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KEVIN WINDLE

***IN THE LAND OF THE KANGAROO: PIOTR MODRAK, THE 'LUCKY COUNTRY'
AND THE BRISBANE UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS****

According to Lech Paszkowski, Piotr Modrak (1886-1948) had the distinction of being the 'first Australian-educated Polish engineer'.¹ He may well have had the further distinction of being the first Polish engineer to offer a Polish audience an account of the continent he knew in the early years of the twentieth century. Born in 1886 near Łowicz (Congress Poland), he arrived in Brisbane in 1909 and spent nearly twelve years in Australia, mostly in South Queensland, before returning to newly independent Poland in 1921. His short book, *In the Land of the Kangaroo* (*W krainie kangura*), was first published in Lwów in 1936, by the State Publishing House for Schools.² A second edition followed in 1947, in the series entitled 'Geographical Library', this time in Warsaw, again aimed at a school-age audience. The latter edition is not, *pace* Paszkowski, a reprint,³ but a completely new and revised version: the author added two short chapters and supplied a different (and much smaller) set of photographs. He also effected small deletions in the text and in places added to it; some of those revisions, but not many, seem to suggest the hidden hand of the censor's office, which vetted all publications in 'People's Poland'. At the same time the publisher applied

* The author wishes to thank Dr Elena Govor and Dr Marian Simpson for their valuable comments on an earlier draft.

¹ Lech Paszkowski, 'Four Essays on Poles in Australia and Oceania', *Rocznik Muzeum i Archiwum Polonii Australijskiej*, 4 (2010), 16.

² Piotr Modrak, *W krainie kangura*, Lwów, 1936; second edition Warsaw, 1947. Subsequent references to this work are given in the text, with the year of the edition.

³ Paszkowski, 'Four Essays', 18.

the reformed orthography of 1936 (among other changes, *i* replaced *j* in, for example, *Australja*, *historja*, *biblioteka*, *studjować* etc.), and four maps of the continent were redrawn. Since Modrak's work has long been hard to find, it is not well known in twenty-first-century Poland, to say nothing of twenty-first-century Australia. The present essay is intended as a brief introduction to its author, his background, the contents of *In the Land of the Kangaroo* and the context in which he wrote. It will also attempt to amplify Modrak's account of himself in Australia with information which found no place in the book, concerning the community of Russian radicals in Queensland and his involvement in its activities.

The publishers of both editions plainly catered to a particular age group. The later edition bears a statement of official approval from the Ministry of Education in its front matter (1947, 4): the book is intended 'for libraries of secondary schools and senior years of primary school'. However, there is little in its structure, presentation or prose to betray a bias towards that age group. The author would have been fully aware of his publisher's remit, but may simply have wished to leave a record of the relevant period of his life, along with the results of his research, for any interested reader. There is no explicit statement of authorial intentions, but he relates an incident which gave rise to the project: an exchange during a lecture at the University of Queensland on fossils, when the name of Strzelecki arose:

Asked by his students how that strange name was pronounced, the professor said 'Selekaj'. I supplied the correct pronunciation and when the professor asked me why it should be so pronounced I explained that it was a Polish surname. I resolved then that I would study more closely the work of that Pole in Australia. In my spare time I would visit the public library and study the history of Australia, and in the period of almost twelve years I spent there I took every opportunity to investi-

gate more thoroughly the history of that interesting country. (Modrak 1947, 32-33)

For all his researches, Modrak is silent about his sources. The book contains no bibliography or guide to further reading in any language, perhaps owing to an assumption that his Australian sources would be beyond the reach of his readers. In that sense, the product may serve well as 'a popular book for schools'.⁴ Footnotes are used only to explain unfamiliar terms and help the reader with the pronunciation of English (Australian) place names and personal names. In the text they appear in their accepted forms, while the footnotes supply 'phonetic' Polish renderings, sometimes of questionable accuracy: for example, Pers (Perth), Jorkszaje (Yorkshire), Serkjula Kuej (Circular Quay), Rezoluczen (Resolution), Metsju (Matthew) Flinders, Kemberlend (Cumberland), Uentwors (Wentworth), Kaslere (Castlereagh), Rojal Sosajety (Royal Society), Dy Ostrelien (*The Australian*), etc.

Modrak's narrative opens with his journey to Australia in late 1909 and his first months in Queensland, and closes with his departure in May 1921. Those episodes – the first six chapters and the last three – form the outer framework, within which he presents a wide-ranging picture of a new country in many aspects, reaching back into pre-history and pre-colonial times, and offering much information dating from the 1930s, long after his return to Poland. The second edition adds facts and figures from the early 1940s. The topics covered in thirty-five short, unnumbered chapters include the earliest European navigators, British settlement, the exploration of the interior, the convict system, federation, trade unions, the parliamentary system, industry, agriculture, housing, schooling, higher education, health care, the Indigenous population, and the fauna of the continent. The 1947 edition has two additional chap-

⁴ Ibid.

ters, entitled ‘Social Legislation’ and ‘Canberra, the Federal Capital’, making a total of thirty-seven.

Having trained as a teacher in Poland, Modrak was arrested by the Russian authorities in 1907, according to Paszkowski, for forging passports.⁵ According to another source, he was an active member of the Polish People’s Union (*Polski związek ludowy*), which was conducting a campaign against the increasing russification of Polish schooling.⁶ Whatever his offence (Modrak does not say), he was held in Warsaw’s Pawiak Prison, then in the fortress of Modlin, before being dispatched to exile in Siberia.⁷ From his place of exile on the River Lena he decamped and took the well-trodden route eastward to the Pacific coast and on to Japan. In the opening chapter, he writes that his original plan was to travel to the USA, but, having chanced to read a book about Australia’s impressive progress and its democratic system (Modrak 1936, 3), he changed his mind.⁸ In this he was far from alone: in the years following the failed Russian revolution of 1905, especially between 1909 and 1914, many opponents of Tsarism made their way to Australia, not a few from Siberian exile. Modrak booked a passage (third class) from Nagasaki on the SS *Nikko Maru* to Brisbane and sailed on 19 November 1909, by way of Hong Kong, Manila and Thursday Island to Brisbane, where he arrived on 12 December (Modrak 1947, 14).

⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

⁶ Polish Wikipedia, <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piotr_Modrak> [Accessed 30 May 2024]. On resistance to Imperial Russian policy regarding education in Poland, see Anna Hryniewicka, ‘Walka o polską szkołę u progu pierwszej wojny światowej’, <<https://dialogpokolen.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/6-A.-Hryniewicka-Walka-o-polska-szkole.pdf>> [Accessed 27 June 2024].

⁷ <<https://www.elektro.info.pl/artykul/z-kart-historii/201535,piotr-modrak>> [Accessed 16 June 2024].

⁸ The phrase ‘democratic system’ does not appear in the later edition – perhaps one of the few symptoms of ideological intervention by the new regime’s censor.

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Brisbane was soon to become the focus of a community of Russian exiles which would give Australia's Federal government cause for serious concern: a Queensland police report in June 1914 spoke of an influx of 'many desperate criminals, principally escapees from Siberia'.⁹ Polish settlers were fewer, and some of them, like Modrak, gravitated towards the growing body of Russian immigrants. He would soon number among his acquaintances some of the radicals and revolutionaries who formed the activist core of that community: Fedor Sergeev (Tom Sergaev, Artem),¹⁰ a Bolshevik and close ally of Lenin; German Bykov (Herman Bykoff, also known as Rezanoff), a former Socialist Revolutionary (SR), soon to be a convert to the Bolshevik cause; and the liberal intellectual Konstantin Kliushin (Klushin, Orloff). In all likelihood he also knew Petr Simonov (Peter Simonoff, A. Simens), later to be the 'Bolshevik consul' in Australia,¹¹ and the firebrand Aleksandr Zuzenko (a man of many aliases), a determined agitator, editor of radical newspapers and later agent of the Communist International.¹² As early as January 1912 the Queensland Police identified 'Peter Modrok', then employed at weeding in Brisbane's Botanic Gardens, as

⁹ Brisbane, Queensland State Archives (QSA), ITM317879, A/45329, 4 June 1914, General Correspondence, Police; Russians; Kevin Windle, 'Ekho Avstralii: Australia's First Russian Newspaper and Its Revolutionary Reverberations', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 101, 1, 2023, 68.

¹⁰ See for example Tom Poole and Eric Fried, 'Artem: A Bolshevik in Brisbane', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 31, 2, 1985, 243-254; and Kevin Windle, 'Brisbane Prison: Artem Sergeev describes Boggo Road', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 38, 2004, 159-180.

¹¹ See Eric Fried, 'The First Consul: Peter Simonoff and the Formation of the Australian Communist Party', in John McNair and Thomas Poole (eds), *Russia and the Fifth Continent: Aspects of Russian-Australian Relations*, Brisbane, 1992, pp. 110-125; Iurii Artemov [Artem Rudnitskii], *Russkaia revoliutsiia v Avstralii i seti shpionazha*, St Petersburg, 2017; Kevin Windle, 'Trotskii's Consul: Peter Simonoff's account of his years as Soviet representative in Australia (1918-1921)', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 93, 3, 2015, 493-524; idem, 'Pervyi konsul Sovetskoi Rossii v Avstralii P. F. Simonov i ego druž'ia i nedrugi', *Klio*, 6 (114), 2016, 176-188.

¹² Kevin Windle, *Undesirable: Captain Zuzenko and the Workers of Australia and the World*, Melbourne, 2012.

one who might possess information concerning allegations of nefarious activities by Russian immigrants. Sergeant Robert Bell interviewed him, but found him ‘very reticent’ and ‘failed to elicit any information from him concerning their whereabouts.’¹³

In his book Modrak is modest about his linguistic achievements, saying nothing about his knowledge of Russian, but it is clear that he was bilingual in Polish and Russian: some ‘letters from Australia’, signed ‘M’, in the monthly *Novaia zhizn’* in 1911, contain material in Russian about his first months in Australia which he would later place in his book, in Polish.¹⁴ He would also publish articles, as ‘M’, in Russian in the Brisbane weekly newspaper *Izvestiia Soiuza russkikh emigrantov*.¹⁵ English at first gave him some difficulty. He had begun studying it in Siberia, and taught himself to read and write it, but had had no exposure to the spoken language. He writes:

In conversation I soon discovered that my knowledge of the language was insufficient; my pronunciation was not understood, and I could not understand what was said to me. However, since I had a large stock of vocabulary and could read and write English, I made myself understood by writing down questions and answers. For that reason I was often suspected of being deaf, but this did not trouble me, as I was sure that sooner or later I would overcome the linguistic difficulty. (Modrak 1947, 8)

¹³ Brisbane, QSA, ITM318868, A/45328, 16 January 1912, General Correspondence, Police; Russians; Sgt Bell to Commissioner of Police.

¹⁴ M [Piotr Modrak], ‘Pis’ma iz Avstralii, ot nashego korrespondenta’, *Novaia zhizn’*, 18 November 1911, 4.

¹⁵ M [Piotr Modrak], ‘O shkolakh Avstralii’, *Izvestiia Soiuza russkikh emigrantov*, Nos. 4, 5, 6, dated 1, 8 and 15 January 1914.

On that score his confidence was well placed: in September 1912 he is mentioned in the Brisbane Russian weekly *Ekho Avstralii*, acting as Russian-English interpreter when a group of disputatious Russian workers had a meeting with local representatives of the Australian Socialist Party.¹⁶ (The community leader Sergeev was also present.) In a report dated September 1911, Anton Pashinskii mentions 'the first *Russian* [my emphasis – K.W.] student at the University of Queensland', undoubtedly meaning Modrak, who was giving English lessons to his compatriots and helping them settle in a new country.¹⁷ In 1918 he is on record as delivering a talk to an English-speaking audience (see below). The fact that in April 1915, with three others, he donated fifty-five books to the Russian Association's library collection tends to confirm his command of Russian, as well as his political allegiance at the time.¹⁸ Although his book tells us nothing about his family, it is known that in Brisbane he married Evgeniia Batmanova (Eugenie Batmanoff), a clerk, born in St Petersburg in 1889, the mother of his daughter, also Eugenie, born in January 1913.¹⁹ Their union was solemnised at the General Registry Office, witnessed by two other Russian immigrants, on 19 December 1914.²⁰ In April 1917 the newspaper *Rabochaia zhizn'* carried an announcement that E. Modrak was offering Russian-language classes.²¹ The subscription lists published in that newspaper show that Piotr Modrak was one of its regular

¹⁶ *Ekho Avstralii*, No. 12, 15 September 1912, 3; in English in Kevin Windle and Elena Govor (eds), *Voices in the Wilderness: A Digest of the Russian-Language Press in Australia 1912-1919*, Melbourne, 2024, 75.

¹⁷ Ego [A. Pashinskii], 'Nedelia v Brisbene', *Man'chzhurskaia gazeta*, 22 September 1911, 2.

¹⁸ Aleksandr Savchenko, 'V.I. Lenin, Bol'sheviki i rossiiskaia emigratsiia v Avstralii, 1907-1918 gg.' Dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences, University of Dnepropetrovsk, 1987, p. 72.

¹⁹ Brisbane, Queensland Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Eugenie Modrak, Birth registration, 1914/B/38426.

²⁰ Brisbane, Queensland Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Peter Modrak, Marriage, 1914/B/16014.

²¹ *Rabochaia zhizn'*, No. 59, 18 April 1917, 4.

readers and supporters, which further indicates that he was a member of the Union of Russian Workers (URW), whose paper it was.

In 1909, however, when Modrak first disembarked in Brisbane, the Russian community was only beginning to take shape. His involvement with it lay some time in the future. On arrival he first needed to acquaint himself with an alien land, master its language and find gainful employment. *In the Land of the Kangaroo* tells of his first impressions of Brisbane and its environs, which were overwhelmingly favourable: he sees about him order, prosperity, handsome buildings and bridges, comfortable dwellings, splendid shop-window displays and well-dressed citizens (Modrak 1947, 16-18). The policemen are amiable and helpful, unlike the Tsar's gendarmes. The Brisbane Immigration Depot takes good care of new arrivals, lending assistance and support at little or no cost. The farms of South Queensland are well-kept and pleasing to the eye. So stunned [*oszołomiony*] is the author by everything he beholds that he has difficulty falling asleep. Moreover, he finds that attitudes to official documents, such as passports, are casual; Modrak, we know, has travelled without one.²²

On these points, many new immigrants were at one, including the anarchists and radical socialists among the Russians and East Europeans. Many of the anarchists, SRs and Bolsheviks would later adopt different viewpoints, seeing Australian capitalism as no less rapacious than any other kind.²³ Ivan Marushchak, a reader of Ser-

²² Brisbane, QSA, ITM317879, A/45329, 8 August 1913, General correspondence, Police, Russians.

²³ In his letters and articles, Sergeev described the evolution of his own views. See Artem [Fedor Andreevich] Sergeev, *Schastliwaia strana: avstraliiskie ocherki*, Moscow, 1926; Artem (Sergeev, F. A.), *Stat'i, rechi, pis'ma*, Moscow, 1983; Poole and Fried, 'Artem: A Bolshevik in Brisbane', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 31, 2, 1985, 243-254; and Windle, 'Brisbane Prison: Artem Sergeev describes Boggo Road', *New Zealand Slavonic Journal*, 38, 2004, 159-180.

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geev's newspaper *Ekho Avstralii* wrote to him, warmly endorsing the views expressed in it:

Here too the working class are slaves. Here capital has laid its powerful paw on the heads of the unfortunate worker-slaves, trampled on them, degraded them, and – for all the freedom there is here – forces them to bend their backs meekly and silently and look pleadingly at the owner of capital, lest he deprive them of their slavery, which allows them not to die of starvation.²⁴

The evidence of *In the Land of the Kangaroo* is that Modrak was not won over to this view, although his opposition to Tsarist rule in Russia and Poland would remain staunch, and to that extent the Russian revolutionaries would be his natural allies.

On arrival, Modrak was advised to travel north to Landsborough, inland from Caboolture, where he could find farm work, and given a rail ticket and a recommendation (Modrak 1947, 17). He tells of spending a lonely Christmas in a leaky shed, experiencing a three-day downpour on a dairy farm in that area (Modrak 1947, 21), but before long, he moved on to the sugar-cane plantations in the Bundaberg region.²⁵ A short history of the cane-growing and processing industry in Queensland, then less than thirty years old, with the use of indentured Kanaka labour, is the subject of a dedicated chapter (Modrak 1947, 22-25).

²⁴ 'Chto nam pishut', *Ekho Avstralii*, 3, 11 July 1912, 2-3; in English in Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 41; see also Windle, 'Ekho Avstralii: Australia's First Russian Newspaper and Its Revolutionary Reverberations', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 101, 1, 2023, 76.

²⁵ Some of the material in these pages duplicates that published much earlier in Russian: 'M', 'Pis'ma iz Avstralii', 18 November 1911.

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In a chapter entitled 'Among the Bushmen' (Modrak 1947, 25-27), he recounts how he proceeded to explore the region on foot with a companion, getting to know the country, sleeping under the stars, and improving his English by practice. Of others tramping the roads he writes:

Along our route we met workers making their way northward in search of jobs, drawn by the cane-harvesting season. These are the so-called 'swagmen' [*ludność wędrowna*]. They include typical bushmen, who work only to make enough to live on and spend most of their time in the bosom of nature. They usually pitch a tent on the edge of the bush, close to some stream. They are mostly self-contained men of few words. Among them are some who are out to seek adventure, others are in search of gold, but there are some who simply cannot live without the bush. (Modrak 1947, 26)

Returning to Bundaberg, he found employment in a sugar mill, minding the machinery and taking the opportunity to examine its workings. To a man with an enquiring mind and a keen interest in technical matters, these were worthy of study. He had resolved to take any opportunity to further his education in that direction, and in 1911 he was able to enter the recently founded University of Queensland and begin tertiary studies. His programme of studies, he tells us, included 'nature' and the geology and paleontology of Australia (Modrak 1947, 27).

At this point Modrak turns from his personal experience to historical material evidently obtained during his researches in Brisbane's libraries, and supplemented later during his career in Warsaw. A chapter of 'General Information about Australia' (Modrak 1947, 26-33) surveys the continent's geological history, its geography, climate and vegetation, and introduces the subject of its unique fauna: the kangaroo,

echidna, platypus and lungfish receive succinct descriptions, noting their principal characteristics, while dingoes, cassowaries, lyrebirds and emus are treated in a few sentences. Some of these are also shown in monochrome photographs.

Economical chapters offer useful overviews of the early European voyages of discovery, then of the explorations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Janszoon (Jansz), Cook, Banks, Bass and Flinders are all given their due. The author naturally accords prominence to the travels of Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, who in 1839 named the continent's highest mountain in honour of his illustrious compatriot Tadeusz Kościuszko, and raised the flag of Poland on it. Modrak quotes Strzelecki on the mountain's similarity in shape to the Kościuszko Mound in Kraków, and adds that Strzelecki gave the name 'Adyna' to another peak, further north in the same range, after Adyna Turno, with whom he maintained a romantic correspondence over many years (Modrak 1947, 49). As a name for a mountain, 'Adyna' did not survive, and it is unclear which of the many peaks received it. Modrak stresses the formidable difficulties facing Strzelecki during the onward journey to Westernport:

On the return journey [the expedition] encountered such impassable thickets that Strzelecki, fearing for the fate of the expedition, did not deviate by so much as a yard from the previously determined route. Superhuman efforts were needed to advance every inch of the way; a path had to be cut and sometimes trees felled and cliffs scaled. Owing to these difficult conditions the expedition could barely cover three kilometres in a day. Along the way they even jettisoned their horses and baggage. Food supplies ran out and hunger threatened. Their only food was the flesh of koalas they caught. For three days the explorers went

hungry and did not even have any water to drink. In spite of these great difficulties, they eventually reached Westernport. (Modrak 1947, 49)²⁶

Modrak goes on to provide details of Strzelecki's subsequent travels, and records the honours conferred upon him in Oxford and London.²⁷

The explorers of the interior in the nineteenth century figure in their own chapters, and their routes are plotted on an accompanying map. They include Oxley, Sturt, Mitchell, Leichhardt, Eyre, Burke and Wills. (The latter appears consistently as 'Willis', except on the map, where he is 'Hills'.)

A chapter on the development of the colony of New South Wales in the first years of British settlement (Modrak 1947, 61-70) deals briskly with the early governors, the convict system, the Rum Rebellion, the earliest days of sheep-grazing, the beginnings of agriculture, the first local newspapers and freedom of the press.

The gold rush of 1851 is the subject of one chapter, it being noted that among the first to discover gold in the colony was Strzelecki, in 1839 (Modrak 1947, 74). The mass movement of prospectors to the most promising areas left whole streets in Sydney and Melbourne empty of people: 'Doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants, craftsmen, workers and sailors abandoned their jobs' and flocked to Ballarat and Bendigo in search of gold, while immigration underwent a steep increase and the phenomenon gave rise to its own economic imbalances (labour shortages) and difficulties

²⁶ In the same area, seventy years later, a Russian traveller, Robert Glan, became hopelessly lost in the Gippsland bush and came close to death from starvation. See E. V. Govor and A. Ia. Massov (eds), *Rossiiskie moriaki i puteshestvenniki v Avstralii*, Moscow, 2007, 334-355; in English in Kevin Windle, Elena Govor and Alexander Massov (eds), *From St Petersburg to Port Jackson: Russian Seafarers' and Travellers' Tales of Australia*, Melbourne, 2016, 255-271.

²⁷ In 1937 Modrak published a separate article on Strzelecki in the journal *Morze*. See Paszkowski, 'Four Essays', 18.

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for the colonial administration as it strove to manage the mass migration (Modrak 1947, 77). A brief account is provided of the miners' revolt at Eureka Stockade in 1854, put down by the army. The leading role of 'Piotr Larol' (i.e. Peter Lalor) is mentioned in one sentence, without detail beyond the fact that he was injured when the troops stormed the stockade. Modrak stresses the importance of that event for miners' rights and workers' rights more broadly, and the cause of organised labour.

The movement towards the federation of the colonies, its progress, setbacks, and eventual realisation, is treated in a short chapter, and the resulting political system of the Commonwealth of Australia is briefly described. The respective rights and responsibilities of the Commonwealth and State governments are concisely set out, along with the workings of the Federal and State parliaments and the role of the Governor-General. Modrak's description of the flag of Australia, however, is hard to reconcile with any of the known variants: 'Australia adopted the British flag, adding to it seven stars to represent the seven states, and in the upper left corner the Southern Cross, consisting of five stars' (Modrak 1947, 81).

Four pages summarise the development of trade unions in the separate colonies and later in the Commonwealth, with details of key events, strikes and the campaign for an eight-hour working day. Union membership is now considered the norm in most trades, we learn, and preference when hiring is accorded to union members. The author cites figures for union membership in 1897, 1908 and 1924 (Modrak 1947, 82), and outlines the growth of the Labor movement to the point where Labor was able to form government in the colony of New South Wales in 1891, and later in the states. Some of his Russian comrades, the likes of Sergeev, Simonov and Zuzenko, who held the Australian Labor Party in contempt, would have disputed his comments on industrial relations, had they had the chance to read them:

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Political action by the Labor Party has proved more fruitful for the working class than industrial action in the form of strikes. The worker has achieved legal protection at work in mines and factories and at sea. In Australia there is no out-and-out exploitation [*bezwzględny wyzysk*], since a minimum rate of pay has been set to ensure a sufficient level in relation to the standard of living. (Modrak 1947, 83)

Furthermore, we are told in the next chapter, ‘there are no acute conflicts between labour and capital’ (Modrak 1947, 86), because legislation provides for Wages Boards to arbitrate when disputes arise over levels of remuneration. Australia’s other political parties are passed over in silence, and none of the country’s political leaders is mentioned by name.

‘Social Legislation’ (a chapter added in 1947) deals with developments since the first edition. Despite the economic costs of the Second World War, the Australian government has done its best to take good care of its less fortunate citizens. An approving summary is given in three pages, with current details of retirement pensions, invalid and widows’ pensions, and figures for budgetary allocations. Welfare and unemployment benefits, maternity support and aid with funeral expenses are all provided by the government. Health care is of a high standard, with provision for public and private hospital treatment. The Flying Doctor Service, supported by modern radio communication, is mentioned briefly (Modrak 1947, 87).

A short section on housing paints an equally appealing picture:

In Australia most citizens live in their own small houses, consisting of three or four rooms and a kitchen. Almost every house has a bath. The floor is mostly covered by linoleum. A piano is a rarity, but the radio is very widespread. [...] With payment in instalments, one can also pur-

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chase furniture, clothing and a piano – in brief, everything that is required for a certain level of comfort. (Modrak 1947, 87)

The modest cost of loans and mortgages is given some emphasis, all contributing to a picture which must have seemed very attractive to Polish readers in 1947, in a country adjusting painfully to Soviet domination after long years of war and occupation.

Modrak has much to say about education in Australia, an area of particular interest to him, since he had trained as a teacher in his native country, studied at the University of Queensland and entered the teaching profession. Three chapters deal with the school system (Modrak 1947, 88ff.), public and private, primary and secondary, as well as higher education and technical colleges. Figures are quoted for the number of schools, students and staff in 1931. Here he could draw on the material he had collected for a series of articles in a Brisbane Russian newspaper in 1914,²⁸ but further research was needed to locate more recent information. The educational system, he writes, makes every possible provision for children living in remote areas to be schooled by correspondence. He also adduces figures for government expenditure on school education in 1931. (Here and elsewhere, the statistical data show that he was able to keep his information up to date by continuing his study of Australia in the 1930s and 1940s, in Poland.) The country's six universities are accorded the same methodical treatment in less than one page, with data for 1931: 9,830 students, 137 professors and 562 lecturers. Technical colleges and their programmes are surveyed in similar fashion, stressing the provision of evening classes for students who work during the day.

²⁸ M., 'O shkolakh Avstralii'.

A measure of Australia's success in the field of education, says Modrak, is the low level of illiteracy among the population: in 1861 it stood at 24.6%, and by 1921 it had fallen to 0.17% (Modrak 1947, 91).

A two-page survey of 'Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Industry' in Australia (Modrak 1947, 93-95) supplies statistics from 1945 for such sectors as sheep-grazing (123,000,000 head; 45 times more than in Poland in 1931), cattle (4,000,000 milking cows), and annual wool production (450,000 tons, compared to 4,600 tons in Poland in 1931). Australia is an important exporter of meat and high-quality wool. Mineral extraction is also developing apace. Industrial production for 1941-1942 was valued at £650,000,000.²⁹

Under the heading 'The Population of Australia' (Modrak 1947, 95), Modrak makes the point for his Polish readership that the land area is roughly twenty times that of Poland, and quotes a total of 7,174,247 inhabitants as of 31 December 1942, mostly of British extraction [*angielskiego pochodzenia*]. That population is one of the healthiest in the world, owing to the climate and the high standard of living, he writes. Figures cited for infant mortality and adult mortality in 1914 show only New Zealand having a lower rate as a percentage of population. Of the five countries listed (New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain [*Anglia*], Germany and Tsarist Russia), Australia is placed second on both counts, ahead of Britain, while Tsarist Russia is last, with the highest mortality rate (Modrak 1947, 97).

The longest of Modrak's chapters is devoted to the Indigenous population of the continent (Modrak 1947, 97-105). Much ground is covered, from the earliest known human settlement, through the social structure of communities, their beliefs and rituals, early contact with White settlers, to their unhappy situation in modern Australia. The reader is introduced to sacred objects (churingas), ceremonial rites and

²⁹ The statistics in this chapter have been revised to account for developments since the first edition.

