out'. Indeed, late in his book, Augé refers in one instance to the experience of non-place as being 'out-of-place' (Augé 2008, 91): a space in which one 'tastes for a while […] the passive joys of identity-loss, and the more active pleasure of role-playing' (Augé 2008, 83).

The final shot of the film takes us back out of the domestic space that Elena's family has claimed for itself, perhaps yet another suggestion that this is simply another further evolution in a transitory existence, and that ultimately it is the space itself that will most likely outlast and outlive its inhabitants as they pursue a universal goal of social aspiration through the acquisition of increasingly desirable living space: 'A movement whose only end [is] itself' (Augé 2008, 71), where people are as much

in transit in their domestic space as they are, increasingly, in the ever more prominent non-places of shopping malls, airports and hotels.

In a discussion of Soviet culture and living spaces, Boym (1994, 7) discusses the iconography of a well known 1952 Socialist Realist painting, 'The New Apartment', which portrays the arrival of a family in their 'new' communal apartment:

> The painting is neither reflective nor self-reflective: people and objects hardly cast any shadows here, and there is no mirror hidden in the corner. The scene flaunts its perfect bright visibility and transparency of meaning. […] It is the way the culture wishes to see itself and to be seen, without thinking about the act of seeing. This is a perfect Socialist Realist genre scene, not an accurate portrayal of a Soviet apartment.

The final scene in *Elena* in some ways represents an ironic inverse of this image: while the Soviet apartment in *Elena* lays bare the shortcomings of that era's living spaces and the culture and ideology that gave rise to them, the modern apartment takes us almost full circle to the brave new world of spacious and luxurious living in Russia. The final scene of the modern apartment is, in a sense, a replica of that described by Boym above *mutatis mutandis* and with a liberal serving of irony thrown in: here we see the arrival of the new family into their newly acquired apartment, appropriated, of course, through nefarious means. While the more squalid aspects of the Soviet apartment are now far removed (even Sergei's son now appears miraculously unscarred from his recent brawl), the more serious metaphysical questions posed by the film seem to be answered by the promise of utter banality. In this way the film as a whole can be seen as a commentary on the wider debate of Russia's national identity, going back to the nineteenth century and Chaadaev's first 'Philosophical Letter' of 1836 (Chaadaev 1836) in which he berated Russia's backwardness vis-à-vis Western

117

Europe. The film's ostensible premise of linear progression and concomitant progress from Soviet to post-Soviet is, as it were, framed in this final 'family' scene, but, at the same time, the sense of cultural and moral emptiness which is highlighted by the wide physical space of the new apartment, the lack of movement and banal dialogue (underscored by Sergei's request to his wife to bring him snacks to be eaten in front of the television), only serves to undermine what is portrayed in this particular 'painting'. Rather than portraying a progression from non-place to place, the film offers a somewhat sombre appraisal of Russian national identity as a shift to just another instance of a non-national non-place characterised by the sense of universal displacement typical of supermodernity.

In conclusion, *Elena* depicts modern Russia through the prism of two non-places, the modern luxurious apartment and the more cramped and squalid Soviet-era flat. Identity is inextricably linked to physical space in the Russian context, and given that these living spaces represent non-places, the lives depicted in the film can be read as non-lives. Though both living spaces scarcely possess any redeeming moral features, each shows a different aspect of Russian life. While the Soviet-era apartment is 'warmer' in some ways, with more human life and contact, its indolence and decadence are toxic, most evidently in Alexander's character. The modern apartment is, by contrast, cold and tomb-like, lifeless. The Soviet-era apartment resembles the one in *Malen′kaia Vera/Little Vera* (Pichul 1988) with its lack of space and the camera forced to keep moving in order to view things in stark contrast with the static 'widescreen' shots in the modern apartment, resembling a still-life. Elena is the bridge between these two apartments; she constantly opens and closes the doors and curtains of the 'tomb', preparing the stage, as it were, for Vladimir's demise and her family's somewhat dubious rise.

The aspiration to live in comfort, while human and understandable, is shown to result in a form of living death. However, the Soviet apartment, while not entirely lifeless, is just as suffocating, squalid and traps its inhabitants in a life of sloth and even violence. Through an ironic depiction of the more up-market apartment, what should have been viewed as a 'move in the right direction' by Sergei and his family becomes, morally and culturally at least, little more than a move 'out of the frying pan into the fire'. As we have demonstrated, these dark images of Soviet and post-Soviet Russia provided by Zviagintsev's powerful film represent the home as a transitory liminal space, indeed as a non-place: an aspiration, a fantasy, a shifting mirage, a perpetual transit lounge, regardless of cultural context, for the empty promise of social mobility in a supermodern world.

REFERENCES

Augé, Marc (2008): *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*, 2nd ed., London; New York: Verso.

Boym, Svetlana (1994): *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia*, Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, England: Harvard University Press.

Chaadaev, Petr (1836): 'Letters on the Philosophy of History: First Letter' in *Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology*, M. Raeff (ed.), New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966, pp. 160-173.

Clowes, Edith,W. (2011): *Russia on the Edge: Imagined Geographies and Post-Soviet Identity*, Ithaca/London, Cornell University Press.

Merriman, Peter (2010): 'Marc Augé', in: Hubbard, Phil, & Kitchin, Rob (eds), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, Sage, London, pp. 26-33.

Lagerberg, Robert and McGregor, Andrew (2011): 'Home Sweet Home: The Significance of the Apartment in the Film *Malen′kaia Vera/Little Vera*', *Studies in European Cinema*, 8/1, 57-65.

Thomassen, B. (2006): 'Liminality' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, Harrington, B.L. Marshall and H.-P. Müller (eds), London: Routledge, p. 322.

van Baak, Joost (2009): *The House in Russian Literature: A Mythopoetic Exploration*, Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

FILM REFERENCES

Pichul, V. (1988): *Malen′kaia Vera/Little Vera*, Soviet Union: Gorky Film Studios. 128'.

Tati, J. (1967): *Playtime*, France: Jolly Film; Specta Films. 124'.

Truffaut, F. (1959): *Les quatre cents coups/The 400 Blows*, France: Les films du carosse; Sédif Productions. 99'.

Zviagintsev, A. (2011): *Elena.* Russia: Non-Stop Productions. 109'.

JULIE FEDOR

SETTING THE SOVIET PAST IN STONE: THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE NEW MARTYRS OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

In recent years, one subgroup of the victims of Soviet state terror has been coming into ever-sharper focus: the so-called 'Russian new martyrs and confessors of the twentieth-century', comprised of the clergy and laity of the Russian Orthodox Church who suffered as a result of state repressions during the Soviet period. Nearly two thousand new martyrs have been canonised since 2000. The new martyrs have been the subject of intense research, and impressive progress has been made in recovering their names and stories. These stories have in turn been at the centre of a campaign to narrate and commemorate their lives and deaths through the production of saints' lives, icons, churches and monuments; to put their graves in order; and generally to create what the director of one such memorial centre has called the 'infrastructure of memory' (Gar´kavyi 2013). This campaign represents a powerful bid to transform Russia's memorial landscape, to place the victims of Russia's twentieth century firmly in a new context, and to change the way in which the Soviet past is imagined, understood and explained.

Given the increasingly close relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) (henceforth ROC MP) and state structures, this new martyrdom discourse (on which see further Bogumił 2012, Kahla 2010 and Konstantinova 2012) can be considered the closest thing that Russia has to an officially authorised version of the history of Soviet state terror. In stark contrast to the continually stalling plans to create a central state museum commemorating the victims of Stalinist and Red terror, this memory project is rapidly being institutionalised and trans-

lated into real actions and real buildings. This situation at least in part reflects the more convenient possibilities offered by the religious idiom of the new martyrdom discourse for making peace with the Soviet past while simultaneously avoiding difficult questions about that past.

In this article I explore some of the meaning-making practices surrounding the new martyrs through a discussion of the new symbolic language that is being developed in order to narrate and represent these events. My focus is on the iconography produced and endorsed by the ROC MP, and the sometimes paradoxical ways in which it is being used to undergird a model of the correct Orthodox Christian attitude of unquestioning loyalty towards the state. Symbolic representations of the new martyrs take a variety of forms, from church architecture, icon-painting, saints' lives and hymns, through to the traditions and practices being invented and adapted around these, such as pilgrimages to martyrdom sites (Uchastniki 2013) and sacred springs (Kreshchenskaia vlaga 2011 and Kudriashov 2008), liturgical services, and Sunday school lessons (Artamonova n.d.). Increasingly, there have been attempts on the part of the ROC MP to centralise and homogenise these practices and forms, and as a result, it is now possible to make out the contours of a new canonical tradition when it comes to commemorating the history of Soviet state terror.

The emergence of this discourse can be linked to a number of broader trends. These include the growing tendency for the ROC MP to take on a leading role in memory politics, such that new Great Patriotic War monuments, for example, are increasingly taking religious form (see Zhurzhenko 2012 and Wood 2011: 189), and the war itself is glossed by Patriarch Kirill as punishment for the collective national sin of Soviet atheism (Slovo 2009). A connection might also be drawn here to what Paul Williams (2007) has called the 'global rush to commemorate atrocities', which in turn is linked to the worldwide shift towards remembering World War Two in terms

of violence and victimhood rather than heroism and glory (see Confino 2005; Bessel 2010; Winter 2006). Russian war commemoration is undergoing a similar shift in inflection away from the triumphal and towards the traumatic, and it has even been suggested that the cult of the new martyrs may represent a kind of challenge mounted by the ROC MP to the primacy of the official secular cult of Victory in the Great Patriotic War (Ne stesniaias´ 2011). The growing tendency to emphasise victimhood over Victory is particularly marked when it comes to remembering Russia's twentieth century on the world stage. This would appear to be at least in part a matter of conscious policy aimed at generating symbolic capital (see Etkind *et al.* 2012: 144-46). As we shall see below, in some cases this process has involved appropriating iconic emblems of victimhood from World War Two, such as the Katyn massacres and the Holocaust, and using them to frame the new martyrs.

My primary emphasis in this article is on the ways in which the ambiguities of Russia's transition and the hybrid nature of the post-Soviet Russian state are reflected and played out in the new symbolic language and forms being created to represent and remember the new martyrs. I want to suggest that the new martyrdom narrative of the Soviet past, with its key motifs of victimhood and blood sacrifice, can be read as an attempt to create a foundation myth legitimising the current regime. As Paul Connerton has written, 'All beginnings contain an element of recollection' (1989: 6). My account highlights the ways in which remembering the new martyrs has to do with declaring where Russian identity begins and ends. The new martyrdom discourse offers a master narrative of the Soviet past and the post-Soviet transition that smooths out ambiguities and draws clearcut lines of continuity and change.

Writing in a very different context, the medievalist Caroline Walker Bynum has called the question of change, that is, 'the fundamental fact that something can become something else', 'the other side of the question of identity'. She writes,

> If change is the replacement of one entity by another and the growth
> of an entity out of another entity in which it is implicit, we must be
> able to say how we know we have an entity in the first place. What
> gives it its identity – that is, makes its one thing?... change is the test,
> the limit of all denotations of the term 'identity' (Bynum 2001).

In her study of medieval ideas about hybridity, metamorphosis and identity, Bynum raises important questions about the difficulties that are always involved in delineating the boundaries between past and present identities, between continuity and change. These difficulties are arguably especially fraught in the case of Russia's post-socialist transition. On the one hand, the recent transformations of Russian state and society have been dramatic, rapid and far-reaching, but on the other, they have been permeated with ambiguities which are in some ways increasingly evident as time passes. Consequently we find here an intense cultural preoccupation with change and identity, with the depth and authenticity of the post-socialist transformation. The intertwined histories of the state security apparatus and the ROC MP offer an emblematic case in point. The lyrics of the notorious Pussy Riot song performed at the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow highlighted these entangled histories when they called upon the Mother of God to drive out the priests in 'black robes, gold shoulderboards' and worshipping the KGB instead of God. In many ways the twin figures of the *chekist* disguised in a cassock on the one hand, and the ex-*chekist* turned candle-bearer on the other, stand as emblematic figures encapsulating the ambiguities and uncertainties surrounding Russia's post-Soviet transition.

The histories and memories of these two institutions are connected in deep and intimate ways. It was the Soviet secret police that took a lead role in eradicating the church from the outset. The executions of priests in particular seem to have weighed especially heavily on the *chekist* conscience; it was said to be precisely the figure of

the bloody priest that appeared to the *chekist* in his nightmares (Shteppa cited Korn-ilov 2003). The two institutions might also be said to bear uncanny resemblances; they have often been rivals, pursuing similar aims and engaging in similar practices – policing morality, taking confession, attempting to unlock the secrets of the heart and the conscience. They have often shared personnel, with the large-scale *chekist* infiltration of the church hierarchy in the late Soviet decades, to the point where, according to one dissident Orthodox priest, it was no longer possible to tell where the church ended and the KGB began (Edel´shtein cited Luk´ianchenko 1991). In some ways we might almost think of the two institutions are conjoined twins, albeit with a very painful, bloody and conflict-ridden history. The current heads of state and church, a pair who have carried out a series of high-profile performative acts of memory during their joint pilgrimages to martyrdom sites – Vladimir Putin, the ex-KGB officer turned pious Orthodox president, and Patriarch Kirill, the apparent ex-KGB agent and descendant of a priest who served time in the gulag – are a pair who embody the complicated legacy of the entangled histories of these two institutions.

The actual fabric of the church's memory is likewise inseparable from that of the security apparatus. The intertwining of the two institutions' fates is manifested spatially. They share key sites of memory, arising out of the standard practice whereby the Soviet secret police took over church buildings such as monasteries and converted them into prisons, makeshift camps, execution and burial sites, but also residential accommodation and administrative offices, before eventually transferring them back to the church. Finally, it was the *chekist* interrogators who were the first and most important historians of the new martyrs, since it is NKVD investigation files that constitute the main surviving source that can be used to write this history. Even the maps of the burial sites – insofar as they exist – have to be found in the present-day FSB archives or pieced together via oral interviews with former *chekists*. At the

same time, it is the church that is proving to be the most useful helper in handling the difficult history of the Soviet past on behalf of the present-day Putin government and its security apparatus.[1]

Reconciliation and Closure

One obvious feature of this discourse is the fact that it declares and enacts the achievement of reconciliation with the Soviet past. A key church directive issued on commemoration of the new martyrs in February 2011 opens by asserting that, after years of research, we have finally now acquired sufficient knowledge about the Soviet past to be in a position to take stock of it fully:

> In recent years the Russian Orthodox Church has gathered numerous testimonies on Christians who suffered during the persecutions for faith in Christ in the 20th century. Extensive material has been accumulated, enabling the objective evaluation of the situation of the time and its history to be summed up (O merakh 2011).

The 'post-Soviet' phase of historical research aimed at recovering and restoring memory is thus declared to be complete. The facts have been established and are uncontroversial.

This newly achieved 'closure' when it comes to the Soviet past is now to be proclaimed and embodied in the form of new church buildings. A quick web search turns up dozens of new churches dedicated to the new martyrs, built over the past decade in particular (see Milovidov 2013), especially in Moscow and the Moscow re-

---

[1] While these are beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note that there are also alternative voices calling for different approaches to the new martyrs, including from within the church itself; see for example Kochetkov 1993; Balakshina 2012; and My dolzhny 2012.

gion, where the martyrdom sites tend to be concentrated, but also as far flung as the Solovki, the Urals, and Chuvashia, to cite just a few examples, as well as in non-Russian parts of the ROC's 'canonical territory', such as Ukraine and Belarus.

In Spring 2011, a second wave of post-Soviet Orthodox church building was announced with the launch of the controversial 'Programme-200', aimed at building 200 new churches in Moscow alone. This proliferation of new churches is frequently said to be directly correlated with the recovery of the memory of the new martyrs, illustrating the generative power of the martyr that Tertullian described in his famous proclamation that 'the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christianity' (see, for example, Filippov 2010). In turn, the 'Programme-200' joint church-state initiative represents, according to one of the bishops involved, 'a sign of our reconciliation with our own history. We have turned the terrible pages of the destruction of national culture' (Novye prikhody 2012).

The beginning of this process of reconciliation is often traced back to another landmark change in Russia's built landscape: the decision to restore Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in the mid-1990s — a move that symbolised, as Patriarch Aleksii II put it in 1995, 'the beginning transformation of Rus´, correction of her historical paths, illumination of her countenance' (cited Kesler n.d.). While the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour is not dedicated to the new martyrs, it is a central link in the new martyrdom discourse, and the most important visual symbol of the history of Soviet persecution of the church and post-Soviet resurrection of the church. The Cathedral itself is often anthropomorphised and described, on its official website, for example, as a 'martyr' (Stranitsy n.d.), in keeping with the medieval Russian understanding of churches as 'bodies – or more precisely, human faces with eyes, ears, and heads' (Emerson 2008: 60-61). 'Programme-200' represents the concluding stage of the process initiated by the Cathedral's restoration, and the mass canonisation of over one

thousand new martyrs in 2000, the 'Programme-200' website asserts, 'drew a line under the terrible epoch of militant godlessness' (Sobor n.d.).

Purification, Victimhood and Identity

The construction of churches dedicated to the new martyrs is intended to effect a ritual symbolic cleansing of the site in question. As Igor´ Gar´kavyi, director of the Butovo Memorial Research-Education Centre put it, building a church on the site of a martyr's death enabled 'a place of mourning, a place of crime [to be] transformed into a place of repentance, of purification (catharsis) and reconciliation via repentance' (Gar´kavyi n.d.). The purification and sacralisation enabled by the new martyrdom discourse offers a way around the stumbling block that has prevented the construction of a post-Soviet Russian identity rooted in the memory of Russian victimhood and suffering during the Soviet era, along the lines of the national historical narratives that have been developed in many East European countries. The Russian Federation's ambiguous position as semi-successor state to the Soviet Union has made it difficult to frame the Soviet past as a case of victimisation by an external force, and the predominance of former operatives of the Soviet state security apparatus within the Putin government has meant that any official pronouncement condemning Soviet state crimes would have to be far-reaching indeed in order to overcome this fact in the current regime's biography and form the basis of an entirely new and separate identity.

The cult of the new martyrs, with its key metaphor of purification by blood sacrifice, might thus be viewed as a kind of substitute or surrogate for the lustration process that was never put in place in post-Soviet Russia. As Choi and David point out, the meanings of the Latin *lustratio* include 'ritual sacrifice' and 'purification by sacrifice'. Lustration is a symbolic act that marks discontinuity with the past and the legitimacy of the new government (Choi and David 2012: 1178-9) – both functions

which are also performed by the consecration of churches dedicated to the new martyrs.

In fulfilling the role of custodian of the memory of Soviet state terror, the ROC MP is effectively acting as a proxy for the current state authorities, including the successor agencies to the Soviet state security organs. The churches that now stand at the Butovo site, for example, where an established 20,765 victims of the 1937-38 terror are buried, 940 of them priests and laity of the ROC, were built on land that was gifted to the ROC by the FSB in the mid-1990s (Butovskii poligon 2007). In other cases, the local city authorities have made similar gestures; examples include the former 'Kommunarka' burial site, and the Sviato-Yekaterininskii male monastery outside of Moscow, used as Sukhanovka prison in the Stalinist period, both of which were transferred to the ROC in the 1990s. At one level these property transfers were in accordance with the obligation taken on by the Russian government when it joined the Council of Europe (1996) to return property requisitioned from religious organisations during the Soviet period. At the same time, we can note that, by transferring these sites to the church, the state has also effectively handed over to the church the problem of dealing with the Soviet past. The ROC in turn has duly repeatedly declared the historical reconciliation of victim and perpetrator, thereby bestowing historical legitimacy upon the current regime.

There are also other ways in which the memory of the new martyrs can also be turned to the advantage of the state. At first glance, the new martyrdom narrative might look like a potentially dangerous story of heroic resistance in the face of state oppression. But on the official reading, the new martyrdom narrative becomes, on the contrary, a story about the virtues of docility and passivity with regard to the state. In 2008 Justice Minister Aleksandr Konovalov spelled out this ideological message: the

new martyrs exemplified the correct 'Christian attitude to the state'. The new martyrs had:

> prayed for the very state that persecuted them, because they believed that there would be more to the history of Russia than the period of unlawful power. They did not fight against the authorities, but nor did they carry out anti-humane decisions and they sincerely believed that the godless regime in Russia was exhausting itself, and therefore they did not rush to declare their country lost. As we can see today, their faith was not in vain (Ministr iustitsii 2008).

Appropriating Victimhood

The most frequent points of comparison used to frame the new martyrs in this discourse are two emblematic, internationally recognised World War Two atrocities: the Holocaust and the Katyn massacres. Such comparisons be read as an attempt to appropriate the symbolic power of these quintessential icons of victimhood and suffering. This entails a discursive move whereby the victims of Katyn and the Holocaust are acknowledged, but are simultaneously used as a foil enabling assertion of the primacy of Russian victimhood.

It is sometimes claimed that the Bolshevik persecution of the Orthodox Church constituted 'genocide' and that the term 'Holocaust' is therefore applicable to this case. Archbishop (now metropolitan) Volokolamsky Ilarion claimed in a media interview in 2009, for example, that there was 'no substantial difference between Butovsky poligon and Buchenwald, between the GULAG and Hitler's system of death camps' (cited Igumen Petr [Meshcherinov] 2011: 131). This aspect of the new martyrdom discourse is a controversial one, representing as it does a move to invert the longstanding official Russian position on the inadmissibility of comparing Hitler and Stalin.

The appropriation of the site of Katyn Forest, internationally known as a place of Polish memory and mourning, is even more striking. In the summer of 2012, a billboard was erected on the road near Katyn, featuring an image of Patriarch Kirill and the text 'THE BLOOD OF THE NEW MARTYRS WAS SHED FOR GOD'S TRUTH' (original emphasis – JF) (Fotoal'bom 2012). The billboard was part of the lead-up to the consecration of a new Orthodox church constructed in 2010-12 immediately adjacent to the joint Russian-Polish memorial at Katyn, dedicated both to the site's most famous Polish victims, and also to the nameless Soviet victims of Stalinist terror buried here. The construction of the joint memorial in 2000 had seemed to represent a suitable solution to the problem of commemorating both the Polish and Soviet victims buried at the site, marking an end to the long history of falsification and denial of the Katyn events (see further Etkind *et al.* 2012). But this latest transformation of the site represents a bid to change the story of Katyn yet again.

The new Orthodox church at Katyn is forty metres high, and is designed to form the heart of a major pilgrimage complex to be housed at the site. In 2010, Putin laid the foundation stone for the church, announcing that, 'With the construction of a church, this place, which was linked with a tragedy and a crime, is transformed into a sacred place' (cited Blagovestov 2012). Sponsored by Rosneft, this complex is to include a large conference hall, several class rooms, a museum, a refectory, a holy-water well, a bell-tower, and accommodation to house the large numbers of pilgrims expected to be attracted by the site (Patriarkh Kirill 2012).

According to Patriarch Kirill, none of the previous designs for a memorial at Katyn, including, presumably, the memorial eventually built there in 2000, 'reflected the genuine tragedy of this place'. During his time as local Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, many different designs for a Katyn memorial had been brought to him for consideration, but something prevented him from approving them (Slovo

2012). He has suggested that this instinctive antipathy, like the church's subsequent appearance at the site, was providential, a sign of God's will.

The new Orthodox church overshadows and dominates the original memorial, and indeed dominates the surrounding landscape; it is visible from a long distance as you approach the site, as the major landmark on the skyline. As the Patriarch put it, the construction of the church meant that there was no need for any other signs telling people that this was a site of mass graves; the Orthodox church tower now effectively stands as the metonymic sign for Katyn, and the site itself has been re-cast as a site of 'reconciliation of the Slavic peoples' (Sviateishii Patriarkh 2010) (for a similar case of the Orthodox appropriation of a military grave at Ossów in Poland, see Nowak 2013).

This spatial domination of the landscape sits somewhat uneasily alongside a new emphasis in the official and church rhetoric on the notion that all the victims buried at Katyn are equal and that ownership of the site is 'shared'. The Patriarch used the word 'shared' eight times in a single paragraph of his speech at the consecration ceremony in July 2012, describing Katyn as a 'shared grave', a place of 'shared mourning', 'shared deep experiences [*perezhivaniia*]', 'shared suffering', 'shared tragedy', and 'shared victimhood' (or 'sacrifice' – the Russian *zhertva* means both) (Slovo 2012).

At one level, this emphasis on the sharing of this site and its history represents a delayed triumph of the late-Soviet official position on Katyn. When the idea of building a joint Polish-Soviet memorial at the site was first raised, the Polish side came under pressure to agree to a joint memorial downplaying the national borders separating the different groups of victims buried at the site. This was fiercely resisted by the Polish negotiators, who insisted 'that this crime in particular […] had a special significance and symbolic dimension for us Poles', and eventually succeeded in gain-

ing the right to a Polish component within the memorial, set off from the rest of the site (Etkind *et al.* 2012: chapter 7).

Many of the key Polish negotiators, including historian and head of the Polish Council for Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites, Andrzej Przewoźnik, were killed in the Smolensk plane catastrophe of 10 April 2010. Before he died, Przewoźnik expressed his intention to register a protest over the construction of the Orthodox church at the site. He pointed out that this represented a violation of the 1994 Russian-Polish bilateral agreement on maintaining and protecting extra-territorial burial sites and other memorial sites linked to wars and repressions, under which both sides had pledged not to change the spatial composition of such sites without first informing the other (Fotyga 2012).

Meanwhile, one can make out a tendency in some of the Russian media coverage on Katyn towards downplaying and decreasing the number of Polish victims buried here and steadily increasing the number of Soviet victims. For example, a local Smolensk newspaper reported in May 2011 that Katyn was the burial site of 'many hundreds of Polish officers [the actual figure is 4,421 – JF], and many tens of thousands of our fellow citizens, victims of Stalinism' (Novikov and Artemenko 2011).

Here the Orthodox new martyrdom discourse dovetails with and bolsters the current government policy on the Soviet past, now increasingly based on the principle that Russia, rather than fighting overt memory wars with its neighbours, which are costly in reputational terms, should adopt a different strategy. Rather than denying others' claims to victimhood, Russia should embrace its position as the 'biggest victim' of all, and should take regional leadership in devising memory policies on this issue, thereby gaining symbolic capital and boosting the country's international prestige. Mikhail Fedotov, one of the architects of this policy, summed up this position in an interview in June 2011:

> People, especially our journalist colleagues, sometimes ask: does this
> mean that Russia admits its guilt for the horrors of the totalitarian re-
> gime? I answer like this: Russia is the biggest victim of the totalitarian
> regime… laying the crimes of the totalitarian regime on to Russia is
> the same as trying to accuse the victim of a crime of being a criminal
> too (Fedotov 2011).

Redemptive Narratives of Terror

The memory of the new martyrs may be based on the notion of victimhood
and suffering, then, but it draws upon the model of the memory of the early Christian
martyrs in order to transform these events into a celebratory story. This offers a per-
spective whereby, in the words of Igumen Damaskin (Orlovsky), perhaps the most
important hagiographer of the new martyrs and Secretary of the Holy Synod's Can-
onisation Commission, for all the horror of 1937, 'it must also be said that this year,
which almost put an end to the physical existence of the Church in Russia, multiplied
the number of her saints' (Igumen Damaskin [Orlovsky] 2012). This suffering, then,
was not in vain; it has borne 'fruit' in the shape of the new martyrs (Yemel´ianov
2010).

The canonic traditions of icon-painting lend themselves to these features of the
new martyrdom discourse in various ways. Traditionally, according to Ouspensky and
Lossky, the 'centre of gravity' in Orthodox icons depicting martyrdom was 'not in the
grievous character of [the saints'] martyrdom, but in the joy and peace which are its
fruit' (Ouspensky and Lossky 1982: 125). The newly produced icons depicting Soviet
martyrdom likewise emphasise the joyous message of these events. For example, the
fourth border scene of the icon produced in the lead-up to the mass canonisation of
2000 for the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, which depicts the killing of holy martyrs

Andronik and Yermogen during the Civil War, is described as simultaneously depicting real historical events and conveying 'high symbolic meaning': 'the shining whiteness of the walls and the gold of the cupolas' shown in the icon have been transformed by the martyrs' feat and 'lend a wondrous feeling of celebration [*prazdnichnost´*] to the whole depiction… thus different planes of existence merge into one in the icon image' (Saltykov 2000.)

As a form, the icon's distinctive combination of the spiritual/eternal and the historical/secular/worldly also, of course, makes it an ideal medium for myth-making, defined by Barthes as the transformation of history into nature, and the contingent into the eternal (Barthes 1993: 129). Art historian Mariia Netsvetaeva explains that in this scene, for example, the gold background symbolises 'the balance of the eternal and the temporal'. It indicates that the events depicted are located outside of time: 'The gold background creates a perfectly neutral space and shows that the action is taking place in God's glory' (cited Pavliukevich 2013). According to the manual produced by the icon-painter Mariia Sokolova, 'The icon expresses a single truth, established once and forever, and not subject to change' (Sokolova 1995). In this respect the icon makes an ideal form for setting out an official, monolithic historical narrative that would be less justifiable in other media or genres, such as school history textbooks.

Church tradition and the connection drawn to the early Christian martyrs thus offer templates which make it possible to emplot the Soviet terror within a set of established narrative conventions, thereby avoiding some of the difficult decisions about how to depict and explain these events. The secular vocabulary of crime and historical responsibility is replaced by a religiously inflected language of sin, evil, sacrifice and forgiveness. This is arguably especially convenient when it comes to the sensitivie question of how to depict the perpetrators.

135

This is a difficult issue not only because of the prominent role played by former staff of the Soviet repressive organs in the contemporary Russian regime and the lack of any lustration process in post-Soviet Russia, but also for other historical and historiographical reasons. One characteristic of the history of Soviet state terror in Russia is the especially blurry boundaries between victim and perpetrator. As Etkind has described, unlike the Nazi terror that was based on a 'crystal-clear boundary' between victims and perpetrators, the Soviet terror featured highly fluid boundaries separating victims and executioners, since 'it was a rule rather than an exception that the perpetrators of one wave or terror became victims of the next' (Etkind 2013: 7-8). In death, too, they cannot be separated. As the abbey of the monastery at the former 'Kommunarka' mass burial site put it, 'Here, both victims, and butchers, who also became victims, lie side by side' (Spetsob´´ekt 'Kommunarka' 2005).

The state of historical knowledge on the individuals who operated the Soviet repressive apparatus and carried out the killing is also much less well-developed in the Soviet than in the Nazi case. In the Soviet case, the majority of the historical research so far has focused overwhelmingly on recovering the stories of the victims. The 'Memorial' Society has primarily focused on rescuing victims from oblivion and anonymity (Predislovie 2007), as well as locating and cataloguing their graves (Memorial´nye programmy n.d.). 'Memorial' also runs a research programme on the history of the Soviet punitive organs, led by Nikita Petrov (who has been working since 1977 to piece together meticulously fragments of information on the perpetrators), but this is exceptional. For the most part, as Lynne Viola pointed out in 2013, 'the question of the perpetrator is largely uncharted territory in the history of the Soviet Union' (Viola 2013: 1).

A solution to the issue of how to depict the perpetrators is offered in the most important example of the new iconography (Karimova 2001: 244), the officially ap-

proved icon of the new martyrs, housed in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow and produced for the 2000 mass canonisation ceremony by a group of lecturers and icon painters from the Orthodox St Tikhon Theological Institute in Moscow (founded 1992; from 2004, the Orthodox St Tikhon University for the Humanities; henceforth PSTGU). Painted in the sixteenth-century Muscovite style, the icon depicts the perpetrators in a heavily stylised, abstract and standardised form. They are invariably depicted as Red Army soldiers, wearing greatcoats and *budenovki* stylised to resemble and chime with the pointed helmets worn by Roman soldiers in medieval icons (for a fifteenth-century precedent see Privedenie n.d.). Thus, while the depiction of the martyrs on the icon often includes elements of individual portraiture painted, as we shall see below, from photographs, when it comes to the concrete historical perpetrators, the focus becomes fuzzy. No sense of human agency is conveyed here. The role of these soldiers as passive instruments of Satan is underlined symbolically in the icon in various ways. For example, they have deliberately been painted in less detail, especially their faces, so as to 'emphasise the fact that the soldiers are a blind tool in the hands of demons fighting against the Church', as one popular newspaper explained it (Ikona 2007). They feature as a kind of abstract 'embodiment of evil' (Saltykov 2000). For one interpreter, what is depicted here should be viewed in national terms as representing 'the victory of the Russian spirit over the world forces of evil' (Inozemtseva 2010).

This icon provided the prototype which has been used and adapted by icon-painters in depicting the new martyrs' executioners elsewhere, for example, at Butovo (Sobor 2011), in Omsk (Yeremenko 2003), and in Grodno in Belarus (Novomucheniki n.d.). The latter Belarusian series of icons has been especially controversial, partly because some people were offended to see the Red Army depicted as executioners (Pavliukevich 2013), but also because of the politically inflammable nature

of images depicting Stalinist terror in the Belarusian context. There have been reports that the Belarusian KGB has attempted to have these icons removed from the cathedral on the grounds that they were provocative and socially divisive (Richters 2013: 140). The bishop refused to do so on the grounds that it was not in his power to re-write history, and the abbot defended them as painted in accordance with church canons established in Moscow and blessed by the Patriarch (Fagan 2008). In this case, then, the centralised and canonised new martyrdom discourse provides a pretext for displaying images of Soviet terror in public. This case illustrates the ways in which this memory ultimately cannot be controlled from above. The new martyrdom discourse may have unpredictable consequences, and potentially quite powerful mobilisational force.

In the case of the martyrs depicted in the key Moscow icon described above, many of them were painted from the unique collection of several thousand photographs contained in the PSTGU database. This was in keeping with the intention of the database's creator, Nikolai Yemel´ianov, who designed it to be not just a collection of information, but also a research tool, and a 'source for the creation of a new church iconography' (Yemel´ianov 2010). Many victims' families have been able to access these photographs of their ancestors for the first time via the database, which went online in 1996.

Many of these photographs consist of NKVD mug-shots, often taken shortly before execution (see Fotografie 2013). The icon-painters commissioned with painting the Moscow icon were provided with around 1000 photographs from these icons, and these photographs were used to paint over 100 individual saints and in developing the border scenes depicting particular events (Vstupitel´naia stat´ia 2012). A special commission was formed to choose which photographs should be used for a model: for example, a camp one, with a tormented face, or, on the contrary, a 'peacetime' family

photograph. In each case this decision was made on an individual basis (Stepanova 2013).

There is a large body of NKVD so-called 'prison photography' available, but unlike Holocaust photography, this remains a source largely untapped and unexplored by scholars (exceptions include the work of Tomasz Kizny [Fotografie 2013] and Morozov 2004). The NKVD pre-execution photographs are immensely powerful visual documents. The examples below are from the 'Za Khrista postradavshie' database, and show in descending order Holy Martyrs Metropolitan Serafim (Chichagov) (1856-1937); Deacon Elisei (Shtol'der) (1883-1937) and Tat´iana Grimblit (1903-1937):
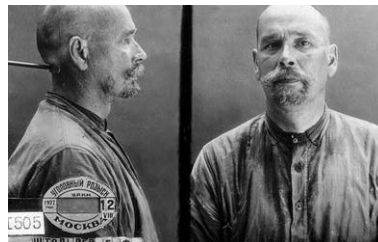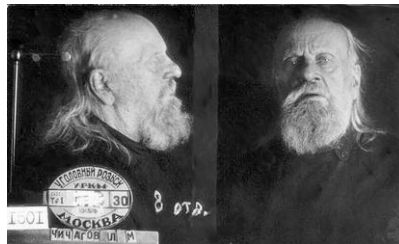
As Tomasz Kizny argues, more than any other type of historical source, and against the intentions of the perpetrators who condemned the victims not just to death

but to oblivion, these photographs have the potential to summon up the memory of individual victims (cited Fotografie 2013). Taken shortly before death, the photographs are extreme instances of the connection that Barthes (1981: 92) and Sontag (1973: 15) both famously drew between photography and death; they are quintessential cases of Barthes' *punctum*, of photographs that pierce the viewer, and pierce the fabric of time. These photographs are examples of what Frank van Vree, writing about Holocaust images, has called 'indigestible' images, that 'resist any narrativisation… not letting themselves be absorbed by a story that takes the viewer away' (van Vree in Tilmans *et al.* 2010: 278).

For some commentators, these photographs are themselves equivalent to or even more powerful than icons. Yemel´ianov described the NKVD photographs as being often more spiritually 'charged' (*zariazheny*) than regular photographs, and stated that in this sense they surpassed icons (cited Khor´kova 2007). Much as God revealed himself through the icon, so the martyrs 'reveal themselves to us: in archival files, in prison photographs, in reminiscences', Yemel´ianov wrote (Yemel´ianov 2010). The 2012 introduction to Yemel´ianov's database also describes these photographs as ideal modern icons:

> How beautiful the faces of the martyrs and confessors are! The prison photographs found in the archives, often taken in the final days before execution, are like revealed [*iavlennye*] icons. Contemporary icons, as a rule, are unable to convey the spiritual power of the icon-like countenances [*ikonopisnykh likov*] of prison photographs (Vstupitel´naia stat´ia 2012).

140

Icon-painter Yekaterina Sheko, head of the faculty of icon-painting at the PSTGU, and a participant in designing interior decorations for the re-built Cathedral of Church the Saviour in Moscow, notes that:

> Painting icons of famous saints is simpler: one can take a famous model and copy it. But one must 'give birth' ['*rozhdat´*'] to the new martyrs, and this is difficult. Just now I was painting an icon of new martyrs from execution photographs – this is frightening. In the prison photographs they are all shaved, after torture and before impending execution. And from their faces you can see that together with a camera, a pistol is being pointed at them. But you have to create the image of a saint, who is already beyond this reality (cited Piatnitskii 2010).

For historian Inozemtseva (2010), the subjects in these photographs are gazing not into the NKVD camera, but into 'the face of eternity'. She sees these photographs themselves as 'striking in their calmness. There was something magnificent in the countenance of the spiritual person before the face of eternity'. Thus, when viewed in the light of the new martyrdom discourse, these images serve to transform the story of these historical events, such that disturbing images of violence are sublimated and re-constituted as part of a smooth, meaningful, reassuring narrative:[2]

---

[2] Image sources in descending order respectively:

i) Open Orthodox Encyclopedia *Drevo*: http://drevo-info.ru/articles/2920.html

ii) Open Orthodox Encyclopedia *Drevo*: http://drevo-info.ru/articles/15678.html

iii) *Pravoslavie i mir:* http://www.pravmir.ru/novomuchenica-tatyana-grimblit-za-pomoshh-zaklyuchennym-rasstrel/ and http://www.pravmir.ru/odetsya-poskromnee-a-ostavshiesya-dengi-razdat-nishhim-muchenica-tatiana-grimblit/

I should point out that I have not been able to ascertain definitively whether these icons were produced using the NKVD photographs shown here, but, given the high degree of similarity between the two sets of images, this seems to be very likely.
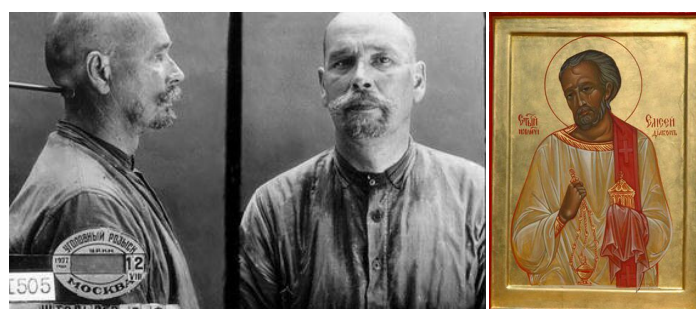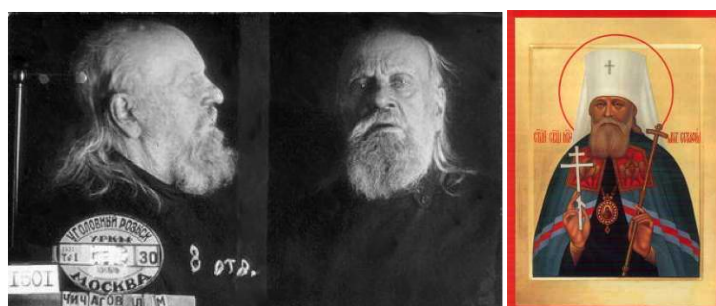
Conclusion

The introduction to the 'Za Khrista postradavshie' online database proclaims that:

> The church stands on the blood of martyrs. This ancient belief of Christians were confirmed with special clarity in the twentieth century. The aim of the upheaval of the early century, inspired, without doubt, by satan, was destruction of the Orthodox Church... Despite colossal losses, our Church preserved Orthodox faith, preserved its organisation and its flock. The Church proved the only institution of old Russia which the new regime was unable to defeat… And of course, the Church's victory over the forces of evil was carried out first and foremost thanks to the great *sonm* of Russian new martyrs and confessors… Through their prayers the persecutions have temporarily ceased and the Orthodox Church is now able to conduct its activities relatively freely (Vstupitel´naia stat´ia 2012).

This passage exemplifies two key noteworthy features of the new martyrdom discourse. First, what we are seeing here is the emergence of a new founding myth based on the idea that religious faith was the singlemost central factor in Soviet state repressions – this is being asserted frequently, including in official documents produced by the church leadership. This articulation of Soviet repression and Orthodox Christianity is encapsulated in the growing tendency to replace the old standard term used as shorthand for Stalinist terror, 'the repressions', with a new term, 'the persecutions'. This in turn is being used as a building block for a new narrative of the entire Soviet period as primarily the story of the church's victory over evil. In this story, the church survived not in spite of, but because of the mass killings of the Soviet period –

a curious twist in the narrative which, potentially at least, leaves open the possibility of salvaging an honourable place for Stalin in this story.

The new martyrdom discourse can be read as an attempt to domesticate the Soviet past, to smooth it over, and ultimately to declare it closed. This discourse operates by clothing this past in the heavily stylised medieval language and imagery of martyrdom and blood sacrifice, the overall drive and effect of which is to render the past abstract, distant, and fixed – to set it in stone, and to fix its protagonists in frozen icons; to offer a version of the past which is ultimately unquestionable by virtue of its sacredness.

The prospects, however, for the success of this attempt at creating a viable post-Soviet Russian identity, retrojected into a mythical, foundational history of the new martyrs, do not look promising. The massive scale of Russian suffering in the twentieth century makes victimhood narratives a potent resource for political mobilisation. However, it seems likely that the inherent instability of this version of the Soviet past, shot through as it is with ambiguities, tensions and silences, will make it ultimately untenable either as a source of national regeneration or as a master narrative for Russia to operate with at home and abroad. Perhaps most importantly, it is difficult to see how it is possible, as one church hierarch recently put it, to combine veneration for the victims and respect for the executioner (Metropolitan Volokolamsky Ilarion [Alfeev] cited Orlova 2011). This is a discourse that raises many more questions than it answers. As Katerina Clark (2000: 179) notes, 'Martyrdom has always been a primary mode of vindication.' In this case, exactly what is being vindicated remains unclear.