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celebrations such as intichiumas and corroborees, and the initiation of males at puberty (bora). Aboriginal implements and weapons are described, and three types of boomerang distinguished. As a whole, the Indigenous people are said to be of peaceable disposition:

A hostile attitude to White people is best ascribed to the thoughtlessness and cruelty of the White man, who took no account whatever of their beliefs and showed no respect for their customs. Only in a few places did they prove themselves very dangerous opponents to the Whites. (Modrak 1947, 102)

The widely accepted view of the Indigenous peoples as primitive is less than fair, Modrak explains:

Since there were no animals suited to domestication, such as the horse, cow or sheep etc. in Australia, they were unable to practise stock-rearing or tillage, which greatly hampered the development of the country. However, they possess great knowledge of medicinal plants, know the habits of fish, birds and animals, have the gift of finding water in the desert, show great ability to find their bearings in unfamiliar territory, and read and determine the direction of tracks so faint that the European eye can barely see them. (Modrak 1947, 102)

Several paragraphs are devoted to the massacre by settlers of a large group of Aborigines at Myall Creek, in northern New South Wales, in June 1838 (Modrak says '1839' and speaks of a 'whole tribe' being slaughtered at 'Mayall' Creek, Modrak 1947, 103), and details follow of the course of subsequent hostilities. Their disastrous consequences for the Indigenous peoples, in particular those of Tasmania, and the

brutal treatment administered by Whites and the colonial administration are covered in this chapter. The author comments:

This is one of the darkest pages in the history of British colonisation – something that the British themselves admit. The native tribes often fall victim to White brutality. [...] It must be noted that their race lives in very difficult conditions and is gradually dying out. According to statistics from mid-1932, there are 59,719 full-blood Aborigines [...] There are also 19,196 so-called ‘half-castes’. These stand out by their frail physique [*wątła budowa ciała*] and poor immunity to disease. (Modrak 1947, 104)

In the absence of any references, it is not possible to ascertain whether the ‘frail physique’ is derived from some reputable source or is rather a matter of received opinion.

Concluding this chapter, Modrak informs his Polish readers of the ‘White Australia’ policy, first broached without this label when he mentioned Kanaka labour on Queensland’s earliest sugar plantations. Here he evinces much sympathy for the Indigenous peoples, who, like the indentured labourers, suffer the consequences of not being white:

The coloured races are not permitted to settle permanently. Even the Aborigines have no rights. They cannot obtain work in industrial enterprises or factories, which employ white workers; they have no right to vote in parliamentary elections; their children cannot go to school with those of white settlers. Moreover the settlers have taken up the best land, so the Indigenous people have withdrawn to the arid regions, where they live in very difficult conditions. Their race is threatened with extinction. (Modrak 1947, 105)

A new chapter, added in the 1947 edition (Modrak 1947, 107-109), is entitled 'Canberra, the Capital of Australia'. It describes the early planning for a federal capital, the search for a site at a distance from the capitals of the former colonies, its physical situation, its rail links with Sydney and Melbourne, the urban planning and the work of its principal architect, Walter Burley Griffin. Modrak concludes this chapter:

Nor has education been forgotten. In addition to secondary schools, a university college has been established. In the course of time it will become a university in its own right [*pełny uniwersytet*]. Australia is proud of its capital and regards it as a symbol of democracy striding firmly towards a better future for that distant continent. (Modrak 1947, 109)³⁰

In all of the above matters, Modrak is conscientious in his research and gives the reader a workmanlike introduction to his subject. In these fields his information is for the most part reliable. When he turns to Australia's fauna, however, this is not always the case, and factual errors and mis-statements may easily be found. In an ornithologically curious aside, while sleeping in the bush in southern Queensland, he observes that the night is made hideous by the cry of a 'pelican': it resembles 'the shriek of a dying animal, and causes an involuntary shudder' (Modrak 1947, 25). A single sentence on the subject of crocodiles is somewhat misleading: in northern Australia there is 'an alligator, similar to a crocodile but markedly smaller' (Modrak 1947, 32). It is possible that Modrak's 'alligator' was the freshwater crocodile (*Crocodylus johnstoni*), and that he had not heard of the saltwater crocodile (*Crocodylus porosus*), found in Australia and neighbouring regions, the largest species of the family in the

³⁰ Canberra University College was founded in 1930. The Australian National University was established by an act of Federal Parliament in 1946. The two amalgamated in 1960.

world. Elsewhere he writes of a kangaroo measuring three metres and weighing 150 kilograms (Modrak 1947, 31), which would far exceed the size of any known specimen.³¹

The origins of the many black-and-white photographs are not disclosed: there are no credits, let alone indications of permission. It is unlikely that the author himself had the equipment or opportunity to take photographs, in particular of wildlife, and some of the cityscapes are of later date than his departure in 1921. Some of the photographs of animals will give the reader pause. One plate (Modrak 1936, following p. 16) features five small photographs, three of them with doubtful captions. A ‘kangaroo’ with well-defined facial markings is plainly one of the species of wallaby; two creatures labelled ‘rats’ [*szczury*] have little in common with *Rattus rattus* and bear more than a passing resemblance to wombats, while the identity of a macropod said to be a ‘Tasmanian marsupial’ [*torbacz tasmanijski*] cannot be determined with certainty. If indeed Tasmanian, it is most likely a Tasmanian or Rufous-bellied pademelon (*Thylogale billardierii*). The author’s choice of the generic ‘marsupial’, like his use of ‘kangaroo’ for a wallaby, may have been dictated by the difficulty of rendering ‘pademelon’ and ‘wallaby’ in Polish.³²

From the deck of the *Nikko Maru* as it sails southward along the Queensland coast in 1909, Modrak admires an ‘enormous sea eagle – an albatross – soaring in the heavens’ [*potężny orzeł morski – albatros*, Modrak 1947, 14], as if these were two names for the same bird. (This sentence recurs almost verbatim in a later chapter, where it lends a certain symmetry, framing the author’s long Australian sojourn: he

³¹ Tall stories about the fabled wildlife of Australia were not confined to Polish writing on the subject. A Russian visitor in 1820, Ivan Simonov, reported ‘a black snake which will attack a man on horseback. Its venom acts so quickly that this snake is known as “the executioner”.’ Govor and Massov, *Rossiiskie moriaki*, 105-106; in English in Windle et al., *From St Petersburg to Port Jackson*, 45.

³² I am grateful to Dr Don Fletcher and Dr Steve Read for their expert zoological advice on this set of photographs.

sights the species again as he sails out of Sydney Heads in 1921. Modrak 1947, 111.) On the other hand, a plate showing five Australian birds has accurate captions, though the use of *sroka* (European magpie, *Pica pica*) to denote the very different Australian magpie (*Gymnorhina tibicen*) will raise questions in the minds of his readers.³³

Only occasionally is the text marred by slips of other kinds, due to small lacunae in the author's command of English or the geography of England: explaining the historical term 'squatter', he states that it is derived from the verb *squatte*, which means *przekraczać* (Modrak 1947, 69), a verb meaning 'to overstep' or 'exceed'. James Cook was born in the village of Marton, 'near the town of Yorkshire' (Modrak 1947, 34).

Both editions contain four maps (Modrak 1947, 121-124). These show the historical expeditions of exploration, with dates; the administrative divisions of the country, with railway lines; the density and distribution of population; and economic activity. The last of these covers mineral extraction, coal-mining, grazing, and various forms of agriculture, including cereal crops, cotton, fruit and rice. Curiously, it also shows a platypus, some kangaroos, and in north-western New South Wales, a rabbit. (The corresponding map in the first edition had two rabbits. (Modrak 1936, 125))

On completing his survey of modern Australia as he knew it and as it has developed in the years since his departure, Modrak returns in the closing chapters to his own story, which he had set aside at the moment he entered the University of Queensland as a student in 1911. In the brief chapter 'My Last Seven Years in Australia' (Modrak 1947, 105-107), he says more about his studies and the difficulties confronting him: 'I battle through life relying on my own resources. Only faith in a better future gives me the strength to overcome more and more difficulties' (Modrak 1947, 105). He completed the natural science course in 1913 and at the beginning of the fol-

³³ These particular photographs do not appear in the 1947 edition.

lowing year took a teaching post in Ipswich, near Brisbane, in a technical college, where he taught mathematics and physics as part of the newly established evening classes for the University Diploma Course. At the same time he decided to continue his studies and achieve a qualification in engineering (Modrak 1947, 106), despite the demands on his time: he would prepare his classes and mark his students' work in the train to Ipswich from his home in Brisbane. The outbreak of world war in August 1914, being linked in his mind with the prospect of the collapse of the European empires and independence for Poland, lent wings to his motivation. From that moment on, he would live in hope of eventually returning home, and apply himself to his studies with redoubled determination, so as to contribute meaningfully to the life of that country: 'My zeal for work increased with the hope of returning to my homeland. In order to become a useful member of society there, I had to return with the greatest possible store of knowledge' (Modrak 1947, 106). He graduated with second class honours in mechanical and electrical engineering on 17 March 1917,³⁴ on which day, on his way to work, he bought a special supplement to the local newspaper: 'I could not believe my eyes: Revolution in Russia, Tsardom Overthrown; Amnesty for Political Criminals' (Modrak 1947, 106).

Buoyed by this news, Modrak resolves to return home as soon as possible, and is all the more eager when the war ends and Polish statehood is at last restored in November 1918. However, he would have to wait a further two-and-a-half years for an opportunity to take ship. In the meantime, with his degree in engineering, he was able to take up a new position in the Department of Mining, as an engineer (Modrak 1947, 107).

What stands out by its absence in Modrak's account of his time in Australia is any mention of the immigrant company he kept in Brisbane, that is, of the Russian

³⁴ Brisbane, University of Queensland, UQA S171/2.

community and his Russian-born wife and family. There is, of course, no reason why an introduction to a subject for the benefit of school pupils should include any information at all about the life of its author or his personal circumstances. However, as we have seen, Modrak saw fit to make his story personal, especially in his opening and closing chapters, and relate a considerable part of it – selectively. It is mainly thanks to his association with the body of Russian radicals that a partial record of this stage in his career may be found in Australian government documents, declassified many decades after his departure. The relevant documents, held in the National Archives of Australia and the Queensland State Archives, though brief and few in number, are valuable in this area in that they add detail to our picture of the man.

Like many other fugitives and emigrants from Tsarist Russia and the provinces under its control, Modrak came under surveillance when these new arrivals formed an association, the Union of Russian Emigrants (URE), and attracted official attention especially during wartime. With its headquarters in Brisbane, the URE, under the leadership of Sergeev, another fugitive from Siberian exile, would draw together activists of varying political hues. Anarchists, SRs and Mensheviks, as well as Bolsheviks, all argued their points of view at stormy meetings and in the Union's press. Though Modrak was a member, there is no evidence of firm commitment to any of the above strains, or of serious activism.

The URE, renamed the Union of Russian Workers (URW) in January 1916,³⁵ was increasingly seen by the Commonwealth Government as a focus for 'disloyalty' in 1917-1919. Its leading figures were closely watched and their postal communications monitored by the military censorship introduced under the War Precautions Act. In early 1918, following the nomination by the newly established Bolshevik regime of the URW's then leader, Petr Simonov, as consul in Australia, a sizable proportion of

³⁵ See Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 177.

the membership broke away and formed a separate organisation with the title ‘The Group of Russian Workers’, led by another former exile in Siberia, Konstantin Kliushin.³⁶ The Group had a short life; Kliushin came under fierce attack and members defected, some rejoining the URW, while angry recriminations flew in both directions. The tone of these may be seen in an unsigned letter to Zuzenko after the arrest of both Zuzenko and Kliushin in 1919: the latter’s arrest is ‘his one and only chance to cleanse himself of the mangle in which he has been lovingly wallowing like a mangy piglet in mud. I personally cannot forgive him for the rift he caused in the Russian organisation.’³⁷

Among those who joined Kliushin in his breakaway group was Piotr Modrak. German Bykov, who in 1918 switched his allegiance to the Bolsheviks, named him in an unpublished article as an ally of Kliushin.³⁸ In a play written in February 1919, Bykov presented a caricature of the Group and dismissed ‘the bald philosopher’ (Kliushin) as an ‘apostle of the intelligentsia’, who regarded the Bolshevik ‘herd’ as beneath him.³⁹ The new organisation, he maintained, was merely a ‘group of good

³⁶ Kevin Windle, ‘*Listok Gruppy rossiiskikh rabochikh*: a 1918 Brisbane Russian Newspaper, its Origins and Orientation’, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 32, 2018, 53-78; idem, ‘Pervyi konsul Sovetskoi Rossii v Avstralii P. F. Simonov i ego druž’ia i nedrugii’, *Klio*, 6 (114), 2016, 176-188; and Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 382.

³⁷ Sydney, National Archives of Australia (NAA), SP 43/2, N59/21/962, unsigned to Zuzenko, 26 April 1919. The original is accompanied by an incomplete and unreliable English translation.

³⁸ Kevin Windle, ‘Hades or Eden? Herman Bykoff’s “Russian Australia”’, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 26, 2012, 19; Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 371.

³⁹ The unpublished manuscripts of the play ‘O tom, kak my uchimsia samoupravleniiu i kontroliu’ and the article ‘Rus’ avstraliiskaia’ are held in Brisbane, NAA, BP4/1 BOX 4, 66/4/2165, ‘Investigations into Queensland persons and organisations suspected of disloyalty’, 1st Military District. For a description of the play, see Kevin Windle, “‘Unmajestic Bombast’: The Brisbane Union of Russian Workers as Shown in a 1919 Play”, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 19, 2005, 29-51.

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people', adhering to no definite political platform or principles.⁴⁰ The October revolution had brought with it demands for unambiguous declarations of unwavering ideological commitment, rather than warm fellow-feeling. Modrak's interests and aspirations as a Polish patriot diverged from those of the URW's leaders, but he would remain their ally for some time to come.

An intelligence report dated Sunday 15 September 1918 tells of Modrak delivering a talk in Ipswich under the auspices of the Russian Group of Workers, Ipswich Branch, with the title 'Current Events in Russia', and a summary is given in ten paragraphs.⁴¹ The agent in the audience took detailed notes:

During the hour and three quarters during which he read from his M.S. in a high-pitched recitative he dealt with the condition of the factory and agricultural workers before and during the war: the various revolutionary parties of Russia; the revolutions themselves, the first of which he attributed to hunger, and the second to discontent caused by the shiftless land policy of the Kerensky Government; and the state of the country under the Bolsheviks. The last items occupied the largest portion of the lecture.

The tenor of the discourse, the agent observed, was 'strictly academic', perhaps because the speaker was a university graduate. He had about him 'nothing of the manner of the agitator', although 'the meeting bids fair to be the beginning of objectionable propaganda by the Group among the English-speaking workers'. Soon after this, however, the Group faded from view and ceased to play a role of any significance. It seems clear that Modrak took no part in the serious disturbances which

⁴⁰ Windle, 'Hades or Eden', 20. Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 372, 388.

⁴¹ Canberra, NAA, A6286, 1/62, w/e 18/9/1918, Intelligence Report, 1st Military District, QF1835.

would erupt in Brisbane six months later, the Red Flag Riots of March 1919, which effectively sounded the death-knell of the Union. Kliushin, Bykov and Zuzenko were among those arrested and deported in its aftermath.

He did not, however, cut his ties with the radicals who remained behind. Nearly two years later, in early 1921, the minute books of the Ipswich Russian organisation canvas the possibility of inviting 'Comrade Modrik' to give another talk, but this apparently did not eventuate. He is also mentioned as one who might be able to edit an English translation of a work by Nikolai Bukharin.⁴² It is clear that Modrak was still in good standing and held in high esteem for his linguistic and literary skills.

The censor monitoring postal communications, ever alert to symptoms of 'disloyalty', commented in late September 1918 that Modrak was a 'Russian Bolshevik and graduate of Brisbane university',⁴³ but this may be seen as the security agencies tarring all current and former URW members, whatever their views, with the same Bolshevik brush. The occasion for this last reference is unrelated to URW affairs or any 'Bolshevik trouble'. It pertains to an attempt by Modrak to send some money, ten pounds, through the Comité Générale de secours pour les victimes de la guerre en Pologne, based in Switzerland, to his parents in German-occupied Poland, at a time when sending funds to enemy territory was prohibited.⁴⁴

Modrak's eventual departure from Brisbane, in May 1921, was an emotional occasion. He leaves behind many Australian friends, and some are on the quayside to

⁴² The Ipswich minute books [*protokol'nye knigi*] are held with the records of the Communist International: Moscow, Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), *fond* 495, *opis'* 95, *delo* 4.

⁴³ Melbourne, NAA, MP95/1/0, w/e 5/10/1918, Intelligence Report, 1st Military District, Q3580.

⁴⁴ Melbourne, NAA, MP95/1/0, w/e 26/10/1918, Intelligence Report, 1st Military District, Q3619. According to some sources, Modrak was active in support of this committee in 1916-1918. See Paszkowski, 'Four Essays', p. 17, and <<https://www.elektro.info.pl/artykul/z-kart-historii/201535/piotr-modrak>> [Accessed 16 June 2024].

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see him off, having tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to stay (1947, 107). If any of the Russian exiles were present, his book does not mention them, and his speech of farewell, which he quotes, is aimed at a different audience:

It is difficult to speak when it is necessary to part, perhaps forever. I see it as my duty to leave for my native land, for Poland. I will always hold in my memory the pleasant times I spent with you, and your beautiful country. Poland – my homeland – formed my character and awakened in me the desire to acquire knowledge. Australia permitted me to fulfil that desire.

As the SS *Orsova* sets course towards Sydney he reflects: 'Some inexpressible ache gripped my throat. Only now did I realise how I had come to love the country I was leaving. Moments from my struggle with fate and efforts to overcome adversity arose vividly before my eyes' (Modrak 1947, 109).

The ship calls at the ports of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Fremantle, affording the author a chance to explore these cities, which he was seeing for the first time. He devotes several descriptive paragraphs to each of them, setting down impressions no less favourable than his first reports of Brisbane twelve years earlier. Here, as elsewhere, he gives the impression through his silence that he is travelling alone and visiting these ports unaccompanied, although it is recorded that he sailed on the *Orsova* with his wife and eight-year-old daughter.

The summation in his closing paragraphs, a far cry from the predictions of his erstwhile Russian comrades, is overwhelmingly positive:

Australia is advancing boldly towards a better future. [...] Australia is resolving social problems boldly, while striving to ensure the prosperi-

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ty of all its citizens. With regard to both natural resources and the general prosperity of the population, Australia is one of the most advanced countries in the world. It is also spoken of as ‘lucky Australia’, and ‘the working man’s paradise’. (Modrak 1947, 113)

The brief quotations in that last line are revealing: Modrak began his narrative by stating that he had chosen to travel to Australia, rather than the USA, after reading a book which detailed Australia’s ‘great progress’ and its ‘democratic system’. He did not name the book which so profoundly altered the course of his life, or its author, but the phrases ‘lucky Australia’, and ‘the working man’s paradise’, often cited by Russians in the early twentieth century, point to two likely sources. One is a book by Pavel Mizhnev, an Anglophile scholar with a special interest in Britain’s overseas dominions: *Progressive Democracy in the Modern World*, published in 1901.⁴⁵ Eight years later Mizhnev would publish a book with the title: *Lucky Australia*.⁴⁶ His *Progressive Democracy* reached a wide audience, especially among those seeking an alternative to the absolute monarchy of the Tsars. Fedor Sergeev would cite the same phrases more than once, telling of being much influenced by Mizhnev’s first book, and appropriating the words *schastlivaia strana* for his own ironic purposes.⁴⁷ The other work is by the French sociologist and politician Albert M  tin, *Le socialisme*

⁴⁵ Pavel Mizhnev, *Peredovaia demokratiia sovremennogo mira*, Saint Petersburg, 1901.

⁴⁶ Pavel Mizhnev, *Schastlivaia Avstraliia*, Saint Petersburg, 1909.

⁴⁷ See Windle and Govor, *Voices*, 4-5; and Windle, ‘Brisbane Prison’, 165; Sergeev, *Schastlivaia strana*. ‘Lucky’ is less than an exact match for Russian *schastlivaia* and Polish *szczęśliwa*, which might also be rendered by ‘happy’. Uninfluenced by any foreign observers, Donald Horne would later give wide currency to ‘the lucky country’ in English, using the adjective in a different sense: Australia’s affluence was a product of bounteous natural resources and good fortune, rather than hard work and ambition, in the face of widespread complacency and philistinism (*The Lucky Country: Australia in the Sixties*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1964).

sans doctrines,⁴⁸ which speaks of Australia in very similar terms. Its Russian translation was widely read at the time, and Modrak may well have been familiar with it.

The two editions of Modrak's book, however, differ in their final paragraph. Here the political controllers of publications appointed by Poland's new Communist rulers may have intervened, but it is also possible that, on reviewing his own work, the author found his encomium a little too fulsome and decided that a qualification was needed after 'the working man's paradise'. Accordingly, the edition of 1947 has the following important rider, consistent with the earlier chapter on the Aboriginal peoples, as its closing line:

However, that applies only to white people, since the Indigenous population and people of the coloured races remain beyond the margins of society and are unable to take advantage of any of the benefits of social legislation. (Modrak 1947, 113)

On his return to Poland, Modrak forged a successful career in radio engineering and communications, soon taking charge of transatlantic broadcasting from Babice, near Warsaw, and going on to other positions of great responsibility in the field of wireless telegraphy.⁴⁹ A year of postgraduate study at Harvard (1929-1930) led to the degree of Master of Science. He drew up plans to bring electricity to rural Poland, and pioneered research into the piezoelectric properties of tourmaline and quartz.⁵⁰ When the Second World War and the Nazi occupation ended, he was responsible for successfully restoring Warsaw's telecommunications network, which had

⁴⁸ Albert Métin, *Le socialisme sans doctrines: la question agraire et la question ouvrière en Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande*, Paris, 1901.

⁴⁹ Polish Wikipedia, <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piotr_Modrak> [Accessed 30 May 2024].

⁵⁰ <<https://www.elektro.info.pl/artykul/z-kart-historii/201535/piotr-modrak>> [Accessed 16 June 2024].

been destroyed along with most of the city's buildings in 1944.⁵¹ Not long before his sudden death in May 1948, the University of Queensland awarded him a higher degree (Master of Engineering, Mechanical and Electrical) *in absentia* in July 1947, on the strength of his many professional publications, including some in English in *The Wireless Engineer*.⁵²

By contrast, few of the Russian opponents of Tsarism with whom he had consorted in Brisbane – the activists who were deported or returned voluntarily to Soviet Russia – managed to prosper there. While the rumoured 'worker's paradise' in the Antipodes fell short of their initial expectations, many would live to regret leaving it for the 'socialist homeland' in the defunct Russian Empire. Several, including Zuzenko and Bykov, are known to have fallen victim to Stalin's 'repressions' in the late 1930s. By the late 1940s, to some Soviet citizens, like Solzhenitsyn's Innokentii Volodin, 'lucky Australia' had come to represent a desirable refuge from the present reality, mainly by virtue of being 'at the world's end', beyond the reach of any five-year plans or bombs.⁵³ In Tsarist times, Modrak and some others had made their way there from exile in Siberia; now the guardians of the GULag Archipelago had sealed the borders hermetically and remedied any such lapses of security.

Modrak, in Poland, had no cause for regret: while remembering the 'Land of the Kangaroo' with much affection, he could justly claim to have made a valuable contribution to the life of his country of origin, just as he had hoped to do while study-

⁵¹ Paszkowski, 'Four Essays', 18.

⁵² Brisbane, University of Queensland, UQA S171/2; <<https://www.elektro.info.pl/artykul/z-kart-historii/201535,piotr-modrak>> [Accessed 16 June 2024].

⁵³ In the Lubianka on the night after his arrest, Volodin, a diplomat, regrets trying to unmask the Soviet thieves of US nuclear secrets and not seeking safety in 'some lucky Australia' [*schastlivaia kakaia-nibud' Avstraliia*]. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *V krughe pervom*, Moscow, 1991, Vol. 2, 329. (The lines referred to here were not present in the first edition: *V krughe pervom*, New York, 1968.)

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ing and working in Brisbane and Ipswich. His description of Australia testifies to his warm feelings for the country he had left, his confidence in its future, and gratitude for the refuge and the opportunities it had afforded him.

MYKHAILO KOSTIV AND TETIANA SOPRONIUK

THE UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE HOLODOMOR
(LATE 1940S - EARLY 1950S)

Abstract: This article examines the role of the Ukrainian community in the United States in discussions around the topic of genocide and the UN Genocide Convention during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Based on US Congressional publications and articles in American and diaspora periodicals, the authors study the attempts of Ukrainian Americans to raise awareness about the Holodomor and hold the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) accountable for its crimes against the Ukrainian nation. Special attention is given to the cooperation between Raphael Lemkin, a prominent international lawyer who coined the term ‘genocide’, and Lev E. Dobriansky, the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), on the issue of advocacy for the ratification of the UN Genocide Convention.

Keywords: Holodomor, genocide, diaspora, Raphael Lemkin, Lev E. Dobriansky.

Introduction

In 1933, when severe man-made famine was raging in the Ukrainian SSR, the Ukrainian community in the United States was organising rallies to raise awareness about the mass starvation and force the US government to take action that could help alleviate the suffering of millions (Kovalchuk 2008, 386-387; Vronska & Ostashko 2003, 783-784). In particular, the protesters opposed the official recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) by the United States. These campaigns were unsuc-

cessful, and on November 16, 1933, President Roosevelt established diplomatic relationships with the Soviet government.

After World War II, the Ukrainian population in the United States increased significantly because of the influx of refugees from the displaced persons (DP) camps in Germany, Austria and other European countries. During the third wave of immigration (from 1947 to 1952), about 85,000 Ukrainians moved to the United States (Lazebnyk 1991, 96). Although most of them came from western regions of Ukraine and emigrated for primarily political reasons, such as fear of persecution by the Communist authorities (Rovenchak and Volodko 2018, 36), some newcomers previously lived in the USSR and personally experienced the Holodomor, which stemmed from Soviet collectivisation involving forcible seizure of grain, food and land. Ukrainian émigrés in the United States demanded that Western governments condemn the Soviet policies that led to the deaths of millions of their compatriots.

As a result, starting from the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Ukrainian community in the United States was again actively drawing attention to the situation in the USSR, both in the past and currently, particularly to the systematic abuse of human rights. The geopolitical situation – the beginning of the Cold War and, consequently, the dissemination of anti-Communist sentiments – was somewhat more conducive to their efforts.

However, the majority of the scholarship devoted to the Ukrainian diaspora's work, which is aimed at popularising the topic of the Holodomor among the general public, focuses on the period of the 1980s, especially the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the famine in 1983 (Kovalchuk 2009; Mace 2003; Sysyn 2015). Much less attention is paid to the period of the 1950s. In particular, Bohdan Klid (2014) analysed how Ukrainian émigrés studied the famine and raised awareness about it through the prism of the two-volume *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A*

White Book, which was published in 1953 in Toronto (Volume 1) and 1955 in Detroit (Volume 2).

A scholar of the Ukrainian diaspora, Olha Sukhobokova (2023, 119), studied the history of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and mentioned the attempts of its leader, Lev E. Dobriansky, to include support for the national self-determination of Eastern European nations on the platform of the Republican Party. She also covered the connections of the UCCA with different US high-ranking politicians and political forces in the second half of the twentieth century. In the context of the Holodomor commemoration, Sukhobokova (2023, 121) touched upon such campaigns in the 1980s, but not in the 1950s.

Working in the field of memory studies, Wiktoria Kudela-Swiatek (2021) focused on the Holodomor discourse created by the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States during the Cold War, particularly by the clergy and parishioners of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Her detailed analysis of church source materials, however, does not cover the connections between the religious community and the leaders of Ukrainian émigré organizations.

Moreover, utilising the Communist Party's archival documents, Valeriy Vasylyev (2008) examined how the Soviet diplomatic representations in the United States monitored the Ukrainian diaspora's efforts to collect and publish information about the Holodomor.

The historian Olga Andriewsky (2021) studied early collections of Holodomor witness accounts, compiled and published in the United States and Canada during the first decade after World War II. She argued that the 'early Cold War empowered these refugees to tell their stories. It also provided them with a receptive audience willing to recognise and validate their suffering' (Andriewsky 2021, 170). Out of the four collections which Andriewsky focused on, namely the *Oseredok* collection (1947-1948),

the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System (1949-1952), the Genocide Hearings in the US Senate (1950), and the Hearings of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression (1954), the third one is of particular importance here, because it was produced with the aim of proving the genocidal nature of Soviet policies towards Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations.