REFERENCES

Artamonova, V. V., n.d.: 'Sobor novomuchenikov i ispovednikov Rossiiskikh'. Retrieved from website of http://third.soborshahty.ru/sobor-novomuchenikov-i-ispovednikov-rossijskix.html[3]

Balakshina, Y., 2012: 'Voiti v nasledie tekh, kto otdal zhizn´ za Khrista', 4 February. Retrieved from website of the Preobrazhenskoe Sodruzhestvo Malykh Pravoslavnykh Bratstv, http://www.psmb.ru/aktualnye-temy/usvoen-li-cerkovju-ves-opyt-novomuchenikov/statja/voiti-v-nasledie-tekh-kto-otdal-zhizn-za-khrista/

Barthes, R., 1981: *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Barthes, R., 1993: *Mythologies*, trans. A. Lavers. London: Vintage.

Bessel, R., 2010: 'Violence and Victimhood: Looking Back at the World Wars in Europe', in J. Echternkamp and S. Martens (eds), *Experience and Memory: The Second World War in Europe*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 229-69.

Blagovestov, V., 2012: 'Katyn´: mesto skorbnoi vstrechi Rossii i Pol´shi', *Pravoslavie i mir*, 15 July. Retrieved from www.pravmir.ru/katyn-mesto-skorb noj - vstrechi-rossii-i-polshi

Bogumił, Z., 2012: *Pamięć gułagu*. Kraków: Universitas.

Butovskii polygon, 2007: *Butovskii poligon. Russkaia golgofa. 1937-2007*. Butovo: Khram Sviatykh novomuchenikov i ispovednikov Rossiiskikh v Butove. Retrieved from http://www.vidania.ru/temple/temple_moscow/hram_v_butovo_poslednie_gody.html

---

[3] All URLs (unless indicated otherwise) were last accessed on 7 November 2014.

Bynum, C. W., 2001: *Metamorphosis and Identity*. New York: Zone.

Choi, S. Y. P. and David, R., 2012: 'Lustration Systems and Trust: Evidence from Survey Experiments in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland'. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 117(4): 1172-1201.

Clark, K., 2000: *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Confino, A., 2005: 'Remembering the Second World War, 1945-1965: Narratives of Victimhood and Genocide', *Cultural Analysis*, 4: 46-75.

Connerton, P., 1989: *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Emerson, C., 2008: *The Cambridge Introduction to Russian Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Etkind, A. *et al*, 2012: *Remembering Katyn*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Etkind, A., 2013: *Warped Mourning*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Fagan, G., 2008: 'Belarus: KGB Pressure Orthodox Not to Venerate Soviet-era Martyrs', *Forum 18 News Service*, 12 May. Retrieved from http://www.forum18. org /archive.php?article_id=1127

Fedotov, M., 2011: 'M. Fedotov: pust´ sovetskaia simvolika sokhraniaetsia, kak napominanie'. *Delfi.lt*, 12 June. Retrieved from official website of RF Presidential Council for Development of Civil Society and Human Rights. http://www.president-sovet.ru/chairman/interviews/577/

Filippov, A., 2010: 'N. E. Emel´ianov. Chelovek Sviatoi Rusi, chelovek – legenda vysokikh tekhnologii', *Pravoslavie i mir*, 19 January. Retrieved from http://www.pravmir.ru/n-e-emelyanov-chelovek-svyatoj-rusi-chelovek-legenda-vysokix-texnologij/

Fotoal′bom, 2012: 'Fotoal′bom "Patriarshii vizit v Smolenskuiu eparkhiiu. Osviashchenie khram-pamiatnik Voskreseniia Khristova v Katyni i Bozhestvennaia liturgiia v novoosviashchennom khrame",' 16 July. Retrieved from *Moscow Patriarchate official site*, http://www .patriarchia.ru/db/text/2345774.html

Fotografie, 2013: 'Fotografie ofiar Stalina, jak maski pośmiertne, tyle, że "zdjęte" za życia', Gazeta.pl, 5 March. Retrieved from http://wiadomosci.gazeta. pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,13502100,Fotografie_ofiar_Stalina__jak_maski_posmi ertne__tyle_.html

Fotyga, A., 2012: 'Dlaczego milczymy?' *wPolityce.pl*, 16 July. Retrieved from http://wpolityce.pl/artykuly/32381-dlaczego-milczymy-pogwalcenie-polsko-rosyjskiej-umowy-o-grobach-i-miejscach-pamieci-ofiar-wojen-i-represji-w-katyniu

Gar′kavyi, I., 2013: 'Problemy memorializatsii zakhoronenii zhertv massovogo terrora', January. Retrieved from http://solovki-monastyr.ru/abbey /today/christ mas-readings/

Gar′kavyi, I., n.d.: 'Traditsionnoe dukhovnoe nasledie v sovremennoi memorial′noi praktike'. Retrieved from website of Theology Faculty, Russian State Social University: www.teo-rgsu.ru/articles/6.doc

Igumen Damaskin, 2012: 'Igumen Damaskin (Orlovsky): 1937 − god svidetel′stva o Khriste', *Tat'ianin Den'*, 9 August. Retrieved from http://www.fond.ru/index. php?menu_id=375&menu_parent_id=358&show_date=1&category_id=15&arti cle_page_content=0&show_preview_img=0&show_file_list=0&flag=ajax&pag e=1&regime=site&content_id=193

Igumen Petr (Meshcherinov), 2011: 'Sovremennoe tserkovnoe soznanie i svetskie ideologemy iz kommunisticheskogo proshlogo', in A. Malashenko and S. Fila-

tov (eds), *Pravoslavnaia tserkov´ pri novom patriarkhe*. Moscow: Moskovskii Tsentr Karnegi, ROSSPEN.

Ikona, 2007: 'Ikona novykh sviatykh muchenikov v khrame Khrista Spasitelia', *Argumenty i fakty Moskva*, 44, 31 October. Retrieved from http://gazeta.aif.ru/_/online/moskva/382/07_06

Inozemtseva, Z. P., 2010: 'Podvig very russkogo naroda v XX stoletii i ego otrazhenie v zhitiiakh novomuchenikov i ispovednikov rossiiskikh', presentation at Moscow Regional Teachers' University, November. Retrieved from website of the Regional Public Foundation 'Memory of Martyrs and Confessors of the Russian Orthodox Church':

http://www.fond.ru/index.php?menu_id=375&menu_parent_id=358&show_date=1&category_id=15&article_page_content=0&show_preview_img=0&show_file_list=0&flag=ajax&page=1&regime=site&content_id=176

Kahla, E., 2010: 'The New Martyrs of Russia – Regeneration of Archaic Forms or Revival?', *Ortodoksia*, 51: 93-208.

Karimova, N. S., 2001: 'Ikonografiia obraza "Sobor Ekaterinburgskikh Sviatyh": genezis, soderzhaniia, smysl', *Vestnik Yekaterinburgskoi dukhovnoi semiarii*, 2.

Kesler, M., n.d.: 'Otechestvennaia voina 1812-1814 gg., zapechatlennaia v pamiatnykh sooruzheniiakh'. Retrieved from http://kesler.ortox.ru/shop.php? uid=6979&action=news_detail&id=759&m=news

Khor´kova, M., 2007: '1917-i – Tserkov´ i sud´by Rossii', *Tat´iani den'*, 28 November. Retrieved from http://www.taday.ru/text/81358.html

Kochetkov, G. 1993: 'Nasledie novomuchenikov i ispovednikov rossiiskikh i problema vosstanovleniia polnoty tserkovnoi zhizni', paper presented at the conference *Istoricheskii put´ pravoslaviia v Rossii posle 1917*, 31 May-2 June 1993, St Petersburg. Retrieved from website of the Preobrazhenskoe Sodruzhestvo Ma-

lykh Pravoslavnykh Bratstv: http://psmb.ru/newmartyrs/article/nasledie-novo muchenikov-i-ispovednikov-rossiiskikh-i-pr-211/

Konstantinovna, E., 2012: 'Malye obshchiny v bol´shom gosudarstve', *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, 17, 3 October.

Kornilov, A. A., 2003: Review of A. V. Popov, *XX vek: istoriia odnoi sem´i*, in *Novyi istoricheskii vestnik*, 1.

Kreshchenskaia vlaga, 2011: 'Kreshchenskaia vlaga. Gde nabrat´ sviatoi vody', *Argumenty i Fakty*, 3, 19 January.

Kudriashov, K., 2008: 'Sviatost´ b´et kliuchkom', *Argumenty i Fakty*, 3, 16 January.

Luk´ianchenko, P., 1991: 'Chekisty … v riasakh', *Argumenty i fakty*, 36, 7 September.

Memorial´nye programmy n.d. *Mezhdunarodnyi Memorial* website. Retrieved from http://www.memo.ru/s/184.html

Milovidov, K., 2013: 'Tsarskaia sem´ia – samye pochitaemye novomucheniki', *Neskuchnyi sad*. Retrieved from http://pstgu.ru/news/smi/2013/02/11/42874/

Ministr iustitsii, 2008: 'Ministr iustitsii prizyvaet uchit´sia u rossiiskikh novomuchenikov pravil´nomu otnosheniiu k gosudarstvu', *Interfaks*, 30 July. Retrieved from http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=news&div=25801

Morozov, K. N., 2004: 'Fotografii operativnogo ucheta kak spetsificheskii istochnik v biografike "sotsialisticheskogo soprotivleniia" sovetskomu rezhimu. Na materialakh "Al´boma chlenov TsK i aktivnykh chlenov PSR" VChK-GPU'. *Pravo na imia: Biograficheskii metod v istoricheskikh i sotsial´nykh naukakh: Mezhdunarodnye chteniia pamiati Veniamina Iofe. Sankt-Peterburg, 18-19 aprelia 2003. Sbornik dokladov.* St Petersburg: 2004, pp. 105-117. Retrieved from http://socialist.memo.ru/photoalbum/gal1/albumck.htm.

My dolzhny, 2012: 'My dolzhny izvlech´ dukhovnye uroki iz opyta novomuchenikov', 9 April. Retrieved from website of the Preobrazhenskoe Sodruzhestvo Malykh

Pravoslavnykh Bratstv: http://www.psmb.ru/vse-novosti/v-rossii/statja/my-dolzhny-izvlech-dukhovnye-uroki-iz-opyta-novomuchenik/

Ne stesniaias´, 2011: 'Ne stesniaias´ v vyrazheniiakh very', *NG religii*, 20 May. Retrieved from http://www.ng.ru/editorial/2011-05-20/2_red.html

Novomucheniki n.d. 'Novomucheniki i ispovedniki Rossiiskie'. Retrieved from official website of Synodal Pilgrimage Section of the Belorussian Orthodox Church, http://piligrim.by/content/blogcategory/130/566

Novye prikhody, 2012: 'Novye prikhody stanut oplotami traditsionnykh khristian-skikh tsennostei', 2 June. Retrieved from http://www.200hram ov.ru/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=491&catid=1:2012-08-02-21-06-46&Itemid=3

Nowak, A., 2013: 'Murder in the Cemetery' in U. Blacker, A. Etkind and J. Fedor (eds), *Memory and Theory in Eastern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, pp. 149-171.

O merakh, 2011: 'O merakh po sokhraneniiu pamiati novomuchenikov, ispovednikov i vsekh nevinno ot bogobortsev v gody gonenii postradavshikh'. *Patriarkhiia.ru*, 2 February. Retrieved from http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1400907.html

Orlova, L., 2011: 'Otrechenie ot "ottsa narodov",' *NG religii*, 2 November. Retrieved from http://www.ng.ru/ng_religii/2011-11-02/3_repressii.html

Ouspensky, L. and Lossky, V., 1982: *The Meaning of Icons*, trans. G. E. H. Palmer and E. Kadloubovsky. Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Patriarkh Kirill, 2012: 'Patriarkh Kirill: "Nichto ne rodnit liudei tak, kak obshchee stradanie",' *Russkaia liniia*, 16 July. Retrieved from http://rusk.ru /newsdata. php?idar=55815

Pavliukevich, D., 2013: 'Ch´i chuvstva oskorbliaiut krasnoarmeitsy na ikonakh no-vomuchenikov?' *Tat´ianin-den´*, 10 January. Retrieved from http://www. ta-day.ru/text/1989298.html

Piatnitsky, N., 2010: 'Yekaterina Sheko: Ikony novomuchenikov nado "rozhdat´",' *Pravoslavie i mir*, 18 May. Retrieved from http://www.pravmir.ru/ekaterina-sheko-ikony-novomuchenikov-nado-rozhdat/

Predislovie, 2007: *Zhertvy politicheskogo terrora v SSSR.* Moscow: International So-ciety 'Memorial' jointly with RF Human Rights Ombudsman. Retrieved from http://lists.memo.ru/

Privedenie, n.d.: 'Privedenie ko Krestu', *Ikonografiia vostochno-khristianskogo iskusstva* database, maintained by PSTGU Faculty for Ecclesiastical Art. Re-trieved from http://lib.pstgu.ru/icons/

Richters, K., 2013: *The Post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church: Politics, Culture and Greater Russia.* London and New York: Routledge.

Saltykov, A., 2000: *Ikona Sobora novomuchenikov i ispovednikov Rossiiskikh, za Khrista postradavshikh, iavlennykh i neiavlennykh.* Moscow: Sviato-Tikhonovskii Bogoslovskii Institut. Retrieved from http://lib.eparhia-saratov.ru/books/noauthor/iconnew/contents.html

Slovo, 2012: 'Slovo Sviateishego Patriarkha Kirilla posle Bozhestvennoi liturgii v no-voosviashchennom khrame-pamiatnike Voskreseniia Khristova v Katyni', 16 July. Retrieved from official site of ROC MP Section for External Church Rela-tions: https://mospat.ru/ru/2012/07/16/news67698/

Slovo, 2009: 'Slovo Sviateishego Patriarkha Kirilla za Bozhestvennoi liturgiei v den´ prazdnika Vladimirskoi ikony Bozhiei Materi', 3 June. Retrieved from official site of ROC MP: http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/665838.html

Sobor, 2011: 'Sobor Novomuchenikov, v Butove postradavshikh'. Retrieved from www.st-nikolas.orthodoxy.ru/newmartyres/butovo.html (accessed 3 February 2014; URL inactive as at 7 November 2014)

Sobor, n.d.: 'Sobor Novomuchenikov i Ispovednikov Rossiiskikh'. Retrieved from *200 Khramov* programme website: http://www.200hramov.ru /index.php?option =com_temples&temple=33

Sokolova, M. N., 1995: *Trud ikonopistsa*. Sviato-Troitskaia Sergieva Lavra. Retrieved from http://ikonodel.ru/ob_ikone/2_trud_ikonopisca/3.html

Sontag, S., 1973: *On Photography.* London: Penguin.

Spetsob´´ekt 'Kommunarka', 2005: 'Spetsob´´ekt "Kommunarka",' *Shchit i mech*, 9, 3 March 2005.

Stepanova, Ye., 2013: 'Ikona Sobora novomuchenikov Rossiiskikh: liki pisali po fotografiiam', *Neskuchnyi sad*, 8 February. Retrieved from www.nsad.ru /articles/liki-novomuchenikov-pisali-po-fotografiyam

Stranitsy, n.d.: 'Stranitsy istorii khrama'. Retrieved from official site of Cathedral of Christ the Saviour: http://www.xxc.ru/history/index.htm.

Sviateishii Patriarkh, 2010: 'Sviateishii Patriarkh nazval "Katyn´" mestom primireniia slavianskikh narodov', *Pravoslavie i Mir*, 5 June. Retrieved from http://www. pravmir.ru/svyatejshij-patriarx-nazval-katyn-mestom-primireniya-slavyanskix narodov/

Tilmans, K., F. van Vree and J. Winter (eds), 2010: *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Uchastniki, 2013: 'Uchastniki Rozhdestvenskikh chtenii obsudiat voprosy palomnich-estva', *Bogoslov.ru*, 23 January. Retrieved from http://www.bogoslov.ru/text/ 3085631/index.html

Viola, L., 2013: 'The Question of the Perpetrator in Soviet History', *Slavic Review*, 72:1: 1-23.

Vstupitel´naia stat´ia, 2012: 'Vstupitel´naia stat´ia 2012', *Baza dannykh: novomucheniki i ispovedniki Russkoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi XX veka*. Moscow: PSTGU. Retrieved from http://213.171.53.29/bin/code.exe/frames/m/ind_oem. html/ charset/ ans?notextdecor

Williams, P., 2007: *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities.* Oxford and New York: Berg.

Winter, J., 2006: *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Wood, E. A., 2011: 'Performing Memory: Vladimir Putin and the Celebration of World War II in Russia', *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, 38: 172-200.

Yemel´ianov, N., 2010: 'Za Khrista postradavshie v XX veke: krov´ muchenikov - semia Tserkvi', 15 January. Retrieved from http://www.pravmir.ru/za-xrista-postradavshie-v-xx-veke-krov-muchenikov-semya-cerkvi-2/

Yeremenko, T. V., 2003: 'Khramovoi tsikl omskogo ikonopistsa Liudmily Yakovlevoi'. Retrieved from website of M. A. Vrubel´ Omsk Regional Visual Arts Museum: www.vrubel.ru/museum/rio/eremenko.htm (accessed 3 February 2014; URL inactive as at 7 November 2014)

Zhurzhenko, T., 2012: 'Heroes into Victims: The Second World War in Post-Soviet Memory Politics', *Eurozine*, 31 October. Retrieved from http://www.eurozine. com/articles/2012-10-31-zhurzhenko-en.html

IEMIMA D. PLOSCARIU

BETWEEN EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION: ROMANIAN GERMANS IN
POST-WAR ROMANIA

Introduction: Status and Perceptions of German Minorities in Post-War Central and Eastern Europe

The first few years following the end of the Second World War brought substantial shifts in populations across Central and Eastern Europe. For both the Soviet leaders and other Allied powers, the answer to ensuring peace seemed to lie in the creation of homogeneous ethnic states. The presence of ethnic minorities especially within the re-emergent countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (but across the whole of Central and Eastern Europe as well), represented a possible threat to the legitimacy of the nation-state boundaries. Tens of millions of transfers, exchanges and so-called repatriations occurred among Polish, Hungarian, Turkish, German, Ukrainian, Macedonian and other minorities stretching from the new Polish lands in the west to the movements of populations from deep within the Soviet Union.[1] The German minorities were perceived as a common enemy by the new governments of these countries and the ideal group on to which the new politicians could lay collective blame. Soviet Order 7161, passed prior to the war's end in December 1944, encouraged this attitude by ordering the countries under Soviet occupation to expel all ethnic German civilians to Germany or deport them to the Soviet Union for forced

---

[1] Schechtman, Joseph B., *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe 1945-1955*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962, p. 363. Schechtman gives the figure of about twenty million who fled, were expelled, transferred, or exchanged between 1945 and 1955. Significant movements of minorities were occurring prior to the war's end, for example, in the disputed territories between Poland and the Ukraine.

labour.[2] The uprooting of German communities was encouraged and legitimised further by clause thirteen of the Potsdam Agreements of 1945, which provided for the 'transfer' of German minorities to Germany.

These expulsions or transfers were an important means by which the new postwar governments gained favour in the eyes of the public, who were anxious to see justice and punishment meted out. This was particularly the case in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia where Germany was an oppressive occupational force during the war.[3] But in Romania, which was allied with Germany until August 1944, the Romanian Germans did not face mass expulsion. Prime Minster Nicolae Rădescu pleaded with General Sergei Vinogradov, the Soviet head of the Allied Control Commission, not to enforce the deportation of the German minority from Romania. The Romanian Germans were presented as important to the economic stability of the country and an integral part of Romanian society. The Soviet leaders agreed to decrease the number of those to be deported in January 1945 to around 70,000 persons – just under the number of ethnic Germans in Romania who had joined the *Waffen SS* during the war.[4]

---

[2] Institute for Research of Expelled Germans, 'The disappearance of the Transylvania Saxons and Swabians from Romania through mass emigration and planned deportation', http://expelledgermans.org/transylvaniasaxons.htm (accessed 2 March 2014).

[3] Fowkes, Ben, *Eastern Europe 1945-1969: From Stalinism to Stagnation*, Pearson Education Limited, 2000, p. 19. The Slovak government collaborated with the Nazi government, but Czechoslovak statesmen, in exile in the West during the war, along with the Polish representatives at Potsdam asked for the transfer to Germany of the German ethnic groups still in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. The Sudeten Germans were still viewed as threatening by the Czechoslovak government who sought to ensure the country's pre-war borders. Schechtman, Joseph B., *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe 1945-1955*, p. 55.

[4] Schechtman, *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe 1945-1955*, pp. 93, 199, 267-268, 274. This figure of about 70,000 German expellees from Romania is compared to almost three million Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia, over one million from Poland, and 260,000 from Hungary by the end of 1946.

GERMANS IN POST-WAR ROMANIA

The Romanian Germans were significantly affected by the deportations. Those who remained faced the struggle that came with the implementation of communist controlled governments, which were often quick to label the Germans as bourgeois or fascist elements.[5] The Romanian German communities were among those hit hardest by the immediate post-war reforms in Romania. What exactly was the attitude of the post-war Romanian communist governments towards the German minority and why was this different from other countries in Central and Eastern Europe after 1945? To what extent did Prime Minister Petru Groza and Communist Party leaders, acting for the Romanian government, and Dr. Friedrich Müller, as a Romanian German Leader, attempt to re-integrate Romanian Germans? Facing the changing perceptions of German identity and loss of material possessions, both Romanian German leaders and Romanian government officials attempted to bring reconciliation and ensure, or in the government's case at least present an image of, the continued inclusion of the German minority in Romanian society.

The majority of Romanian Germans escaped the fate of other German populations in Central and Eastern Europe owing to the cooperation between the post-war Romanian governments and the German minority leaders. Analysing the actions of two players in particular, Petru Groza stands out as an important figure of the Romanian government in early negotiations, and Bishop Dr. Friedrich Müller as a voice for the Romanian German community. However, despite continual attempts by Müller and others to reintegrate the Germans and portray them as loyal to the Romanian communist state, the marginalisation and increasingly difficult life in communist Ro-

---

[5] Baier, Hannelore, 'Die Deutschen in Rumänien in den Jahren 1945 bis 1948', in: Hausleitner, Mariana (ed.), *Vom Faschismus zum Stalinismus, Deutsche und andere Minderheiten in ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 1941-1953*, München: IKGS Verlag, 2008, pp. 177-179; Schieder, Theodor, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe, Vol. I/II The Expulsion of the German Population from Hungary and Rumania,* Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims, 1961, p. 86.

mania for the majority of its citizens led to the emigration of a large part of the German minority in later years.[6] This article will examine the situation of the Romanian Germans as a result of Romania's post-war minority policy and the Romanian Communist Party's use of this policy to first gain legitimacy. The relationship between Groza and Müller will be highlighted to reveal how the Romanian government changed tactics and encouraged (rather demanded) the German minority to take part in the 'proletariat dictatorship' as part of the new socialist society.

The German Minority within the Minority Question

In the post-war Soviet occupied countries there were two options in dealing with minorities: either to give them equal rights or to remove them through 'transfer' abroad.[7] The official position of the post-war Romanian government toward the German minority seemed to avoid embracing either of the options. On 9 February 1945 the Romanian government, under Prime Minister General Nicolae Rădescu, issued a decree stating that the official term 'minority' was to be replaced with that of 'cohabiting nationality'.[8] Equality and freedom of language was proclaimed in administration, courts and education. However, this was passed only after the Soviet deportations of Romanian Germans in 1945.

---

[6] This is not to say that life was less difficult for ethnic Romanians under communism. The early years of communist rule were perhaps more difficult generally speaking for the Germans as an ethnic minority in Romania. By the 1980s almost everyone in Romania was feeling the effects of the economic strain. There may have been cases of discrimination towards Germans owing to envy after Ceauşescu agreed to deliver German families to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany for a price. The Germans could leave (though still with great difficulty), while the Romanians could not, creating tension in many communities. A fictional account of this can be read in Nobel Prize winner Herta Müller's novel *The Passport*, London: Serpent's Tail Publishers, 2009.

[7] Fowkes, Ben, *Eastern Europe 1945-1969*, p. 19.

[8] Castellan, Georges, 'The Germans of Rumania', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6/1, 1971, p. 68.

GERMANS IN POST-WAR ROMANIA

As was previously mentioned, Rădescu adamantly opposed the deportation of the German minority to forced labour in the Soviet Union and worked with Senator Hans Otto Roth, representative of the Transylvanian Saxons, and Dr. Franz Kräuter from the Banat to stop or delay the Soviet plans.[9] The Saxon and Swabian minorities had played an important role in the social and economic developments in Transylvania and in the Banat. In large cities, such as Timişoara, the German citizens built the first hospital and theatre, while in the countryside of the western regions, a significant minority of German farmers contributed to the agricultural output.[10] To some Romanian leaders the German minority was seen as an important economic asset. For most of the war the Romanian public saw the Germans as their allies and, although there were tensions, the Romanian Germans were considered an integral part of society in the areas where they lived. Demonising the Germans was perhaps more difficult than in other countries, such as Poland and war-time Czech Republic where the ethnic majority was oppressed and national land was annexed to the Reich. The Romanian war-time government of General Ion Antonescu along with the actions of the fascist group, the 'Legion of the Archangel Michael', revealed the widespread anti-Semitism in Romania that led to Romania's significant role in perpetuating the Holocaust. Although Romania temporarily lost the region of Transylvania because of Nazi intervention during the war, the blame was unofficially and conveniently placed on the Hun-

---

[9] Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, p. 79. Roth had previously worked against the deployment of all Romanian German youth into the *Waffen SS*, to which his son was refused entry. Roth incurred the wrath of Andreas Schmidt, *Volksgruppe* leader, who excluded the senator from the group in 1943. Roth, Hans Otto, 'Einreihung unserer Jugend in die Waffen-SS', 23 February 1945, in: Roth, Florian, *Presentation at House of the German East, Munich, 13 May 2009*, p. 11. Dr. Franz Kräuter worked among Romanian German Catholics and sought to stop the encroachment of Nazi policies on parochial schools. Kräuter, Franz, *Erinnerungen aus meiner christlich-demokratischen Dienstzeit*, Freiburg: 1967.

[10] Ilieşiu, Nicolae, *Timişoara: Monografie Istorica [Timişoara: Historic Monograph]*, Timişoara: Editura Planetarium, 2003, pp. 47-51.

garian government, Romania's long-time adversary. As a result of a history of strong ties with Germany — politically, economically, and culturally — and the recent wartime collaboration between the two countries, the Germans seem to have been respected and admired by a significant portion of the population.[11]

The influence, however, of the Soviet presence proved too great and deportations began in the Satu Mare/Sathmar district on 2 January 1945.[12] German men between the ages of seventeen to forty-five and women between eighteen and thirty years of age were to be sent to participate in reconstruction work in the Soviet Union. Of the about 75,000 that were deported, 10,000 did not return to Romania when the repatriations that took place in 1949. The deportations destroyed families and ruptured the social dynamic of communities across the country, especially in the Banat and Transylvania.[13] Although not on the same scale as in other countries, the deportations in January 1945 dealt a heavy blow to the Romanian German community.[14] With increasing pressure from the Soviet government to replace Rădescu, King Mihai of Romania named Petru Groza, the leader of the communist-leaning Ploughman's Front, as

---

[11] Komjathy, Anthony, and Stockwell, Rebecca, *German Minorities and the Third Reich*, NY: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980, p. 103. Also Verdery, Katherine, 'The Unmaking of an Ethnic Collectivity: Transylvania's Germans', *American Ethnologist*, 12/1, 1985, pp. 65-66. Verdery's interviews revealed an admiration among villagers of the German character as diligent, honest, punctual and intelligent.

[12] Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, p. 80.

[13] The majority of the 10,000 died as a result of the difficult work and living conditions in the USSR. Baier, Hannelore, 'Die Deutschen in Rumänien in den Jahren 1945 bis 1948', pp. 174-175. Dietmar Plajer and other older sources set the number at closer to 70,000 for those mobilised for forced labour in the Soviet Union in Plajer, 'Bischof Friedrich Müllers Beziehungen zur Rumänishen Regierung (1945-1948)', *Forschungen Zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, 39/ 1/2, December 1996, p. 35. Baier's figure of 75,000 expellees is more widely accepted.

[14] With the loss of almost three million Sudeten Germans by 1947, the Czechoslovak government sought to replenish its decimated work force by repatriating Czech miners from France, Belgium, and Austria. Schechtman, *Postwar Population Transfers*, p. 95.

prime minister on 5 March 1945. Bishop Müller and other Romanian German leaders hoped for a change in the policy toward the German community.

With Groza in power, communists began to fill all government positions. The internationalist rhetoric of communism appealed at first to ethnic minorities who suffered marginalisation. The communist parties, before the war and during the first post-war years, provided a political home for members of minorities who feared the outpouring of nationalism.[15] Yet among Romanian politicians there was still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the presence of ethnic minorities within post-war national borders. Groza's government attempted to appear more inclusive than the Rădescu government in offering political integration to members of most minority communities.[16] Groza, with the help of Gheorghe Gherorghiu-Dej as general secretary of the communist party, was able to create the image of the *Partidul Comunist Român* (PCR- Romanian Communist Party) and the coalition government as a political body incorporating all ethnicities. It was a non-nationalist party, which was slowly turning national without overtly revealing any discrimination towards minority groups. The Romanian Germans were the obvious exception.

For the Hungarian minority, Groza supported the implementation of a state-sponsored educational network in Transylvania and the opening of a Hungarian language university. In 1951 the Hungarian Autonomous Province was also established within the country.[17] Thirteen ethnic organisations were formed in 1945 under the control of the PCR as a way of integrating minorities. The Jewish community, as another

---

[15] Fowkes, *Eastern Europe 1945-1969*, p. 18. However, there were few Germans in Romania who were previously connected to, or who had joined, the Communist Party.

[16] Bottoni, Stefano, 'Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Romania: Violence, Institutional Continuity, and Ethnic Conflict Management', *East European Politics and Societies*, 24/1, February 2010, p. 72.

[17] Ibid., p. 77. Groza's role as a friend to the Hungarian minority is also discussed with interesting analysis in Szabó, Zoltán Tibori, 'Petru Groza- reappraisal of his historical role', *The Analyst,*1, 2006, pp. 151-159.

example, was strongly encouraged to join the Anti-Zionist Jewish Democratic Committee. As early as 1945 (when expulsions of Germans were being made into official policy elsewhere through the Potsdam agreements), there were attempts to integrate, though selectively, Romanian Germans through Anti-Fascist organisations.[18] However, they were still regarded as second-class citizens, and in certain areas by October 1946 Hungarians, along with Germans, were also denied the right to vote.[19] The Germans were among those most affected by the land reform enacted in 1945, which expropriated the land of those who had any connection with Nazi Germany. Despite Soviet rhetoric about the unity of the working class across ethnic lines, the German minorities were treated as the common exception across Central and Eastern Europe until communist governments were securely established after 1948.

PCR Seeking Legitimacy

The Romanian governments under Petru Groza and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej found themselves having to contend with conflicting loyalties. On the one hand there were the demands of Moscow and on the other the desires or needs of the people they governed. The legitimacy of the new government depended on keeping a balance while gaining the loyalty of all its citizens. The communist party in Romania prior to the war's end was of relatively little significance, consisting of only a few thousand members and activists.[20] In 1933 the communists in Romania were considered mostly foreigners. Three fourths of the members were from the ethnic minorities in the coun-

---

[18] Bottoni, Stefano, 'Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Romania', pp. 59-61, 73.

[19] Vultur, Smaranda, 'The Role of Ethnicity in the Collectivisation of Tomnatic/Triebswetter (Banat Region) (1949-1956)', in Iordachi, Constantin and Dobrincu, Dorin (eds.), *Transforming Peasants, Property and Power: The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania, 1949-1962*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2009, p. 149.

[20] Fischer-Galati, Stephen, *Twentieth Century Rumania*, NY: Colombia University Press, 1991, pp. 75-78.

try: Hungarians, Jews, Bulgarians, Russians and Ukrainians, with only a small percent of ethnic Romanians.[21]

The party needed to be infused and reorganised with Romanians for a communist-led government to be accepted as legitimate by the public, and the Soviet neighbours would accept no other form of government. There were few Romanian German communists, so repressive actions toward the Romanian German community in the purges of former fascist collaborators occurred also to take pressure away from other minority groups that were more influential in the communist movement. Collaboration of a large number of Saxons and other Germans with Hitler's government, either by joining the *Waffen SS* or by association with the work of VoMi among ethnic Germans, was easily used in accusations by the Romanian government. VoMi leaders such as Hermann Behrends used the *Volksgruppe*, the German Ethnic Group in Romania, as an instrument to further the foreign political aims of the Reich.[22] In 1939, the *Volksgruppe* leader, Dr. W. Brückner, organised the *Volksdeutsche* (Romanian German minority) into active squads, a type of defence organisation, and set up an intelligence network in Romania to gain favour with Berlin.[23] All this weighed heavily against the Romanian Germans at the end of the war.

---

[21] Bottoni, 'Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Romania', p. 70.

[22] Komjathy and Stockwell, *German Minorities and the Third Reich*, pp. 118-119. VoMi (*Hauptamt Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*) was an arm of the Nazi Party created to manage the needs of ethnic Germans outside Nazi Germany. As to the men who joined the *Waffen SS*, there were a number of ethnic Romanians who also joined.

[23] Ibid. In 1935 the *Verband der Deutschen in Rumänien* (the largest nationwide ethnic organisation) came under the leadership of Friedrich Fabritius, an avid supporter of National Socialism. A number of Romanian Germans opposed National Socialism, but those who did so in leadership positions, such as Bishop Dr. Victor Glondys, were forced to resign and were replaced with Romanian Germans loyal to Berlin. The younger generations admired the militancy and pan-German ideology of the Nazis. The Saxon community in particular sent a large number of its youth to study in Germany where they were exposed to Nazi ideals. When in 1939 Fabritius refused to unify the different German organisations into the *Deutsche Volkspartei* or *Volksgruppe*, he was replaced.

For various reasons, such as the need to please the Soviets, to present the communist party as bringing justice to victims of the war, and to campaign against class enemies, control of the German minority by the Romanian government proved to be an important step in procuring legitimacy. However, Groza and his government did not want to alienate completely the Romanian Germans.

The first two points mentioned above (i.e. to please Stalin or the Soviet government and the need to present the Romanian communist controlled government as bringing justice) required direct association of the German minority with the crimes of the Second World War. The PCR leaders relied on a strong anti-fascist rhetoric to distance themselves from the crimes of the Antonescu government. Especially after 1946, when the PCR 'won' a national election, anti-fascist policies were used to suppress and eliminate members of other political parties 'in the name of bringing collaborators with the Nazis and with the dictatorship to justice'.[24]

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej as party secretary in 1945 aimed to convince the public that the communists would provide true democracy, stating that 'the liquidation of all of the fascist remains and the isolation of reactionary circles is a condition of a durable peace… The establishment in each country of real democracy will be the best guarantee of peace.'[25] In his report at the PCR national conference he justified the violence and repressive measures taken by the government against the German community as progressive:

See also Szelényi, Balázs A., 'From Minority to *Übermensch*: The Social Roots of Ethnic Conflict in the German Diaspora of Hungary, Romania and Slovakia', *Past and Present,* 196, 2007, pp. 236-238.

[24] Adamson, Kevin, 'Discourses of Violence and the Ideological Strategies of the Romanian Communist Party, 1944-1953', *East European Politics and Societies*, 21/4, 2007, p. 563.

[25] Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe, 'Raportul Politic al Comitetului Central la Conferinţa Naţională a Partidului Comunist Român' [Political report of the Central Committee at the Romanian Communist Party National Conference], *Scânteia*, 20 October 1945.

> It is clear what the consequences may have been for our young popu-
> lar democracy if we had not cut off the tentacles that the foreign secret
> services were spreading towards us, and if we had allowed the fascists
> to regroup and recruit.[26]

The official discourse was at times easily identified with the German minority, who were seen as beneficiaries of the both the German and Romanian wartime governments.

The burden of collective guilt placed on Romanian Germans, as on ethnic German minorities across central and eastern Europe, resulted in repressive measures concerning their rights and property. Article 8 of the Armistice Convention allowed the state to confiscate the land of those who left the country during the war and especially during the withdrawal of the *Wehrmacht* units in 1944. In 1945 the land of those who had been part of the *Volksgruppe* was expropriated, as well as the land of those in any way connected with the influence of Nazi Germany in Romania. This made all Romanian German landowners susceptible to losing their land, as most had gained by some form or another (either voluntarily or were coerced into accepting) membership into the group.[27] The Department for the Administration and Supervision of Enemy Property organised the seizure and redistribution of the land to ethnic Romanian peasants, an action used by the PCR to prove the party's loyalty to the state and its 'care' for the people.[28]

---

[26] Ibid. Quoted in Adamson, Kevin, 'Discourses of Violence and the Ideological Strategies of the Romanian Communist Party, 1944-1953', *East European Politics and Societies*, 21/4 (2007), 559-587 (p. 576).

[27] Bottoni, 'Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Romania', pp.79-80.

[28] That is, only those people whose allegiance the PCR considered most important to win.

As early as 23 March 1945 the Agrarian Reform Law was put into action. Article 3, paragraph 9 referred directly to the property of the German-speaking population. Land, houses, livestock, and farm equipment were all expropriated.[29] Vladimir Tismăneanu described the law as having a distinct discriminatory character towards the German minority.[30] Georges Castellan provides a figure of 1,443,000 hectares of land seized from 143,000 German landowners who were previously part of the *Volksgruppe*. Forty-nine percent of this land was in Transylvania and the Banat – the areas with the larger German populations. Despite the influence of the German minorities in the cities, particularly in western Romania, a 1948 census showed that about seventy-four percent of the Romanian German population actually lived in rural areas.[31] Most were previously wealthy landowners and the land reform of 1945 proved a heavy blow to the German minority as a whole. However, the fate of Germans affected by the land reform was similar to that of the Romanians and Hungarians, who also fell victims to the agrarian law.[32]

---

[29] Vultur, 'The Role of Ethnicity in the Collectivisation of Tomnatic/Triebswetter (Banat Region) (1949-1956)', p. 143. Vultur writes that in Tomnatic 768 houses out of a total of 926 were expropriated.

[30] Article 3 paragraph 2 states: 'În scopul înfăptuirii reformei agrare, trec asupra statului pentru a fi împărțite plugarilor (...) următoarele bunuri agricole cu inventarul viu și mort afectat lor: pământurile și proprietățile agrare de orice fel aparținând cetățenilor germane și cetățenilor români, persoane fizice sau juridice, de naționalitate (origine etnică) germană, care au colaborat cu Germania hitleristă,' in: Tismaneanu, Vladimir (preşedinte/president), 'Raport Final' [Final Report], *Comisia Prezidenţială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România* [Presidential Commission for the analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania], Bucureşti, 2006, p. 545.

[31] Castellan, 'The Germans of Rumania', p. 69. Dumitru Şandru gives a total of 850,000 hectares for the districts of Arad, Caraş, Severin, and Timiş in Şandru, Dumitru, 'Ideologie und Feindseligkeit. Rumänische Behörden und deutschen Minderheit nach dem 23. August 1944', in: Zach, Krista (ed.), *Migration im Südöstlichen Mitteleuropa, Auswanderung, Flucht, Deportation, Exil im 10. Jahrhundert*, München: IKGS Verlag, 2005, p. 224.

[32] 'Raport Final', *Comisia Prezidenţială pentru analiza dictaturii comuniste din România*, p. 546.

The inadequacy and inefficiency of the land reform was soon felt by the Groza government, and the tensions between former owners of all ethnicities and settlers remained high until internal deportations occurred in 1951 (when citizens living near the Yugoslav border were sent to the Bărăgan Plains). A report by the Ploughman's Front admitted the following in 1945: 'By divesting Swabians of their rights, we have jeopardised a most important productive resource… Some settlers are destroying goods and squandering farm equipment.'[33] Challenges to individual or smaller group cases of confiscated land or other discrimination as a result of ethnicity could be positively resolved if the victims were persistent enough. Yet, despite the adverse affect on the economy and the aggravated social tensions, the discriminatory land reform was considered of vital political importance. The government continued to produce new means of marginalisation that varied between subtle and bold attempts to gain power for the communist leadership.

On 6 August 1945 another law was passed (Law 629), which allowed citizens of Romania to choose freely their native language and their ethnic identification. The law encouraged citizens of minority groups to claim Romanian ethnicity in the hope of avoiding future repressive measures. This in turn provided the communist government with the facade of a more homogenous Romania and a more legitimate PCR to present to the rest of Europe.[34] Despite continued marginalisation, Romanian Germans began to see the disappearance of outright anti-German policies as the PCR gained more political power. Senator Hans Otto Roth and Bishop Friedrich Müller continued to petition Prime Minister Groza and his government to allow Romanian Germans the freedom granted to ethnic Romanians and other minorities.

---

[33] Vultur, 'The Role of Ethnicity in the Collectivisation of Tomnatic/Triebswetter', p. 147.

[34] Ibid, pp. 144-145. By 20 September 1946 the choice of ethnic identification could be expressed in writing with no evidence needed to substantiate the claim.

German-language newspapers were again published and an Anti-Fascist Committee was organised by Sibiu socialist Rudolf Meyer.[35] Policies benefiting Romanian Germans, interspersed with repressive measures, revealed the attempts of the Groza government to reintegrate the Romanian Germans into society. According to historian Georges Castellan, the final balance sheet for the period 1945-1947 was not completely negative for the German minority. Those who returned from forced labour in the Soviet Union with the first repatriation group in October 1946 were given back most of their lands and goods.[36] However, the so called privileges of Romanian Germans were contingent upon how beneficial such privileges were to the prestige and power of the PCR.

Groza and the Appeal of Müller

As prime minister from 1945 to 1952, Groza was known for his attempts to maintain friendly relations with the country's ethnic minorities. On 29 April 1945 Friedrich Müller was chosen to be the new bishop of the Lutheran Church and within five weeks was already travelling to Bucharest to seek an audience with Prime Minister Groza. Müller was strongly encouraged by church curator and Senator Hans Otto Roth to foster good relations with the new government.

The first crucial visit occurred on 1 June 1945 when Groza was presented with the concerns of the Church regarding the marginalisation of Romanian Germans.[37] The issues brought forth were the agrarian reform and the repatriation of the 1945 deportees. Groza assured him that the land would eventually be returned and that the deportees would most likely return in autumn. He advised them to be patient. Groza said he

---

[35] Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, pp. 86, 93-95.

[36] Castellan, 'The Germans of Rumania', p.70.

[37] Plajer, 'Bischof Friedrich Müllers Beziehungen zur Rumänishen Regierung (1945-1948)', pp. 27-28.

was doing all he could at the moment, but that the Germans stood as the accused of the world for the atrocities committed by the Nazis. He also needed the acceptance of Stalin himself for the release of the forced labourers.[38] On the issue of land reform, Groza said that he was trying to defend the Germans against a much more tragic situation.[39] As in Hungary, the demand for expulsion came from outside Romania. Müller, therefore, sought to influence those sympathetic politicians who did not insist on German expulsion and provide them with stronger arguments to present to the Soviet government in favour of Romanian Germans.