Furthermore, Boriak (2024), who also focused on oral testimonies about the 1932-1933 famine collected outside the USSR after World War II, described how many witnesses were unwilling to speak openly about their experience, although they had left the Soviet Union and were living in democratic countries (Boriak 2024, 321). He briefly mentions the activities of the Ukrainian community in the United States aimed at disseminating information about the Holodomor and other Soviet atrocities against Ukrainians (Boriak 2024, 331).

Ukrainian intellectuals who lived in the United States after World War II actively discussed the topic of genocide in general and the possibility of using the 1948 Genocide Convention to hold the leaders of the USSR accountable for crimes against Ukrainians through the mechanism of the newly created United Nations. The centre for this movement was the UCCA, headed by Stepan Shumeyko from 1944-1949 and Lev Dobriansky from 1949-1954. The latter cooperated with Raphael Lemkin, a prominent international lawyer who coined the term 'genocide', on the matter of the ratification of the Genocide Convention and condemnation of Soviet crimes.

Some scholars have pointed out Lemkin's connections with Eastern European émigré organisations, especially in the early 1950s (Weiss-Wendt 2005, 556; Cooper 2008, 212; Irvin-Erickson 2017, 205). Nevertheless, they could not and/or did not set themselves the task of revealing the exchange of ideas between Lemkin and these communities.

Therefore, this article will focus on the efforts of Ukrainians in the United States aimed at gaining recognition of Soviet policies as genocidal within a wider campaign for the ratification of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention by the US Congress during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Raphael Lemkin at Ukrainian rallies in 1951 and 1953

On April 8, 2009, the *Journal of International Criminal Justice* published the article ‘Lemkin on Genocide of Nations’ which consisted of a brief editor’s note, a preface by Roman Serbyn, and Lemkin’s essay ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’. This document became influential in the interpretation of the Holodomor in the future. The editors’ explanation stated, ‘The document was known to Lemkin specialists and experts in genocide, although most scholars have tended to ignore it, or downplay it (notable exceptions are John Cooper, Ralph Lemkin, and the Struggle for the Genocide Convention (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007, 253), as well as J.-L. Panne, “Rafaël Lemkin ou le pouvoir d’un sans-pouvoir”, in Rafaël Lemkin, *Qu’est-ce qu’un génocide? Présentation par Jean-Louis Panne* (Monaco: Edition du Rocher 2008)) (Serbyn 2009, 123).

Cooper, who studied Lemkin’s biography, postulated that ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’ was the text of the lecture. He wrote, ‘The outline of Lemkin’s “History of Genocide” contains no mention of the self-imposed famine in the Ukraine in the 1930s, but Lemkin gave a lecture on the subject, possibly at a later stage he meant to incorporate it into the project’ (Cooper 2008, 253). Indeed, the original typescript is stored in the New York Public Library Archives (*Raphael Lemkin papers*, b. 2, f. 16), among the materials for Lemkin’s unfinished *magnum opus* ‘History of Genocide’. However, the original outline of this book did not contain any mention of the 1932-1933 man-made famine (Cooper 2008, 253).

In the preface to his article ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’ in the *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Serbyn stated that Lemkin had prepared this essay for his speech at the Ukrainian rally devoted to the commemoration of the Holodomor victims in New York in 1953 (Serbyn 2009, 123).

Other scholars affirmed this chronology. For example, the French scholar Annette Becker stated, ‘He [Lemkin] gave a well-documented speech for the anniversary of the Great Famine in Ukraine on September 20, 1953, six months after Stalin’s death’ (Becker 2021, 165). Moreover, D. Irvin-Erickson, who scrupulously analysed Lemkin’s mentions of Soviet crimes, considered Lemkin’s experience during his early years in Poland as a factor that contributed to the development of his views on Soviet crimes, which he openly expressed after World War II (Irvin-Erickson 2017, 53-55).

However, in his prefaces to the 2009 and 2020 editions of Lemkin’s essay translated into several languages, Serbyn (Lemkin 2009; 2020) acknowledged that Lemkin also attended the Ukrainian famine-commemoration rally in Manhattan on November 11, 1951. *The New York Herald Tribune* wrote that this rally resulted in a resolution to the US Senate ‘which urged the United States to ratify the Genocide Convention and urged the UN Assembly in Paris to ‘investigate Soviet genocide and to brand Soviet genocidists as common criminals according to the law’ (*New York Herald Tribune* 1951, 12 November).

The full text of the above-mentioned resolution was published in the Ukrainian newspapers *Svoboda* (1951, 14 November) and *The Ukrainian Weekly* (1951, 19 November). The *Ukrainian Weekly* summarised the speech by Lemkin, who ‘[...] urged prompt ratification of the Genocide Convention by the US Senate, as a legal guarantee against the crime of genocide continually practiced by the Soviet apparatus of oppression, and as a guarantee of the punishment for the perpetrators’ (*The Ukrainian Weekly*, 1951, 19 November).

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A few days before the rally, the editors of *Svoboda* spoke with Lemkin. In this conversation, he ‘expressed the opinion that individual American groups, particularly such as the Ukrainian Congress Committee and the American-Ukrainian citizens, can do much to help in this regard’ [i.e. to apply the Genocide Convention to accuse the USSR — Authors] as they will urge the United Nations General Assembly at its current session in Paris to ‘fulfill its duty and apply international law against genocide against the Cain of nations – the Soviet Union,’ adding that ‘every day of delay in this matter is an accomplice to the crime’ (*Svoboda*, 1951, 7 November).

Svoboda described Lemkin’s speech in more detail:

[Dr. Lemkin] started his short speech by recalling the words he had heard in his youth and which he would never forget, namely: Ukraine is not dead yet! He is convinced that Ukraine will not die, will not perish because this is in the interest of all freedom-loving humanity and its development. But the Ukrainian people are mortally threatened by Soviet genocide. Therefore, Ukrainians in the free world, in particular in America, do well by seeking to implement the law against genocide in relation to the Cain of humanity – the Soviet Union. American Ukrainians and their representation – the Ukrainian Congress Committee – have already done a lot in this regard and must continue their efforts (*Svoboda*, 1951, 13 November).

In addition, the American press contains other materials containing Lemkin’s criticism of the regime in the USSR as early as 1951: ‘Communists fear the genocide convention. Such charges as these may be calculated to discourage ratification by the United States Senate to prevent honest invoking of the convention to save Estonians,

Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians and others from actual genocide' (Kihss 1951, 26).

Regarding the 1953 Ukrainian rally in New York, three media outlets published reports about Lemkin's participation in it: *The Ukrainian Weekly*, *Svoboda*, and *The New York Times*. All of them describe his speech differently. *The Ukrainian Weekly* wrote:

Prof. Lemkin reviewed in a moving fashion the fate of the millions of Ukrainians before and since 1932-33, who died victims to the Soviet Russian plan to exterminate as many of them as possible in order to break the heroic Ukrainian national resistance to the Soviet Russian rule and occupation and communism (*Ukrainian Weekly*, 1953, 26 September).

The text of 'Soviet Genocide in Ukraine' fits this description perfectly, as Serbyn also pointed out in his prefaces to the published translations of Lemkin's essay (Serbyn 2020, 34).

Instead, *Svoboda* wrote, 'Prof. Lemkin ended his speech by repeating in Ukrainian the first words of the Ukrainian anthem "Ukraine is not dead yet!"' (*Svoboda*, 1953, 22 September). The journalists also noted that his speech was not long: 'Prof. Lemkin spoke briefly about the crimes of genocide committed by Moscow, stating that the murder of one nation would mean the murder of humanity. However, he expressed his firm conviction and confidence that Moscow would not succeed in completing its crime against the Ukrainian people and that these people would achieve their goal – a free life in their independent state, for which they are so heroically striving' (*Svoboda*, 1953, 22 September).

In turn, the correspondents of *The New York Times* mentioned that Lemkin ‘said that a high crime had been employed 100 years ago against the Irish’ (*New York Times*, 1953, 21 September). Therefore, according to Serbyn, Lemkin ‘was not able to give his integral analysis of the crime. Lemkin’s unread text was not published during his lifetime and his innovative analysis remained unknown for many decades’ (Serbyn 2020, 12).

Four components of the genocide of Ukrainians

One of the key arguments in Lemkin’s ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’ is the concept of four elements of the genocide of Ukrainians (the destruction of the ‘brain of the nation’ – its intelligentsia, the ‘soul of the nation’ – the Ukrainian church; the ‘body of the nation’ – the farmers, and the fragmentation of the nation by means of forced migration). The 1932-1933 famine is seen as one of the integral components of a broader genocide, rather than as an isolated instance of genocide.

Similar ideas were expressed in the article ‘The Genocide Convention’ by Roman Smal-Stocki,¹ Ukrainian linguist and political figure of the Ukrainian National Republic, who emigrated to the United States in 1947. His text was published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* in 1949. He wrote:

What are the methods of Soviet genocide? [...] The method progresses through four stages: (a) the first attack is directed against the intelligentsia, the nation’s leaders and distinguished personalities, its brains. A terroristic mass-blow on the head, on the brain, paralyzes the whole body of the victim-nation; (b) the second stage – often a part of the first – is against the nation’s churches. Christianity as a religion, its hierar-

¹ An alternative spelling of his name is Roman Smal-Stocky (both versions can be found in his publications).

chy and priests are considered forces most dangerous to Communism, and their 'elimination' from the 'battle front' by terroristic measures is necessary before the brain is fully unconscious. This is the attack on the soul of the nation; (c) the third attack uproots the farmers of the nation, the bearers of its traditions, of its folk music and folk literature, of its distinct language. Thus the ethnographical territory of a nation is disrupted, and the way is prepared for the (d) fourth and last stage: the settlement of Russians or Asiatic tribes in order to mix up the nationality in question and create a mixed territory (Smal-Stocki 1949, 153).

Moreover, Smal-Stocki's article was written before Lemkin's essay. This can be demonstrated by the fact that Lemkin cited the summer 1949 volume of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Serbyn 2020, 49), while Smal-Stocki's article was published in the previous volume of the journal (Spring 1949, 144-163).

In this article, Smal-Stocki sharply criticised the 1948 UN Genocide Convention as being incapable of protecting the non-Russian nations oppressed within the USSR. He emphasised that the USSR representatives in the United Nations insisted on including the phrase 'as such' in the definition of genocide, because it removes all previous crimes of the USSR from the scope of the Convention: Soviet authorities allegedly fought against the 'bandits', 'saboteurs', 'rebels', etc., but not with the respective national and/or religious groups (Smal-Stocki 1949, 145). He added, 'Is not the stipulation "as such" a mockery of justice, since it enables the Soviet government to deny that the separate stages of its scientific method directed against (1) the intelligentsia, (2) the church, (3) the peasantry are acts of genocide, when the separate stages taken together constitute the murder of a nation?' (Smal-Stocki 1949, 160).

In Smal-Stocki's opinion, for the Bolsheviks, 'the use of genocide against opposing groups and nations is lawful because to the Soviet there is no "peace-time"'.

Until the total victory of the Communist World Revolution, for the Soviet government, inside and outside the Soviet Union, there is “war-time” (Smal-Stocki 1949, 152). He also called signing the Genocide Convention ‘a heavy blow [...] to the authority and the prestige of the UN and the idea of democracy and international law’ (Smal-Stocki 1949, 160), because democratic countries signed this document with the USSR, which will continue to exterminate entire peoples without bearing any responsibility for it.

At the same time, Smal-Stocki’s criticism is directed not against the concept of genocide in general, but against the compromised definition of this crime given in the 1948 UN Genocide Convention, as well as, for example, the recognition by democratic countries of the USSR’s ability to investigate cases of genocide independently, which follows from the fact of the signing of the Convention by representatives of the Kremlin.

Another text where metaphors about the nation’s ‘brain’, ‘soul’ and ‘body’ and its fragmentation were used is the speech delivered by Dobriansky, the chair of the UCCA, on February 9, 1950 (almost three years before Lemkin spoke at the Ukrainian rally in New York), during the hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, also known as the McMahon Committee (*US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations*, 1950).

Factual data provided by Lemkin in ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’ often repeat the information from Dobriansky’s and Smal-Stocki’s works. These include, in particular, references to 51,713 (or 51,712) Ukrainian intellectuals exiled to Siberia during 1931; 10,000 Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church clergymen exterminated between 1926 and 1932; the sharp reduction in the size of the Ukrainian population in Ukraine from 80% to 63.2% between 1930 and 1939, etc. Moreover, these texts even share a similar mistake: Lemkin mentions the ‘Soviet writer Kossies,’ referring to S.

Kosior, while Dobriansky refers to the 'Soviet writer, Kossier'. Both authors quote the exact words of Kosior about the danger of Ukrainian nationalism. Previously in 1946, Dobriansky made the same mistake in spelling Kosior's last name in one of his articles published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Dobriansky 1946, 148).

Finally, the text of Dobriansky's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is kept among Lemkin's papers stored in the Centre for Jewish History in New York (*Raphael Lemkin Collection*, Box 7, Folder 10 (P-154): Source Materials, Clippings and Correspondence, Misc., undated, 1763, 1919, 1947-1948).

All these similarities between the earlier texts by Smal-Stocki and Dobriansky, and the later text by Lemkin, may indicate that Lemkin is unlikely to be the sole author of the concept of the four components of Soviet genocide. In our opinion, it was proposed by Smal-Stocki and later developed and promoted by Dobriansky.

Raphael Lemkin's cooperation with Ukrainian organisations

As noted by Douglas Irvin-Erickson, Lemkin and Eastern European communities in the United States had a common interest in the ratification of the UN Genocide Convention by the US Senate: 'In an effort to overcome this conservative opposition to the Genocide Convention, Lemkin turned to the Lithuanian, Polish, and Ukrainian diasporas to lobby elected officials. Lemkin's goal was to show the most conservative of US politicians that this law could be an essential weapon for them to use to combat communism' (Irvin-Erickson 2017, 205).

Andriewsky also characterised the cooperation between Lemkin and the UCCA on the matter of the ratification of the Genocide Convention (Andriewsky 2021, 165). In particular, she cited an article in *Svoboda* from May 21, 1952, in which Lemkin expressed his gratitude to the UCCA deputy chair Dmytro Halychyn for his actions aimed at the ratification of the said Convention in Canada (the Canadian par-

liament ratified the document on September 3, 1952) (*United Nations Treaty Collection*, 2025). In her article, Andriewsky briefly mentions the testimonies of the representatives of the Ukrainian community at the hearings regarding the ratification of the UN Genocide Convention by the US Senate, which took place on February 9, 1950, chaired by Senator McMahon (Andriewsky 2021, 165-167).

Along with Samantha Power (2013, 65), Anton Weiss-Wendt notes that Lemkin was not invited to testify at the hearing of the US Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, because he ‘had annoyed a number of prominent politicians with his aggressive lobbying’ of the Genocide Convention (Weiss-Wendt 2017, 149). However, he had a chance to prepare his ‘contacts’ from the Eastern European émigré environment to testify in front of the Committee.

At these hearings, Ukrainians were represented by Lev Dobriansky and Antin Batiuk, president of the Ukrainian Workingmen’s Association. Their speeches were published in the *Congressional Record*.

Weiss-Wendt sharply criticises the testimony of Lev Dobriansky, as well as of other speakers who represented the Eastern European nations (Weiss-Wendt 2017). However, his critique of the ‘inexplicitness’ of Dobriansky’s arguments raises some questions. Instead, in its February 15, 1950, issue, *Svoboda* cited the words of Sen. Brian McMahon, who chaired the hearings and later, in unofficial conversations, characterised Dobriansky’s speech as brilliant (*Svoboda*, 1950, 15 February).

Moreover, in the same article, *Svoboda* mentions that it was quite difficult to organise Dobriansky’s speech at the hearings, since ‘at the very beginning [...], the Committee issued strong warnings not to include the arguments and cases that could directly connect the Convention with the Soviets, who – by the way – are also the partners of the said Convention.’ Nevertheless, owing to the active cooperation of the Ukrainian community, and especially thanks to the efforts of Lemkin and

Sen. McMahon, who had anti-communist views, Dobriansky was allowed to testify. In particular, this is how *Svoboda* characterised the importance of his speech: ‘this is an undoubtedly historical document that, very likely, will create a basis for the future act of conviction against the Soviet international criminals in the courtroom in the new Nuremberg’ (*Svoboda*, 1950, 15 February).

On the day of the hearings, Batiuk handed 15 eyewitness accounts and/or their annotations over to the Committee; mostly, they described the famine of the early 1930s (*United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations*, 1950, 354-355).

Svoboda called the corpus of the documents collected by the UCCA a ‘Blue Book’ (*Svoboda*, 1950, 11 February 1950). The text of Dobriansky’s speech (without the added documents) was published in separate installments under the title ‘Soviet Genocide in Ukraine’ across four issues of *The Ukrainian Weekly* newspaper during February-March 1950 (*The Ukrainian Weekly*, 1950, 20; 27 February; 6; 13 March).

Dobriansky had previously discussed his speech with Lemkin, as he briefly mentioned in his later memoirs (Dobriansky 1969, 47; Dobriansky 1970, 240). Moreover, Lemkin’s cooperation with the Ukrainian organisations in the case of the Senate Hearings was mentioned in *Svoboda*’s announcement of the Manhattan rally that took place on September 20, 1953. In particular, ‘Prof. Lemkin, at one time, helped a lot in Ukrainian testimonies before the Congressional Commission in the Vinnytsia case and other acts of Moscow genocide in Ukraine’ (*Svoboda*, 1953, 18 September).

After the meeting of the McMahon Committee, Dobriansky continued an active advocacy campaign for ratification of the UN Genocide Convention by the US Congress, while also raising awareness about the Soviet genocide. His other statement, very similar to the one he delivered on February 9, 1950, although without numerous addenda, was published in the *Congressional Digest* (1950, 29(12): 313, 315, 317) and the *Congressional Record* (1950, Appendix, 96(16), A5345-A5347) on the initia-

tive of Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, who represented New York. In 1951, this text was also published in 'The Story of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America' (*The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America*, 1951, 48-55).

Ukrainian press publications also provide evidence that Dobriansky cooperated with Lemkin on the cause of understanding the Soviet genocide and even supported him financially. For example, on September 18, 1984, *Svoboda* wrote, 'Prof. Raphael Lemkin [...] after arriving to America, cooperated with Prof. Lev Dobriansky, the then UCCA President, whom Lemkin received financial support from' (*Svoboda* 1984, 18 September). Cooper states that in 1952 Lemkin received \$400 from UCCA (Cooper 2008, 212).

On July 15, 1951, *The New York Times* published Dobriansky's note 'Imperialism of Russia' (*New York Times*, 1951, 15 July). In November of that year, after a large Ukrainian demonstration in New York, the UCCA sent a telegram to the UN General Assembly. 'In the telegram on the issue of genocide, it was stated that red Moscow and international communism were continuing their crimes of genocide in order to take over the world, and, therefore, the UCC is trying to track this issue and to use the provisions of the convention against the genocide in relation to Soviet genociders' (*Svoboda*, 1951, 16 November).

Svoboda also emphasised that it was necessary to continue collecting and publishing information on Soviet crimes. On November 17, 1951, it wrote, 'Ukrainians, except for the Prof. Dobriansky's testimonies in the Senate Commission last year, have to make the following respective steps in the Vinnytsia case and other documented Soviet crimes of genocide in Ukraine. It is necessary to work on the documentary articles in this case; it is necessary to prepare now what could, under every examination, be considered an act of appeal for genocide committed by the Kremlin against the Ukrainian nation, and it is also necessary to make every effort now to stop this

genocide' (*Svoboda*, 1951, 17 November). In early 1952, *The New York Times* published another brief letter by Dobriansky, in which he asked the Senate to ratify the Convention (Dobriansky 1952).

Discussions of the concept of genocide in the Ukrainian émigré environment

For many years the use of the term 'genocide' in the late 1940s and early 1950s in relation to the events of the 1932-1933 famine and the crimes of the Soviet communist regime in Ukraine in general was not taken up by scholars. In 2003, the Ukrainian historian Vasyl Marochko noted, 'Historians and publicists, in fact, did not use the political and legal term 'genocide', although the respective 1948 Convention of the UN General Assembly existed, and in 1951, the USSR joined it' (Marochko 2003, 142). However, when listing the terms used to describe the famine of 1932-1933, he mentioned the phrase 'Moscow nation-killing' [*narodovbyvstvo*] (Marochko 2003, 143), which is a direct translation of the word 'genocide' into Ukrainian.

Ukrainian-language diaspora publications (particularly *Svoboda*) quite often translated the term 'genocide' into Ukrainian as *narodovbyvstvo*. Other Ukrainian media of the 1940s-1950s translated (or, to be more precise, transliterated) this term as 'dzhenosaid' (*Ukrainski visti*, 1947, 10 December; *Svoboda*, 1947, 18 December; *Svoboda*, 1948, 4 December; *Svoboda*, 1950, 28 January; *Nashi Pozytsii*, 1951, 2-3; *Svoboda*, 1951, 14 June; *Svoboda*, [Chubatyi] 1951, 2; *Svoboda*, 1953, 6 October). In addition, in its February 18, 1950, issue the Ukrainian Canadian newspaper *Homin Ukrainy*, published in Toronto, used the term *cholovikovbyvstvo* ['people-killing'] as a translation of 'genocide'. Furthermore, Ivan Dubynets, a Ukrainian émigré scholar who collected the materials for the second volume of the *Black Deeds of the Kremlin: A White Book*, in his article in the *Ukrainski visti* newspaper, which he edited, on Jan-

uary 24, 1952, translated the term ‘genocide’ as *vynarodovlennia* [‘destruction of people’] (Dubynets 1952).

Nevertheless, Marochko, in his later work, *Encyclopedia of the Holodomor*, pointed out that the word ‘genocide’ was used by the Ukrainian diaspora in the context of the Holodomor as early as 1953. He wrote, ‘On February 8, 1953, Dobrus (*Democratic Union of Former Repressed Ukrainians Under Soviets*), commemorating the memory of the famine victims, used the following definition: “the brightest fact of the *narodovyvstvo* (genocide) of Moscow over Ukraine”’ (Marochko 2018, 91). Marochko also noted that *Ukrainski visti* used the word ‘genocide’ in its appeal on May 31, 1953 (Marochko 2018, 91).

The word *narodovyvstvo* [‘people-killing’ or ‘nation-killing’] was used in 1930 by Ukrainian writer and public figure Volodymyr Ostrovskyi in reference to the policy of forced assimilation of Ukrainians. His August 1, 1930 article in the *Dilo* newspaper was a reaction to a series of publications in the Polish press by Stanisław Grabski, professor of Lviv University and Minister for Education and Religion of the Second Polish Republic in 1923 and 1925-1926.² Ostrovskyi mostly focused on the threat of assimilation of Ukrainians in Poland, but also mentioned the disadvantageous situation for them in the USSR, Romania and Czechoslovakia. He estimated that ‘[...] for a long time, the crime of nation-killing in the form of assimilation will be both promoted and carried out, causing at most phraseological condemnations that have no practical significance’ (Ostrovskyi 1930).

Ostrovskyi’s conclusions that there are no instruments of punishment for the destruction of whole nations are, to some extent, similar to Lemkin’s conclusions. For example, Ostrovskyi states, ‘The murderers of individual persons always hide their

² This discussion was described in more detail in: *Dilo*, 1930: “‘Tsyvilizatsiinyi” pokhid Hrabskoho’, *Dilo*, 1 August, pp. 2-3.

plans, because the legislators of all countries have condemned the murder of a person and determined appropriate punishments for it. Only the mass murder of peoples in the form of assimilation still remains uncondemned, and it is not surprising, because those who committed it wrote the laws for themselves' (Ostrovskyi 1930). Fifteen years later Lemkin wrote, 'If the killing of one Jew or one Pole is a crime, the killing of all the Jews and all the Poles is not a lesser crime' (Lemkin 1946, 229).

In 1946, *The Ukrainian Weekly* published a brief editorial about the word 'genocide', emphasising the importance of using it:

If genocide is eventually considered an international crime, a new light will be shed on the responsibility of the government toward its people. One of the causes of the Second World War was the world's unwillingness and inability to take some sort of punitive measures against a government that was hell-bent on destroying national, religious and political minorities. It may offer an opportunity for peoples who feel oppressed by a government to bring their grievances to some sort of world tribunal, as in the case of the democratic-minded Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians and others on home soil, sitting tight only because there is no way for them to air their complaints. (*The Ukrainian Weekly*, 1946, 31 August)

One of the first times that the Soviet policy against Ukrainians was called genocide happened more than a year before the UN Genocide Convention was adopted. On November 21, 1947, at the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference,³ the Memorandum to the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations was developed. The text was agreed upon by

³ The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference took place in New York on November 18-22, 1947.

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Stepan Shumeyko, Head of the UCCA delegation; Rev. Dr. Wasyl Kusunir, D.D., Head of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee delegation; Rev. Mikola Ivaniw, Head of the Sociedade dos Amigos de Cultura Ucraina en Brasil delegation; John Hrehoraschuk, Head of the delegation of the Comité Unido Ucrainiano en las Republicas de Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, 1948, 89).

The Memorandum stated that the famine of the 1930s was a component of Soviet genocide (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, 1948, 86). Nevertheless, the document emphasised that genocide against Ukrainians was ongoing in 1947; therefore, the UN should act to stop it (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, 1948, 88). This appeal to the UN urging an end to the ‘deliberate policy of genocide being pursued by Soviet Russia and its satellite nations’ was mentioned in a November 19, 1947, issue of *The New York Times*. The newspaper noted that the appeal was adopted on the first day of the conference’s work – November 18, 1947 (*The New York Times*, 1947, 19 November).

Moreover, an analytical article in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (1948 Volume IV, Issue 4) described the events of 1932 and 1933 in Ukraine as genocide. The article ‘Soviet Genocide of the Ukrainian People’ was released under the pseudonym ‘Prof. T.S.’. In recent years, scholars have pointed out that the author of this and several other articles about the number of the 1932-1933 famine victims was Tymothy Sosnovyi (Andriewsky 165), brother of Stepan Sosnovyi, who, in turn, was a statistician and tried to assess the number of the Holodomor victims.

The article by Prof T. S. reads as follows: ‘The destruction of people by famine or by killing, by legal procedure or without it, by immigration or emigration, by Russification and denationalization – all these methods are included in the plans of the Soviet policy on the population problem, since this is an integral part of the Soviet national policy’ (Prof. T.S. [T. Sosnovyi] 1948, 325); ‘Ukraine under the Soviets has all the features of a colony whose population is subjected to economic exploitation

and to the crime of genocide' (Prof. T.S. 1948, 336). The author focused on the destruction of Ukrainians by famine, forced deportations, and the extermination of the intelligentsia. This very issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* was cited by Raphael Lemkin in his 'Soviet Genocide in Ukraine' essay (Serbyn 2020, 48).

Gradually the term 'genocide' in relation to the events of 1932-1933 came into use in Ukrainian diaspora publications of the early 1950s, particularly in the two-volume, *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin – A White Book* (the first volume was published in Toronto in 1953, the second one in Detroit in 1955). Serbyn states that the word 'genocide' is mentioned twice in this book, in the articles by Yar Slavytuch and I. Koval (Serbyn 2021, 31-32). Yar Slavytuch named his article about the repression of Ukrainian writers in the 1930s 'Russian Communists Practice Genocide on Ukrainian Writers' (Slavutych 1953, 386-402). At the same time, Koval considered the infamous Decree of the Council of People's Commissars from August 7, 1932, also known as 'Five Ears of Grain Law', to be genocidal and a turning moment in the history of the famine (Koval 1953, 268).

We have found a third mention of the word 'genocide' in *The Black Deeds*. S. Lykho uses the phrase 'genocidal gang' in regard to the higher leadership of the Kremlin: 'All these revolting lies and calumnies are spread to whitewash the genocidal gang in the Kremlin and to absolve them from the guilt of such a terrible crime' (Lykho 1953, 226).