Soon Müller became the Romanian German leader with the most access to the new government. Senator Roth and other influential Romanian Germans were condemned as 'bourgeois reactionaries' for their involvement in Romanian inter-war politics and the post-war Rădescu government.[40] In early 1946 Müller petitioned Groza to provide more rapid and humane repatriation of those forcibly deported to the Soviet Union. On returning home many were sent first to overcrowded detention camps in Romania, such as the ones located in Oradea or Sighet, while some were instead sent via East Germany. Groza agreed to dismiss the use of such camps to please Müller.[41] Throughout their correspondence, Müller urged Groza to use his power to

---

[38] Ibid., pp. 36-40. Groza would later appeal to Moscow saying, 'Sunt cetățenii mei și eu cer repatrierea lor, care acum nu mi se mai poate refuza.' [They are my citizens and I ask for their repatriation, which now can no longer be refused.]

[39] Ibid., p. 31: 'caut să vă apăr de o situație și cu mult mai tragică.' Groza was referring to the expulsions and mentioned that unlike Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, he tried to help the German minority remain in Romania.

[40] Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe,* p. 86. The influential politicians included Iuliu Maniu of the National Peasant's Party and Gheorghe Brătianu of the National Liberal Party.

[41] Plajer, 'Bischof Friedrich Müllers Beziehungen zur Rumänishen Regierung', pp. 29, 41. Müller wrote to Groza in February 1946 regarding at least 200 Germans detained in the camp at Slobozia while documentation allowing

better the situation of Romanian Germans returning home and of those whose lands were confiscated. Müller realised the danger of extinction that hovered over the German community in Romania and he tried all means possible to ensure its survival. Unfortunately, any influence he had slowly disappeared as Groza lost power and the Romanian Germans were incorporated into the new socialist society.

Engaging in the Proletariat Dictatorship

On 30 December 1947, King Mihai abdicated resulting in the formation of the Romanian People's Republic. With the PCR now firmly in political power, the German minority was recognised as a co-habiting nationality in June of 1948. Romania was, therefore, the first country to do so in the eastern bloc, and its members were restored their civil rights, officially if not in practice.[42] At this time many of the Romanian Germans were still out of the country owing to the 1945 deportations and some would not return for over a decade.[43] After 1948 the repression due to war guilt lessened; the only danger was in the extremely low likelihood of Romanian Germans' ability to undermine Romanian communism.

The third reason mentioned previously for the need to control the German minority – the need to suppress the bourgeois and class enemies – came into play largely

---

for their entry into Romanian and their return home was processed. The difficulty of these processing points is also discussed in Baier, Hannelore, 'Sighet - Punctul de Frontiera prin care s-au Întors Primii Deportaţi Etnici Germani din U.R.S.S.' [Sighet - Frontier Point through which the first ethnic German deportees returned from the USSR], *Analele Sighet 2: Instaurarea comunismului- între rezistenţă şi represiune* [Sighet Annuls 2: Installation of Communism- between resistance and repression], Fundaţia Academia Civică, 1995.

[42] 'Raport Final', p. 542.

[43] From a Personal e-mail from Peter Siminescu (b. 1922), 10 January 2012. A resident of the town of Ferdinand (now Oţelu Roşu) in 1945, Mr. Siminescu remembers seeing the Dipoldts, a German couple, deported to Russia. Mrs. Dipoldt returned ten years later and told of having worked in a coal mine, while Mr. Dipoldt came sometime later – Mr. Siminescu could not recall the date.

after 1948.[44] Germans were not targeted because of their ethnicity, but because they were businessmen or wealthy landowners. However, there was an increasing possibility now for the Romanian Germans to avoid repression by adopting the new identity propagated by the PCR: that of citizens united in bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat.[45] The nationalisation of schools, banks, and factories was officially presented as targeting no particular minority, but as a means of demobilising the capitalist exploiters.[46] Minority communities of Hungarians, Ukrainians, Serbs and even Germans were used by Groza and the Romanian government in the class struggle.

German peasants were strongly, if not forcibly, encouraged to engage with this new identity through the collectivisation of agriculture that occurred from 1949 to 1953. Kevin Adamson writes that the communist party invoked 'an image of a revolutionary peasantry, engaging not in parliamentary politics, but in direct political action on the ground as a result of its solidarity with the party'.[47] This official portrait was in stark contrast to reality, as many peasants refused to join the Collective Agricultural Farms. Many of the *chiaburi*, or wealthy peasants, in Smaranda Vultur's study of the collectivisation of Tomnatic were identified as German and strongly opposed joining the collectives.[48] Collectivisation was seen as devaluing 'honest work, education, so-

---

[44] To some extent the targeting of Germans as large landowners and businessmen occurred during the 1945 reforms as well, but at that time they became victims as a result of their ethnicity and the recent memory of the war. After 1948 many Germans suffered because they fell into the category of class enemies, as the government denied targeting people because of their ethnic background.

[45] Adamson, 'Discourses of Violence and the Ideological Strategies of the Romanian Communist Party, 1944-1953', pp. 566-567, 573.

[46] 'The expropriated had no nationality, only class', in Bottoni, 'Reassessing the Communist Takeover in Romania', p. 74.

[47] Adamson, 'Discourses of Violence and the Ideological Strategies of the Romanian Communist Party, 1944-1953', pp. 567, 582.

[48] *Chiaburi* is the Romanian equivalent of the term *kulaks*.

cial competence, individual job performance, and individual capacity to transmit symbolic and material goods to heirs'.[49] Fellow villagers of both Romanian and other ethnicities viewed their Romanian German neighbours as embodying the above ideals of a strong work ethic and admirable culture. Many of the 1945 German deportees had just returned in 1951 and were given their land back, only for it to be taken again.

Towards the end of 1950 the government, now mostly under the control of Gheorghiu-Dej, began to develop plans for suppressing the opposition to collectivisa-tion.[50] In June 1951 more than 45,000 people, out of which about 10,000 were Roma-nian Germans, from a fifty-kilometre-wide zone on the border with Yugoslavia were forcibly relocated across the country to the Bărăgan plains.[51] The deportees experi-enced incredible difficulties, from being hurriedly forced to leave their homes to the abysmal conditions and hostile weather they encountered on arrival in the Bărăgan.[52] The deportations produced the desired effect of intimidating villagers to stop their op-position and join the collective farms. These forced relocations were another blow to the German communities with their long history of social and economic roles in Ro-mania. However, they were also distinctly class-related and included entire families of Romanian, Hungarian, Serbian, and German origin.[53] The Romanian Germans were

---

[49] Vultur, 'The Role of Ethnicity in the Collectivisation of Tomnatic/Triebswetter', pp. 157-158.

[50] The growing of an opposition so close to the border with Yugoslavia proved an increasingly significant security threat in the eyes of Gheorghiu-Dej, who feared interference from Tito, who had recently split with Moscow, or from Stalin if things got out of hand.

[51] Vultur, Smaranda, *Deportarea in Bărăgan 1951-1956* [*Deportation to Bărăgan 1951-1956*], Timişoara: Editura Mitron, 2011, pp. 34-35. The Bărăgan Plains are located in south-eastern Romania.

[52] Marineasa, Viorel and Vighi, Daniel, *Rusalii '51: Fragmente din Deportarea in Bărăgan* [*Pentecost '51: Fragments from the Deportation to Bărăgan*], Timişoara: Editura Marineasa, 1994. For a more recent collection of deportee testimonies see Vora, Erika, *Silent No More: Personal Narratives of German Women who Survived World War II Expulsion and Deportation*, XLibris, 2012, pp. 151-171.

[53] Vultur, 'The Role of Ethnicity in the Collectivisation of Tomnatic/Triebswetter', p. 153.

given the option of participating in the new Romanian order and those who refused were treated as dissident Romanian citizens, receiving the same punishment given to any opposition. The paradox, as Vultur points out, is that the deportations created solidarity among the deportees, bringing the victims, both Romanians and ethnic minorities, to view the Bărăgan as a common tragedy inflicted on them by the communist government.[54] Romanian officials prevented mass deportations on the scale of Poland's expulsions, but in turn demanded complete submission to the new social order, which included the suppression of their previous cultural, social and ethnic identities. There were sincere efforts made to maintain the integrity of the Romanian German communities despite attempts at integration through collectivisation as proposed by the government. This is evident in the discussions presented earlier between Petru Groza and Friedrich Müller. However, reintegration of the German minority into Romanian society no longer meant the opening of ethnic German institutions and the flowering of local Romanian German traditions. Müller and others working alongside him were forced to accept a facade of freedom in exchange for being allowed to remain in the Romanian land they had always known as home.

A Degree of Success

In 1947 the Romanian government contemplated enacting a policy to deport the Saxon population to the eastern parts of Romania. Müller, one of the few who knew of the plan, is said to have made a dramatic appearance in Bucharest resulting in the withdrawal of the policy.[55] As another forced removal appeared to be less of a

---

[54] Ibid., p. 148. A Romanian German deportee commented that 'in Bărăgan we all went through the same torment'.

[55] Philippi, Paul, 'The Lutheran Church in Romania in the Aftermath of Communism', *Religion, State, and Society*, 22/3, 1994, p. 350. Müller is said to have offered himself to be executed in place of the proposed deportations of the Saxons. A more persuasive dramatic action was his letter to Groza in 1947 in which he wrote that if the

173

threat, Müller changed his focus to maintaining the authority of the Lutheran Church within the German communities and protecting it against the repressive religious laws of the PCR.[56] He was able to organise help for families of the deported and received permission to hold catechism on Saturdays and Sundays.[57] Despite limited development in the shadow of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Lutheran Church under the leadership of Müller became involved in Protestant theological education at the university level in 1949. Since 1955 the Lutheran Theological Institute in Sibiu/Hermannstadt has offered the school's German language courses.[58] Müller and other Romanian German leaders cooperated with the communist government and to an extent ensured a continued German presence in the Romanian People's Republic.

The anti-fascist committee founded by Rudolf Meyer became the German Anti-Fascist Committee on 13 February 1949. The first issue of the Committee's newspaper, *Neuer Weg*, was published on 13 March 1949. This organisation, along with the *Consiliul Oamenilor Muncii de naţionalitate germane* (Workers Council of German Nationality), founded in November 1968, became tools by which the PCR, the Groza-led government, and subsequent governments attempted to conform the

---

Germans should all be resettled in Russia then the Russians should come and take their place – an unfavourable prospect for either the Romanian government or the Romanian people. The letter is mentioned in Plajer, 'Bischof Friedrich Müllers Beziehungen zur Rumänishen Regierung (1945-1948)', p.45.

[56] Michael Wurmbrand was for a time a student at the Lutheran seminary in Sibiu and portrayed Müller as spiritually weak in the face of communist pressure. He allowed the PCR to influence the theological teaching at the school where lecturers preached that 'God sent three geniuses to save humanity: Moses, Jesus and Lenin'. From a personal e-mail from Michael Wurmbrand, 22 February 2012.

[57] Christians were allowed to meet for religious services only on Sunday mornings for many years following the war. Further restrictions with regard to curfews for youth and meeting times are detailed in *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 30 June 1949, quoted in: 'The Lutheran Church in Rumania', *The Lutheran Quarterly*, 1/4, November 1949, pp. 445-446.

[58] Philippi, 'The Lutheran Church in Romania in the Aftermath of Communism', pp. 350-351.

German minority to the principles of Romanian communism.[59] Yet, along with communist propaganda, German classics were also published in the German language. By 1952 there were 285 German cultural centres, 287 German choir groups, 157 theatre troupes, 200 music societies, and 235 groups for the preservation of national costumes and dances. 40,000 students attended approximately 498 German medium schools across the country, of which all teachers were forced to attend instruction courses on communist ideology.[60]

The 1952 constitution guaranteed nationalities 'free use of their mother tongue, complete school education in their mother tongue' as well as 'the publication of books and newspapers in their respective language, and their own theatre'. The German medium theatre in Timişoara/ Temeschburg reopened in 1953, as had a German section of the State Theatre of Bucharest in Sibiu/Hermannstadt three years earlier.[61] There was room for Romanian Germans to preserve certain aspects of their culture, and methods were available by which they could be reintegrated into society. All such paths were controlled by the PCR. Most often allowances of freedom for German and other ethnic minorities were used to further the agenda of the government. However, it is clear that the German minority in Romania continued to stay active in society after the 1950s. It did so with the help of its community leaders, despite Groza's loss of influence after 1948 (and subsequently that of Müller as well) and the oscillating measures of repression.[62]

---

[59] 'Raport Final', p. 543.

[60] Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, pp. 106-108.

[61] Ibid., p. 107.

[62] 'Raport Final', p. 543. 1954 is described as a period of détente in relations with the German minority, but political action was taken against Romanian Germans such as the case in 1959 of the five writers Andreas Birkner, Wolf von Aichelburg, Hans Bergel, Harald Siegmund, and Georg Scherg. Müller was elected a member of the

IEMIMA D. PLOSCARIU

Conclusion: Reintegration of the German Minority as Loyal Citizens of Communist Romania?

It seemed that Groza appreciated the Bishop and admired his persistent advocacy on behalf of the Romanian Germans, so much so that Groza described him as a Moses figure.[63] He was unrelenting in his petitions before the leader of Romania, but unlike Moses before Pharaoh, Müller pleaded with Groza not to 'let his people go' – but for freedom within 'Egypt'. Müller, to a certain extent, found favour in the eyes of Groza, and he was able to ensure the existence of some cultural institutions while preventing certain repressive measures. However, he was unable to stop either the deportations that occurred in January 1945, or those of July 1951. Groza's influence in government decreased and Gheorgiu-Dej proved less welcoming. The PCR sought legitimacy by following Soviet orders while at the same time trying to win the loyalty of its citizens.

The attitude of Groza and others toward Germans was influenced by the important historical and economic presence of the German communities, while from the opposite side there was a need to comply with the condemnation of Germans across Europe. The land reform in 1945 made the Romanians who received land look favourably on the new order and the law portrayed the Groza government as bringing a just punishment to the German minority for its association with Nazi crimes. However, there was no mass expulsion of Germans, apart from the large number that were deported in January 1945. Groza and the PCR preferred to encourage the existence of

---

Supreme National Assembly on 3 February 1957, but his influence was limited as mentioned in Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe*, p. 120.

[63] Plajer, 'Bischof Friedrich Müllers Beziehungen zur Rumänishen Regierung', p.42.

German cultural institutions within the control of the party and so present a deceptive image of a democratic communist Romania.

The repressive measures of the first six post-war years nevertheless took their toll on the German minority. Life became increasingly difficult for all people in Romania and Nicolae Ceaușescu's policies of assimilation or Romanisation, along with economic decline, influenced Romanian Germans to seek emigration. In the 1980s Ceaușescu sought to pay off the country's debt ahead of schedule and allowed the Federal Republic of Germany to pay for the emigration of German families.[64] The larger cities in the Banat and in Transylvania continue to have small active German communities. They have, however, suffered greatly from the mass emigration at the end of the twentieth century. Attempts at German reintegration had some success but in the long run they proved mostly superficial. The Romanian Germans preferred to leave the country they considered home and take their chances in the land of their ancestors.

---

[64] 'Raport Final', p. 541.

Robert Lagerberg, Heinz L. Kretzenbacher and John Hajek

Forms and Patterns of Address in Russian: Recent Research and Future Directions

1. INTRODUCTION

This article will give an overview of recent research into forms of address in Russian, with an emphasis on the choice between *ты* (*ty*) and *вы* (*vy*), also taking into account the other members of the Slavonic languages as and when appropriate. The Slavonic languages, including, of course, Russian, share with the languages of Europe a well established system of informal and formal address in both pronouns and titles. With regard to second-person ('you') pronouns, Russian uses the singular pronoun *ты* (French *tu*) for singular, familiar address, while the plural pronoun *вы* (French *vous*) is used obligatorily for addressing more than one person as 'you', but also for formal address to one person.[1] Taking as its point of departure Stone's article (Stone 1977) which gave an overview of the entire area of address in the Slavonic languages, we shall attempt to put into context the key research done on Russian during this approximately forty-year period in those areas identified by Stone as needing more work, as well as highlighting possible future avenues of inquiry into an area rich in linguistic and pragmatic complexity. Areas of interest discussed by Stone will be traced forward through subsequent research and include the following:

(a) the treatment of address forms in descriptive grammars (2.1),

(b) semantic agreement (2.2),

---

[1] Henceforth we use the standard T/V terminology (T = *tu*, V = *vous*) to refer to *ты/вы* usage respectively in Russian.

(c) the social functions of address forms and the decline of non-reciprocal us-
age in Russian (2.3),

(d) the use of *ты* and *вы* in conjunction with the use of first name and patro-
nymic (*имя-отчество*) (2.4), and,

(e) switching between *ты* and *вы* (2.5).

Finally, although not discussed by Stone in this earlier article, research into the
early origins of polite plural address in Russian is included (2.6) as it reveals some
important discrepancies between scholars and is central to understanding the syn-
chronic status of address forms in Russian. It should also be said that only scholarly
works are treated here; a brief survey of non-scholarly works dealing with more sub-
jective arguments with regard to the maintenance of proper modes of etiquette is
given in Buchenau (1997, 13-14). It is interesting to note Buchenau's comment (ibid.,
15) that, in general, i.e. even in scholarly works, the question of etiquette and/or ethics
was the main focus of Soviet research into this area of Russian, while in the West the
sociolinguistic aspects of address forms were at the forefront.

2.1 DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS

When Stone wrote his account, the state of research into forms of address in
the Slavonic languages, as he makes clear, was fundamentally lacking in even the
most basic study (Stone 1977, 492):

> The social semantics of pronominal usage in the Slavonic languages has
> received insufficient attention. Particularly striking is the fact that de-
> scriptive grammars often ignore altogether the question of criteria for
> making pronominal choices. Sometimes they do not even provide the ba-
> sic linguistic information necessary to form second person sentences. […]

[T]he research necessary to provide descriptions of contemporary address systems in terms of Brown and Gilman's conceptual framework has, so far as the Slavonic languages are concerned, yet to be undertaken.[2]

Although Stone (ibid.) states that '[T]he purely linguistic problems alone are often considerable. This arises largely from the use of the second-person plural pronoun … to address one person', the actual rules concerning the usage of T/V address forms in Russian are not complex, especially in comparison to some other Slavonic languages, and, certainly, these are generally given in the main standard descriptive grammars of Russian. Indeed, a (slightly abridged) quotation from Wade (2011, 137-138) can be taken both as a good example of a non-technical discussion of the use of the second-person pronouns, as well as an exposition of the rules of pronominal address in Russian themselves:

Ты

Ты 'you' (familiar) takes second-person singular forms of the present and future tenses of a verb... Like я, ты is of common gender.

Ты is used in addressing a relation, a friend, a colleague of similar age and status, a child, God, nature, oneself, an animal etc. While ты is generally acknowledged as the 'familiar' form, older people are likely to restrict its use to a circle of close friends and colleagues, whereas young people are usually quicker to address members of their own age group as ты.

Ты may also be used in conveying generalised information or instruction (cf. English 'you').

---

[2] With 'conceptual framework', Stone is apparently referring to Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal model of two parameters of power and solidarity in binary pairs of address pronouns.

Вы

Вы is used to address any group of more than one person, or an adult who is not a relation, friend or colleague of similar age and status. When writing to someone, Вы is usually spelt with a capital letter.

Вы combines with plural forms of the verb, whether the pronoun represents an individual or a group: вы читаете, вы читали. When reference is to one person, the pronoun combines with the *singular* forms of long adjectives (Вы такой добрый (to a male), Вы такая добрая (to a female)) ... but with the *plural* forms of short adjectives and participles: Вы правы.

Ты or вы

Usage may depend on social status, age difference, education and context of situation (e.g. teachers may address each other as вы in the presence of pupils of students, but as ты in their absence). Any transition from вы to ты is normally initiated by the senior in age or rank. Вы is used as a mark of respect to adult strangers, and by academic staff to students and (desirably, though many school teachers prefer to use ты) to senior pupils. Subordinates have traditionally used the formal вы to their superiors, but have been addressed by them with the familiar ты. This practice is still widespread, despite condemnation in official circles of its perpetuation in, for example, the armed forces, the health service and industry.

Wade's description of the rules and usage of T/V address in Russian is rather typical and is essentially repeated (usually in somewhat less detail) in the other main descriptive grammars of Russian, e.g. Offord's *Using Russian* (1996, 180-181) and Cubber-

ley's handbook (2002, 354-358). Standard textbooks of Russian (e.g., Baker (1994), Nummikoski (2012)) typically offer similar basic practical rules (on occasion with accompanying exercises) of usage for students of Russian as in the first two paragraphs quoted above from Wade, while, of course, more detailed discussion of ongoing tendencies is absent or, at least, minimal and highly generalised.

What is omitted in descriptive grammars such as Wade (2011) for the most part, however, as can be seen in the above quotation, is any discussion of the more subtle complexities and tendencies currently occurring in the use of Russian forms of address. The account by Wade given above also displays two features which are characteristic of such accounts of the usage of forms of address in Russian: firstly, they are characterised by the inability to give hard and fast rules, and a prevalence of generalising words ('may', 'generally', 'widespread', 'traditionally'); secondly, and connected with the former point, is, of course, the general lack of empirical data and the reliance on individual instances of usage from text or dialogue, anecdotal evidence and/or the subjective judgement of the scholars themselves or their informants.

Although there is a curious and conspicuous absence of any discussion of the topic of pronominal address in Russian in both the Russian Academy Grammar of 1980 (AG 1980) (associated, as mentioned above, with the fact that Soviet linguists generally viewed address as belonging more to etiquette, than to grammar as such) and Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999), two survey works which give accounts of it are Comrie, Stone and Polinsky (1996, 249-258) and Sussex and Cubberley (2006, 565-571). The latter is, in fact, a discussion in relation to the Slavonic languages in general, though it is less comprehensive than the former work and all its points vis-à-vis Russian are subsumed by the former work. Even Comrie, Stone and Polinsky (1996), however, fail to develop substantially any of the points outlined by (the same) Stone in his earlier article, other than to point out that singular V address began in the

fifteenth century. Curiously, they omit to mention Popov (1985) in connection with this observation, citing only a rather less substantial paper by Chernykh (1948) (see below for further discussion of the origins of singular V address in Russian). There are good discussions on the use of address forms in the army and academic institutions, as well as a section on Russian names (which will be discussed below), but, on the whole, the works cited are generally pre-1977 and the survey, therefore, makes few advances on the article by Stone from 1977. Gladrow (2008) offers a generalised description of how address forms operate in the modern language with comparisons to German usage made throughout.

2.2 SEMANTIC AGREEMENT

For Stone (1977, 494), the issue of semantic agreement in Russian is as follows:

> In Russian, even in non-standard varieties, the possibility of semantic agreement in the case of verbs is extremely remote. […] The type *Куда вы пошла?*[3] is described as 'non-literary' and is probably rare even in dialects.

The question of agreement is connected primarily with the pronoun *вы* and results from the fact that it is a morphologically plural form (as French *vous*), but is being used as a singular pronoun semantically (i.e. to address one person, male or female). The fact is, however, that in modern standard Russian, the rules of agreement

---

[3] 'Where have you (V) gone?' (verb in fem. sg.!) [First author's translation here and in subsequent quotations from Stone – R.L.]

with T/V (verbal, adjectival and nominal) are not complex and very stable (see the description of *ты* and *вы* above by Wade (2011)), though this has developed from a previously less stable situation in which even nouns could be plural in the complement: Stone (ibid., 495), gives an example from Griboedov in which the masculine plural noun form *полковники* is used as the complement of *вы* to one person (i.e. 'You are colonels' for the meaning 'You are a colonel'). Russian, therefore, forms something of an exception in terms of Stone's general assessment of agreement in Slavonic languages (ibid.):

> Uncertainty as to whether V demands semantic or grammatical agreement is endemic in the Slavonic languages. Even where one type or the other has been established as the only form acceptable as standard, another type, as we have seen, is usually know to exist in non-standard varieties.

Even in a language as closely related to Russian as Ukrainian, this variation is particularly prevalent even in the standard language, as Stone notes (ibid.).

As a result of this lack of variation in standard Russian, recent studies of agreement in address (e.g. Corbett 2006, 230-232) have concentrated on linguistic theory, and, in particular, on the difference between short and long adjectives in Russian. Indeed, if there is one area remaining in the standard language where there is some amount of possible variation, then it is in adjectival use. The rules of agreement with short and long adjectives have been outlined above by Wade (2011) with examples: V combines with a short adjective in the plural form only, but with a long adjective in its singular form (masculine or feminine as appropriate). Thus, with a short form we find - 'Вы правы' ('You (to a male or female) are correct'), and with a long form - 'Вы такой добрый/такая добрая' ('You (to a male/to a female) are so kind').

185

Although Corbett (2006, 232) finds that there is a small amount of variation between the forms used in short and long adjectives with V singular address, essentially the problem is one of linguistic categorisation. Following from Comrie's article of 1975 on the concept of predicate hierarchy (Comrie 1975), Corbett (2006, 230-232) confirms the validity of Comrie's predicate hierarchy and includes it in his broader agreement hierarchy as a sub-hierarchy. The predicate hierarchy can be thought of as a linear, left-to-right progression from verbal to nominal represented as 'verb > participle > adjective > noun'. As Corbett himself puts it (ibid., 231), '… as we move rightwards along the Predicate Hierarchy, the likelihood of agreement with greater semantic justification will increase monotonically (that is, with no intervening decrease).' The interesting aspect of Russian is that (ibid., 232), 'this split within the adjectives highlights the gradient nature of the Predicate Hierarchy'. Long forms, therefore, are to be viewed as more nominal than short forms which are closer to verbal forms. Clearly, however, as indicated by the small amount of variance found by Corbett between singular and plural agreement in short and long adjectives, this is an area that still requires more detailed research, including its diachronic development.

2.3 SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

The social, synchronic functions of pronominal address (the functions of nominal address will be discussed below) have to a large extent been the main focus of Western research into this area on Russian over the past fifty years or so, i.e. both since the appearance of Stone's article in 1977 and prior to it. Examples of it are provided by Jachnow (1974), Nakhimovsky (1976), Kirk (1979), Schubert (1984), but all are in a sense subsumed by Buchenau (1997), a major work on the functions of formal, or, as he terms it, 'distance' address, in Russian, Polish and German.

186

The questions to be addressed in this particular area according to Stone (1977, 500-502) are as follows:

> Turning to the matter of the social functions of pronominal address, it is immediately obvious that the question as to which forms are appropriate to which speakers in which contexts has not achieved much prominence in Slavonic linguistic studies… Often the nearest thing we have to a description is scattered here and there in the pages of popular guides to etiquette, but, valuable as they are, such sources usually provide only a very rough guide to social acceptability. […] In at least some of the Slavonic languages recent trends appear to have been similar to those noted by Brown and Gilman.[4]

Stone (ibid., 501) bemoans the fact that much of the evidence here is anecdotal or obtained from respondents as question/answer type data, and thus its reliability is always subjective. He also notes that 'Ukrainians are generally aware of the fact that they use mutual T less than Russians, and that for them similarity of age is a particularly important criterion for its suitability'. He states (ibid., 501-502) that:

> In Russian there has been a marked decline in non-reciprocal usage in all kinds of power relationships. […] The replacement of T by V to address subordinates began at the end of the nineteenth century, but it was at that time still a matter for comment…

---

[4] That is to say that there has been a shift away from Brown and Gilman's (1960) non-reciprocal power semantic where T is given and V received.

187

 – quoting a passage from Chekhov about the author's feelings of awkwardness in using V to servants. Stone continues (ibid., 502): 'By the early twentieth century the realisation that non-reciprocal usage was an aspect of social degradation had begun to dawn among industrial workers.' Stone points out that Russia is one of the few countries in which address forms have been the focus of political ideology with a top-down attempt to establish more democratic usage in the army and industrial workplace under the Soviet regime, established after the Russian Revolution of 1917. In the army, for example, V was to be used for all ranks, though, as Stone makes clear, in practice this was and is probably abused. Indeed, as he concludes, '… the non-reciprocal T of power is probably more alive in Russia than in some other Slavonic countries'.

The question for Stone, therefore, is the extent to which the use of non-reciprocal T/V address in Russian has become and is becoming less common.

Buchenau's (1997, 79-89) account of the social functions of address in Russian is an attempt at empirical research, but is also comparative, since it seeks to compare and contrast address in Russian, Polish and German. Similar in this regard, though less analytical, is Gladrow's (2008) account of address forms in Russian with comparison/translation of German usage. Regarding the empirical aspect of his work, it needs to be stressed that address forms are highly resistant to such methods of data collection, and Buchenau, therefore, cannot rectify what Stone perceives to be a weakness in scholarship of this kind. As Buchenau himself makes clear (ibid., 39):

> Die unbedenklichste Art, zu verläßlichen Daten über das Funktionieren von Anredeformen in der mündlichen Kommunikation zu kommen, besteht ohne Zweifel in der Beobachtung spontanen Sprachgebrauchs durch Muttersprachler. Im Falle der vorliegenden Arbeit war es allerdings unmöglich, hauptsächlich diesen Weg bei der Sammlung eigenen Materials zu beschreiben, da hierzu ständiger Kon-

takt mit Deutschen, Russen und Polen in möglichst vielen ver-
schiedenen Situationen notwendig ist.

Dismissing the non-oral nature of correspondence favoured by Berger (1995),
he accepts the inevitable value of literary texts (of both the nineteenth and first half
the twentieth century), as well as including 30-45 minute interviews with some 12 re-
spondents who gave responses based both on their own (essentially subjective) under-
standing of how they would address others and expect to be addressed themselves.
The significant problems of obtaining anything approximating objective data are thus
highlighted by Buchenau's attempts to give such an account, and, perhaps, not sur-
prisingly, the account he gives of Russian reads in many instances more like an anec-
dotal account rather than a strictly statistical exercise.

Nevertheless, Buchenau outlines the following key areas in which the social
functions of Russian differ strongly from Polish and German (and, in most cases,
other European languages (both Slavonic and non-Slavonic)). In so doing he under-
lines how Russia differs culturally from so much of Europe. Firstly, V singular ad-
dress is only a part of the standard language (*литературный язык*): it is entirely ab-
sent from *просторечие* ('popular language', though a rather pejorative term) and
Russian dialects, a feature illustrated by the experiences reported by Buchenau of a
doctor working in a settlement not far from Moscow where the local inhabitants regu-
larly addressed him and each other (even even if they were adults and unacquainted
with each other) by T. Secondly, according to Buchenau (1997, 80-82), the regular
use of T and V between the same two people is less stable in Russian than in German
and Polish. This feature will be analysed in more detail below under 'Switching be-
tween T and V'. While Buchenau does not disagree with the basic premises of Brown
and Gilman's (1960) three T and V dyads and their concomitant power relationships
(T-T, V-V and T-V) for European languages, he considers their applicability for Rus-

189

sian to be inappropriate. He also distinguishes the general move towards mutual T address (which has been observed to be taking place in west European languages) from tendencies in Russian which result from the language's different historical precedents with respect to address forms (ibid., 81). Buchenau traces the history of pronominal address in Russia from the nineteenth century to the Soviet top-down attempt to broaden the scope of reciprocal V; in particular, he discusses T/V address in the Red Army which even released a written declaration in 1917 advocating the rights of all soldiers to be addressed in the proper formal way rather than with T singular, and also within the more educated classes (the so called *интеллигентное «вы»*). Notwithstanding the efforts of the Soviet government, Buchenau (1997, 84-86) makes it clear that non-reciprocal T/V address between interlocutors based on the power paradigm was widespread in the Soviet Union, not only between older and younger speakers, but particularly in the workplace, largely as a result of the familiarity of those in positions of power with the pre-revolutionary use of T to workers and other people of lower social standing (of which they were once representatives). The continued use of non-reciprocal T/V, in a sense, then, offers a linguistic perspective into the failure of the Soviet Union to establish true equality in all sections of society – in many ways, as shown by this practice, the Revolution gave licence to maintain such pre-revolutionary practices, albeit with different protagonists. Since *perestroika* in the latter half of the 1980s and the subsequent break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russian has indeed been following the trends of other European languages, namely a shift towards reciprocal T (also observable with nominal address (see below)) (see, for example, Zemskaia 1997). Finally, Buchenau (1997, 86-89) discusses (but leaves open) the question of the extent to which T is indeed a disrespectful or demeaning form of address when used by one adult to another, finding evidence from some informants that V-singular address can sound too official and distant, and, therefore, at least in

some situations, negative and less preferable than T. The rather old 'folk' Russian nature of T address can also be seen in addressing Orthodox priests, at least from parishioners, a practice which can be seen as being related to the normal mode of addressing God (i.e. T). At the same time, Buchenau stresses that V address to priests, bishops and the like is also possible, making this area of address in Russian uniquely free and subject to personal preference.

While Buchenau's account of pronominal address forms certainly fulfils Stone's requirements, with the exception of providing an entirely empirical account, it seems that an analysis of address in modern Russian using a hierarchy of factors has yet to be developed, and this is to the detriment of the area and certainly a task for future research. An example of this type of study is provided by Polovina (1984) who sets up a 10-way system of factors which affect address use in Serbo-Croat. Weissenböck (2006) sets up a similar system for modern (western) Ukrainian, distinguishing between 'Key Factors', viz person's age, upbringing, value system, gender and political convictions, and 'Factors of Interaction', viz relative age (of the interlocutors), relative status, setting, level of social distance and kinship. Of these factors Weissenböck identifies a person's age and upbringing as the most important and the relative age and status of interlocutors the most important relative factors. While there are, of course, differences between Ukrainian and Russian in this area (most typically, Ukrainian makes more use of V singular address than Russian, as previously noted, making it sound more formal to Russian ears), reason suggests that the same would or certainly could hold true for Russian and that further research along these lines is required. It should be mentioned that Friedrich (1972) sets up ten factors which determine the use of T or V in Russian society, but limits his analysis to the nineteenth century. His factors, in descending order, are starkly different from Weissenböck's

given above, viz topic of discourse, content, age, generation, sex, kinship, dialect, group membership, relative authority and emotional solidarity.

2.4 NOMINAL ADDRESS

For Stone, problems of nominal address in Russian are mainly concerned with the different combinations of particular names and titles with either T or V, or, at least, the likelihood of either T or V to be used with a particular name or title. Stone (1977, 503-504) states:

> [I]t is immediately obvious that the use of personal names and titles has social correlates which are similar to those of pronominal forms. Nominal and pronominal forms of address often co-occur, but there are many discrepancies too. […] In Russian … the use of the fore-name, including hypocoristics, with V is quite common, though fore-name with T is even commoner. […] There are few, if any, combina-tions of nominal and pronominal address forms which can be regarded as totally impossible. […] Among the rarer types of co-occurrence in Russian are T with forename + patronymic … and V with patronymic alone.

Concluding his rather brief survey of this aspect of address, Stone (ibid., 504) makes the following points:

> In connection with the social changes affecting the Slavonic languages in the twentieth century several types of nominal address have been replaced or have simply disappeared. Aristocratic and administrative

> titles, such as those in the Russian Table of Ranks, have lost their traditional function, though they are remembered and may be used ironically. At the same time new titles such as Russian товарищ ('comrade'), гражданин ('citizen' (masc.)), гражданка ('citizen' (fem.)) ... have come to the fore, though there has been a general movement away from the use of titles and the innovations are less numerous than those that have fallen out of circulation.

While Sussex and Cubberley (2006, 568-571) offer a succinct overview of this area in Slavonic languages, and Berger (2002) gives a diachronic perspective with an analysis of the use of titles in Russian in the nineteenth century, these are to a large extent subsumed by Buchenau's (1997, 135-176) more holistic treatment. Russian, of course, is in many ways the most marked of all the Slavonic languages in this respect through its widespread use of name and patronymic (*имя-отчество*) as the standard means of expressing distance, particularly in the official sphere, while title + name plays a relatively minor role in the language.[5] Nevertheless, as Nikolaeva (1999) and Krongauz (2004, 182) note, *имя-отчество* is showing signs of receding, especially, as Krongauz (ibid.) explains, in business circles, where addressing people by first name only is now preferred. Business cards too generally exclude the patronymic and have only the first and last name. It is also worth pointing out that the use of *имя-отчество* to express distance extended during the Soviet period to Ukrainian, so that in modern Ukrainian two models, a Western Ukrainian model (using *pan/pani* + last

---

[5] The patronymic in Russian (*отчество*) is formed from the father's name by means of the suffix *-ович/-евич* for males and *–овна/-евна* for females (thus, the father's name Пётр gives the masc. and fem. patronymics respectfully Петрович and Петровна). Standard V address to adults uses the first name (*имя*) and patronymic (thus, *имя-отчество*): «Леонид Петрович, вы получили моё письмо?» ('Leonid Petrovich, have you received my letter?').

name) (Weissenböck 2006, 20.3-20.4) and a 'Russian' model (using first name + patronymic), are possible, though culturally at odds with each other.

Buchenau uses Schubert's (1986, 54 ff.) distinction between *bound* and *free* forms of address, the former essentially represented by pronouns, the latter by titles: as Buchenau (1997, 33) states:

> Schubert … unterscheidet zwischen *gebundenen* und *freien* Anredeformen, also zwischen syntaktisch in den Satz integrierten Formen, die die Funktion eines Subjekts, Objekts oder Attributs ausfüllen, und Vokativen, die syntaktisch und prosodisch aus dem Satz ausgegliedert sind.

Following this basic distinction, Buchenau modifies (since it only refers to German and Polish, not Russian) Tomiczek's (1983) classification of six basic types of form within the free forms of address: 1) Mr/Mrs words, e.g. Russian *господин* ('Mr'), *госпожа* ('Mrs/Miss'); 2) collegial titles, e.g. *товарищ* ('comrade'), *гражданин/гражданка* ('citizen' (masc./fem.)); 3) professional and functional titles, e.g. *профессор* ('professor'), *директор* ('director, principal'); 4) symbolic titles, e.g. *ваше святейшество* ('Your Holiness'); 5) designations of (family) relationships, e.g. *папа* ('dad'), *мама* ('mum'), but also pseudo-family terms, e.g. *отец* ('father') to a priest; 6) occasional titles, e.g. *Уважаемые читатели!* ('Dear (Esteemed) readers!).[6]

Buchenau (1977, 135) sees in the spread of the use of first name and patronymic (*имя-отчество*) from the time of the middle ages, when originally only the boyars were entitled to have the full patronymic (*-ович/-евич* as opposed to only *-ов/*

---

[6] Berger (1995, 25) as well as Brehmer (2005, 12-14) base their classifications on syntactic criteria, similar to Buchenau and Schubert, but different from Tomiczek's semantic criteria.

-ев) after their first name, the equivalent process of emancipation in Russia which led to *Herr/Frau* and *pan/pani* in German and Polish respectively. Eventually name + patronymic became the normal form of address for any adult in the appropriate situation. The fact that *господин* ('Mr') and *сударь* ('Sir') (and their feminine equivalents, *госпожа* ('Mrs/Miss') and *сударыня* ('Madam')) never made the inroads that their equivalents did in, say, German and Polish, is counterbalanced by the rise of *имя-отчество* address in Russian and in no way diminishes the role of social emancipation from feudal custom in Russian. At the same time, it needs to be stressed that this development was a gradual process reaching before and after the nineteenth century, and the ability to use the *-ович/-овна* suffix was essentially a privilege that could be both granted and revoked. Buchenau (ibid., 137) also stresses the fundamental difference between languages with separate Mr/Mrs words and Russian, in which the mark of Mr/Mrs is suffixal (i.e. the patronymic itself, e.g. Петрович/Петровна) and therefore always dependent on the actual name of the person. Thus, respectful address becomes an integral part of the person's name, once granted. The marginal importance of the surname (*фамилия*) in Russian formal address is also important to note in contrast to its primary importance in the majority of west European languages. Another valuable point made by Buchenau (ibid., 141-142) is that use of *имя-отчество* is not merely a naming device, but implies a sense of both closeness and respect with regard to the person being addressed, something borne out by the fact that while most 'native' cultural figures are referred to in this way (e.g. Александр Сергеевич, i.e. Пушкин), cultural figures who have lived and worked abroad for significant periods are generally referred to only by first name and surname (Сергей Рахманинов, Марина Цветаева).

    Although Buchenau's (1997) analysis is again essentially anecdotal, though carried out with informants, a clear attempt is made to define the developmental ten-

dencies of nominal address. While there is not enough space here to discuss all aspects of Buchenau's analysis of this kind of address, the following points will highlight the main areas of research following from Stone's comments regarding nominal address. In particular, Buchenau (ibid., 143) identifies that in the years after the Second World War in the USSR there was a clear move away from *имя-отчество*, especially among 'equals', and a move towards V, occasionally T, address with the use of the first name only, something, arguably, influenced by west European models. Russian, of course, also has the additional possibility of multiple derivations of most first names – short forms, or hypocoristics – another area of considerable complexity, in fact (see, for example, Offord 1996, 230-233; Krongauz (2004, 172) notes that there are more than twenty-five variant forms of the name *Александр*, and more than forty for *Мария*). As Buchenau explains, there is a crucial difference between using a full name (e.g. Борис) + V as opposed to a short form of the name (e.g. Боря) + V: the former became extremely rare during the Soviet period (though was common in nineteenth-century literature), but has undergone something of a revival in the years after *perestroika*, primarily in the media and between business-people. The latter is limited essentially to use in academic circles (mainly as non-reciprocal address between staff and students, with students using *имя-отчество* and V) (see also Gladrow 2008, 44). Buchenau (1997, 145-146) also discusses the possibility of a compromise form of address – the use of *имя-отчество* with T address, and characterises it as a way of combining closeness with respect, as perhaps between neighbours or between schoolteachers in the presence of pupils. The exact circumstances of its use, however, remain opaque. The reverse of this 'compromise' is V address with the use of the first name only, mentioned directly above.

Buchenau (1997, 149 ff.) works through a discussion of pseudo-family terms, such as *батюшка* ('father'), concentrating on the Orthodox Church and the Table of

Ranks, established by Peter the Great in 1722, to govern hierarchy and roles of military personnel, civil service and nobility. Of particular interest, however, is his discussion of the development of titles such as *товарищ*, *гражданин/гражданка*, *господин/госпожа*, *сударь/сударыня*, as well as address forms to strangers. Notwithstanding the importance of *товарищ* in Russian, this section makes clear the particular social and political conditions which have had such a large effect on Russian nominal address, as well the importance of *имя-отчество*, which, as mentioned above, has had such a dominant role in Russian and largely ousted other nominal forms of address. Although, of course, *товарищ* ('comrade') made a lot of headway during the Soviet period (Buchenau refers to Formanovskaja (1989) in relation to this), since the mid 1980s it has been in decline again in line with the political situation in the country and its clear associations with socialism. As Buchenau points out (1977, 155), however, it is also unusual as a nominal address form, in so far as it has no feminine form (*товарка* is generally deemed to be *просторечие*). Indeed, this specific factor may have prevented it from becoming the norm in everyday situations, in addition to the well established practice (even by 1917) of using *имя-отчество*. This meant that *товарищ* was essentially restricted to official use or addressing strangers. In recent years plural address in official contexts has tended towards '*Господа!'* ('Gentlemen!'), or '*Дамы и господа!'* ('Ladies and gentlemen!').