In 1954, the 1932-1933 famine was also mentioned in the context of genocide within the work of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the USSR.⁴ During the Select Com-

⁴ On July 27, 1953, the House of Representatives of the US Congress established the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States into the USSR. Later, the activity of this Committee was expanded, and on March 4, 1954, its name was changed to the Select Committee on

mittee hearings that took place in Munich on June 30 and July 1, 1954; in New York on October 11-14, 1954; and in Chicago on October 18-19, 1954, several Ukrainian speakers testified about communist crimes (*US House Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression*, 1954).

In 1955, the work 'Stalin's Accomplices in the 1933 Famine-Genocide' by Pol Polovetskyi⁵ (1955) was published in Munich. The author analysed the references to the famine in the world press of the 1930s, especially in publications by Gareth Jones and Walter Duranty.

Polovetskyi's interpretation of the 1932-1933 events was generally consistent with the materials published by representatives of the DOBRUS and SUZHERO organisations. For example, in the early 1950s, the *Ukrainski visti* newspaper contained advertisements with an appeal to submit materials for the *White Book*. Also, *Ukrainski visti* periodically published the so-called 'DOBRUS Page', where most of the materials were devoted to Soviet repression and the famine of 1932-1933.

Thus, during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Ukrainians in the United States actively discussed the topic of genocide independently from their cooperation with Lemkin. The term 'genocide' was applied to the Holodomor long before it gained international recognition. Through academic research, political lobbying and media outreach, the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States built a foundation for the eventual recognition of the Holodomor as genocide. Their work influenced both legal scholars like Lemkin and Western governments, ensuring that the famine was not forgotten and was understood as deliberate starvation of Ukrainians in order to impose Soviet rule in Ukraine.

Communist Aggression. In the press of this period, it was also known as the Kersten Committee by the name of its chairman. The Committee was active until December 31, 1954 (Stubbs 1985, 11; 27).

⁵ His real name is Polikarp Pliuiko.

Conclusion

We have examined published materials demonstrating that the Ukrainian-American community in the United States actively participated in the discussion of the UN Genocide Convention and lobbied for its ratification by the US Congress. Ukrainians protested the genocidal policies of the USSR against non-Russian nations and promoted the topic of holding the USSR accountable for its crimes through the mechanism of the UN.

For a long time, Lemkin was considered to be the first person to label the Soviet policy against Ukrainians genocide. However, at the 1947 Pan-American conference, the authors of a signed memorandum to the UN General Assembly, the UN Economic Social Council, and the UN Human Rights Commission, stated that the USSR was committing genocide against Ukrainians. The memorandum was a call to action against the policy of genocide organised by the Soviet Union.

In addition, an article was published in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* in 1948 under the pseudonym 'Prof. T. S.', where the events of the 1932-1933 famine were called genocide. The author (most likely Tymothy Sosnovyi) described the destruction of Ukrainians by famine, forced deportations from Ukraine, and the destruction of the intelligentsia.

The concept of the four components of genocide, as described in Raphael Lemkin's 1953 essay 'Soviet Genocide in Ukraine', had been expressed earlier. Lev Dobriansky, then the chair of the UCCA, spoke about four types of aggression against Ukrainians at the hearings of the Subcommittee on International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Senate on February 9, 1950. Moreover, in 1949, *The Ukrainian Quarterly* published Roman Smal-Stocki's article 'The Genocide Convention', in which the same four elements of genocide are mentioned.

Therefore, it can be argued that Lemkin was not the sole author of this concept – it was most likely the result of joint work by Smal-Stocki, Dobriansky and Lemkin himself. These three scholars had friendly relations, as evidenced by Dobriansky's memoirs.

Overall, the role of Dobriansky in advocating the Ukrainian question in the United States is heavily underestimated. He repeatedly gave speeches in Congress, sharply criticising the colonial actions of the USSR, published analytical materials and articles in the media, and also actively lobbied the Ukrainian question among American congressmen. He saw the ratification of the UN Convention on Genocide as a way to create an international mechanism for holding the leaders of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) responsible.

Finally, it should be noted that the efforts of the Ukrainian community in the United States were not in vain. The idea of investigating the crimes of the Soviet regime after World War II received some support in political circles, particularly in the Republican Party. However, no practical action was taken in this direction, and the United States ratified the Genocide Convention only in 1988.

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ДЕКОЛОНИЗАЦИЯ СЛАВИСТИКИ В КОНТЕКСТЕ
СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ДИСКУССИЙ¹

Abstract: The article analyses issues associated with contemporary discussions on the decolonisation of Slavic studies and the deconstruction of Russian literature. The aforementioned issues are presented against the background of the history of Slavic studies in Russia, Western Europe and the USA, as well as the assessments and statements by contemporary Ukrainian intellectuals. A particular focus is placed on the historical context of Russian-Ukrainian linguistic and literary relations, with attention given to the contributions of twentieth-century Russian intellectuals in understanding the responsibility of Russian literature for the events in Russia in 1917 and 1922. The analysis extends to the popular and academic decolonisation of Slavic studies, as well as the complexity of this process at the level of academic institutions and universities.

Аннотация: В статье рассмотрены проблемы, связанные с современными дискуссиями на тему деколонизации славистики и деконструкции русской литературы. Эти проблемы представлены на фоне истории славистики в России, Западной Европе и США, а также оценок и высказываний современных украинских интеллектуалов. Отдельно анализируется проблема русско-украинских языковых и литературных отношений в их исторической ретроспективе; отмечается роль русских интеллектуалов XX века в процессе

¹ В тексте статьи частично использован материал доклада '«Разбираем венки на веники»: Дмитрий Чижевский как деконструктор русской классики', представленного мною 8 мая 2024 года в Стэндфордском университете во время Славистического коллоквиума [R.M.].

осмысления ответственности русской литературы за события в России 1917 и 2022 годов; анализируется популярная и научная деколонизации славистики, а также сложность этого процесса на уровне научных институций и университетов.

Keywords: decolonisation of Slavic studies, history of Slavic studies, deconstruction, Russian literature, Fyodor Dostoevsky

Ключевые слова: деколонизация славистики, история славистики, деконструкция, русская литература, Федор Достоевский

В среде славистов заявленная в заглавии этой статьи тема сегодня является очевидно самой актуальной, а в контексте посвященных ей разнообразных конференций и семинаров последних лет она звучит даже тривиально. Серьезным началом для разговора о деколонизации славистики послужила изданная в 2000 году книга Эвы Томпсон *Imperial Knowledge: Russian Literature and Colonialism* (Thompson 2000), переведенная уже на многие славянские языки. Книга посвящена колониальному дискурсу в русской литературе как литературе империи, но она провоцирует одновременно и многие другие вопросы: от структуры славистических исследований в американских университетах, идеологии и аксиологии русской классической литературы до статуса славистики в современном гуманитарном образовании. Книгу Эвы Томпсон можно назвать также и своеобразным итогом тех дискуссий в среде славистов, которые возникли еще в конце прошлого века, и были связаны с объединением

DECOLONISATION OF SLAVIC STUDIES

Германии (1990), распадом Советского Союза (1991), образованием новых государств, прежде всего Украины, а также военных конфликтов на Балканах (1991-2001). Понятно, что в ходе этих событий менялась структура славистических институтов и исследований как в Западной Европе, так и в Америке: от дискуссий о статусе сербохорватского языка до появлений в западных и американских университетах отдельных секций и программ по изучению украинского языка и культуры. Вместе со взглядом на русскую литературу как литературу империи начались дискуссии, которые касаются ведущей (магистральной) роли русистики в университетских структурах славистики, а также инициировался процесс кардинального переосмысления ценностных парадигм русской классической литературы.

Все обозначенные тенденции активизировались после февраля 2022 года, поскольку любая масштабная война предельно обостряет и обнажает не только накопившиеся исторические и политические проблемы, но и вопросы в области культуры и культурной памяти. Показательно в этом плане заявление немецких славистов, представленное в 2023 году в общей дискуссии о перспективах развития славистики, в котором, с одной стороны, подчеркнута необходимость пересмотра позиции русистики («Russlandzentriertheit in der Slavistik»), а с другой стороны, декларируется прямая зависимость интереса студентов к славистике от общественно-политической ситуации:

Sicher ist, dass es seit Februar 2022 zu einer ungeheuren Dynamisierung der Slavistik als Fachdisziplin gekommen ist, und zwar sowohl institutionell als auch inhaltlich. Stand am Anfang die praktische Hilfe und Unterstützung von Kolleginnen vor allem aus der Ukraine, aber auch aus Russland und Belarus im Zentrum, so werden seit längerem intensive Debatten über die Ausrichtung der Slavistik ge-

führt. Im Folgenden wollen wir darauf eingehen, wie der Krieg die Fachdiskussion in der slavistischen Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft verändert hat, wie wir mit der bisherigen Russlandzentriertheit in der Slavistik umgehen und auch, wie wir darauf reagieren, dass die Studierendenzahlen in der Slavistik (wieder einmal) von gesellschaftlichen und politischen Ereignissen abhängig sind – das zeigte sich zur Zeit der Perestroika, in der die Zahl der Studienbewerber:innen in die Höhe schnellte, und zur Zeit des Jugoslawienkrieges, als die Südslavistik in den Fokus geriet. (Schahadat, Wingender 2023: 8)

Не вызывает сомнений тот факт, что с февраля 2022 года славистика как дисциплина переживает колоссальный динамизм, как в институциональном, так и в содержательном плане. Если изначально основное внимание уделялось практической помощи и поддержке коллег, в первую очередь из Украины, но также из России и Беларуси, то сейчас уже некоторое время ведутся интенсивные дебаты об общей направленности и ориентации славистики. Далее мы обсудим, как война изменила академическую дискуссию в славянских литературах и лингвистике, как мы справляемся с существовавшей до сих пор русскоцентричностью в славистике, а также как мы реагируем на тот факт, что количество студентов в славистике (снова) зависит от социальных и политических событий — это было очевидно в период перестройки, когда число абитуриентов резко возросло, и во время Югославской войны, когда южнославянские исследования оказались в центре внимания (перевод мой – R.M.)

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В этой статье я не буду касаться собственно политических аспектов проблемы деколонизации славистики и соответствующих дискуссий, хотя в современном гуманитарном дискурсе трудно избежать политических акцентов интерпретации, более того – очень часто именно от этих политических аспектов зависит существование славистических институтов в отдельных странах. Но политические и исторические решения могут меняться со временем, а литературные тексты останутся, поэтому я остановлюсь только на тех проблемах, которые считаю важными для литературоведческой дискуссии в области славистики и перспектив ее развития, не пытаюсь давать слишком конкретные ответы или рекомендации. Очевидно также, что в тексте статьи нет возможности учесть весь комплекс проблем и оценить все публикации, касающиеся заявленной темы (даже самые важные), поэтому я буду ссылаться только на те статьи или книги, которые непосредственно связаны с обсуждаемым аспектом проблемы.

Если подытожить разнообразные дискуссии и сегодняшние диалоги на тему деколонизация славистики, то можно определить несколько главных аспектов, вокруг которых ведутся дебаты. Это прежде всего вопрос о сути деколонизации славистики, далее – это проблемы деконструкции русской классики, пост-колониальных прочтений литератур тех народов, которые входили в состав Российской империи (белорусы, поляки, украинцы, финны, молдаване), интерпретации русской литературы как имперской (то есть такой, которая в границах империи подавляет другие языки и литературы), и, наконец, так называемая „внутренняя колонизация” русской литературы, о которой в последнее время дискутируют литературоведы (*Там, внутри* 2012; Эткинд 2023).

В перечисленном ряду проблем самый важный вопрос – это вопрос о том, что такое *деколонизация* славистики, и из каких аспектов она состоит? Каким

образом ее можно осуществить в системе современного университетского образования (или же в области гуманитарной культуры вообще) и какие могут быть последствия в результате деколонизации дисциплины для самих славистов и их студентов? Если в среде украинских гуманитариев деколонизация очень часто равна де-русификации (Забужко 2022; Курков 2022, Агеева 2023; Северин 2024), то иначе деколонизация выглядит среди славистов Западной Европы и Америки, Польши и Болгарии, Чехии и Словакии (Thompson 2023; Shaipov, Shaipova 2023; *Przegląd Rusycystyczny* 2025). И не только потому, что проблемы деколонизации в современной Украине определяет сегодняшняя война, но прежде всего потому, что у Украины другая история взаимоотношений с Россией, другие литературные связи с Россией и иные конфликты. Для западных славистов важным является прежде всего пересмотр истории и теории славянских литератур с позиций пост-колониализма (посткоммунизма), открытие в них новых перспектив и ценностей (Smola, Uffelman 2016) или же представление и новая интерпретация «чужеродных» дискурсов в русской литературе – польских, еврейских, украинских (Leske 2015), в то время как для украинских славистов на первом плане ре-интерпретация собственного литературного канона и его отношения к русской литературе.

В связи со сказанным вспомним также, что сейчас в Болгарии или Финляндии не дискутируется вопрос о сношении памятников императору Александру II или же запрете русской классики. Более того, в таких странах, как, например, Германия, знание текстов Достоевского просто необходимо гуманитариям (философам, культурологам и литературоведам), потому что иначе трудно будет понимать и интерпретировать тех немецкоязычных классиков литературы и философии, на которых русский писатель оказал огромное влияние (Герман Гессе, Романо Гуардини, Томас Манн, Пауль Наторп,

Стефан Цвейг, Мартин Хайдеггер). Говоря о деколонизации славистики, нужно также помнить о том, что структура славистических секций или кафедр в разных странах иная: в славянских странах, как правило, русская филология существует как отдельная дисциплина, в то время как в Западной Европе и США она является только частью славистики и соответственно славистического образования. Отсюда становятся понятным, что собственно деколонизация славистики касается университетов Западной Европы и США, в то время, как в славянских странах под деколонизацией славистики часто понимают, с одной стороны, новые подходы к русской филологии и новые интерпретации русской литературы, а с другой, – пост-колониальные прочтения собственных классиков, например, польских или украинских.

Деколонизация славистики по определению принадлежит к понятиям гуманитарной науки, поэтому есть резон обратиться к опыту осмысления таких понятий, предложенному известным немецким историком Райнхартом Козеллеком (Reinhart Koselleck). Этот ученый рассматривал эволюцию понятий в гуманитарных науках в процессе их исторической динамики и обращал особое внимание на их происхождение и коммуникативную семантику в современном гуманитарном дискурсе (Koselleck 2006). Таким образом, в русле мыслей немецкого гуманитария деколонизация славистики предполагает вначале рассмотрение вопроса о том, как выглядела и что представляла из себя её историческая *колонизация*. И здесь мы сталкиваемся с важными и интересными историческими фактами, которые проливают новый свет на вопрос о современной колонизации славистики.

Вспомним, что как университетская дисциплина славистика рождается в XIX веке в России: в 1811 году министр народного просвещения, украинец Алексей Разумовский (1748-1822), старший сын Кирилла Разумовского,

последнего гетмана войска запорожского, издал распоряжение о создании первой в России кафедры славянской филологии («кафедра славяно-российской словесности»). А первым в России магистром славянской филологии, впоследствии экстраординарным и ординарным профессором и руководителем этой кафедры в Московском университете был тоже украинец Осип Бодянский (1808-1877), близкий друг Тараса Шевченко (Лаптева 2005: 127-144). Практически все свои научные труды этот ученый посвятил украинской культуре, языку и литературе; хотя они и написаны на русском языке, трудно в этой ситуации говорить о русификации. В большей мере творчество Бодянского отражает характерную для этого времени борьбу за самодостаточность культуры всех славян, о чем ученый специально писал в предисловии к изданной в Москве в 1859 году монографии Евгения Новикова *Гус и Лютер* (Бодянский 1859: I-II).

В Европе первая кафедра славянских литератур была создана в Париже в Коллеж де Франс (Collège de France), в 1840 году специально для Адама Мицкевича, который должен был читать курс истории славянских литератур. Годом позже была создана первая кафедра славистики во Вроцлаве (Breslau) и славянская доцентура в Берлинском университете, дальше в 1843 – лекторат славянских языков и литератур в Лейпцигском университете, и, наконец, в 1849 году – кафедра славянской филологии с ординарной профессурой в Венском университете (Zeil 1994: 155-157). Первым ординарным профессором славистики Венского университета был словенец Франц Миклошич (Franz Miklosich/Miklošič, 1813-1891), не только основоположник австрийской славистики (Neweklowsky 2015), но и друг украинских славистов того времени (Листування 1993). Что касается Соединенных Штатов Америки, то первый университетский курс, посвященный культуре славян, принадлежит Арчибальду

Кэри Кулиджу (Archibald Cary Coolidge, 1866-1928), который в 1894 году предложил студентам курс истории России и Польши в Гарвардском университете. В начале XX века изучение славистики в США расширяется, а после 1945 года, в связи с идеологическим интересом к Советскому Союзу, а также во многом благодаря активности Романа Якобсона, создаются кафедры славистики практически во всех крупных университетах Северной Америки (Manning 1957). Изучение истории славистики свидетельствует, что только после 1945 года мы можем говорить о *колонизации* славистики (то есть с акцентом на русистике) в США и до сегодняшнего дня дискутируемой роли Р. Якобсона в этом процессе (Шевельов 2021: 421-489). Ни лекции Адама Мицкевича, ни научная деятельность Франца Миклошича никак не были связаны с процессом колонизации славистики. Более того, очевидно, что лекционный курс Мицкевича был первой попыткой *деколонизации* славистики (вместе с поэтическими текстами этого классика польского литературы, отражавшими его известный диалог с Пушкиным), поскольку польский поэт представлял историю славянских литератур не с позиции центральной роли русской литературы, и в споре с Пушкиным прямо говорил об имперской политике России.

Важно также помнить, что во второй половине XIX века славистика была сосредоточена преимущественно на русском языке как языке огромной империи, и это, конечно, обусловило особый интерес к русской литературе. Другие славянские языки (польский, чешский или болгарский) были важными прежде всего в плане изучения исторической грамматики и реконструкции славянских древностей. Праксиологический интерес к русскому языку усилился в XX веке после 1917 года – это был язык коммуникации с Советской Россией (Советским Союзом), с огромным миром за железным занавесом, а также язык информации

об этом мире. Но процесс, который мы можем назвать колонизацией славистики, имел место преимущественно во второй половине XX века и был связан прежде всего с результатами Второй мировой войны, ролью Советского Союза в этой войне, противостоянием США и СССР и началом 'холодной войны'. В это время русский язык рассматривался как язык Советской империи, 'язык врага', необходимый для изучения ее истории и идеологии. И только в конце прошлого, XX, века слависты начали рассматривать советский империализм в контексте схемы общего развития России, то есть как часть собственно русского империализма и срединное звено в цепи: российский империализм – советский империализм – русский империализм. В контексте этого нового взгляда колониальная идеология России как государства переносилась в область славистики, и после начала войны 2022 года появилось множество публикаций, которые отражают упомянутые тенденции колонизации славистики (Shaipov, Shaipova 2023), оккупации славистики русистикой/Россией (Северин 2024), при этом подчеркивается, конечно, необходимость переосмысления ценностных ориентиров русской классики, то есть её деконструкция (Забужко 2023; Пахльовська 2024; Thompson 2023). Таким образом, то, что мы можем сегодня назвать *колонизацией* славистики, началось реально после 1945 года как следствие победы Советского Союза во Второй мировой войне и советской оккупации Восточной Европы.

Следующий важный вопрос, связанный с деколонизацией славистики, касается проблемы нового прочтения русской литературы как литературы имперской. С одной стороны, речь идет о деконструкции в традиционном смысле этого понятия, которое предложил Жак Деррида и которое основано на медленном чтении текста, поисках провокационных мыслей и «освобождении» скрытых смыслов произведения, которые не подразумевались автором и не

были контролированы им в процессе создания текста. С другой стороны, современная деконструкция русской литературы связана с мыслью о том, что она (то есть русская классика и прежде всего произведения Толстого и Достоевского) представляет мир ложных ценностей, что именно классическая русская литература виновата в судьбах России: от судьбы декабристов, террористов XIX века, большевиков, Сталина и до нынешней войны с Украиной. Деконструкция русской классики в этом смысле предполагает вскрытие других идей – ранее запрещенных, идеологически камуфлированных или превратно толкуемых в учебниках и исследованиях. И речь идёт не только об освобождении подлинного смысла классических текстов от идеологических наслоений, навязанных репрессивными инстанциями, такими, как империя, «православие – самодержавие – народность», в XX веке – партия, марксизм-ленинизм, социалистический реализм, а в наши дни квази-патриотизм, но и о том, чтобы адекватно прочесть сознательные интенции русских авторов.

Очевидно, что война 2022 года по-особому актуализировала давние дискуссии, связанные с пост-колониальным прочтением русской литературы и самой истории России (Zubov 2023), а в Украине привела к тотальной дерусификации: полному запрету практически всех русских писателей, изъятию из школьных программ, сношению памятников, переименованию улиц, сел и городов. Сегодняшние украинские интеллектуалы от Оксаны Забужко, Виры Агеевой до Андрея Куркова в Украине и за ее пределами очень часто рассуждают о вине именно русской литературы в воспитании того поколения россиян, которое начало и поддерживает войну с Украиной (Забужко 2023; Курков 2022). Споры о настоящих ценностях русской литературы характерны и для западных славистов. На общем фоне этих дискуссий вырисовываются три ответа на вопрос о вине классики в имперской политике России: 1) именно

русская классика наряду с пропагандой виновата в том, что русское общество поддерживает войну; 2) литература – это не идеология и не политика, следует разграничивать русскую литературу и политику России; 3) в России всегда было две разные литературы – одна на стороне государства, а другая против официальной политики государства. Эта «вторая» литература отразилась в идее «вечной эмиграции» (от Андрея Курбского в XVI веке до Дмитрия Быкова и Дмитрия Глуховского сегодня), она всегда была в оппозиции к власти и часть исследователей считает, что именно она представляет настоящие ценности русской литературы.

Понятно, что каждый исследователь выбирает свой ответ на вопрос о деконструкции русской классики, при этом очень часто оценки русской культуры и литературы представляют крайние взгляды. Для убедительности приведу примеры русских авторов. Так, известный публицист Александр Невзоров в одном из интервью, красноречиво озаглавленном *Беда по имени Путин*, заявил, что «от всей русской культуры придется отказаться, в ней нет ничего настолько ценного, незаменимого, чтобы что-то оставить», «Толстой воспитал поколение русских людей на чудовищной лжи о войне 1812 года», «мы можем расковырять практически любое произведение русской литературы и везде обнаружим мерзкий грибок, плесень, которая и сформировала такое удивительное явление, как Россия» (Невзоров 2024). Так же категорически оценил ситуацию после февраля 2022 года и Михаил Эпштейн, живущий сейчас в США, в книге *Русский антимир. Политика на грани апокалипсиса*: «Никакие свершения русской культуры, никакая любовь к ней не могут смыть той каиновой печати, которая отныне на ней поставлена» (Эпштейн 2023: 7).

В связи с приведенными примерами стоит вспомнить, что радикальные обвинения русской классики в том, что произошло и происходит в Российской

империи, начались не в 2022 году, но появились сразу же после большевистского переворота 1917 года. Тогда многие русские писатели достаточно сурово оценивали как русскую историю, так и то общество, которое строилось в России после 1917 года, и многие российские интеллектуалы обвиняли именно русскую классическую литературу в том, что это она подготовила поколение революционеров и террористов, ставшее на сторону большевиков и осуществившее государственный переворот и расстрел императорской семьи в 1918 году. Достаточно вспомнить знаменитые лекции Ивана Бунина *Великий дурман*, прочитанные в Одессе осенью 1919 года (Бакунцев 2011).

Нужно также отметить, что больше всего сложностей, представляющих переосмысление текстов и парадоксов рецепции, связано с творчеством Достоевского. Необычная популярность Достоевского в России и Европе в первой половине XX века объясняется многими причинами. В Германии его рецепция была подготовлена философией Ницше, в России и Центральной Европе Достоевского воспринимали как писателя, не только напороочившего (прежде всего *Бесами*) русскую революцию и террор большевиков, но и сказавшего страшную правду о самих русских. Очевидно первым исследователем, который увидел внутреннее противоречие Достоевского в том, что он, проповедуя сакральные ценности, одновременно оправдывает зло и русский шовинизм, был Андрей Белый,² который писал: «Трагедия творчества Достоевского в том, что он одинаково вносит в него и „громовый вопль восторга серафимов“, и свиное хрюканье; и даже имеет смелость оправдать это хрюканье устами Дмитрия Карамазова, будто и оно, хрюканье, есть природа»; а дальше Белый писал: «В реве, свинстве и вопле земли, как и в благоухающих

² Позже об этой равноправности мнений, но уже с другой точки зрения, говорил и писал Михаил Бахтин.

цветах святости, которыми оделяет ее Достоевский, те же два рядом стоящих, но несоизмеримых момента эпилепсии: высшая гармония, минута тишины, и высшая дисгармония – ревущие корчи» (Белый 1911).

Практически в это же время, когда Андрей Белый писал приведенные слова, в России начинается интересная история, связанная с постановкой Владимиром Немировичем-Данченко в Московском Художественном театре *Братьев Карамазовых* в 1910 году и *Бесов* в 1913 году. После этих театральных представлений Достоевского критикуют одновременно и правые, и левые, и революционеры (большевики), и представители правительства. В связи с постановкой *Бесов* появились статьи Максима Горького *О карамазовщине* и *Еще о карамазовщине*, в которых произведения Достоевского были названы «садическими и болезненными», «темными пятнами злорадного человеконенавистничества на светлом фоне русской литературы». Максим Горький специально подчеркивал, что хотя Достоевский и обладает великим художественным талантом, он является «основоположником зоологического национализма», «врагом вообще Запада, трудами и духом которого мы живем по сей день», «ярким шовинистом и антисемитом» (Горький 1913).

Критика русской культуры и общества, которое построили большевики, продолжалась и после событий 1917-1924 годов. Известный философ Алексей Лосев (1893-1988) в беседе с Владимиром Бибихиным (1938-2004) 19 января 1973 года на вопрос о том, чем отличаются русские от немцев, испанцев, вообще – европейцев, отвечал: «Водка и селедка, умеют водку пить. Раньше, когда я был молодой, я распространялся о русской душе, имел славянофильские идеи, Москва третий Рим, „а четвертому не быть“. А потом с течением времени во всем этом разочаровался», «нации уже нет», «нация доносчиков, будьте доносчиками или нет – мне всё равно» (Бибихин 2006:172-173).

Следует также отметить, что при сегодняшних деконструкциях и постколониальных прочтениях русской классики интерес к ней не убывает, иногда даже наоборот – возрастает. Характерно в этом отношении интервью с Эвой Томпсон – автором упомянутой выше книги на тему зависимости русской литературы от колониальной политики русского государства. Известная исследовательница, которая больше других американских славистов сделала в области постколониального прочтения русских классиков, и которая утверждает, что почти каждый русский классик крайне империалистичен, тем не менее говорит, что Лев Толстой остается ее любимым писателем, а *Анна Каренина* – это лучший из когда-либо написанных романов:

Думаю, что мой любимый писатель – это Толстой. Я посвятила целую главу в своей книге тому, каким шовинистом был Толстой, но все равно он мне нравится больше всех, потому что я считаю, что он создал повествования и придумал персонажей, которые самые замечательные из всех, когда-либо придуманных писателем. Я думаю, что *Война и мир* об уничтожении Центральной Европы и Восточной Европы – тоже великое произведение, и оно показывает все разнообразие человеческих качеств... *Анна Каренина* – потрясающий роман, возможно, лучший из когда-либо написанных, как структурно, так и с точки зрения содержания... А еще повесть *Хаджи-Мурат*. Видите ли, в старости Толстой понимал. Он был, пожалуй, единственным русским писателем, который когда-либо осознал, что такое колониализм. И когда читаешь *Хаджи-Мурата*, вспоминаешь слова, что чеченцы даже не ненавидели русских – они презирали их. Ведь русские были разрушителями. Они убивали жизнь. Все виды жизни – от растений до животных и людей. И это не было ненавистью –

русские просто считали их полным отребьем. И чтобы русский писатель сказал это, нужна была смелость, нужно было большое понимание. И большой талант, чтобы все это описать. (Томпсон 2024)

Пример с Толстым особенно показательный, ибо этот русский классик вместе с Достоевским составили своеобразный тандем как предмет деконструкции еще в 20-30-е годы прошлого века. Именно тогда появилось понятие «толстоевский» для характеристики авторов русского классического романа, столь популярного на Западе. Это понятие сегодня широко известно благодаря книге Пьера Байяра (Pierre Bayard) *Загадка Толстоевского* (Байяр 2019).