Regarding the other most common types of nominal address in Russian, Buchenau discusses *гражданин/гражданка* (ibid., 160-163) which reached its peak during the NEP period (New Economic Policy, 1921-28), but which became somewhat stigmatised during the 1930s and therefore lost ground to *товарищ*. Like the latter word, however, *гражданин* has not disappeared entirely, though its use is essentially restricted to use for strangers (with a rather official tenor to it), in combination with an occasional title (e.g. on signs, *Граждане пешеходы, ... !)* ('Citizen pe-

197

destrians, … !)*,* as well as by the militia to warn people, thus retaining its rather negative undertones from the years of Stalin's rule (ibid., 162). A detailed account of *господин*/*госпожа* (ibid., 163-168) demonstrates that even before 1917, when no ideological factors stood in its way, this form of address was not preferred by Russians except in formal or business contexts, and, of course, was only applicable to members of the higher social strata; *имя-отчество* was the preferred default form of address in most other situations. Under the Bolsheviks *господин* was denigrated (in particular as a plural address form ('*Господа!*') instead of the politically more correct '*Товарищи!*' 'comrades'). In time, under the Soviet regime, it lost some of its pejorative sense, though it became reserved essentially for addressing Westerners. Since the 1990s, however, *господин* is again playing a role in addressing Russians. Buchenau (ibid., 166) makes the important observation that in post-communist Russia *товарищ* and *господин* now stand in (almost total) complementary distribution, the former mainly used in the military and the militia, the latter more in the (private) worlds of business and commerce, though with some cross-over also possible (see also Gladrow 2008, 42-43 on these two words). With regard to addressing strangers, Buchenau (ibid., 173-176) analyses (a) the applicability (particularly with regard to age) of *молодой человек* ('young man') and *девушка* ('girl, miss'); (b) the non-standard nature of *мужчина* ('man') and *женщина* ('woman') (even when these two latter forms could in theory substitute the former forms for more elderly addressees); and (c) the peculiarly Russian tolerance of addressing strangers according to any of their physical attributes (e.g. '*В очках, пройдите!*' ('(You) In the glasses, come through!'), something unthinkable in Polish or German. All of this shows the unusual cultural position of Russian in which, unlike the majority of West European languages, there is no simple equivalent for Mr/Mrs.[7]

---

[7] See also Betsch and Berger (2009, 1022-1023) for a concise description of nominal address in Russian and other

2.5 SWITCHING BETWEEN T AND V

Switching between T and V is, of course, closely related to the social functions of address forms. Stone's comments on this feature of address are as follows (Stone 1977, 504-505):

> As to the possible drift away from expressive variation, we shall only be able to assess the trend in Slavonic languages when we have a clearer picture of such variation in the recent past. […] Consideration of Friedrich's picture of nineteenth-century Russian pronominal address might encourage the view that there was indeed more switching between modes then than occurs now. But Nakhimovsky, reporting on present-day usage, also gives examples of situational switching.

Stone's concern, therefore, is the recognition of situational switching between T and V which occurs in Russian together with an admission of its rather vague status, both in terms of how it functions as well as with regard to the historical dynamics which may or may not be altering its frequency of occurrence. Naturally, as a phenomenon which can only be attested in actual communicative situations (though, literary sources could also be included potentially), it is extremely difficult to identify its parameters and the precise factors which influence it. Buchenau (1977, 79-89), in his analysis of Russian pronominal address, identifies several areas in which Russian differs markedly from Polish and German; one of these areas is identified by him as being the fact that T/V address in Russian is less stable than it is in Polish and German,

---

Slavonic languages, and Brehmer (2004 and 2005) for a detailed analysis of nominal address in Ukrainian and the South Slavonic languages respectively.

that is to say, that there is a greater possibility (again, it is not clear how this has been empirically shown to be the case) of one or both interlocutors switching from T to V or vice versa in the same dialogue. Friedrich (1972) had identified this in nineteenth-century usage, but Buchenau (1977, 80) finds it also in Silver Age literature (Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard*) and also in twentieth-century usage, mainly in the opposition between official vs. non-official context. Buchenau's examples are essentially anecdotal; thus, for example, he quotes the example of a teacher who states that the presence of a single pupil is enough to cause teachers who normally use T to each other to switch to V. He also found evidence of this in official gatherings of teachers where couples would switch to V in the presence of other teachers, even if their personal status as a couple, married or otherwise, was known to the other teachers. Weissenböck (2006, 20.10) reports the same phenomenon in Ukrainian:

> In communication among non-relatives, a public setting indicates compulsory use of V. A university professor, for example, can use the T form when addressing a student in a one-to-one talk. However, in a lecture or in front of other people, he or she will most likely use V. This phenomenon, which I call 'pronoun-switching', can also be encountered in groupings of people of approximately the same status who consider it inappropriate to reveal their personal relationship in front of others in a public setting.

Buchenau (1977, 81) identifies 'officialness' as the key factor in this switching to V from otherwise T usage, something he concludes from the example of a conference where even young teenage children addressed each other with V during a session. However, he suggests that switching between T and V may also happen in Russian, not only in certain physical situations, but also depending on the topic of the conver-

sation: he cites (ibid.) an example of a woman who normally uses T, but switches to V whenever the topic of conversation turns to something which she views as 'business'.

Buchenau (1977, 81-82) argues that the overall tendency in German and Polish is not comparable with the processes that occurred in Russian, as Russian had a vastly different starting point: in pre-revolutionary Russia reciprocal V was restricted to a very small educated part of society, while for the mass of working people reciprocal T was the norm and could, indeed did, express both closeness and respect. The 1917 Revolution, according to Buchenau, had two main counteracting effects: firstly, it marginalised the already small group of people who used reciprocal V, bringing with it a tendency towards reciprocal T, the T of solidarity and comradeship also prevalent in the Russian Civil War. At the same time, Bolshevik party members including Lenin himself, favoured V as a symbol of emancipation from non-reciprocal use of T/V between worker and master prior to 1917. This, in turn, became the norm for the first period of Soviet history, with a very gradual shift beginning in the late 1960s towards T, particularly among younger colleagues, and progressing even faster, as already noted, after *perestroika* and to the present day (see, for example, Zemskaia, 1997).

2.6 ORIGINS OF V SINGULAR ADDRESS

Although the origins of using V for singular address are not actually discussed by Stone, the question is important and the possible answer appears to lack clarity. Certainly the dominant thought traditionally has been that polite V usage is essentially a result of French influence (see, for example, Sussex and Cubberley 2006, 565), and, therefore, a relatively late development (latter half of the eighteenth century). In what appears to be a little known article, however, Popov (1985), gives an important reas-

sessment of singular V usage in which he outlines the importance of the pre-Petrine and Petrine periods of Russian history in this development.[8] 'Any assertion that it is of French origin is pure conjecture. The use of *vy* as a singular pronoun appeared late in the fifteenth century', he asserts (ibid., 331), i.e. at a time when French influence on Russian was negligible. Popov attributes its original use in Russian to the influence of Latin. From the fourth century *vos* had been used to address the Roman Emperors (i.e. it became customary to address either one of the Emperors of the Eastern or Western Roman Empires as *vos*, since to exclude one or the other from any communication was, by implication, inappropriate and disrespectful). Eventually this usage spread to any persons of authority and the practice itself spread to other European languages including, eventually, Russian. Popov's examples of this early pre-Petrine usage are from diplomatic letters, mainly between Moscow and Rome, but, as he states (ibid., 332), the practice 'did not readily spread among the population. It remained dormant in Russian until the eighteenth century'. When it did become more commonly used at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 'it came to express not so much reverence as respect, politeness, and formality'.

Popov's conclusion differs from that of other scholars, such as Tilman Berger (1995), who also considers the diachronic perspective. Comparing German, Polish and Russian, Berger finds analogous, but not simultaneous developments in all languages with regard to the adoption of the second person plural for the pronominal address of distance: in the twelfth century for German, approximately the sixteenth century for Polish and about 1700 (the early reign of Peter the Great) for Russian.[9] Until

---

[8] Petrine refers to the reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725).

[9] Cf. also the notes on the historical development of address systems in Slavonic languages in Betsch and Berger (2009, 1025-1026).

then, according to Berger, even in letters to the Tsar, T was used.[10] Popov, however, clearly shows with his examples that correspondence to and from the Tsar was, from a much earlier time (even as early as the late fifteenth century), conducted with V singular address, although not entirely consistently. While Popov's argument and evidence appear to be incontrovertible, it needs to be stressed that such V address appears then to have been restricted solely to persons in the very highest positions of power, i.e. an extremely limited set of people. In addition, it may have been restricted to written usage alone – we have no clear evidence for or against on this point. It cannot be said, therefore, that singular V address was in any way a fundamental and intrinsic part of the ordinary spoken language of the overwhelming majority of Russians. Nevertheless, Popov's argument is important as it sets in place the basis for the further development of V singular address at a later stage in the history of Russian. Certainly, though, when it comes to the eighteenth century, both positions (i.e. those of Popov and Berger) converge on the question of V singular address. It was precisely at this time that, beginning with a more systematic use of T/V in his own correspondence, Peter the Great opened the way to a more widespread implementation of the French system of pronominal address in Russian high society, which was itself by this stage better able to incorporate such a feature given its high level of competence in Gallic language and culture. Nevertheless, the top-down nature of this development is still in evidence even today with the absence of V singular address in non-standard varieties and dialects of Russian. Berger (1996), however, suggests that owing to the widespread effects of education from as early as the 1920s in the USSR, it may be an exaggeration to claim that V singular address is entirely absent from dialects and *просторечие*:

---

[10] Chernykh (1948) also argues that Peter the Great was indeed 'responsible' for introducing *vy* through the example set in his letters.

every speaker of any variety of Russian knows V singular address, but may use it differently based on his or her specific situation.

3. CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to evaluate to what extent the gaps in our knowledge of the workings of address forms in Russian, identified in Stone's seminal work of 1977, have been filled. What emerges from the discussion is the existence of a growing and increasingly sophisticated corpus of work which indicates indisputable progress in the area, as summarised briefly below. Although descriptive grammars for the most part remain somewhat simplistic, scholarly work has certainly made inroads into the complexities of address usage in Russian. It needs to be pointed out, however, that for the most part research into this area has tended to be more anecdotal than empirical, and, certainly, the absence of statistical data is conspicuous in this area when compared with other areas of the language studied. While this is in one sense not surprising given the fluid and largely oral nature of address usage, future research would benefit considerably from a searchable database of literary, written and oral examples, enabling statistical analysis both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective. Other important areas which are lacking for contemporary Russian include: (a) a hierarchical categorisation of factors which affect the choice of pronoun or title, something, as noted above, which has been attempted for Ukrainian; and (b) a detailed study, particularly diachronic, into the agreement of long and short adjectives with V singular address.

With regard to the lacunae identified by Stone (1977), the following points can be made in conclusion. While semantic agreement is not characterised by much variation or complexity in modern Russian, the differing type of agreement between short and

long adjectives remains an area of interest and has been classified by Corbett (2006, 230-232) according to the principles of predicate hierarchy, so that long forms are viewed as more nominal and short forms more verbal. With regard to the social functions of address in Russian, the identification of V singular address as a part of the standard language alone (not the dialects or substandard varities of Russian), and the subtle and intricate interplay between T and V during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not least for social and political reasons, serve to show the unique cultural position of Russian vis-à-vis the other languages of Europe. However, as mentioned above, a hierarchical set of factors determining use of T or V in Russian is yet to be formulated, certainly a task to be undertaken in the future which would shed more light on the dynamics of address usage and the apparent shift towards a preference for reciprocal T address. Within nominal address, the uniquely Russian predisposition to address adults formally using *имя-отчество* has led to the marginalisation of other 'Mr/Mrs' titles such as *товарищ* and *господин/госпожа*. However, as some scholars have noted, there is currently an apparent gradual move away from *имя-отчество*, but this needs to be substantiated with further data and analysis. Switching between T and V in the same dialogue is another area in which Russian appears to differ markedly from a number of other languages as a result of its inherent instability: while 'officialness' appears to be the key to this feature, a diachronic and inter-cultural approach has added sophistication to the overall perspective, since mutual V address was a much later and rarer phenomenon in Russian than in other Slavonic and west European languages. Finally, light has also been shed on the actual origins of V singular address in Russian, making it clear that it goes back not to eighteenth-century French influence as thought by many scholars, but to as early as the fifteenth century when it was used in correspondence between the Tsar and other dignitaries.

REFERENCES

AG 1980 = *Русская грамматика. I: Фонетика. Фонология. Ударение. Интонация. Словообразование. Морфология*, Академия наук СССР, Shvedova, N.Iu. (ed.), Moscow: Nauka.

Baker, Robert L.: 1994, *Russian for Everybody: Textbook*, ed. V. Kostomarov, Moscow: Russkii iazyk.

Berger, Tilman: 1995, 'Versuch einer historischen Typologie ausgewählter slavischer Anredesysteme', in: Weiss, Daniel (ed.), *Slavistische Linguistik 1994: Referate des XX. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, Zürich 20-22.9.1994,* Munich: Sagner, Slavistische Beiträge (332), pp. 15-64.

Berger, Tilman: 1996, 'Spuren älterer pronominaler Anredesysteme in west- und ostlavischen und substandardsprachlichen Varietäten', in: Girke, Wolfgang (ed.), *Slavistische Linguistik 1995*, Munich: Sagner, Slavistische Beiträge (342), pp. 7-36.

Berger, Tilman: 2002, 'Die Titelanrede im Russischen und ihre Widerspiegelung in der russischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts', in: Willich-Lederbogen, Heide; Nohejl, Regine; Fischer, Michaela (eds), *Itinera slavica. Studien zur Literatur und Kultur der Slaven*, Munich: Sagner, Welt der Slaven (16), pp. 15-23.

Betsch, Michael; Berger, Tilman: 2009, 'Anredesysteme', in: Kempgen, Sebastian; Kosta, Peter; Berger, Tilman; Gutschmidt, Karl (eds.), *Die slavischen Sprachen / The Slavic Languages,* vol 1, Berlin: de Gruyter), pp. 1019-1028.

Brehmer, Bernhard: 2004, 'Pan oder Patronymikon? - zum System der nominalen Anredeformen im Ukrainischen', in: Bayer, Markus; Betsch, Michael; Błaszczak, Joanna (eds.), *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik (POLYSLAV)*, vol. 7, Munich: Sagner, pp. 28-37.

Brehmer, Bernhard: 2005, 'Titles as forms of address in South Slavonic languages: a case of social semantics or pragmatics?', *Slavica Gandensia,* 32, 9-33.

Brown, Roger; Gilman, Albert: 1960, 'The pronouns of power and solidarity', in: Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed.), *Style in Language*, Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 253-276.

Buchenau, Klaus: 1997, *Die Distanzanrede im Russischen, Polnischen und Deutschen und ihre historischen Hintergründe,* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Vienna: Peter Lang.

Chernykh, P.Ia.: 1948, 'Заметки об употреблении местоимения *вы* в качестве формы вежливости в русском литературном языке XVIII-XIX веков', in: *Ученые записки Московского государственного университета*, 137, *Труды кафедры русского языка*, 2, pp. 89-108.

Comrie, Bernard: 1975, 'Polite plurals and predicate agreement', *Language*, 51/2, 406-418.

Comrie, Bernard; Stone, Gerald; Polinsky, Maria: 1996, *The Russian Language in the Twentieth Century,* Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 2nd edition.

Corbett, Greville: 2006, *Agreement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cubberley, Paul: 2002, *Russian: A Linguistic Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Formanovskaja, N.A.: 1989, *Речевой этикет и культура общения*, Moscow: Kniga po Trebovaniiu.

Friedrich, Paul: 1972, 'Social context and semantic feature: the Russian pronominal usage', in: Gumperz, John, J. amd Hymes, Dell (eds), *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 270-300.

Gladrow, Wolfgang: 2008, 'Система обращения в русском и немецком языках', in: *Festschrift in Honour of Professor Arto Mustajoki on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, Helsinki: *Slavica Helsingiensia*, 35, pp. 38-48.

Jachnow, Helmut: 1974, 'Zur sozialen Implikation des Gebrauches von Anredepronomen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Russischen)', *Zeitschift für slavische Philologie*, 37, 343-355.

Kirk, Richard Yost: 1979, *Forms of Address in Russian: A Sociolinguistic Analysis*, unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, University Microfilms International (No. 1848).

Krongauz, Maksim Anisimovich: 2004, 'Русский речевой этикет на рубеже веков', *Russian Linguistics*, 28, 163-187.

Nakhimovsky, A.D.: 1976, 'Social distribution of forms of address in contemporary Russian', *International Review of Slavic Linguistics*, 1/1, 79-118.

Nikolaeva, T.M.: 1999, 'Новое употребление «отчества» в русской речевой традиции', *Slavia*, 68, 61-68.

Nummikoski, Marita: 2012, *Troika: A Communicative Approach to Russian Language, Life and Culture*, Hoboken, N.J., Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Offord, Derek: 1996, *Using Russian: A Guide to Contemporary Usage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Polovina, Vesna: 1984, 'Upotreba jednine i množine ličnih zamenica u obraćanju sagovorniku u savremenom srpskohrvatskom jeziku', *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane*, 13, 185-195.

Popov, Paul: 1985, 'On the origin of Russian *vy* as form of polite address', *Slavic and East European Journal*, 29/3, 330-337.

Ryazanova-Clarke, Larissa; Wade, Terence: 1999, *The Russian Language Today*, London & New York: Routledge.

Schubert, Klaus: 1984, 'Modernes russisches Anredeverhalten', in: Winter, Werner (ed.), *Anredeverhalten*, Tübingen: Narr, pp. 73-114.

Schubert, Klaus: 1986, 'Gleiche und Ungleiche. Eine Untersuchung zum polnischen Anredeverhalten', *SAIS. Arbeitsberichte aus dem Seminar für Allgemeine und Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft (Kiel)*, 9, 51-75.

Stone, Gerald: 1977, 'Address in the Slavonic languages', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 55/4, 491-505.

Sussex, Roland; Cubberley, Paul V.: 2006, *The Slavic Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tomiczek, Eugeniusz: 1983, *System adresatywny współczesnego języka polskiego i niemieckiego: socjolingwistyczne studium konfrontatywne,* Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego (730).

Wade, Terence: 2011, *A Comprehensive Grammar of Russian*, 3rd edition, Malden, MA, Oxford: Blackwell.

Weissenböck, Maria: 2006, 'Pronouns of address in western Ukrainian: between tradition and modernity', *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 19/2, 20.1-20.15.

Zemskaia, E.A.: 1997, 'Категория вежливости: общие вопросы − национально-культурная специфика русского языка', *Zeitschrift fur Slavische Philologie*, 56/2, 271-301.

REVIEWS

Наталия Орищук, *Александр Грин: Под парусом советской культуры*. [Nataliya Oryshchuk, *Alexander Grin: Under the Sail of Soviet Culture*.] Saarbrücken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2012. 154 pp.

This book represents a revised and abbreviated version of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to the University of Canterbury in 2006. Her overarching thesis is that since the 1920s (including, as described in the concluding section, the years after the fall of the Bolshevik regime) numerous portrayals of Aleksandr Grin (1880–1932) and his works have created a reputation that bears only a passing resemblance to the actual person and his oeuvre. One-sided or distorted interpretations, a tendency to focus on only certain novels and stories, and questionable or even false claims about his life and his views have combined to show him as manifesting 'Soviet' values and writing primarily for children — an image that does a disservice to Grin.

Part I, which is preceded by an introduction containing a brief outline of his life and career, looks at how critics regarded Grin and his works in Stalin's day and during the years since the thaw, when the public perception of him was largely formed. The more original portions of this book, however, are those that follow. Part II analyses three fictionalised biographies of Grin — items that hitherto have for the most part not received detailed treatments. Similarly, Part III contains apparently the first effort to examine the extent to which which several of the films based on Grin's writings have reflected or even contributed to the popular conceptions of him. In all three parts the influence of political and historical circumstances on the particular responses to Grin comes in for special consideration.

Widely read in Western literature (his favourite writers included Robert Louis Stevenson, Edgar Allan Poe, Rudyard Kipling and Bret Harte, among many others), setting many of his best tales not in Russia but in an imaginary land that a critic later dubbed Grinlandia, and often combining realistic, romantic and outright fantastic elements in his prose, Grin has never been an easy writer to classify. Furthermore, during his lifetime few knew him well; for that matter, he was personally responsible for some of the 'legends' about him that made the rounds and were difficult to dispel. Not surprisingly, therefore, even before the Bolshevik revolution Grin often did not receive the understanding on the part of reviewers that he and his early literary efforts seemingly deserved. Afterwards, as pointed out in this study, critics began to attack his writing on socio-political grounds: it seemed exotic, foreign and unconcerned with life in Soviet Russia. Grin, who moved to the Crimea in 1924 and wrote most of his best pieces during the decade of the 1920s, found it more and more difficult to publish in the years leading up to his death. During the immediate post World War II era he fell into almost complete obscurity. A pair of 1950 articles accused him of 'cosmopolitanism', and for a decade he was not published at all.

Grin reemerged from the shadows during the period of the Thaw and rapidly became immensely popular. Nataliya Oryshchuk is particularly interested in how a writer who seemed so antithetical to the norms of socialist realism was fashioned into an acceptable figure. She isolates three myths about Grin: that his eventual break with the Socialist-Revolutionary movement he had joined as a young man indicated sympathy toward the Bolsheviks, that Grin late in his career was becoming more inclined toward realism, and that Grin was a children's writer whose *Scarlet Sails* (*Alye parusa*) stands as his highest achievement. Here as elsewhere in the book one wishes that more had been done to revise the dissertation when preparing it for publication. A minor complaint concerns the lack of consideration given to works published after 2006;

the only later dates in the bibliography are for access to the URLs of several items that were already available earlier. More significantly, not enough consideration is given to developing the counter-arguments to these myths, particularly the third: the author states that Grin's books were 'never written for children' (p. 46), without elaborating on the nature of his prose. The psychological depth of certain items and the complexity of the themes he at times puts forth could have been at least briefly described. In Parts II and III as well the author might have taken more time to step back and go further into some of the issues that are raised. For instance, it would have been useful to provide concluding sections for these parts to review such matters as the broad problem of fictional biography or the general difficulty of finding adequate filmic equivalents for Grin's novels.