Очевидно, что дискуссии о русской классике становятся сегодня частью общего дискурса, касающегося нового осмысления прежде всего русской культуры, её аксиологических ориентиров, её вины за прошедшее (я имею в виду приход к власти большевиков в 1917 году, который кардинально изменил судьбу России) и происходящее сегодня – войну против Украины. В этом контексте, конечно же, отношение украинцев к русской литературе представляет особый интерес на фоне всей исторической парадигмы русско-украинских отношений, но одновременно оно является необходимой составной деколонизации славистики. Ведь сегодняшняя война – это по большому счету страшное эхо русско-украинских отношений во всей их совокупности. Речь идет прежде всего о влиянии украинцев на русскую культуру и роль украинцев в создании современного русского языка, о чем писали не только украинские филологии XIX века, но и Роман Якобсон, который в статье *Основа сравнительного славянского литературоведения* подчеркивал «радикальную украинизацию» русского языка в семнадцатом веке при патриархе Никоне

(Якобсон 1987: 55). Дальше мы можем говорить о роли украинцев в создании русской, а позже и советской государственности (от братьев Алексея и Кирилла Разумовских, Александра Безбородко до Никиты Хрущева); наконец, о роли украинцев в создании русской литературы. Речь идет не только о Гоголе, который в этом контексте является центральной фигурой, но и о Феофане Прокоповиче, Дмитрие Ростовском и вообще – всех выходцах Киево-Могилянской академии, а позже писателях XIX и XX века – от Василия Нарезного до Владимира Короленко и Михаила Зощенко. Впрочем, даже Федор Достоевский является потомком волынского греко-католического священника, что неоднократно подчеркивали украинские литературоведы. Такой контекст украинского влияния на русскую государственность и русскую культуру позволил Оксане Забужко говорить даже о «колонизаторском потенциале» украинцев (Забужко 2024), и в этом смысле очевидно, что самым крупным колонизатором русской литературы был и остается Николай Гоголь. Такой взгляд предлагает по-иному смотреть на деконструкцию русской классики и по-новому ставить вопрос о «двухязычных» украинских писателях и поэтах XIX века (Тарас Шевченко, Григорий Квитка-Основьяненко, Марко Вовчок, Пантелеймон Кулиш, Евгений Гребинка, Михайло Старицкий).

Когда мы сегодня говорим о деконструкции русской литературы, мы должны также помнить о том, что в пределах России как государства (Российской империи, Советского Союза, современной Российской Федерации) русская классика никогда не существовала в ее «полном» виде, потому что всегда какая-то часть текстов была запрещена, всегда были запрещенные авторы и запрещенные идеи. И как только Россия пробуждалась от этого сна/застоя/запрета/тоталитаризма и, говоря метафорически, начинала дышать полной грудью, сразу же, в течение нескольких лет, власть возвращала страну в

прежнее состояние. Так было после 1917 года, дальше после хрущевской оттепели, и так случилось после горбачёвской перестройки. В современной России, как и в сталинские времена, существуют «враги народа» (так называемые ино-агенты), запрещенные идеи и произведения писателей-эмигрантов (они тоже объявлены ино-агентами). И такое положение вещей позволяет современным славистам говорить о том, что существует не одна, а несколько русских культур и литератур (Платт 2024b).

Нужно помнить также и сегодняшнее парадоксальное отношение русских к своей собственной истории: они, с одной стороны, канонизируют расстрелянную большевиками семью императора Николая II (страшное преступление большевиков – детей расстреливали на глазах у родителей), а с другой, одновременно Кремль отстаивает и защищает эту власть большевиков, являясь в сегодняшней России ее легитимным наследником. В контексте нынешней пропаганды в самой России русская культура вместе с государственной властью образуют своеобразный тандем. Интересно, что в этом союзе русской культуры и русской идеи с властью современные философы видят трансформацию старого большевистского коммунистического мифа:

The contemporary ‘Russian idea’ is largely formed through active contact, both direct and indirect, with the authorities, resulting in its conservative content and revanchist design. Its aggressive character, caused by its specific fundamentalist ontology, which is often in conflict with history, allows us to recognize totalitarian tendencies in philosophy, which accompany the development of the current form of the state towards totalitarianism. Moreover, it is an idea that is gradually being transformed into a state ideology, as was the case with Marxist philosophy in the Soviet Union. The difference is that the communist

myth is replaced by a cultural one by the ‘Russian idea’. (Soboleva 2025)

Представленный контекст проблемы свидетельствует о том, насколько сложным является вопрос о деколонизации славистики, а также его составная – деконструкция русской классики. Если говорить о реальных путях деколонизации, то она возможна и осуществима на двух разных уровнях: популярном и научном. На научном уровне слависты могут создавать общие проекты и курсы для студентов, по-новому читать классические тексты нерусских славянских авторов, расставлять иные политические и идеологические акценты в истории самой русской литературы, печатать монографии и статьи в русле пост-колониального прочтения классики славянских авторов. В области русской литературы такие публикации в последнее десятилетие стали уже нормой. Достаточно назвать первый номер за 2025 год польского журнала *Przegląd Rusycystyczny* или номера *Нового литературного обозрения* за два последние года, где напечатаны целые блоки текстов на такую тематику: от нескольких статей, посвященных стихотворению Бродского *На независимость Украины* до новых прочтений *Войны и мира* Толстого (понятно, что в случае Бродского речь идет о масштабном контексте этого произведения – от Пушкина до наших дней). Провокационные заглавия таких публикаций представляют новые повороты сюжета: будь то отказ Толстому в чувстве исторического реализма в статье Хейдена Уайта *Против исторического реализма: читая „Войну и мир”* (Уайт 2024: 49-66), противопоставление украинской и русской литературной традиции в контексте культуры империи в статье Кирилла Осповата *Руины: русская филология ввиду катастрофы* (Осповат 2024: 340-355) или же описание связанных с русским языком как языком империи моделей деколонизации в публикации Кевина

Платта *Русскоязычная антиимперская поэтика: модели деколонизации* (Платт 2024a: 322-339).

На популярном уровне процесс деколонизации славистики во многом проходит хаотически, поскольку сегодня открыт доступ к Интернету и публикациям в его сетях, которые, конечно, отражают разные взгляды и разные подходы. Лучше всего это видно на примере статей из Википедии, посвященных славянской тематике: от *Слова о полку Игореве* до персональных статей о видных деятелях славянской культуры (Феофан Прокопович, Дмитрий Овсяннико-Куликовский, Александр Потебня), которые в зависимости от языка статьи называются то русскими, то украинскими, то русско-украинскими. В качестве примера можно назвать и статью, посвященную упомянутому выше Осипу Бодянскому, который в русской версии Википедии назван «российским ученым», в украинской – «украинским», а в немецкой – «русско-украинским». Такое положение вещей отражает проблему неразделенного наследия между Украиной и Россией, а также огромный корпус русскоязычной научной литературы, доступной западным славистам и не имеющей аналогов на украинском или других славянских языках (достаточно назвать пятитомную русскоязычную энциклопедию *Слова о полку Игореве*). Сегодня также трудно предвидеть, отразится ли проблема деколонизации славистики на возможном очередном, уже традиционном для России, переписывании школьных и университетских учебников по истории и литературе. Ведь без такой деколонизации слависты России будут говорить совершенно другим языком и другими понятиями в сравнении со славистами Европы и Америки.

В этой же связи нужно отметить, что многие современные слависты смотрят на деколонизацию как на редукцию роли русистики в структурах академических славистических институций (секций, кафедр, департаментов,

факультетов), в результате которой станет возможным расширение других славянских филологий (украинской, польской, чешской). Но этот процесс во многом зависит от запроса студентов, а сегодняшние статистики говорят о том, что особого интереса к славистике вообще в университетах нет, и при этом интерес к России преобладает как интерес к большому государству. Конечно же, каждая славянская страна должна заботиться о рекламе своего языка и культуры, но такая реклама не обеспечит интереса к славянской филологии на уровне университетских программ, кроме исторически и традиционно обусловленных ситуаций (польская и русская филологии во Франции или украинская в Канаде). Отказ от русского языка как языка общения привел не столько к обращению к другим славянским языкам, сколько к американизации славистики и господству английского (американского) языка на славистических симпозиумах и встречах.

Сегодняшнее восприятие русской классики и ее деколонизация находятся между двумя полюсами: с одной стороны – это абсолютное отождествление русской классики (шире – русской культуры) с империей зла, констатация полной ответственности культуры за войну, а с другой стороны – это тенденция абсолютного размежевания ценностей классической литературы и сегодняшней военной пропаганды. Особенно важно в этой ситуации, что адепты и первого, и второго взглядов не обязательно принадлежат к интеллектуалам одной из воюющей стран. Деколонизация славистики и деконструкция русской классики в каждой стране проходит по-своему. Сегодня трудно предугадать, как будет развиваться славистика в самой России и каково будет отношение граждан России к своему классическому литературному наследию (школьные и университетские программы, экранизации, научные издания и исследования). Конечно, в Европе или в Америке мы можем предлагать всевозможные деконструкции и деколонизации, печатать на

английском языке проекты и исследования в этом направлении, но какое это будет иметь реальное влияние на то, чем была русская классика для самих россиян в прошлом, и чем она является сегодня в их культурной парадигме?

Мы уже оказались в ситуации, когда гуманитарная научная информация в самой России кардинально отличается от того, что пишут о России, ее культуре и литературе ученые, живущие вне России. Можно, конечно, объявить Михаила Булгакова символом русского империализма, которым он в силу своих монархических взглядов и является. Но разве это изменит популярность этого писателя в Европе и Америке? Ведь таким же символом империализма был и остается Вергилий: вряд ли в европейской литературе есть более имперское произведение, чем его *Энеида*, обожествляющая происхождение Римской империи и императора Октавина Августа. Однако уничтоженный большевиками классик украинской литературы Микола Зеров считал *Энеиду* одним из совершеннейших произведений мировой литературы, без которого нельзя понять не только *Божественную комедию* Данте, но и зарождение новой украинской литературы в лице Ивана Котляревского и его *Энеиды*.

Представленные проблемы свидетельствуют прежде всего о том, насколько сложным и во многом до сегодня неопределенным является процесс деколонизации славистики. Он отражает не только нынешнюю деконструкцию русской литературы, но также изменения акцентов в преподавании истории Киевской Руси, новые подходы во взглядах на историю славянского барокко или историю русской государственности. В свете современных дискуссий деколонизация славистики предполагает также и гипотетическое освобождение славистических научных центров от диктата русской филологии, что возможно в академическом плане, но в плане университетском всегда будет зависеть от запроса студентов.

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BITA TAKRIMI AND ROBERT LAGERBERG

**‘Я К ВАМ ПИШУ’: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LETTERS IN *EUGENE ONEGIN*
THROUGH ROMAN JAKOBSON’S COMMUNICATION MODEL**

Abstract

One of the topics covered in language pragmatics, which examines language and its use in communication processes, is communicative theory. Six components make up this process, but two are crucial: the addresser, also known as the composer, and the addressee: without them communication is pointless. Through a particular communication circuit, the addressee receives a message from the addresser regarding something beyond the context, using shared codes between them. This message’s significance in the context is determined by the addresser, or the user’s intention while using the language. According to Jakobson, if the message is directed to each component of the communication process, then language will have a varied purpose and function. The goal of this study is to examine how the purpose of the addresser and the kind of message received by the recipient affect language function by applying this scheme to the letters of Tatyana and Onegin in Pushkin’s *Eugene Onegin* and identifying the linguistic functions in various settings. The article concludes that the two letters in question have somewhat different distributions of functions based on Jakobson’s communication model. While Tatiana’s letter, as may well be expected, shows a high degree of emotive expression, Onegin’s letter, by contrast, is characterised primarily by the referential function and, to a somewhat lesser degree, by the emotive function.

Keywords: Communication model, Roman Jakobson, Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin*

Introduction

Several theorists have explored language analysis in the context of communication, including John Searle (1969) with his foundational work on speech acts, Ferdinand de Saussure (1916) through his theories on structuralism and semiotics, and J. L. Austin (1962), who focused on how language is used to perform specific actions in communication. Among the most comprehensive approaches is the formalist analysis, which focuses on the text itself, independent of external factors, and based on its linguistic signs. One prominent theory in this field is Roman Jakobson's communication model (Jakobson 1987, 378). Jakobson, a formalist, emphasises that meaning is produced within the text, though he does not entirely dismiss the role of metatextual agents (*ibid.*, 10). The intention of the speaker becomes a crucial factor in determining the specific linguistic form used in the text; therefore, discovering the hidden meaning of the text requires an examination of all elements of communication. Among the six elements of the communication process, the speaker's intention is a determining factor in the function of language. The speaker assigns a different role to the text based on their goals by emphasising a specific element.

Another crucial element affecting the speaker's intention and type of speech is the receiver. The importance of the audience is such that if the speaker misjudges their audience, the text can become irrelevant or even incomprehensible. The symbolic system of the text creates meaning through relationships of co-existence and substitution, which are evident within the text itself. Thus, while meaning is discovered through the text, it also manifests external elements.

Tatyana and Onegin's letters are suitable examples for applying Jakobson's communication model. These letters were written under different circumstances and with different intentions. An analysis of their linguistic features may be able to shed light on the types of letters and reveal the eloquence of their writers in choosing ap-

appropriate language. Using Jakobson's model, we will attempt to identify which elements play more significant roles and what linguistic methods are used to highlight them. By selecting both Tatyana's letter to Onegin and Onegin's letter to Tatyana, we can compare the function of language within them. This comparative analysis aims to clarify the differences in these elements and their impact on the message's linguistic functions.

Communication theory in language analysis

The theory of communication in language is not viewed as a separate phenomenon; rather, it examines the factors that shape communication (Yule 2007, 56). Understanding meaning requires more than just analysing the phonetic, syntactic, or semantic aspects of words; it necessitates considering elements such as the speaker's intention, time and place. Hidden meanings are embedded in the text and can only be uncovered by understanding these influencing factors.

Several perspectives have been proposed regarding language use in the communication process, including Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962), Structuralism (de Saussure, 1916), and Jakobson's Communication Model (Jakobson, 1987). One notable model is Roman Jakobson's communication model, which employs a linguistic approach to the analysis of texts. Language, considered a social institution, plays a crucial role in facilitating communication. Effective communication relies on common codes between the sender and receiver. Jakobson's model, compared to other theories, is a cohesive framework that builds upon Bühler's theory, which originally posited three language functions — expression, appeal and representation (Scholes 2013, 48). Jakobson refined and expanded this by introducing six functions, thereby providing a more comprehensive analysis of communication.

The communication model identifies six key elements involved in the communication process: the sender, receiver, message, code, context and contact. These elements, while not strictly linguistic, play crucial roles in the transmission and reception of messages (Yule 2007, 12).

Jakobson's communication model

In Jakobson's model, six active elements participate in the communication process:

1. Sender: The person who initiates the message.
2. Receiver: The person who receives and interprets the message.
3. Message: The content being communicated.
4. Code: The language or system of symbols used.
5. Context: The situation or environment in which the communication occurs.
6. Contact: The physical or psychological connection between the sender and receiver.

Each of these elements contributes to the overall function and effectiveness of communication. Jakobson emphasises (Jakobson 1987, 10). that for a message to be effective, it must reference a context that is understandable to both parties. The roles and functions of these elements vary according to their prominence in the communication process, a concept central to late formalism.

In addition to the six active elements, Jakobson (*ibid.*, 11) provides six linguistic functions, which form the core of the analysis which follows here. These functions are as follows:

LETTERS IN *EUGENE ONEGIN*

1. Referential Function: focuses on conveying information and referring to the context or situation. This function is foundational for communication, as it involves the formulation of real, objective and provable information about the message's reference.
2. Emotive Function: expresses the speaker's emotions and personal attitudes. This function is often evident in exclamations and direct expressions of feelings, providing insight into the speaker's internal state.
3. Conative Function: directed towards the receiver, aiming to influence their behaviour or response. This function involves imperative statements and persuasive language to achieve the speaker's desired outcome.
4. Phatic Function: establishes, maintains or terminates communication. It ensures that the channel of communication remains open and effective, using expressions that attract the receiver's attention and facilitate interaction.
5. Metalingual Function: focuses on the code itself, ensuring that both parties understand the language and symbols being used. This function clarifies the meaning of terms and resolves ambiguities within the communication.
6. Poetic Function: emphasises the aesthetic qualities of language, drawing attention to the message itself. This function is dominant in poetry and literary texts, where the form and structure of the language are as important as the content.

From the outset it should be noted that, although it may initially seem that the linguistic functions of Tatyana's letter to Onegin will vary according to its intended

audience, the specific nature of this adaptation, the use of linguistic elements, the tone of Tatyana, the presence of various roles, and the methods of conveying her message and intentions to Onegin must be analysed within the text itself. Although Grinbaum (2013) makes a convincing case for the possibility of reading the letter both in a ‘normal’ way and also in a ‘separate’ way (i.e. as a reader who reads the letter without knowledge of what has taken place in the novel up to this point) as a result of the letter’s ‘inserted’ (‘вставной’) character, the approach taken here is based on the text itself, rather than on the interpretation of the text based on any prior knowledge. In a sense, therefore, the approach here is ‘separate’, as it takes a linguistic, objective lens to the text. By examining the structure and elements of Tatyana’s letter, it will be possible to identify the primary hypothesis regarding the relationship between the text and its audience. This hypothesis will then be tested by analysing the content of the letter, determining on the basis of the textual evidence whether it is confirmed or refuted.

Tatyana’s letter to Onegin

Tatyana’s letter to Onegin, which is part of the third chapter of the novel *Evgenii Onegin*, is, of course, one of the most famous and celebrated passages of Russian literature. It stands out from the main narrative in many ways, including, of course, its form: as New (2020, 40) states, it ‘deviates from the Onegin stanzaic form and consists of seventy-line lines in iambic tetrameter with a free pattern of rhymes.’ It is also introduced by the author with the claim that it was written in French and has, in fact, been translated into Russian, something which New argues convincingly amounts to a ‘deliberate mystification’ (ibid., 56) by Pushkin which he used in order to ‘legitimise’ the sentimentality of the letter. Indeed, as Hasty (1999, 88) states, ‘Tatiana’s letter to Eugene bears the unmistakable effects of the sentimental novels she has been reading.’

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Tatyana's opening lines directly address Onegin, expressing her vulnerability and emotional turmoil with a bold assertion of her 'I':

Я к вам пишу — чего же боле?
Что я могу еще сказать?
Теперь, я знаю, в вашей воле
Меня презреньем наказать.

As Hasty states (1999, 91), 'There is no trace of coyness in Tatiana's writing.' The rhetorical question ('чего же боле?') highlights her desperation and the gravity of her feelings. The tone is pleading and anxious, indicating her uncertainty and fear of rejection. Tatyana conveys a mixture of love, fear and desperation. Her vulnerability is palpable, as she acknowledges Onegin's power to hurt her emotionally:

Сначала я молчать хотела;
Поверьте: моего стыда
Вы не узнали б никогда,
Когда б надежду я имела
Хоть редко, хоть в неделю раз
В деревне нашей видеть вас,
Чтоб только слышать ваши речи,
Вам слово молвить, и потом
Все думать, думать об одном
И день и ночь до новой встречи.

Tatyana reveals her initial hesitation to express her feelings, underscoring the depth of her emotional struggle. Her hope of seeing Onegin and listening to him speaks to her longing and infatuation. The tone is confessional and earnest, reflecting

her inner conflict and the sincerity of her emotions. Tatyana expresses deep yearning and emotional conflict. Her longing to hear Onegin's voice and her constant thoughts about him illustrate her intense emotional attachment:

Зачем вы посетили нас?
В глуши забытого селенья
Я никогда не знала б вас,
Не знала б горького мученья.

Tatyana questions the reason for Onegin's visit, revealing how profoundly it affected her. The rhetorical question emphasises her confusion and the emotional upheaval caused by his presence. The tone is contemplative and melancholic, highlighting her sense of loss and sorrow. Her reflection on how her life would have been different without meeting Onegin underscores the depth of her emotional pain.

Души неопытной волненья
Смирив со временем (как знать?),
По сердцу я нашла бы друга,
Была бы верная супруга
И добродетельная мать.

Tatyana imagines a different life where she might have found a friend and become a faithful wife and virtuous mother, indicating her inner turmoil and the emotional impact of her unrequited love. The tone is speculative and wistful, reflecting her contemplation of an alternate reality. Tatyana expresses a sense of what might have been, highlighting her emotional struggle and the deep impact of her feelings for Onegin on her sense of self and future.

The emotive function appears to be predominant in Tatyana's letter to Onegin. Her language, tone and choice of words vividly convey her emotional state – vulnerability, desperation, longing, regret and sorrow. By analysing the text sentence by sentence, we uncover the layers of her emotions, providing a deeper understanding of her character and the intensity of her feelings for Onegin. This analysis confirms the hypothesis that the emotive function is central to Tatyana's sentimental letter, as her primary goal is to communicate her profound and complex emotions to Onegin.

Onegin's letter to Tatyana

As a response to Tatiana's letter in Part 3 of the novel, Onegin's letter in Part 8 undoubtedly creates a structural symmetry. However, in contrast to the sentimental and passionate tone of Tatyana's letter, Onegin's letter stems more from the Byronic-romantic tradition, but, in addition appears immediately to reveal the unenthusiastic attitude of both the author and Onegin himself for the epistolary means of communication. As Hasty (1999, 187) states, Onegin's letter is from the outset a 'controlled deployment of amorous tactics and not the necessary, risk-laden gesture that Tatiana's was.' The opening lines display the pessimistic, evaluative approach which Onegin takes as he begins his missive:

Предвижу всё: вас оскорбит
Печальное тайное объясненье.
Какое горькое презренье
Ваш гордый взгляд изобразит!

Onegin anticipates Tatyana's reaction, expressing his awareness of the potential pain his letter might cause. The prediction of her 'горькое презренье' ('bitter contempt') reveals his emotional turmoil and fear of her rejection. The tone is apprehensive and

regretful, showing Onegin's anxiety about the impact of his words. Onegin conveys a mixture of dread and sorrow. He is acutely aware of the emotional consequences of his confession and pre-emptively mourns the potential loss of respect and affection from Tatyana:

Когда бы не искал я вас —
Когда бы встречу не готовил,
Видеть вас и только вас,
Я знал бы счастье и покой!

Onegin expresses his internal conflict, acknowledging that his actions have caused him more turmoil than happiness. His repeated reference to seeing only Tatyana ('Видеть вас и только вас') highlights his obsession and emotional fixation. The tone is conflicted and introspective, reflecting his struggle between his desires and the resulting pain. Onegin communicates a sense of lost peace and happiness. His admission reveals his deep, yet troubled, emotional connection to Tatyana, indicating that his feelings are both a source of joy and distress:

Зачем вас, моя милая,
Объяты жадные искали,
Зачем вас, пламенный мой друг,
Моё бесчувствие казнило?

Onegin reflects on his past actions, expressing regret and questioning his motives. The rhetorical questions emphasise his remorse and the pain caused by his own emotional detachment ('моё бесчувствие'). The tone is remorseful and self-critical, showing his acknowledgment of past mistakes. Onegin expresses deep regret and self-

reproach. His reflection on his actions and their impact on Tatyana reveals his emotional anguish and desire for atonement:

Пусть будет так: я вас люблю,
И вам вручаю душу мою.

Onegin's direct confession of love marks a significant emotional revelation. His statement 'я вас люблю' ('I love you') and the act of entrusting his soul to Tatyana ('вам вручаю душу мою') underscores the depth and sincerity of his feelings. The tone is earnest and heartfelt, reflecting the authenticity of his emotions. Onegin conveys profound love and vulnerability. This confession is the emotional climax of the letter, revealing his true feelings and the intensity of his emotional commitment to Tatyana.

The emotive function appears to be predominant in Onegin's letter to Tatyana. His language, tone and choice of words vividly convey his emotional state – apprehension, conflict, regret and deep love. By analysing the text sentence by sentence, we uncover the layers of his emotions, providing a deeper understanding of his character and the intensity of his feelings for Tatyana. This analysis confirms the hypothesis that the emotive function is central to Onegin's letter, as his primary goal is to communicate his profound and complex emotions to Tatyana.

The emotive function also appears to be predominant in Tatyana's letter to Onegin. Her language, tone and use of linguistic elements vividly convey her intense and vulnerable emotions. Through an in-depth analysis of the letter's structure and content, it becomes evident that Tatyana's primary goal is to communicate her profound love and sincere feelings. The emotional weight of her confession, combined with her fears and hopes, creates a poignant and heartfelt message. This analysis

confirms the hypothesis that Tatyana's letter is heavily influenced by her emotional state, as she seeks to convey her innermost feelings to Onegin.

Similarly, in Onegin's letter to Tatyana, the emotive function appears to be central. Onegin's expressions of apprehension, conflict, regret and deep love are intricately woven into the fabric of his letter. By examining the structure and elements of his message, we uncover the layers of his emotions, revealing his sincere yet troubled feelings for Tatyana. Onegin's letter is a testament to his internal struggle and his desire to communicate his true emotions. This analysis confirms that the emotive function is a key aspect of Onegin's letter, as he endeavours to convey his profound and complex emotional state to Tatyana.

In both letters, the emotive function plays a crucial role in shaping the messages conveyed by Tatyana and Onegin. Their letters are not merely exchanges of words, but are deeply emotional communications that reveal their innermost feelings and vulnerabilities. By analysing the linguistic elements, tone and methods of conveying their messages, it becomes clear that both Tatyana and Onegin are driven by their intense emotions. Their letters serve as a window into their souls, providing a deeper understanding of their characters and the emotional depth of their relationship. This comparative analysis, summarised in the table below, highlights the significance of the emotive function in their correspondence, emphasising the profound impact of their emotions on the communication process.

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	Tatyana's Letter	Onegin's Letter
Sender	Tatyana	Onegin
Receiver	Onegin	Tatyana
Message	Confession of love, her emotional turmoil, and her plea for understanding from Onegin	Rejection of Tatyana's love, his explanation of his feelings, and his plea for her forgiveness and understanding

Table 1. Summary table of the messages in the letters of Tatyana and Onegin

In the subsequent analysis, the focus is on elucidating the messages through a detailed examination of the linguistic elements present in Tatyana's and Onegin's letters. Each sentence is analysed to discern its communicative function and the nuances it imparts to the text. In order to identify the language functions in a sentence, its structure, purpose and context must be examined. To this end, Roman Jakobson's communication model is used. It outlines six primary language functions: emotive, conative, referential, phatic, metalingual and poetic (Jakobson 1987, 10). The emotive function is used to express the speaker's emotions, feelings or state of mind. Typical markers of this function are personal pronouns, exclamations and emotionally charged words or phrases. These sentences often reflect the speaker's inner feelings and subjective experience.

The conative function is directed toward the receiver whom it aims to influence or engage. It is often found in imperatives, questions or requests. Typical markers of this function are verbs in the imperative mood, direct addresses to the receiver, or any sentence that seeks a response or action from the listener.

The referential function is used to convey information about the external world. This function is identifiable by its focus on facts, descriptions and objective state-

ments. Sentences with this function typically provide information of the type ‘who did what, where, when and why’.

The phatic function serves to establish, prolong or discontinue communication. It is used to ensure that the communication channel is open and working.

The metalingual function focuses on the language itself, clarifying and discussing its meaning. This function is identified by sentences that explain or question linguistic elements, such as definitions, paraphrases or grammatical clarifications.

The poetic function emphasises the aesthetic qualities of language. It is identified using stylistic devices such as rhyme, rhythm, alliteration and other forms of wordplay. Sentences that draw attention to their form or sound, rather than just their content, exemplify this function.

By analysing each sentence through the framework of Jakobson’s communication model, it will be possible to answer the main research question by determining which language function is dominant.

In linguistic analysis, the primary function refers to the main purpose or dominant role that a particular sentence or text segment serves. It is the most apparent and influential function guiding the communication. Secondary functions, on the other hand, are additional roles that a sentence or text segment might fulfill, supporting or complementing the primary function without being the main focus. By distinguishing between primary and secondary functions, we gain a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of communication in Tatyana’s and Onegin’s letters. While the emotive function stands out as the central aspect, secondary functions such as referential and conative play crucial supporting roles, enriching the text and enhancing its communicative power.

As mentioned above, New (2020) argues that Pushkin used the mystification of Tatyana’s letter as a translation from French as a means of legitimising the out-

pouring of sentimentality which it contains. As such, therefore, the prevalence of the emotive function is, naturally, to be expected. However, a second research question emerges from New's (2020, 49-50) statement: 'In contrast to the first part of Tatiana's letter, in which her feelings are expressed calmly and reasonably (as can be seen through her use of personal pronouns: the only form of pronoun used in relation to Onegin is the polite form, "вы"), in the second part of the letter, the heroine is in a state close to a love trance. Her emotions pour out of her uncontrollably, as manifested in the use of the intimate form of the second person pronoun, the form most appropriate for the communication of two souls: "ты".' The analysis below, therefore, will also investigate whether there is an uneven distribution of the emotive function, with the second part of the letter more likely to contain a somewhat higher proportion.

Sentence-by-sentence analysis of Tatyana's letter

1. Я к вам пишу — чего же боле?

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana's opening line, 'Я к вам пишу — чего же боле?', reflects the primary function of the emotive, as it unveils her deep emotional need to communicate with Onegin. This phrase captures her vulnerability, the intense desire for connection, and the urgency of her confession. While there might be a metalingual element in her acknowledgment of the act of writing, the emotive function dominates, as her intent is to convey her feelings rather than merely describe the act of communication.

Tatyana expresses her emotional urgency and need to communicate with Onegin. Indeed, Nabokov (1975, 389) associates the phrase 'чего же боле' with a

Russian ‘mawkish’ adaptation of a German romance in which the heroine pleads:

Предай мне смерти, не томи меня боле...

Put me now to death, let me languish no more [...]

Secondary Function: Conative

Tatyana indirectly addresses Onegin in her line ‘Я к вам пишу’, despite using ‘к вам’, which directly signifies that she is addressing him. The formality of ‘к вам’, rather than a more intimate form of address, subtly conveys her hesitance and vulnerability. This choice allows her to reach out while maintaining a sense of distance, reflecting her inner turmoil. By using this formal phrasing, Tatyana seeks Onegin’s attention cautiously, without fully exposing the depth of her emotions, making her approach feel indirect despite the direct address.

2. Что я могу еще сказать?

Primary Function: Emotive

The primary function of Tatyana’s statement ‘Я к вам пишу — чего же боле?’ is emotive, as it centres on her feelings of helplessness and desperation. However, metalingual, phatic and referential elements are also present. The metalingual aspect arises from her reflection on the act of communication itself, as she acknowledges that she is writing to Onegin. Phatic elements can be seen in how the statement keeps the conversation open and flowing, while the referential function touches on her broader situation.

Nevertheless, the emotive function takes precedence because the core purpose of the statement is to express her emotional turmoil. Tatyana’s choice of language – formal yet personal – reveals her vulnerability and desperation,

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as she reaches out to Onegin, not just to maintain communication, but also to express the depth of her feelings. Despite these other functions, the emotive nature of her plea remains the central focus, conveying her inner emotional state.

Secondary Function: Conative

She is indirectly prompting a response from Onegin by expressing her dilemma.

3. Теперь, я знаю, в вашей воле меня презреньем наказать.

Primary Function: Emotive

She reveals her fear of rejection and the emotional pain it would cause.

Secondary Function: Referential

She acknowledges Onegin's power over her fate.

4. Но вы, к моей несчастной доле хотя бы каплю жалости храня, вы не оставите меня.

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana appeals to Onegin's compassion, showing her vulnerability.

Secondary Function: Conative

She is imploring Onegin not to abandon her, seeking his mercy.

5. Сначала я молчать хотела; поверьте: моего стыда вы не узнали б никогда, когда б надежду я имела хоть редко, хоть в неделю раз в деревне

нашей видеть вас, чтоб только слышать ваши речи, вам слово молвить, и потом все думать, думать об одном и день и ночь до новой встречи.

Primary Function: Emotive

She expresses her inner conflict and deep emotional longing for Onegin.

Secondary Function: Referential

She provides context about her initial intentions and the depth of her feelings.

6. Но, говорят, вы нелюдим; в глуши, в деревне все вам скучно, а мы... ничем мы не блесним, хоть вам и рады простодушно.

Primary Function: Referential

Tatyana describes Onegin's reputation and her own simple life. As Nabokov (1975, 390-391) points out, Tanya is also aware of the lack of 'brilliancy' in her own family who thereby fail to attract the bored and unsociable Onegin.

Secondary Function: Emotive

She contrasts Onegin's perceived aloofness with her own sincere affection.

7. Зачем вы посетили нас?

Primary Function: Emotive

She questions why Onegin came into her life, revealing her emotional turmoil.

Secondary Function: Referential

She references the impact of Onegin's visit on her and her family.

8. В глуши забытого селенья я никогда не знала б вас, не знала б горького мученья.

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana expresses regret and the emotional pain of knowing Onegin.

Secondary Function: Referential

She reflects on how her life would have been without meeting him.

9. Души неопытной волненья смирив со временем (как знать?), по сердцу я нашла бы друга, была бы верная супруга и добродетельная мать.

Primary Function: Emotive

She reflects on a lost potential future, expressing sadness and longing.

Secondary Function: Referential

She considers an alternative path her life might have taken.

10. Другой!.. Нет, никому на свете не отдала бы сердце я!

Primary Function: Emotive

She passionately declares her love for Onegin. Nabokov (1975, 391-392) notes that the use of ‘Another!/Un autre!’ is ‘a common rhetorical formula of European romances’.

Secondary Function: Conative

She emphasises her devotion, hoping for Onegin’s understanding and reciprocation.

11. То в вышнем суждено совете... то воля неба: я твоя.

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana conveys a sense of fate and her unwavering commitment. As Nabokov notes (*ibid.*, 392), Tatyana's switch to the second person singular ('твоя') is a well-known device in French epistolary novels and underlines her passion, or, as Hasty (1999, 97) expresses it, it signals 'heightened emotion and intimacy'.

Secondary Function: Referential

She refers to a divine or fateful decision.

12. Вся жизнь моя была залогом свиданья верного с тобой; я знаю, ты мне послан Богом, до гроба ты хранитель мой...

Primary Function: Emotive

She believes in a destined connection and expresses deep emotional conviction. As mentioned above, the use of the second person singular ('ты') gives more weight to her emotion.

Secondary Function: Referential

She speaks of her life's purpose and divine intervention.

13. Ты в сновиденьях мне являлся, незримый, ты мне был уж мил, твой чудный взгляд меня томил, в душе твой голос раздавался давно... нет, это был не сон!

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana shares her dreams and how deeply Onegin has affected her.

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Secondary Function: Referential

She provides context about her dreams and the impact of his presence.

**14. Ты чуть вошел, я вмиг узнала, вся обомлела, запылала и в мыслях
молвила: вот он!**

Primary Function: Emotive

She describes her intense immediate reaction to meeting Onegin.

Secondary Function: Referential

She recounts the moment she recognised her feelings for him.

**15. Не правда ль? В тебе я слышала: ты говорил со мной в тиши, когда я
бедным помогала или молитвой услаждала тоску волнуемой души?**

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana connects her past actions with her feelings for Onegin, showing her deep emotional connection.

Secondary Function: Referential

She refers to her past charitable actions and moments of prayer.

**16. И в это самое мгновение не ты ли, милое виденье, в прозрачной темноте
мелькнул, проникнул тихо к изголовью?**

Primary Function: Emotive

She recalls a vision of Onegin, highlighting her emotional attachment.

Secondary Function: Referential

She describes a specific memory or dream involving Onegin.

17. Не ты с отрадой и любовью слова надежды мне шепнул?

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana remembers words of hope which she associates with Onegin, expressing longing and desire.

Secondary Function: Conative

She seeks confirmation from Onegin about their shared connection.

18. Кто ты, мой ангел ли хранитель, или коварный искушитель: мои сомненья разреши.

Primary Function: Conative

She directly asks Onegin to clarify his role in her life, seeking his response.

Secondary Function: Emotive

Her plea is filled with emotional turmoil and desperation.

19. Быть может, это все пустое, обман неопытной души!

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana questions her own feelings, showing vulnerability and self-doubt.

Secondary Function: Referential

She contemplates the possibility of being misled by her emotions.

20. И суждено совсем иное... но так и быть! Судьбу мою отныне я тебе вручаю, перед тобою слезы лью, твоей защиты умоляю...

Primary Function: Emotive

She submits to her fate and Onegin, expressing her deep emotional need for his protection.

Secondary Function: Conative

She implores Onegin for protection and understanding.

21. Вообрази: я здесь одна, никто меня не понимает, рассудок мой изнемогает, и молча гибнуть я должна.

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana conveys her isolation and emotional suffering.

Secondary Function: Referential

She provides context about her current state and surroundings.

22. Я жду тебя: единым взором надежды сердца оживи или сон тяжкий перерви, увы, заслуженный укором!

Primary Function: Conative

She asks Onegin to give her hope or end her suffering, seeking his decisive action.

Secondary Function: Emotive

In Tatyana's plea, her request is indeed filled with emotional urgency and desperation. However, the conative function is considered primary because her

main objective is to prompt Onegin into action. She is not merely expressing her feelings; she is asking Onegin to either offer her hope or release her from her suffering. This makes the conative function dominant, as the statement is aimed at eliciting a response or action from Onegin.

The emotive function, though powerful, serves as a secondary layer. It reflects her inner turmoil and heightens the intensity of her request, but the primary aim is to influence Onegin's behaviour. The hierarchy here depends on Tatyana's communicative intent: while her feelings of desperation are clear, they support rather than overshadow her need for a decisive reaction from Onegin. This is why the conative function takes precedence, as the primary focus is on the expected outcome of her plea, while the emotive function enriches the emotional context of her request.

23. Кончаю! Страшно перечесть... стыдом и страхом замираю... но мне порукой ваша честь, и смело ей себя вверяю...

Primary Function: Emotive

Tatyana ends her letter with fear and shame, showing her emotional vulnerability.

Secondary Function: Conative

She trusts in Onegin's honour and seeks reassurance.

In our analysis of the letters, we differentiate between primary and secondary communicative functions to determine the predominant role of each sentence. The percentages for the primary functions are calculated in the following way:

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For each sentence in the letter, we determine which communicative function – emotive, conative, referential, etc. – is the most dominant, i.e., the primary function. We then count how many sentences correspond to each function as their primary role. To calculate the percentage for each primary function, we divide the number of sentences with a specific primary function by the total number of sentences in the letter. This gives us the statistical representation for each function.

As for the secondary functions, while they add depth to the analysis and reveal additional layers of communication, we do not include them in the percentage calculations. Our focus is on the primary functions, as they represent the dominant communicative purpose in each sentence.

In Tatyana's case, the emotive function overwhelmingly dominates with 82%, while the conative (7%) and referential (11%) functions, though present, are secondary and not statistically represented (see Table 2 below). The distribution of the emotive function in the first part and the second part of the letter does not reveal much difference (1.5%), so both sections are seen to be primarily emotive.

Frequency of Jakobson's Communication Functions in Tatyana's Letter

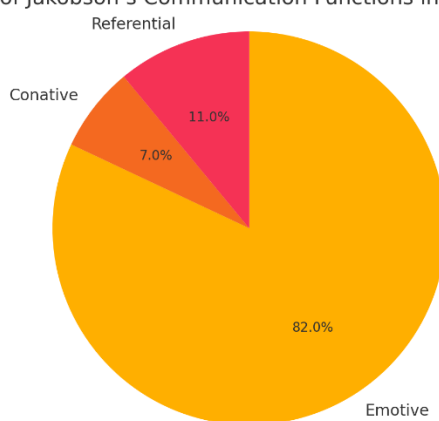


Table 2. Jakobson's communication functions by percentage in Tatyana's letter

Sentence-by-sentence analysis of Onegin's letter

The structure and tone of Onegin's response to Tatyana's letter reflect a calculated rhetorical posture (Briggs 1983, 208). As New states (New 2020, 55), 'Tatyana's letter is addressed both to the reader and Onegin, however their reactions are different.' Indeed, as mentioned above, Onegin's letter is characterised by a somewhat regretful, but impassive evaluation of the events which have occurred between the two protagonists. Nevertheless, what concerns us in this paper is the distribution of Jakobson's communication functions. In addition, the question of whether a difference in distribution can lead to any conclusions regarding the somewhat less celebrated status of Onegin's letter will also be examined.

1. Предвижу все: вас оскорбит печальное тайное объяснение.

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is primarily conveying information about how he anticipates Tatyana will react to his explanation. He is stating a fact about the likely outcome of his words rather than directly expressing his own emotions.

Secondary Function: Conative

He indirectly seeks to prepare Tatyana for the content of his letter.

2. Какое горькое презрение ваш гордый взгляд изобразит!

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is making an objective statement about the reaction he expects from Tatyana – her 'гордый взгляд' ('proud gaze') expressing 'горькое презрение' ('bitter disdain'). This is a descriptive observation, focusing on the anticipated outcome rather than his personal feelings.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The expectation of disdain from Tatyana hints at Onegin's underlying emotional concern about how he is perceived, revealing a layer of insecurity or regret, even though it is not directly expressed.

3. Чего хочу? С какою целью открою душу вам свою?

Primary Function: Metalingual

Onegin's question, 'Чего хочу? С какою целью открою душу вам свою?', seems less about keeping the conversation going and more about reflecting on the purpose of his own communication; he is reflecting on the act of communication itself.

Secondary Function: Conative

He seeks understanding from Tatyana regarding his actions.

4. Какому злобному веселью, быть может, повод подаю!

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is pointing out that his actions might give others a reason to mock him. He is focused on describing what could happen, rather than how he feels about it.

Secondary Function: Emotive

There is an implied, though not directly stated, concern about being mocked. This underlying vulnerability adds an emotional layer to what is otherwise a factual statement.

5. Случайно вас когда-то встреть, в вас искру нежности заметя, я ей поверить не посмел:

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin recounts their initial meeting and his hesitation.

Secondary Function: Emotive

He reveals his emotional restraint and doubt at the time.

6. привычке милой не дал ходу; свою постылую свободу я потерять не захотел.

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is describing his decision to avoid giving up his freedom, even if it was unpleasant. He is recounting his actions and decisions in a straightforward manner.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The statement hints at an emotional struggle behind his reluctance to give up his independence, but this is more of an underlying current than the main focus.

7. Еще одно нас разлучило... несчастной жертвой Ленский пал...

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is describing the factual event of the duel and the death of Lensky, focusing on what happened rather than how he feels about it.

Secondary Function: Emotive

There is a underlying sense of regret and sorrow in his words, but it is conveyed in a more indirect, referential manner.

8. От всего, что сердцу мило, тогда отрекся я...

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is describing the action of renouncing everything he once cherished. He is recounting what he did, making it an objective statement about his state of mind.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The statement reflects a sense of emotional detachment and loss, but these feelings are conveyed through the description of his actions rather than being directly expressed.

9. Чужой для всех, ничем не связан, я думал: вольность и покой замена счастью. Боже мой! Как я ошибся, как наказан!

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is recounting his past thoughts and beliefs. He describes how he once thought that freedom and peace could replace happiness, providing an objective account of his previous mindset.

Secondary Function: Emotive

Onegin expresses his regret and emotional turmoil upon realising his mistake. The exclamatory phrases ‘Боже мой!’ and ‘Как я ошибся, как наказан!’ convey his deep emotional response to the consequences of his earlier beliefs.

10. Нет, поминутно видеть вас, повсюду следовать за вами, улыбку уст, движение глаз ловить влюбленными глазами, внимать вам долго, понимать душой все ваше совершенство, пред вами в муках замирать, бледнеть и гаснуть... вот блаженство!

Primary Function: Emotive

He describes his idealised vision of being with Tatyana, expressing deep emotional longing.

Secondary Function: Conative

He indirectly seeks Tatyana's recognition of his feelings.

11. И я лишен того для вас: тащусь повсюду на удачу; мне дорог день, мне дорог час, а я в напрасной скуке трачу судьбой отсчитанные дни.

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is describing his daily life in a detailed and objective manner. He talks about how he spends his days, how he values time, and the monotony and emptiness of his current existence ('тащусь повсюду на удачу, напрасной скуке'). The focus is on conveying information about his routine and the factual state of his life.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The description of his life is infused with a sense of frustration and despair.

12. И так уж тягостны они.

Primary Function: Referential

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Onegin is making a straightforward statement about his days, describing them as 'тягостны' ('burdensome'). The sentence is conveying information about the quality of his life without necessarily focusing on his emotional reaction.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The choice of the word 'тягостны' carries an emotional weight, hinting at his feelings of heaviness and despair.

13. Я знаю: век уж мой измерен; но чтоб продлилась жизнь моя, я утром должен быть уверен, что с вами днем увижусь я...

Primary Function: Emotive

He shares his dependence on the hope of seeing Tatyana to sustain his life.

Secondary Function: Conative

He indirectly seeks Tatyana's presence and involvement in his life.

14. Когда б вы знали, как ужасно томиться жаждою любви, пылать — и разумом всечасно смирять волнение в крови;

Primary Function: Emotive

Onegin conveys the torment of his unfulfilled love and passion.

Secondary Function: Referential

He describes the inner conflict which he experiences.

15. желать обнять уста у вас и, замирая, мертвым льститься — вот страшный дар, вот ад иль рай!

Primary Function: Emotive

He expresses his intense longing and the emotional extremes it brings.

Secondary Function: Conative

He seeks Tatyana's empathy and understanding.

16. И я лишен того для вас: тащусь повсюду на удачу; мне дорог день, мне дорог час, а я в напрасной скуке трачу судьбой отсчитанные дни.

Primary Function: Referential

Onegin is providing a detailed description of his daily life and routine. He talks about how he spends his time in a monotonous and unfulfilling way, giving an objective account of his current situation.

Secondary Function: Emotive

The description is tinged with a sense of frustration, regret and sorrow.

17. Как я ошибся, как наказан!

Primary Function: Emotive

Onegin repeats his lamentation over his mistakes and their consequences.

Secondary Function: Referential

He reiterates his regret and emotional suffering.

Based on the above analysis of Onegin's letter, a statistical representation of Jakobson's six communicative functions is obtained (see Table 3 below). The dominant primary function is **referential (47%)**, reflecting Onegin's focus on conveying

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objective information about his thoughts, actions and expectations. Secondary functions, such as **emotive (40%)** and **conative (13%)**, also play significant roles. This detailed examination shows how the referential function captures the essence of the letter, while emotive and conative functions add depth and nuance to the communication by revealing Onegin's emotional state and indirect attempts to engage Tatyana.

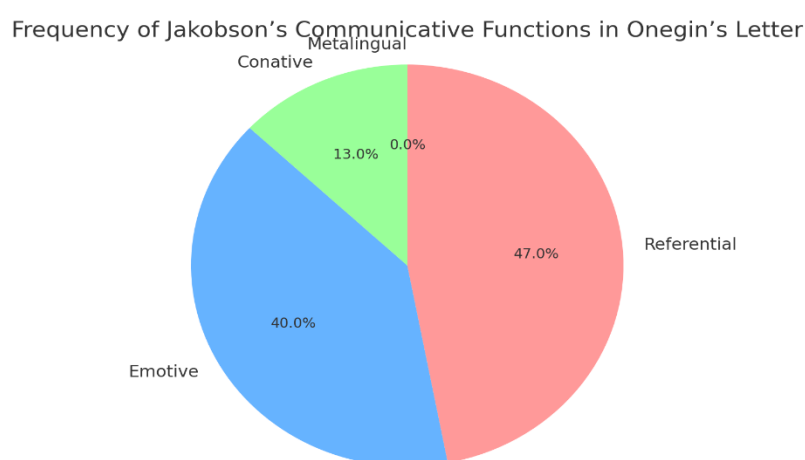


Table 3. Jakobson's communication functions by percentage in Onegin's letter.

Conclusion

The analysis carried out here of Tatyana's and Onegin's letters in Pushkin's novel in verse *Eugene Onegin* reveals distinct communicative strategies, reflecting their individual emotional landscapes and intentions, 'the radical dissimilarities of hero and heroine', which can be understood as a difference between 'the sentimental-pastoral and the Byronic-romantic schools' (Hasty 1999, 69-70). By applying Jakobson's communicative functions to each letter, we see how the linguistic structure mirrors the characters' emotional journeys and the dynamics of their relationship.

Tatyana's letter is dominated by the emotive function (82%), as her primary goal is to express her intense emotions, ranging from love and longing to vulnerability and fear. Her language is a direct outpouring of emotion, creating a deeply personal and heartfelt confession to Onegin. Secondary functions, such as the referential (11%) and conative (7%), serve to frame her emotions within the context of her life and subtly urge Onegin to respond. Tatyana's letter is characterised by emotional transparency and rawness, which is why it is often celebrated as a powerful and genuine expression of love. Indeed, it is this feature which lies behind Pushkin's decision to claim that her letter is a translation from French, since such a letter written in Russian in Russian society of the time was unthinkable. As New (2020, 56) states: 'For Russian aristocracy French was the only language of expressing feelings, therefore the reason for Pushkin's mystification is obvious: in order not to seem ridiculous, Tatiana's letter required a putative French original' (New 2020, 56). Her words reflect a deep emotional connection and a willingness to reveal her innermost feelings, making the emotive function the central aspect of her communication.

While the emotive function dominates Tatyana's letter uniformly (82%), the second half's shift to the intimate 'ТЫ' and its rhetorical climaxes amplify the emotional stakes, aligning with New's (2020) observation of a 'love trance.' This suggests that stylistic evolution, rather than functional redistribution, drives the perception of heightened emotion. The letter's enduring acclaim may thus stem from its synthesis of structural restraint (e.g., the Onegin stanza's abandonment) and linguistic daring (e.g., pronoun shifts), which Jakobson's model partially illuminates, but does not fully encapsulate.

By contrast, Onegin's letter presents a more complex balance of functions. Based on the statistical analysis, the referential function (47%) is dominant, as Onegin focuses on conveying objective information about his thoughts, actions and regrets.

His letter is introspective, recounting his past decisions and reflecting on the consequences of his behaviour. This emphasis on reflection and narrative distances Onegin from the immediate emotional intensity of Tatyana's letter. However, the emotive function (40%) still plays a significant role, revealing Onegin's regret, sorrow and internal emotional transformation, albeit in a more restrained and reflective manner. The conative function (13%) also appears as Onegin attempts, indirectly, to engage with Tatyana and seek some form of reconciliation or understanding, though it remains secondary to his self-reflection.

This statistical breakdown highlights the contrasting communicative approaches of the two letters. Tatyana's letter is driven by emotion, aiming to forge a connection through vulnerability and sentimentality, while Onegin's letter is more referential, focused on narrating his internal journey and coming to terms with his actions. The referential emphasis in Onegin's letter suggests a man who is trying to rationalise his emotions through reflection, making his letter less emotionally immediate than Tatyana's, but still significant in its own right.

The difference in the respective dominance of the referential and emotive functions in these two letters illuminates why Tatyana's letter often resonates more deeply with readers and critics. Her letter's emotional directness and raw vulnerability contrast with Onegin's more measured and reflective tone, providing insight into the contrasting emotional dynamics between the two characters.

Ultimately, this comparative analysis of the communicative functions in both letters reveals how language is used to convey complex emotional states and relational dynamics. While Tatyana's letter is celebrated for its emotional depth, Onegin's letter offers a more introspective portrayal of regret and reflection, illustrating how each character navigates their emotions through different linguistic strategies. The combination of these distinct approaches provides a richer understanding of the emo-

tional and linguistic interplay in their relationship, highlighting the multifaceted nature of their communication.

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RUSTAM NABIEV AND ZEMFIRA NABIEVA

О МАНЬЧЖУРСКОМ ВЛИЯНИИ НА ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ
СЛАВЯНСТВА И СЛАВЯНСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ

Abstract: The article examines the influence of the Manchu language and Tungus-Manchu dialects on the formation of Slavic languages and cultures. Within the framework of a comprehensive study, information from written sources, the results of a comparative comparison of the vocabulary of the peoples of northern Eurasia, onomastic and genetic data were compared. The methodological complexity was that in order to identify Manchuisms, it was necessary to separate them from Turkic and Ugric words in Slavic languages. The methods of linguistic comparative studies were of the greatest importance in the study. The work provides a number of Manchu terms in Slavic languages, demonstrating the systemic and multifaceted influence of the Manchus on the Slavs. Conclusions: the Slavic languages and toponymy of Eastern Europe are saturated with Manchuisms. They testify to the former dominant position of the Manchu elite in relation to the Slavs. Manchuisms experienced a period of Turkic and Slavic rethinking. It is possible that the Manchu languages were used by the Huns, early Bulgars and Avars of the Avar Khaganate.

Аннотация: В статье рассматривается проблема влияния маньчжурского языка и тунгусо-маньчжурских диалектов на формирование славянских языков и культур. В рамках комплексного исследования сопоставлялись сведения письменных источников, результаты сравнительного сопоставления лексики народов северной Евразии, данные ономастики и генетики. Методологическая сложность заключалась в том, что для выявления маньчжуризм следовало

отделять их от тюркских и угорских слов в славянских языках. Наибольшую значимость в исследовании имели приёмы лингвистической компаративистики. В работе приводится ряд маньчжурских терминов в славянских языках, демонстрирующих системное и многогранное влияние маньчжуров на славян. Выводы: славянские языки и топонимика Восточной Европы насыщены маньчжуризмами. Они свидетельствуют о былом доминирующем положении маньчжурской элиты по отношению к славянам. Маньчжуризм испытала период тюркского и славянского переосмысления. Возможно, маньчжурскими языками пользовались гунны, ранние болгары и авары Аварского каганата.

Key words: Manchus, Tungus, Slavs, Turks, vocabulary, comparative studies, onomastics, culture, written historical sources

Ключевые слова: маньчжуры, тунгусы, славяне, тюрки, лексика, компаративистика, ономастика, культура, письменные исторические источники

Вступление

Основной целью представляемой статьи является ознакомление коллег со следами языкового массива, который оказал определяющее влияние на формирование своеобразия языка и культуры славян. Авторы полагают, что этой культурой были маньчжуроязычное (в широком смысле слова) сообщество. Именно оно, по мнению авторов, сформировало черты, отличающие славянские языки от балтских и германских, так как в западноевропейских языках процент маньчжуризмов существенно ниже, чем в восточных.

В ходе исследования нами комплексно применялись приёмы, методы и сведения истории, языкознания, этнографии и географии. Наибольшую

значимость в нашем исследовании имели приёмы лингвистической компаративистики. В работе приводятся примеры этимологии ряда славянских терминов из различных областей деятельности с позиции маньчжурского и тунгусских языков.

Методологическая сложность исследования заключалась в том, что для выявления маньчжуризмов следовало отделять их от тюркских слов, на которые они часто фонетически похожи. Это далеко не всегда удаётся в силу близости и взаимовлияния тюркской и тунгусо-маньчжурской языковых семей. Процедура отделения маньчжуризмов важна в связи с тем, что русская колонизация северной Евразии сопровождалась вытеснением и ассимиляцией тюрков. Поэтому русские поселенцы (а вслед за ними и учёные), как правило, переводили многие восточные термины с татарского языка, в то время как топонимика (и особенно, гидронимия) часто сохраняет черты других языков.