That said, the latter portions offer informative analyses of items that scholars have largely overlooked. Part II describes how the three quasi-biographical depictions of Grin all fail to do to full justice to their real-life prototype. In *The Black Sea* (*Chernoe more*, 1936) Konstantin Paustovsky, who did much to defend Grin during the Stalinist years and to bring him back into repute afterwards, nonetheless presents a Grin (under the name of Gart) who broadly embodies the first two of the above-mentioned myths. A second literary treatment, Leonid Borisov's *The Magician from Gel´-G´iu* (*Volshebnik iz Gel´-G´iu*, 1945), stems more from imagination than fact — though it is strangely free of ideology for a work written during the Stalinist era. Conversely, Valentin Zorin's *The Master of Chance* (*Povelitel´ sluchainostei,* 1980) turns out to be an 'encyclopedia of the ideological myths about Grin' (p. 70).

The final two chapters of Part III briefly discuss two films — adaptations of *The Radiant World* (*Blistaiushchii mir*, 1984) and *The Golden Chain* (*Zolotaia tsep´*, 1986) — that were generally unsuccessful and are only of passing interest. However, the two chapters that precede these are arguably the book's strongest. *Scarlet Sails*

213

(1961) appeared relatively soon after Grin's rediscovery and turns out to have been pivotal in helping to establish his popular image. Whilst noting the qualities responsible for the film's ability to attract more than 22 million viewers upon its release, Nataliya Oryshchuk also points to the ideological elements introduced by the director that seem totally at odds with Grin's intent. Still, she concedes that many greatly admired the film and that, perhaps more than any other single factor, this production made *Scarlet Sails* virtually synonymous with Grin. The adaptation of *She Who Runs Along the Waves* (*Begushchaia po volnam*, 1964) did not enjoy the same popularity. Here, though, Oryshchuk does a fine job of showing that the screenplay by Aleksandr Galich, the direction of Pavel Liubimov, and the performances by such actors as Rolan Bykov and Margarita Terekkhova combine to make this work — for all that it is hardly a literal adaptation — perhaps the best film inspired by a Grin novel.

The publisher, LAP Lambert, has unfortunately done little to disseminate this volume: as of early 2014 it does not appear to be in the holdings of a single North American library. The lack of ready availability is to be regretted, for, shortcomings aside, its analyses cast light on some little known responses to Grin that help in understanding his reception over the years. Although, given its specialised nature, the book is not the first item one should read about Grin, those somewhat familiar with his achievements as well as students of the Soviet era in general will find that it opens rewarding paths for additional inquiry.

<div style="text-align: right">

Barry P. Scherr
Dartmouth College

</div>

Denis Kozlov, *The Readers of 'Novyi mir': Coming to Terms with the Stalinist Past*, Cambridge, Mass., London, England, Harvard University Press, 2014. 431 pp.

The opening of the Soviet archives following the demise of the Soviet state in 1991 doubtless had a disorienting effect on Soviet researchers, but it was a boon to non-Soviet academics and scholars whose earlier analyses could have benefitted at the time of writing from greater access to primary sources. The past two decades have seen the published fruit of the archival labours of numerous media specialists who have been able to bolster educated evaluations with corroborative materials. Equally importantly, scholars have been able to provide more nuanced and penetrating analyses of case studies. Such a book is Denis Kozlov's examination of the two decades when the influence of the thick journal *Novyi mir* was at its height.

The name of this journal is familiar to all who have studied Soviet Russian literature over the past half-century. It was generally lauded as a progressive force outside the Soviet Union with considerable achievements to its name, not the least being the publication in 1962 of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Denis Kozlov's book covers an aspect of literary history largely hidden from sight in the secretive world of Soviet public opinion, namely the reaction of *Novyi mir*'s readers to those controversial works which brought the ire of the authorities upon the journal. Denis Kozlov structures his analysis around the letters' bag, which, possibly not surprisingly, is numerically very modest. A thousand letters in a year on a topic was exceptional. Most of the responses supported the journal, though a small but persistent minority (under 10%) took issue not only with editorial decisions, but also with the content of the materials. Kozlov locates this microcosm within the greater historical forces at play, Khrushchev's de-Stalinisation campaign and Leonid Brezhnev's cooling winds. Much attention is given to Alexander Tvardovsky who

emerges as a well-intentioned, canny literary warrior living in difficult times. He outlived his second tenure as editor by less than two years and died at the early age of sixty-one. The book consists of ten chapters which cover the more dramatic episodes, among them the publication of Vladimir Pomerantsev's 'On Sincerity in Literature', Ilya Ehrenburg's *People, Years, Life*, Dudintsev's *Not by Bread Alone*, the banning of Grossman's *Life and Fate*, as well as less well-known engagements, such as the 'Legends and Facts' controversy.

The author sets the scene in the introduction by listing the manifest deleterious consequences of the nature of language and literary production under Stalin. The dedication of the book to the author's grandparents, 'who lived through all this', indicates that the subject had a greater resonance than the purely academic for the author. This is an exceptionally well researched and written book. The author has gone beyond the usual stereotypical responses to the challenges faced by the authorities and those who wished to modify the harsh black and white certainties of the post-war Soviet polity. In a telling example he quotes an experiment conducted by a literature teacher Natalia Dolinina who requests that her students analyse a work of literature without using any of the standard textbook formulations. In Kozlov's words 'the result was devastating. Even the best students proved literally unable to speak. At the blackboard they stumbled over words, trying hard but failing to come up with any other terminology for their analysis…' He quotes Marietta Chukakova's broader conclusion that by the early 1950s the 'vocabulary of philosophical, economic, or historic reflection ... as well as literary scholarship and criticism, … was swamped and replaced by the language of officious newspaper journalism' (p. 83). On numerous occasions in the book he returns to the subject of language and linguistic framing of ideas so vital in such an analysis, thus highlighting the considerable achievements of the two editors, Konstantin Simonov and Alexander Paustovsky, in their campaign to

extend the boundaries of legitimate public discourse. His analysis is at times most penetrating. His response to letters to the journal which commenced with the formulaic 'haven't read but would like to say' is to see them not as letters ordered by the regime to bolster its case, but as attempts by concerned readers to articulate a vision of what Soviet society should resemble (p. 238). He also quotes several letters which reveal a mature awareness of the collective responsibility for horrors of the Stalin era. One letter-writer Vakhameev opines, 'As for the "father with moustache", I do not hold it against him. I treat him as one treats a natural disaster. The entire people together have created this disaster' (p. 235).

The book is generally well written with only very occasional lapses which occurred mainly in the rendering of the letters into English. The most egregious was the translating of Russian 'pafos' as English 'pathos', which led to some awkward collocations, e.g., 'the cheerful pathos of creative labour' (p. 300), 'saturated with the pathos of the struggle for the ideal of a man of the future' (p. 306). I gained the distinct impression that the translation of many of the letters had been entrusted to a research assistant and not subsequently checked for accuracy. Such renderings as 'Today there is no guarantee that a cult of personality or personalities will not repeat' (p. 205), 'in the name of all the mothers whose sons and daughters were rotten in the camps' (p. 286) are but two of the more awkward and detract from the generally excellent level of the text. I discovered a curious slip of the pen in one of the facsimiles of a letter to the journal, the first line of which read 'I have just finished reading "One day in the life of Ivan Antonovich"' (Fig. 5, between pages 208 and 209) which goes unremarked by the author.

The ideological debates of the sixties were to cast a long shadow and to be reworked in the late eighties with notable consequences. Indeed they can be seen as enduring issues even in the post-Soviet cultural space. *Novyi mir* continues to set a lib-

eral agenda, the names have changed, but the struggle between those who prioritise values of human rights and those who preference statist goals and ambitions endures. Kozlov's encapsulation of the essential problem 'that the letter writers did not know a higher ethical authority' (p. 204) remains relevant in an analysis of contemporary Russia.

Lyndall Morgan

The University of Queensland

Kevin Windle, *Undesirable: Captain Zuzenko and the Workers of Australia and the World.* North Melbourne, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2012. xxi + 274 pp.

The story of Aleksandr Zuzenko, from his birth in Riga in 1884, his arrival in Australia in 1911, his early years as radical agitator among Russian immigrants in Queensland during the First World War, his deportation and return to Australia as Comintern agent in the 1920s, to his later career as a Soviet ship's captain conveying prominent 'friends' of the Soviet Union between London and Leningrad and his arrest and execution as a British spy during Stalin's Great Purge of 1938 is without doubt a tale worth telling, and in this engaging volume Kevin Windle has told it well. Drawing on earlier studies of Zuzenko's Brisbane years by Eric Fried and Raymond Evans and on the fruits of his own extensive archival research in Australia, Russia and the United Kingdom, Windle has fashioned a narrative which, though something less than an exhaustive biography, is as close as we are ever likely to get to a detailed and scholarly account of the life of an individual apparently committed to creating his own legend.

From an Australian perspective, it is the two phases of Zuzenko's revolutionary career down under which will likely present the most immediate interest: the first

culminating in his leadership of the Union of Russian Workers and involvement in the notorious Brisbane 'Red Flag riots' of 1919, the second centred on his secret mission to foster the formation of a unified Australian communist party, and ending in his effective deportation in September 1922. His evolution from intuitive anarchism to more or less orthodox Bolshevism is traced through the analysis of the Russian's own writings, while his role as subversive and propagandist is related to the successive phases of the wider political struggle that was his natural element. Together with the accounts of Zuzenko's activities in the United Kingdom and North America *en route* for Australia in 1921-1922, and of his detention in Brixton prison on his way back to Russia in 1922-1923, these chapters account for the greater part of the book. The balance is devoted to a life of relative obscurity as harbour-master, occasional journalist and ship's captain far removed from the centre of power, yet with enough reminders (in the form of exchanges with fellow travellers on the 'pilgrimage' to Russia, or the Home Office ban on 'the Captain' going ashore in any British port) to feed nostalgia for the heady past. As Windle shows, it was during these years that the Zuzenko myth, rooted in the fertile soil of his own unreliable memory and romantic fantasy and tended (and fictionalised) by Konstantin Paustovsky and Aleksey Tolstoy, began to assume a life of its own, surviving Stalinism (as Zuzenko himself did not), finding (as Klimenchenko's Long Alek) new admirers in the 1970s and reaching (in the person of Valentin Gerasimov's even more fanciful Captain Guzenko) as recently as 2006 an audience for whom Zuzenko as an historical personage could have little resonance at all.

The ironies implicit in Zuzenko's transformation into literary hero are not lost on his biographer, who draws on the testimony of fellow revolutionaries, counter-intelligence operatives, Party officials and casual acquaintances to ensure a clear-sighted and balanced portrayal. Zuzenko may dominate the narrative, but his story is

seen from other perspectives, whether critical and satirical (like that of his sometime rival in Brisbane German Bykov) or glibly admiring (like that of Beatrice Webb). The backgrounded story of the wife and children who had to contend with his absences during his life and confront privation after his death adds a sobering note; while on occasion the discrepancy between the Zuzenko myth and hard reality is more pointed. Alongside his own assessment of his 1923 mission and his demand that Comintern give him charge of 'matters relating to the Australian communist movement' we are presented with an anonymous note appended to his report: 'What is to be done with Comrade Zuzenko?' (p. 159). The final indignity and bitterest irony hardly need underlining: fifteen years later, the lifelong revolutionary and trusted Comintern agent was accused of espionage and executed as a traitor to the Soviet Union.

In addition to its charismatic (if not entirely appealing) hero, *Undesirable* presents an entire gallery of leftist sympathisers and activists — Russian revolutionaries, Australian communists, British Fabians — which will be of interest to students of international socialism in general and of the Comintern phase of Soviet history. More than this, Windle has extended its scope to encompass not only the Stalin years and their aftermath, but other areas of cultural history (among other things, outlining the case for Zuzenko as a source for Berlioz's anti-religious arguments in *The Master and Margarita*). Well-written and attractively produced (though justification of the right-hand margins would have improved the look of the page), his book deserves to find a wide readership among specialists and non-specialists alike.

John McNair
The University of Queensland

Mykhailo Zubryts′kyi, *Zibrani tvory i materiialy u trokh timakh. Tom 1: Naukovi pratsi* [Collected Works in Three Volumes. Vol. 1: Scholarly Works]. Lviv: Litopys, 2013. 609 pp.

Mykhailo Zubryts′kyi (1856-1919) was a Greek Catholic clergyman who for much of his working life was parish priest of Mshanets′, a village near Staryi Sambir in Western Ukraine. Born into a family whose material conditions differed little from those of other villagers, despite its descent from minor nobility (a social phenomenon common enough in the lands of the former Polish crown), Zubryts′kyi overcame considerable obstacles to obtain an education that led to the Lviv Theological Seminary. While a student there, as Frank Sysyn, the author of a lengthy and factually detailed introduction points out, Zubryts′kyi was 'formed as scholar, a Ukrainophile, and a populist' (p. 52). Zubryts′kyi also attended courses in history and philology at Lviv University, which shaped his subsequent scholarly interests. Profoundly interested in every aspect of the social and cultural life of ordinary people and driven by a researcher's passion, Zubryts′kyi gathered documents, recorded the villagers' oral culture, made observations concerning many aspects of their lives, and saw to it that a great deal of this historical, ethnographic and folkloric material was published. His scholarly work brought him into contact with leading Ukrainian scholars in Austria-Hungary, including Ivan Franko, Fedir Vovk and Volodymyr Hnatiuk. At the same time Zubryts′kyi took practical steps to improve the education and economic well-being of the peasantry of his parish, establishing there a reading room and a cooperative.

The volume under review is the first of three that are planned. It contains Zubryts′kyi's contributions to historical, anthropological and folkloric research. The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, one of the six entities under whose auspices the

edition appears, advises that Volume 2 will contain Zubryts´kyi's personal documents and a full bibliography of his works, as well as secondary works on his life and writings, and Volume 3 will collect his many newspaper articles on political, cultural and religious affairs.

The author's extraordinary span of interests makes Volume 1 fascinating, instructive and varied reading. The forty texts that the volume presents include Zubryts´kyi's diligent descriptions of the construction of village houses (these are accompanied by detailed illustrations), and accounts of the rituals and myths associated with the construction process. A large cycle of observations centres on the economics and culture of keeping sheep: Zubryts´kyi devotes detailed attention to sheep grazing, the winter housing of sheep, the sheep trade and the construction of enclosures for sheep; to shepherds, their social roles, and folksongs sung by and about them; to the milking of sheep, cheesemaking, and spinning and weaving wool. He clarifies to whom in village society these roles belong, and the legal frameworks within which these activities are carried out.

Zubryts´kyi invested considerable effort in finding and copying documents preserved by villagers, but also by the village clergy, whose lifestyle, cultural values and preoccupations, and relationships with villagers, on the one hand, and church and state authorities, on the other, he sought to capture in their historical evolution from the eighteenth century to his own time. The following is a random selection of other subject matter that took Zubryts´kyi's attention: peasants' work obligations to their lords in the eighteenth century; attitudes toward recruitment into the Habsburg army; distinctions between villagers of noble background, and villagers without this special status; family structures and relationships between family members; personal names and nicknames; measures to combat the cholera epidemic of 1831; parish libraries; and funeral customs.

The image of Mshanets´ that emerges from Zubryts´kyi's reports is rich and complex. Social identities are nuanced by ancestry and the social status of forebears; such factors play significant roles in people's mental lives and differentiate villagers of apparently equal economic standing. Myth and superstition are powerful forces in village life, often regulating what activities may be undertaken and under what conditions. This belief system exists in parallel and in concert with Christian piety and practice. Zurbytsky's writing makes no suggestion that what he describes is representative of any broader sample of village society than Mshanets´ and the few other places that he has researched. Indeed, comparisons with the ways of immediately neighbouring districts make it clear that the variety of beliefs and practices makes generalisations about 'the people' impossible.

The editorial board of the Zubryts´kyi project is headed by the Early Modern historian Frank Sysyn of the University of Alberta. Five of the board's other members are scholars based in Ukraine – Hryhorii Demian and Vasyl´ Sokil at the Institute of Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and Yaroslav Hrytsak, Oleh Pavlyshyn and Taras Romaniuk at Ivan Franko National University in Lviv. Leonid Heretz is at Bridgewater State University. It appears that the board has emulated Zubryts´kyi in its respect for the authenticity of the document. Not only do all texts appear only in the language in which they were composed (Ukrainian, Polish, German, Latin, and often a combination of these); the orthography of the originals has been preserved. This makes the edition valuable for scholarship not only through the content that it communicates, but as testimony to the linguistic and sociolinguistic realities of Zubryts´kyi's own time and the times that were the objects of his research.

The faithful rendition of Zubryts´kyi's Ukrainian-language works from a range of published sources brings into high relief the diversity of opinions about how literary Ukrainian was to be graphically represented, even among those who agreed that it

should be based on the spoken language of ordinary people, rather than the archaic idiom closer to Church Slavonic that was favoured by a significant part of the clergy. Another sign of the editors' determination to be true to Zubryts´kyi in every detail is the inclusion of several large statistical tables, whose reproduction required the use of fold-out pages.

It is a pity that, given such scrupulous dedication to the letter of the original, a few failures of proofreading are noticeable in the English-language introduction: the apostrophe signifying the soft sign in 'Mshanets´' is sometimes straight and sometimes curly; 'dialectical' appears where 'dialectal' is intended (p. 45); and the instruction '(check)' has remained in the published text after a statement that the border of the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary was 'only a hundred or so kilometers from Mshanets´' (p. 63). In the Ukrainian version of the introduction the check has, evidently, been conducted and the distance established as about fifty kilometres (p. 36).

The volume with its microscopic focus on the life of a small part of Ukraine will be of interest to scholars in the disciplines that fascinated Zubryts´kyi himself: history and ethnography, but also to more general (if linguistically adept) readers interested in the texture of rural experience in a traditional society on the eve of modernisation. For all of these categories of reader Frank Sysyn's introduction will be an invaluable guide. It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes of Zubryts´kyi's works are not long in coming.

Marko Pavlyshyn
Monash University

Notes on Contributors

Baktygul Aliev received a PhD in Russian literature from McGill University in Canada in 2014. His dissertation examined the sociological implications of Bakhtin's idea of dialogism in Dostoevsky's fiction. Currently Dr. Aliev is an Associate Professor in the Department of General Education at the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, where he teaches Russian literature and First-Year Seminar. His research interests include Dostoevsky, Bakhtin, and visuality in literature.

Stanley Bill is Lecturer in Polish Studies at the University of Cambridge. He has published articles on Czesław Miłosz, Bruno Schulz and postcolonial theory in the Polish context. He originally hails from Perth, Australia.

Svetlana Cheloukhina is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Russian Program, Queens College, City University of New York. She received her MA and PhD in Slavic Languages and Literatures from the University of Toronto, and her undergraduate degree in Russian and English Languages and Literatures from Rostov State Pedagogical University. She is the author of *The Poetic Universe of Nikolai Zabolotsky* (Moscow, 2006). Her publications include articles on OBERIU, Acmeism, modernism, and the *avant-garde.* Most recently her research interests have also concentrated on the North Caucasus, including the cultural history and religion of the nationalities of Karachaevo-Cherkessia. She is currently working on a monograph on Mikhail Zenkevich.

John Cook is currently a second-year D. Phil. student at the University of Oxford. His research project focuses on the rhetorical strategies of Mikhail Bakhtin. His inter-

est in Bakhtin was sparked during his studies for a Masters degree in Knowledge Management at the University of Melbourne and fostered by his Graduate Diploma in Russian Language and Culture at that university. He recently presented a paper to the International Bakhtin Conference in Stockholm, entitled 'Performativity and the scope of Bakhtin's chronotope'. The current paper is based on a presentation to The Australia and New Zealand Slavists' Association Conference in February 2013.

E-mail: john.cook@stx.ox.ac.uk

Julie Fedor is Lecturer in Modern European History in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne. From 2010-2013 she was a postdoctoral fellow on the research project 'Memory at War: Cultural Dynamics in Poland, Russia and Ukraine' (www.memoryatwar.org) based in the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University of Cambridge. Her publications include *Russia and the Cult of State Security* (Routledge 2011) and *Remembering Katyn* (Polity 2012), a collectively authored book.

John Hajek is an experienced linguist (Italian, Romance and general) with a wide range of interests and is Professor of Italian at the University of Melbourne. He has worked for many years, as well as published with colleagues at that institution and elsewhere, on patterns of address across a range of different languages. He is also a fluent speaker of Slovene and Croatian.

Heinz L. Kretzenbacher is a senior lecturer in the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne. His main research interests are sociolinguistics, academic communication and the teaching and learning of German as a second or foreign language.

Robert Lagerberg is the convenor of the Russian Program in the School of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Melbourne and is the main editor of *ASEES*. His research interests are mainly in Russian linguistics, in particular the study of word stress. He recently published a monograph on the topic, *Variation and Frequency in Russian Word Stress* (Sagner: Berlin/Munich, 2011).

Andrew McGregor is Lecturer in French Studies at The University of Melbourne. He is the author of *Film Criticism as Cultural Fantasy: The Perpetual French Discovery of Australian Cinema* (Bern, 2010), and the founding co-editor of the *Film Cultures* series for Peter Lang Publishing, Switzerland.
Email: ajmcg @unimelb.edu.au

Iemima D. Ploscariu is studying History at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. She holds a Master of Letters from the University of St Andrews in Central and East European Studies and is a member of the Society for Romanian Studies. Her previous publications include an analysis of the representation of communism in Romanian museums.