Проблема

Путешественники и учёные различных специализаций неоднократно отмечали у маньчжур и тунгусо-маньчжурских народов¹ странные и, казалось бы, «невозможные» лексические совпадения с русским языком. Некоторые из учёных, не будучи лингвистами, обходили эту проблему, другие объясняли подобные совпадения монгольским, тюркским или русским культурным влиянием. Однако при более глубоком изучении выясняется, что количество подобных изоглосс составляет многие сотни, охватывает все маньчжурские диалекты и славянские языки. Таким образом, намечается весьма значимая научная

¹ В целях упрощения восприятия материала статьи автор объединяет в данной работе древних маньчжуров и тунгусов под общим обозначением «маньчжуры» (М). В тех случаях, когда речь идёт о русско-тунгусских изоглоссах, мы будем пользоваться понятиями «тунгусо-маньчжуры» (ТМ).

проблема, способная существенно корректировать взгляды на историю развития евразийских культур и языков.

Обратить внимание на маньчжурский язык нас заставило несколько сообщений в письменных источниках, которые ранее игнорировались историками. Так, привлекают внимание первые строки «Джагфар тарихы» – «булгарской летописи».² В этой истории утверждается, что давние предки булгар – *хоны* происходят от слияния народов *имэн* и *синд* (*Джагфар тарихы* 1993: 7-8). Решив проверить это утверждение, Р.Ф. Набиев выяснил, что *имэн* – это тюркское наименование маньчжуров. Кроме того, упоминания о стране *имэн* есть и в других татарских источниках.

К тому же, сведения «Джагфар тарихы» сопоставимы с информацией, приведённой в «Книге росписи наукам» Ибн-Якуба. Этот источник давно находится в научном обороте и ориентировочно датируется 987 годом. В своём труде Ибн-Якуб сообщает информацию, ранее считавшуюся нонсенсом:

[...] булгары и нуббат (Р.Н.: набатеи? тибет?) употребляют письмо **китайцев** и **мани** (маньчжур – Р.Н.) [...] тюрки шлют знаки, вырезанные на расщепленных стрелах (Гаркави 1870: 241).

² «Джагфар тарихы» учёные периодически оценивают как фальшивку Фаргата Нурутдинова. Однако в первом томе сборника содержится ряд оригинальных сведений, которые нашли подтверждение лишь в самом конце XX и в XXI веке. Эти сведения не могли быть привнесены в это произведение ранее. Также следует отметить, что утверждение о маньчжурском элементе в культуре булгар является совершенно невозможным для поволжских татар (в т.ч. и Ф. Нурутдинов), считающих себя и своих предков (булгар) тюрками. Поэтому мы не считаем первый том «Джагфар тарихы» во всём его объёме произведением Ф. Нурутдинова. Вероятно, мы имеем дело с источником, который многократно дополнялся, переосмысливался и подправлялся.

Указание двух различных источников на *имэн/мани* (именно так, *мани*, называли себя маньчжуры) предоставляет нам достаточные основания для проверки этой информации. В этом отрывке представляет интерес и обособление болгарского языка от тюркского. Это упоминание также сопоставимо со сведениями нескольких других письменных источников об особом нетюркском языке ранних болгар.

В ходе исследования проблемы необходимо учитывать следующую закономерность: господство татар в Восточной Европе продолжалась около 150 лет. Примерно равное противоборство тюрков с Москвией продолжалось ещё около столетия. За это время без тюркской колонизации и культурного давления русский и украинский языки восприняли от тюрков несколько тысяч слов, повлиявших на их отличие от западнславянских языков. Если отсчёт тюркского господства вести от гуннов, то за 1200-1300 лет все народы Восточной Европы должны были ассимилированы тюрками, но этого не произошло. Следовательно, не все средневековые народы-гегемоны Восточной Европы были тюрками.

Исторические источники нередко отмечают переводчиков между сменяющимися народами-властителями, следовательно, эти «номады»³ пользовались разными языками. Нередко упоминаются войны между ними, направленные на полное истребление противника. Это обстоятельство также может косвенно указывать на их чужеродность друг другу.

Языковедами и этнографами часто обходятся вопросы европейской ономастики ввиду неоднозначности этимологии и нежелания признавать «свои» названия «чужими». В Восточной Европе большая часть явно неславянских топонимов на территории, где ранее проживали тюрки, считаются тюркскими,

³ Практически все они обладали развитой системой городов.

несмотря на нереальность переводных значений. В условиях постоянного соперничества культур татарские учёные обычно поддерживают такие версии. Однако нас не удовлетворяли натянутые толкования, подобные ‘ты один’ (г. *Симбирск*), или [рыба] ‘окунь’ (г. *Алабуга*), или ‘зять’ (г. *Киев*). Поэтому мы решили проверить смутные данные некоторых письменных источников, обратившись к классическому маньчжурскому языку, и такой поход вскоре привёл к убедительным результатам.

Позже нам стало известно, что некоторые языковеды и этнографы и ранее неоднократно обращали внимание на тунгусо-маньжурские гидронимы на севере Восточной Европы до нас, но их частные «заметки на полях» не получали поддержки, к тому же они трактовались как локальное и кратковременное присутствие кочевых эвенов.

Доводом, ставшим базовой идеей методики исследования, стал следующий силлогизм: если основным языком гуннов, ранних булгар и аваров был М язык, а славяне составляли вассальное население их империй, то в славянских языках и субстратной топонимике Восточной Европы должны были остаться их следы.

Следует заметить, что один из авторитетнейших языковедов академик М.З. Закиев, который оказал нам существенную помощь в наших изысканиях, не был согласен с версией о маньчжурском субстрате, и большую часть выявленных маньчжуро-славянских изоглосс относил к общеалтайским архаизмам. Такое предположение имеет право на существование, с поправкой на то, что значительная часть выявленных параллелей всё же ближе к М языкам, чем к любому другому из известных науке в настоящее время.

Степень изученности

Монографически проблему влияния маньчжуров и ТМ народов на славян не изучал до нас никто. И даже не обозначалась научная проблема. По всей видимости, в императорской России сама мысль об этом была недопустима ни для русской, ни для татарской науки, условно поделивших между собой сферы влияния в истории и языкознании на территории России. К тому же революции 1911 года в Китае и 1917 года в России нанесли сокрушительный удар по маньчжуроведению, т.к. исчез последний очаг цивилизации, делавший изучение М языка актуальным и перспективным.

Следует заметить, что работу по вычленению маньчжурских и тунгусо-маньчжурских включений из состава корпуса славянской лексики могут сделать и оценить только люди, имеющие достаточно глубокие познания в сфере славянского языкознания (в т.ч. и знание маргинальных диалектов, неизвестных молодым исследователям). Такие учёные пока есть. Но необходимы ещё представления об основных языках, взаимодействовавших в северной Евразии. Таковых в славяноведении практически нет. По нашему мнению, последним универсалом, обладавшим теоретическими знаниями и практическим опытом в сфере ТМ языков был А.А. Бурькин. Он, как и Е.А. Хелимский, положительно оценивал наши изыскания, но полагал, что научную общественность следует некоторое время готовить к восприятию столь значительной роли маньчжурских языков в евразийских культурах.

Учитывая, что базовые положения государственных историй это почти религия, то такую работу можно было провести только в период максимальной демократизации общества человеком, который отлично осознавал легендарный характер начальной части историй современных народов и государств. К тому же, такой исследователь должен быть свободным от политических и расовых

предубеждений, иметь представление о сложностях этногенеза и об историях народов северной Евразии от Чукотки до Ирландии.

Учитывая вышеотмеченное, остаётся лишь восхищаться интуиции и смелости тех языковедов, которые решались упоминать о локальных зонах влияния или отдельных случаях совпадения лексики и морфологии в европейских и маньчжурских языках. Они объективно не могли опираться на сведения исторических источников и современную естественнонаучную базу, но всё же находили смелость для публикации результатов своих исследований.

На этом фоне не удивительно, что наибольших успехов в сфере маньчжурских и тунгусо-маньчжурских изысканий достигали российские языковеды XIX-начала XX веков. Это объясняется не только непосредственными контактами русского и азиатского мира, но и тем, что многие из русских учёных происходили из татарских родов или учили тюркские языки в учебных заведениях. Такие исследователи могли с большой степенью надёжности вычленять в русском языке не только тюркские слова, но и отделять от них внешне схожие слова других алтайских и угорских языков.⁴

Первым известным нам российским учёным, выделявшим «монгольские и **манджурские**» «коренные слова и формы» в чувашском языке (они проживают на Волге в центре Восточной Европы) был О.И. Сенковский, он же «барон Бромбеус» (Сенковский 1859: 220).

⁴ К сожалению, в настоящее время мне неизвестны российские слависты, обладающие таким потенциалом. Абсолютное большинство из них не знает даже диалектов русского языка, которые вымерли в XIX веке. В XX веке примерно до 60-х гг. в живой русской речи сохранились лишь жалкие остатки бывших диалектов. Примерно то же произошло и в других славянских языках под воздействием системы образования и СМИ. Так, нам в данной работе очень помогли бы языки кочевников юруков и каракачанов из Болгарии, но они ассимилировались в XX веке.

Первым из известных нам русских исследователей, решившихся отметить мировую значимость тунгусо-маньчжурских языков, был оригинальный церковный исследователь – Платон Лукашевич. В 40-е годы XIX века он опубликовал работы с собственным взглядом на классификацию языков. Так, в частности он выделил «Славяно-Калмыцкую или Монгольскую» группу языков (считая протославянский базовым для всех других языков). По его мнению, к ней принадлежали языки:

[...] монгольский, татарский, турецкий, венгерский, нынешний мнимо-персидский, который есть не что иное, как чисто татарский, принявший несколько слов древнего персидского языка и лишь в началах своих Немецкий (Лукашевич 1846: 25).

Почти столетие потребовалось науке, чтобы исследователи (Н.Я. Марр, В.М. Иллич-Свитыч и др.) смогли высказываться приблизительно в том же духе о «яфетической» или «ностратической» языковой общности.

В заявлениях Платона Лукашевича о том, что славянский субстрат заложен в основе большинства языков Евразии, также появляется смысл, если исходить из того, что славянские языки хорошо сохраняют следы более древних культур, включая диалекты санскрита (Набиев 2024: 167-295). Конечно, многие выводы и формулировки П. Лукашевича выглядят слабыми, но богатый фактический материал и элементы методики, основанной на древних правилах написания текстов (меняющие состав слов и правила их прочтения) заслуживают внимания и переработки на современном уровне. В свете рассматриваемой темы он проявлял фантастическую для своего времени независимость и прозорливость. Заявляя, между прочим, что:

Нынешней санскритский язык, подобно коптскому и абиссинскому, есть смесь языков преимущественно монгольского и манжурского с частью китайского и с языками разных сибирских народов, тоже монгольского происхождения (*Глаголы русских мудрецов*, n.d.).

По нашему мнению весьма смелые выводы Платона Лукашевича становятся допустимыми, если вопрос поставить несколько иначе: все эти языки проявляют глубокие взаимосвязи, особенно, если появляется возможность сопоставлять древние звучания исследуемых морфем и знаков. Например, ряд китайских иероглифов ранее имел другие формы и звучание.

В русле нашей темы примечательно его утверждение, что при исследовании взаимодействия и трансформаций европейских, славянских и восточных языков необходимо «руководствоваться языками якутским и **тунгусским**» (Лукашевич 1846: 47). Это заявление нашло себе частичное подтверждение в нашей работе.

Представляется, что заявления Платона Акимовича основывались на сведениях знатоков тунгусо-маньчжурских языков. Например, в качестве одного из информаторов он упоминал бывшего начальника Якутской области И.Г. Кардашевского.⁵

Первыми исследователями маньчжурского языка были церковные миссионеры, работавшие в Китае. Некоторые из них, будучи выходцами из восточных народов, тонко чувствовали евразийскую природу русского языка. К

⁵ В наше время немногие смогут оценить значимость фамилии чиновника, направленного в регион смешанного населения тюрков и тунгусов. Фамилия происходит от тюркского слова *кардаш* - 'друг', (также 'брат' (более раннее значение)).

таковым, например, можно относить миссионера отца Иакинфа (Никита Бичурин).

В числе известных востоковедов можно отметить казанского синолога В. Васильева. Он, в частности, отмечал такие маньчжурские термины в славянских, как *морин/мерин*, *батуру/багатур* и др. (Васильев 1872: 91, 93).⁶ О маньчжурском языке, как предшественнике многих иных языков писал Александр Матвеевич Орлов (Орлов 1873). В то же время творил и действительный статский советник Иван Захаров. Он, в частности, выводил из маньчжурского языка русские термины *кремль*, *малахай* и др. (Захаров 1875).⁷

В качестве положительного примера следует отметить, что применительно к отдельным очень немногим словам русского языка (*шаман*,⁸ *тундра*) тунгусо-маньчжурское происхождение общеизвестно и даже отмечается классиками сравнительного языкознания (Фасмер 2003 (4): 848).

В XX веке выходили на тунгусо-маньчжурские следы в чувашском языке ряд лингвистов (Федотов 1980 (4): 160; *Этимологические исследования по чувашскому языку* 1984: 74-75 и др.; *Исследования по этимологии чувашского языка*, 1981). В чувашском языкознании рассмотрение тунгусо-маньчжурских изоглосс не прекращается. Так, например, Н.И. Егоров даже заявлял о «поразительном сходстве примеров тунгусо-маньчжурских языков (в

⁶ В настоящее время они считаются монгольскими.

⁷ Среди востоковедов принято считать термин *kremlj* (кремль) производным от тюркского *kermen* или письменно-монгольского (?) *кэрэм* (крепость). В российской истории нередко встречаются попытки вывести термин из «славянской» среды от слова *ремень* (порода камня). Несмотря на полную несуразность этой версии, она остаётся преобладающей среди русских языковедов и историков.

⁸ В настоящее время этимология этого термина требует учёта и иных культур. Некоторые исследователи, в своём стремлении поставить под сомнение ТМ природу лексемы, приводят интереснейшие сведения, полагая, что термин *шаман* был получен ТМ с извне с буддизмом (Демин В.Н., 2003). Отдавая дань проницательности В.Н. Демина, отметим, что буддизм исповедовала ничтожная часть тунгусов.

особенности эвенского) с чувашским» (*Исследования по этимологии чувашского языка*, 1981: 90). Эти исследования важны для славяноведения тем, что чувашский язык считается некоторыми лингвистами прямым потомком болгарского языка, а болгаро/болгарские государства длительное время были коллективным сюзереном славянских племён.

Бесспорным доказательством былого присутствия маньчжуров в Европе являются гидронимы. Одним из первых в научном сообществе обратил внимание на сходство гидронимов Восточной Европы и Дальнего Востока Г.Е. Грум-Гржимайло, который с удивлением отмечал на Дальнем Востоке такие, привычные русскому слуху, названия рек, как *Самара*, *Дим/Дым*, *Нюман*, *Олга*, *Кура*, и др. (Грум-Гржимайло 1894).⁹

С высокой степенью надёжности ТМ гидронимы на севере Восточной Европы выявляли специалисты по ономастике. Так, финский алтаист Арво Мартти Рясянен склонялся к тунгусо-маньчжурской гипотезе, сделав следующий вывод:

Я думаю также, что входящие в топонимию Финляндии названия больших водных систем, которые не могут быть объяснены на основе лексики финских, саамских или индоевропейских языков, могут быть названиями, которые употребляли дошедшие сюда эвенки. Так, названия таких географически близких рек, как *Kemi* (-joki), *Simo* (-joki), встречается довольно часто на севере СССР. Возможно, эти гидронимы сопоставимы с древним названием Енисея – *Kem* и названием его крупного западного притока *Simo*.

⁹ Е.И. Кычанов (будучи директором СПбФ ИВ РАН) не исключал возможности сопоставления в этом ряду и широко известного гидронима *Кама*, и оказался прав: гидроним *Кама* зафиксирован на Дальнем Востоке, в частности, в бассейне р. Амур (Грум-Гржимайло 1894: 170, 634; 159, 219).

Вслед за К. Донером он считал возможным предполагать, что эвенки доходили в западном направлении до Канина носа (Рясянен 1968: 49).

Среди советских этнографов и языковедов также находились сторонники ТМ субстрата. Так, Александр Матвеев в своё время отмечал, что:

[...] полностью отказываться от попыток найти параллели в тунгусо-маньчжурских языках при изучении СТРС¹⁰ преждевременно» (Матвеев 2001: 41).

Вопрос о возможности существования тунгусо-маньчжурского компонента в субстратной топонимии РС¹¹ и смежных областей рассматривался А.И. Поповым, сопоставлявшим с тунгусо-маньчжурскими данными такие топонимы, как *Имандра*, *Иматра*, *Тирибирь* (Матвеев 2001: 40). Александр Попов, соглашаясь с аргументацией А.И. Попова, полагал, что

[...] речь может здесь идти лишь об отдельных элементах лексики, близких к тунгусо-маньчжурским, а не о том, что в Европе некогда обитали тунгусо-маньчжурские племена [...] (Попов 1964: 208-209).

Остается сожалеть, что Александр Иванович не сопоставил северную ТМ топонимику с названиями из южных районов Восточной Европы.

¹⁰ Субстратные топонимы Русского Севера

¹¹ Русский Север

Можно лишь сожалеть, как упорно научное сообщество не замечало типично маньчжурские гидронимы в Европе. Представляется, что причиной тому являются идеологические причины.

Гидронимы, содержащие такие форманты, как *ула/или/ола; бира/бора/вира/вера; мок/моч/мош/мож* в абсолютном своём большинстве относятся к маньчжурским и ТМ диалектам. Их многие сотни. Совершенно бесспорным типом мани-гидронима является широко распространённое в Евразии название *Бирула/Берулах/Бирюса*, сочетающее обе речные морфемы *бира* и *ула* (Набиев 2007: 87-90). Такое сочетание практически исключает ошибку.

Особый интерес вызывают т.н. кальки. Русское население, продвигаясь по территориям тюрков, переводило на русский язык бóльшую часть новых для себя топонимов. В том числе и маньчжурские гидронимы переосмысленные тюрками. К таковым мы относим нелогичные названия рек, подобные гидрониму *Волчья*. Оно вероятно происходит от тат. *бюрелы (bürely)* ‘волчья’, которому, скорее всего, предшествовал типичный мани-гидроним *Бирула/Бирюлы*. Таких гидронимов довольно много в северной Евразии, и они обычно переводятся с татарского, как ‘волчья’. Невозможный в степи русский гидроним *Медведица* является вероятной калькой от тат. термина *аюлы* ‘медвежья’, который в свою очередь происходит от переосмысления М гидронима *Ялы/Ула/Юлы/Или*. Эта версия подтверждается наличием в том же регионе Днепро-донского междуречья нескольких маньчжурских гидронимов *Ялы*.

Какие народы были носителями маньчжурских языков?

Распространение ТМ гидронимов охватывает всю северную Евразию до побережья Атлантики включительно.¹² Такое явление не может быть следствием лишь болгаро-булгарского бывшего доминирования, так как отсутствуют сведения о том, что они продвигались далее Баварии. Тем более, что на территории современной Болгарии такие гидронимы практически отсутствуют. Скорее всего, отсчёт следует вести от гуннов. Мы полагаем, что такую обширную гидронимию могли создать гунны, а закрепить в Восточной Европе – их вероятные наследники – восточные булгары и авары Аварского каганата.¹³

Следует отметить, что параллельно с нами шло несколько исследований. Раньше нас (на более авторитетном уровне)¹⁴ об использовании тунгусо-маньчжурских и маньчжурских диалектов в Аварском каганате заявлял Евгений Хелимский (Хелимский 2003). Примечательно, что распространение ТМ языков по северной Евразии Евгений Арнольдович и Футаки Хироши осторожно относили к концу I тыс. до н.э. (Хелимский, n.d.: рп 8.2.8.).¹⁵

Бувье-Ажан Морис в книге «Атилла» высказал мнение о западно-маньчжурском происхождении гуннов, на (антропологический) облик которых повлияли монголы (Бувье-Ажан Морис 2003: 39). К сожалению, он не указал

¹² Таковыми могут быть, например, река *Werra*; река *Bur (La Vere)* в Нижней Нормандии, *Бозр/Буар (Boëre)* в Вандее.

¹³ Мы подчёркиваем это отличие, т.к. пока не нашли надёжных следов связей между средневековыми аварами и современными аварами Дагестана.

¹⁴ Наши публикации на республиканском уровне (Республика Татарстан) выходили несколько ранее.

¹⁵ Нам также удалось найти в исторических источниках следы присутствия языков, сходных с маньчжурским в государствах Древнего мира и античности, но эти следы отрывочны и разбросаны в пространстве и времени. Например, рр. *Бейрут* и *Барет* в Ливане, города *Катан* и *Хотан* в Средиземноморье и топонимы, содержащие формант *-кан* (ставка, город) в постпозиции.

автора этой версии и источники информации. ТМ элемент в этническом составе гуннов учитывали ранее П.С. Паллас, К. Сиратори, В.И. Иностранцев, В.П. Васильев (Васильев 1853: 6; Залкинд 1937). Весьма примечательно в этом отношении, что китайский средневековый историк Сыма Цянь отмечал общность гуннов-*мянчжу*, проживавших в середине I тыс. до н.э. западнее Китая (*Материалы по истории сюнну*, 1968: 36).

Сведения подобного рода важны для славяноведения тем, что булгары, гунны и авары создавали могучие евразийские империи, которые охватывали все регионы вероятного формирования славянства. Языки этих могущественных держав не могли не оказывать существенного влияния на податные народы, и об этом имеются письменные свидетельства. В том числе и в сфере языка.

Далеко не единичны свидетельства древних современников о славянах, подобные тем, что привел Приск Панийский. По его мнению они:

[...] кроме варварского языка **легко изучают унский** или готский [...] (*История татар с древнейших времен*, 2002: 147).

Вышеупомянутые сведения подкрепляют мнение ряда лингвистов на сам процесс формирования «праславянского» и славянских языков:

Праславянский язык сформировался сравнительно недавно на некоторой части балто-фракийской территории, путём смешения автохтонных балто-фракийских диалектов с языками пришедших неиндоевропейских племен (Римша 1977: 139).¹⁶

¹⁶ Несмотря на выраженное желание литовцев и латышей считать себя частью западного мира, алтайское влияние выявляется и в балтских языках, а также на материалах археологических памятников Прибалтики.

Привлекает внимание и ряд этнографических особенностей, сближающих маньчжурские народы со славянами. Это не только пристрастие к грибам, свинине¹⁷ и обильному употреблению спиртного, но и предпочтение ранних чжурчжэней белого цвета одежды остальным, битье кубков на похоронах, атрибуты *тризны* (этот загадочный древнерусский термин можно перевести с маньчжурского как ритуальное ‘разбрасывание (пищи)’), использование меха кошек (Воробьев 1983: 92, 98, 129) и др. Интересна такая этнографическая параллель, как наличие в домах маньчжуров «красного угла», в котором на полке за занавесками стояли доски с именами предков, перед которыми зажигали лампадки. Именно так располагались иконы в домах русских христиан.

Сторонники теории балто-фракийской языковой общности предполагают, что славянские языки формировались на балтской основе, но не могли убедительно объяснить взрывоподобного распространения славян и их языков по всей огромной территории занятой ими в период раннего средневековья.

Проблема оказывается не очень сложной, если учитывать под эгидой каких империй распространялись славяне. Источники разных стран сохранили прямые указания на патронаж над славянами гуннов, булгар, авар и хазар,¹⁸ целенаправленно расселявших славян для закрепления территорий. Они также использовали славян в качестве вспомогательных или прокси-войск.

Последним по времени народом Восточной Европы, использовавшим ТМ языки, можно считать тунгусов (конных эвенков?), проживавших относительно недавно в Тунгусской степи (Оренбургская область, Южный

¹⁷ Достаточно вспомнить татарскую народную этимологию о происхождении этнонима *тунгус* от свиноедства.

¹⁸ Эти тысячелетние отношения помогают понять механизм органичного встраивания русских княжеств в структуру Империи Джучидов («Золотая Орда»).

Урал). Можно предполагать, что они ассимилировались среди тюрков примерно в XVIII в., потому, что одна из станиц казаков оренбургской линии называлась Тунгусская.¹⁹

На территории Европы в настоящее время не осталось народов и племён, употребляющих М языки, вероятно, поэтому никто ранее не разрабатывал эту проблему.

Таким образом, можно констатировать факт периодического выявления следов маньчжуров в Европе и отсутствия монографических исследований по теме их проживания западнее Урала и влиянии М языков на современные языки. Одним из способов поиска следов бывшего маньчжурского господства в Восточной Европе мы выбрали метод сравнительного сопоставления маньчжурских и славянских лексем на фоне тюркских и европейских массивов.

В ходе многолетнего сравнительного сопоставления маньчжурского дворцового языка и ТМ языков Сибири и Дальнего Востока со славянскими языками выяснилось, что значительная часть славянских слов имеет маньчжурское происхождение.

Нами выявлено несколько сотен славянских терминов маньчжурского происхождения, что выводит проблему славянских маньчжуризмов из сферы частных заимствований на уровень важнейшего фактора формирования современных славянских языков. В данной статье авторы приводят несколько системно значимых слов из различных сфер деятельности с целью

¹⁹ Колонизация огромных пространств обеспечивалась рядами протяжённых оборонительных рубежей, которые заселялись казаками различных этносов.

продемонстрировать глубину и широту бывшего влияния маньчжур на формирование славянской культуры и языка.

Кулинария

Весьма знаковое для русской и украинской культуры блюдо *борщ* является предметом упорной борьбы между украинскими и русскими (донские казаки) патриотами. Однако славянские языки не предоставляют сколь-нибудь разумного объяснения названия этого блюда. Кроме того, у него отсутствует жёстко определённый рецепт. Это – насыщенный приправами и животным жиром суп. Между тем алтайские языки предоставляют нам такую возможность: *бырыч* (татарск.), *бұрыш* (казах.), *bors* (венгер.) – перец; *борчак* (тат.), *бұршақ* (казах.) – горох. Окончательную точку ставит маньчжурский язык – *борчилаха/борчиламби* – ‘приправлять’. То есть, этим словом обозначался суп, густо приправленный специями. С маньчжурским блюдом *бапин* (вид печенья) также можно сопоставлять русский *блин*. Маньчжурские балины также пеклись к празднику и складывались стопкой, как и русские блины.²⁰ Следует учитывать, что приве-дён-ный пример не единичен и не противоречит общей тенденции: в русской национальной кухне десятки восточных заимствований разных эпох, включая базовые ингредиенты.

Числительные

Один из знакомых математиков однажды заявил, что наукой является только то, что поддаётся математическому анализу. Можно спорить с подобными

²⁰ Традиция изготовления балинов к празднику Сагаалган сохраняется в России у бурят, исповедующих буддизм. Утверждается, что термин *бапин* происходит из санскрита (*Советы бурятского ламы*, n.d.).

заявлениями, но безусловным является то, что арифметические расчёты действительно обладают универсальной доказательной силой.

Фук

В народных русских и татарских правилах игры в шашки есть отличие от официальных правил. Так, за отказ от обязательной атаки предполагается удаление фигуры противника, при этом штрафующий игрок говорит: «за фук!». Дети, задавая вопрос о значении этого слова, не могут получить вразумительного ответа. Лишь обращение к литературному маньчжурскому позволяет получить убедительный ответ: *фуку* (маньчж.) – ‘ничто, ноль’. Термин графически обозначается кружком, как и «арабский» знак ноль (Захаров 1875). Данный пример косвенно подтверждается и маньчжурским названием игры: *сасуку* → *шашки* (Захаров 1875: 336). В свете данной темы интересны параллели в болгарском языке, в частности, *фукара* (болг.) – бедняк, *фукария* (болг.) – бедность, нищенство, которые, с определённым допущением, можно рассматривать в качестве дериватов термина *фук*.

Джун

Ибн-Гарнати в одном из эпизодов, который историки традиционно относят к описанию Киева XII века, рассматривает «меховые деньги» безмонетного периода денежной истории Восточной Европы. Обратим внимание на то, что связку из 18 беличьих шкур местные жители называли *джун* и приравнивали к стандартному дирхему (*Путешествие Абу Хамида ал-Гарнати в Восточную и*

Центральную Европу (1131-1153), 1971: 35-36). Вместе с тем *чжун* (маньчж.) – связка из 18 пластин (Захаров 1875: 1001).²¹

Ряд изоглосс относится к системе мер и весов. Например:

- кантарь *гинтарь* (мани) – безмен (от: *гин* кит. фунт)
- фунт *фуньдэ* (мани) ‘вместо чего, взамен’
- *фунтоо/фемпи* полоска бумаги с надписью для опечатывания
< кит. *фынь-тао*
- часы *тэйсу* ‘мера, приравнивание’ (Захаров 1875)

Поговорки

Поговорки – та часть народного фольклора, которая практически не подвергается государственному регулированию (в отличие, например, от эпоса). Русская устная культура содержит определённое количество поговорок, значение которых может быть точно понято только с позиции языков коренных народов России. Одной из поговорок, относящихся к нашей теме, является фраза «на этом деле собаку съел». Употребление собак в пищу – явление исключительное и осуждаемое в быту русского народа. Тем не менее, поговорка существует, несмотря на многовековой христианский фильтр, и предполагает вовсе не голод, а образное обозначение квалифицированного специалиста в каком-то деле. Исследователями признаётся, что разумного объяснения этой поговорки не существует (Тамбовцев 2022: 27). Ответ на загадку мы находим в древней

²¹ Кроме этого термина известно целое гнездо схожих маньчжурских слов: *чжукимби* – ‘заменяю, дополняю’; *чжукте* – числительное имя кусков, порций мяса; *чжукэ* – лепешка (Захаров 1875: 1000-1001). Мы бы обратили внимание на числительные разных языков: *джун*, *дюжина*, *dozen*, *dutzend*. Интересно, что в некоторых языках этот термин означает не только 12, но и 10. Венгерский вариант дюжины *tucat* демонстрирует, как сформировался славянский термин *десять*.

маньчжурской традиции: ученик, завершивший образование, обязан был преподнести своему учителю символический почётный подарок в виде связки пластин сушёного собачьего мяса. Таким образом, съесть такое собачье мясо считалось ритуалом инициации специалиста.

Топонимика

Ареал развитой ТМ культуры может быть очерчен топонимами типа *Хэчэнь/Хотан/Хотень/Хутын/Хатынь/Хотня/Отня*. Вероятные столичные города с ойконимами типа *Торн/Черн* расположены более компактно: от *Тырново* до *Чернигова* и *Торнов*.

Для некоторых регионов мы не исключаем и более ранний этап распространения прото(?)маньчжурской топонимии в связи с тем, что схожий ономастикон выявляется и в источниках Древнего мира. Например, ойконимы, включающие формант *кан* — ‘город, стоянка, ставка’ (*Иерихон, Ватикан, Карфаген*).

Особый интерес вызывают топонимы типа *Симбирск* (ныне Ульяновск), который в татарской (вслед за ней и в русской) географии неправдоподобно толкуется с позиции татарского языка (*sin ber* — ‘ты один’). Маньчжурская этимология абсолютно точна — ‘сжатый реками’. Так называлась возвышенность, на которой был основан город, расположенная между двумя судоходными реками.

Особый символизм для восточных славян имеет город *Киев*. Явные неудачи этимологических усилий предшественников мы связываем, в первую очередь, с их нежеланием признания того факта, что город был основан не славянами. Все его названия (включая *Шамбат/Самбатос; Манкерман Кива, Хуннивар, Хуннигард*) имеют явно неславянскую природу. Причём, два

последних названия – ‘город гуннов’ (как и черепа древнекиевской элиты из под Десятинной церкви) дают нам основание обратиться к алтайским языкам. К тому же известно несколько упоминаний византийцев о том, что сами славяне являются жителями болот и лесов, «не имеющими городов» в то время, когда город Киев уже стоял и процветал как крупный город своего времени. Учёные «патриоты» часто не желают выделить первичную форму топонима, считая ойконим *Киев* неизменным. Однако о том, что первоначально город имел название *Кио*, а не *Киев*(град), свидетельствуют не только внешние письменные источники, но и русские летописи, обозначение его жителей – *кияне* (а не *киевляне*, как принято сейчас). Одним из первых это обстоятельство отметил в научной прессе Станислав Роспонд (Роспонд 1968: 109). Основная украинская версия учитывает первичность форманта *кио*, но производит от мифического славянского князя Кия (*кий* (укр.) – палка).²² Но история не сохранила сведений о великом славянском князе Кие.

Ущербность существующих версий заключается в том, что городов с таким названием было много, в т.ч. на Дунае и на Амударье *Хива/Кае*.²³ Отметим также, что все известные нам топонимы, содержащие морфему *кио* (*Киевец*, *Кио*, *Кияница*, *Киялык*, *Кият*), расположены в пределах бывшего распространения номадов, на маршрутах «Шёлкового пути», на речных переправах.

Важнейшим доказательством первичности формы *Кио* является статистический анализ ойконимов Восточной Европы. Выясняется, что

²² В русском языке *кий* – игровой стержень для игры на бильярде; *киянка* – деревянный молоток.

²³ Ал-Истахри приводит древнее название столицы Хорезма Фил (ср. подмосковные Фили) «Столица его называется по-хорезмийски **Кае**» (*Средневековые письменные источники о древнем Ургенче*, 2000: 19-20).

«окончание» на *-ба/-ва* типично для населённых пунктов этого региона: *Тырново, Тсерниго-во* (Чернигов), *Варша-ва, Моско-ва* и т.п.

Более того, несмотря на то, что в русском языке давно утрачен алтайский формант *обо/бо/во* (местечко, населённый пункт) в качестве самостоятельной лексической единицы, тем е менее, окончание *-во* до сих пор традиционно применяется в ойконимах нового и новейшего времени (*Крюково, Синельниково* и мн. др.).²⁴ В других славянских языках применяется его калька – *место/място/местечко*.

Мы взяли за основу один из древнейших вариантов – *Kio (Kuo)*, применявшийся в средневековых (скандинавских, арабских, монгольских) источниках. Например у арабов – *кијаба (куя + ба)*.

В маньчжурских словарях мы без труда обнаружили:

кяо (кит. > маньчж.) – ‘мост’;

кио чамби (маньчж.) – ‘наводить мост’;

киоо (маньчж.) – ‘носилки’;

кио тухань (маньчж.) – ‘мостик через речку’ (Захаров 1875: 298).

Этот подход, позволяющий раскрыть обобщённый смысл термина *Кио*, как ‘перевоз, переход, переправа’, заставляет с бóльшим вниманием отнестись ко второй летописной версии о возникновении Киева, указанной начальным летописцем – о перевозчике и перевозе через Днепр. В дополнение этой версии отметим: население города до сих пор сохранило древнее название *Киев перевоз*

²⁴ Примечательно, что в ходе русской колонизации бывших тюркских территорий старинный алтайский формант добавлялся даже к татарским ойконимам для придания им «русской» формы, например – крымская *Балаклава* (тат. *балыклы + ва*).

за прибрежным районом левобережного Киева. Таким образом, изначальное топоним *Кио-ва* означает ‘место переправы’. Термин маньчжурский, возможно, имеющий связь с китайским словом 橋 *Qiáo* [хяо] – ‘мост’.

Человек/чоловік

В традиционном российском языкознании предполагается, что рассматриваемый термин происходит от «праславянского *čolovek/čъlovek*», а «прочие реконструкции маловероятны» (Фасмер 2003 (4): 328-329). Налицо абстрактное заявление, не содержащее этимологии. У нас сложилось впечатление, что в славянских языках слово *человек* стоит обособленно в ряду синонимов.

Для него характерно применение в единственном числе, тогда как во множественном числе (*человеки/человеци*) обычно применяется в виде экзотизма. Исключение – числительные (‘312 **человек**’). Во множественном числе, как правило, применяется термин *люди*. Во всех славянских есть и.е. термин параллельный слову *человек/человечество* – *людина, люд, lidé*. Этот формант присутствует в германских (*die Leute*). Он же содержится в самоназвании части карелов (*людики*) и вепсов (*lūdinikad; Lūdilaižed*).

Термин *людына* может применяться в славянских языках и в единственном числе. Таким образом, термин *человек*, для обозначения единичной персоны избыточен. В нём нет функциональной необходимости. Так, порой, выглядят заимствования из чужого языка.

Для сужения круга поиска авторы обратились к балтским языкам. За исключением латышского языка они не содержат термина *человек*. Латышский язык испытал наиболее значительное влияние русского языка, поэтому присутствие в нём термина *cilvēks* принято относить заимствованиям из

русского языка. В то же время в прусском языке было зафиксировано слово *ludis* в значении – ‘хозяин’ (Palmatis 2006: 115).

Мы полагаем, что в основе разбираемого термина лежит маньчжурский (общеалтайский?) термин *чоло* – «почётное имя, взамен настоящего, называть которое было нельзя», а также – «почетный титул, жалуемый государем» (Захаров 1875: 948).

Это звание фиксируется по крайней мере со времен раннего средневековья, например *Чуло-хан* известен в истории ещё во времена тюркутов (Гумилев 1967: 54). В Восточной Европе имеется упоминание начала XIII в. о хазаро-черкесском князе Георгии *Чуло*. В XIV веке в «Сказании о Мамаевом побоище» упоминается видный воин *Челу-бей*.

Мы можем также предположить, что пожалование звания *чоло* могло сопровождаться вручением какого-либо знака (кокарды, украшения на шапку, татуировки или особенности прически), что явно нашло отражение в бытовании у славян уважительного синонима слову *лоб* – *чело*,²⁵ и термина *чолка/чёлка* для обозначения аккуратно остриженного пучка волос у человека или коня.

В крымскотатарском языке ещё во второй половине XVII века существовала награда – *челенк* в виде кокарды (?) на головной убор, выдаваемой за особые заслуги перед ханом. В сербском эпосе упоминается звание *челник*, обладавший статусом несколько ниже воеводы (Кравцов 1948: 96).

Более того, имеются основания полагать, что у славян существовал отдельный термин, близкий к маньчжурскому. Так, В.Н. Добровольский в XIX веке успел выявить слово *чóлый* (г. Торопец) – ‘хороший, богатый’. Он же

²⁵ В письме Ивана IV польскому королю Баторию *чоло* (Гейденштейн n.d.).

сопоставляет его с диалектным термином *човый* – ‘хороший, красивый, добрый’ (Бондалетов, 2004: 215).

Существовали и существуют дериваты. Известный глагол *целоваться* носит выраженную новгородскую форму с характерным для них, поляков и монголов цоканием. Ранее существовал термин *челомкаться* с тем же значением. Отличие заключалось в том, что челомкались без сексуальной коннотации, в знак уважения и радости встречи (как в России целовались некоторые мужчины до конца брежневской эпохи).

Этот антропоним (*Чело*) в качестве прозвища (?) носил один из русских бояр в XV веке. Одним из последних носил это имя один из турецких султанов. Таким образом, формант *чело* в алтайских и русском языке имеет положительную коннотацию.

Однако слово *человек* до XX века таковой почти не имело. С.И. Ожегов обобщил эти сведения: «В России при крепостном праве: дворовый слуга, служитель, лакей, а позднее – официант, слуга» (Ожегов 1992: 912 («человек»)). Для XIX в. Владимир Даль приводит целый ряд значений этого термина, большая часть которых – уничижительные (Даль 1994 (4): 588). В ресторанном обиходе термин *человек*, как пренебрежительное обращение к официанту, иногда применяется и в наши дни.

Положительный смысл термина формировался преимущественно в церковной среде: сочетание «божий человек» применялось как вариант понятия «раб божий».

Морфологически термин *человек/чоловик* явно состоит из двух формантов: *чело/чоло* + *век/вик*. Такое деление позволяет предполагать, что былое отрицательное значение термина *chelovek* (*человек*) определялось частицей *-vek/-wik*. Это обстоятельство заставляет обратить внимание на

уничижительный маньчжурский суффикс *-wik*, выступающий в качестве отрицательной частицы. То есть *чоловик* буквально – ‘не чоло’, «простолюдин».²⁶

Становится прозрачной и известная украинская оппозиция *чоловик* – *жінка*. Речь идет не об отрицании отношения женщины к виду «гомо сапиенс», а о социальном статусе, который, по всей видимости, к женщине относиться не мог. Известно, что красивая женщина во все времена имела возможность изменить свой статус.²⁷ Таким образом, мы полагаем, что украинская форма слова *чоловік* по своему звучанию наиболее близка к маньчжурскому прототипу и была образована двумя маньчжурскими частицами: *čolo/чоло* (почётное звание) и *-vik/-вик* (частица отрицания).

Слово *чоло/чело* имеет производные. Например, термин *челядь/челядин* (простолюдин, принадлежащий некому *чело*) – определение слуг частного владельца, хозяина, сохранившийся в «Русской правде», подтверждает нашу версию. Хозяином для челядина должен быть *чело*.

Наша позиция усиливается наличием в алтайских языках целого «гнезда» однокоренных слов со схожим смыслом:

²⁶ Примечательна географическая оппозиция топонимов *Фергана* - *Гандвик* (Белое море) на разных концах евразийской державы. Лексема *Gandvik* явно содержит две морфемы: *ganjo* (маньчж.) – ‘красивый’ и *-vik* – частица отрицания. Это значение полностью соответствует географическим описаниям северных морей в древности (напр. «Море мрака»); формант *fer* (*фэр*) – имеет, как и в немецком языке, функцию усиления *Fer-gana* ‘прекрасная’. Так характеризуется эта область и на китайском и на русском языке.

²⁷ Письменные источники свидетельствуют о том, что славянские женщины всегда пользовались успехом у гегемонов. У автора сложилось (своё субъективное) впечатление из знакомства с маньчжуро-славянскими изоглоссами: в славянских языках встречаются маньчжурские обозначения мужчин уничижительного характера (*чоловик*, *холоп*, *гаркуша* и др.), в то же время маньчжуро-славянские глоссы, относящиеся к женщинам, исключительно положительные. Это обстоятельство косвенно характеризует характер отношений гуннов, булгар и аваров со славянами.

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чолоров (эвенкский, якутский) – ‘ходить с высоко поднятой головой, горделиво’;

чола (письменно-монгольский) – ‘чин’;

цол (монгольский) – ‘звание’.

(*Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 1977)

Проблема осложняется тем, что применение этого термина украинскими женщинами предполагает уважительное их отношение к супругу. Статистический анализ применения суффикса *-вик* в восточнославянских языках свидетельствует об иной коннотации (*Слова, заканчивающиеся на -вик*, n.d.). Как правило, он придаёт термину смысл принадлежности к определённому классу или ряду предметов (ср.: *боровик, сечевик*). В этом случае слово *чоловик*, в славянском осмыслении, напротив, должно означать принадлежность к уважаемой прослойке общества.

В связи с этим обстоятельством в разноплановом применении термина *человек/чоловик* нам видится смысловое наложение более позднего славянского переосмысления на субстратное значение маньчжурского происхождения.

Мужчина

Обращает на себя внимание тот факт, что русское слово *мужчина* (как и человек) выпадает из принятого европейского и тюркского ряда обозначения свободных воинов *man* и *ar/ir*. Кроме того, этот термин редко применяется другими славянами, почти не применяется балтами, а термин *мужик* используется ими преимущественно в уничижительном смысле – в основном по отношению к русским мужчинам.

В русском языке, напротив, и *мужчина*, и *мужик* (изначально в сельской, крепостной среде) – термины уважительные, применявшиеся для самоидентификации и, подчас, с достоинством.

В большинстве словарей этимология термина *муж* невнятна и неубедительна. Лишь в церковно-славянском словаре предлагается этимология от санскритского *тапи* ‘творец мира’ (*Полный церковно-славянский словарь*, 2004: 319). Тот же термин (*тапи*), но с иным значением ‘человек’, предлагает О.Н. Трубачев (Фасмер 2003 (2): 670). Некоторые церковные авторы также предполагают происхождение славянского *муж* из санскрита со значением ‘душа’. Наверное, следует в этом отношении вспомнить российскую традицию исчислять тягловое население (мужиков) в «душах».

Современными учёными слово *мужик* предлагается понимать как уменьшительно-ласкательное от *муж* (Фасмер 2003 (2): 670-671). Логично, если формант *-ик* считать славянским уменьшительно-ласкательным суффиксом. Но слово *мужик* предполагает здорового взрослого состоявшегося работника. А уменьшительно-ласкательная коннотация осуществляется другим суффиксом с образованием деривата *мужичок*.

Вместе с тем, при осмыслении указанных терминов создается впечатление, что они – явно не славянского происхождения, так как выглядят гораздо старше. И нами найдено тому подтверждение. Целый куст маньчжурских дериватов без существенных изменений легко узнаётся в славянских языках:

мучжанга – ‘истинная, правдивая душа’;

мучжинга – ‘осмысленная, рассудительная душа’ (> *мужчина*);

мучжилань – ‘простая душа, простодушие’ (> *мужлан*);

(Захаров 1875: 293).

мучжиэхэ – ‘дурное, испорченное, развращенное сердце’ (> *мужик*)
(Захаров 1875: 911).

Термин *тоз с* неясной семантикой встречается в древнетюркских петроглифах, там же встречаются и названия духовных лиц манихеев, близкие к рассматриваемым (*Древнетюркский словарь*, 1969: 346). Этот же термин *мож* сохранился в румыно-молдавских наречиях, обозначая уважаемого, влиятельного (пожилого) человека. В славянских языках в развитие термина *мож* в придворном общении бытовали слова типа *вельможа* (*вельми* + *мож*).

* * *

Интереснейшим фактом является бытование маньчжуризмов в маргинальных русских народных говорах, не регулируемых внешними правилами. Например: *халтура* (*холторо* – ‘делать подлог, обман’), *ухарь* (*ухэри* – ‘начальник’), *амбал* (*амбань* – ‘большой начальник’), *сука* (‘шкура’), *харя* (*хари* – ‘кривой’). До сих пор в преступном аргю обращается офенский термин *мочить* со значением ‘убивать’, который находит ближайшие соответствия в ТМ гнёздах *bata/vata/mača* со значением ‘убивать, воевать’ (*Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 1977). В свете нашего исследования несомненно значимы лексемы:

мача (эв.) ‘убитый’;

маһчи (эв.) ‘покушаться на жизнь’.

(*Сравнительный словарь тунгусо-маньчжурских языков*, 1977)

* * *

Вероятные маньчжуризмы сохранились в восточноевропейской ономастике. С маньчжурского переводятся ряд имён и названий, в том числе:

Имена: казак *Манжура, Манжучич, Манжула, Оксана, Солоха, Вакула, Ванга, Лахана, Айвенго, Чурченталь, Букуров* и др. Ряд уменьшительно-ласкательных и домашних имён, привязанных к официальным именам обретают смысл при переводе с М языков.

Этнонимы: *гунн, лак, чечен, варяг/варанг/фаранг/франк*. Среди татар и украинцев сохранились упоминания о «татарах» *букриновцах (букри/мокри)*, включая одного из ранних болгарских святых Никола Мокри, имя которого у восточных славян было изменено на «мокрый».

Гидронимия: *Варяжское море, (возможно) Гандвик, Ула/Или/Вилия, Бира/Ви́ра/Бура; Бирула/Беру́лех/Бирюса; Мёша/Можай/Меча/Моча /Мочу́лице.*

Ойконимы и хоронимы: *Бирюли/Бирюлёво, Букрин, Исады/усады, Кио-ба, Фергана, Карань, Симбир(ск), Хотан/Хотен/Хутын/Хэчен*. Особый интерес вызывают десятки поселений *Мокри/Мукри* от Дальнего Востока и Афганистана, до Украины. Ойконим наверняка был связан с могучим кланом *мокри/букри/мохэ*, представители которого правили в стране *Бохай* и в славянских странах (*Болгария Дунайская – Шишман Мокри, Никола Мокри*).

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Вызывает интерес группа слов маньчжурского происхождения, пришедшая реверсом к славянам из Западной Европы. Однако эта тема требует отдельного исследования в сопоставлении с реверсом тюркизмов.

Общий вывод

В результате проведённого исследования автор пришёл к следующим основным выводам:

- славянские языки и топонимика Восточной Европы насыщены маньчжуризмами;
- выявленные изоглоссы свидетельствуют о былом доминирующем положении маньчжуроязычной элиты по отношению к славянам.
- многие славянские маньчжуризмы содержат следы последующего тюркского и славянского переосмысления,
- не исключено, что маньчжурскими языками пользовались ранние болгары и авары Аварского каганата.

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‘БУДЕТЕ У НАС НА КОЛЫМЕ – МИЛОСТИ ПРОСИМ’:

WINGED PHRASES FROM SOVIET COMEDIES IN

MODERN COLLOQUIAL RUSSIAN

Abstract

This article examines the phenomenon of ‘winged phrases’ – popular quotations from Soviet films which have taken flight to find ‘new lives’ in contemporary colloquial Russian speech. Firstly, Soviet cinema is examined as an enduring source text for many such winged phrases, given cinema’s central entertainment function in that era. The article then considers how certain phrases from Soviet comedies have become popular modern Russian language phrases. The article then offers examples of today’s phenomenon of quoting Soviet-era comedies, demonstrating how and why contemporary Russian speakers revisit and repurpose these texts from a vanished era. This article contends that this phenomenon can be viewed as a cultural *text-code* which travels through time – and which is maintained most strongly through spoken language.

Keywords: winged phrases; Soviet cinema; colloquial Russian; ‘text-code’; Lotman

Introduction

The focus of this article is ‘winged phrases’ from Soviet cinema; that is, popular phrases from past era films which have made their way into spoken Russian and have obtained a ‘new life’ by entering the collective consciousness. Existing literature pre-

sents Soviet cinema as a central means of entertaining the Soviet era masses in an age which – at least relative to today – offered few collective entertainment vehicles. Typically, every new film was watched with enthusiasm dozens of times, songs from such films were learned by heart; the actors' lines from popular films became 'winged phrases' (Shulezhkova 2001, 147). Cinema can often speak to our own everyday lives, so that Soviet films remain today one of the most popular sources of everyday quotations in contemporary Russian (Kozhevnikov 2001, 5). As argued by Sadullaeva, Soviet films are not only highly valued by spectators, but also nourish warm feelings which encourage Russian speakers to quote them frequently (Sadullaeva 2012, 168). 'Жить, как говорится, хорошо! А хорошо жить – ещё лучше!' ('To live, so to say, is good! But to live well is even better!') from Leonid Gaidai's 'Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика' (*The Prisoner of the Caucasus, or Shurik's New Adventures*) (1966) is one of several examples offered by the American journalist Michele Berdy in her humorous guide to modern Russian language, culture and translation *The Russian Word's Worth* (Berdy 2010, 409).

In this article, enduring quotations from Soviet cinema are defined as 'winged phrases'. This is a frequently used term in Russian-language discourse, both popular and academic. The term 'winged words' is first recorded in Homer's *The Iliad* as an expressive figure (Shulezhkova 2001, 6). For this article's purposes, an important aspect of 'winged words' is the fact they have entered the language from a specific written source or from a statement made by a particular person (Berkov and Berkova 2000, 4). The term 'winged words' can denote short, pithy quotations from literary sources, vivid expressions, aphorisms that belong to historical figures, or names of mythological and literary characters which have attained resonance and entered into the spoken language – they were often key characteristics of the historical figures to whom they refer (Ashukin and Ashukina 1988, 4). The term does not appear to be as

widely known in English, but it is commonly used in countries where German, Slavic and Scandinavian languages are spoken (Berkov and Berkova 2000, 3). This article has followed Shulezhkova's suggestion of dividing winged words into two subclasses: 'крылатые слова' ('winged words'), e.g. 'Apollo', and 'крылатые выражения' ('winged phrases'), e.g. 'the American dream', with the 'winged phrase' in such cases ranging from a simple phrase to a complex sentence (Shulezhkova 2001, 19). This research is aligned with other Russian cultural linguists who also use the term 'winged phrases' (Elistratov 2010, Kozhevnikov 2001).

Although one of the main features of winged phrases is their link to a single author or specific historical source, when the said source is a film, its provenance can be considered the result of collective team work, which includes a scriptwriter – and in adaptations, also the author of a literary work – a film director, an actor, a character created by the actor, and the film's audience itself (Kozhevnikov 2001, 10; Kudriavtseva 2008, 25). The connection between winged words used by a particular nation, the culture of its people and history of the country is considered significant (Berkov and Berkova 2000, 3). Elistratov argues that winged phrases from Soviet cinema act as a cultural and linguistic bond between generations of Russian speakers (Elistratov 2010, 5). The use of winged phrases attests to a sense of belonging, while also allowing for creative cultural development within certain linguistic and semantic boundaries (Kabiak and Thompson, 2024, 11).

Until the 1990s, winged phrases from Soviet cinema had not been included in Russian dictionaries of winged words. The first attempt to group them was made by Khaniutin in the journal 'Киноведческие записки' (Khaniutin 1993). Currently there are two dictionaries which play a key role in shaping the phenomenon of winged phrases: 'Большой словарь. Крылатые фразы отечественного кино' compiled by Aleksandr Kozhevnikov, which includes 15,000 quotations from more than 1,300

films (Kozhevnikov 2001), and ‘Словарь крылатых фраз российского кино’ by Vladimir Elistratov in which 209 feature films and animations are presented (Elistratov 2010).

This article now turns to demonstrating why and how contemporary Russian speakers revisit Soviet films. Drawing on theoretical insights based on the field of semiotics, it is argued that winged phrases from Soviet comedies can be seen as a cultural *text-code* within the language, which travels through time and is maintained most strongly through everyday spoken Russian to this day.

Soviet comedies as sources of winged phrases

The Soviet semiotician Iurii Lotman referred to culture as a text, noting its complexity and the hierarchy of ‘texts within texts’:

Культура в целом может рассматриваться как текст. Однако исключительно важно подчеркнуть, что это сложно устроенный текст, распадающийся на иерархию ‘текстов в текстах’ и образующий сложные переплетения текстов.

Culture as a whole can be viewed as a text. However, it is crucial to emphasise that this text is structured in a complex way, it is divided into a hierarchy of ‘texts within texts’ and forms intricate interweavings of texts. (Lotman 1992, 160) [All translations are the author’s unless otherwise stated – N.K.]

Film is treated as a literary text by both linguists and language instructors (Kudriavtseva 2002). It follows that film scripts – along with film titles and titles or lines from songs used in films – have provided a source of winged phrases to every-

day Russian language in a similar way to literary sources. More than Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality, Lotman offers a justification for applying semiotic methodology to the language of cinema: his concept of the *сѣмиосфера* (*semiosphere*) is particularly useful in this respect. Lotman stresses the importance of the *semiotic border*, over which it is necessary for the text to pass to be 'translated into another language [...] outside the given semiosphere'. In this case, the 'text' in question is the winged phrase, passing through time into contemporary Russian language from its genesis in Soviet film script (Lotman 2005, 209).

Film genre plays an important role in determining whether the lines remain known and reproduced, or cross the *semiotic border*. As pointed out in the scholarly literature, comedy, action films, detective films and children's cinema are most quoted in contemporary Russian (Kudriavtseva 2008, 27; Sadullaeva 2012, 168). The topic of comedy and laughter has received particular attention amongst scholars in the field of Soviet cinema.

In considering how winged phrases can be repurposed over time, this article focuses on the contribution of film directors and actors, on the Soviet director's focus on the ordinary person, and on the semiotic ambivalence of Soviet comedy.

Director and actor contribution

From the 1920s, cinematography in the USSR had obtained the status of a significant art form, despite strict thematic and ideological limitations (Agafonova 2005, 39-40). Analysing different aspects of cinema language, Lotman stresses the importance of the human figure (Lotman 1973a, 46). Kozhevnikov argues that Soviet film dialogue is quoted in everyday speech decades later partly because of the strength of an actor's individuality and the nature of the finished character they present to the audience, with the charm and popularity of the actor playing an important role in the propensity of

their lines (Kozhevnikov 2001, 9). Elistratov continues this line of thought, reasoning that ‘в центре российско-советского кинематографа (русского “кинемакосмоса”) находится прежде всего языковая личность актёра, “поданная” режиссёром’ (‘at the centre of Russian-Soviet cinema (Russian “cinema-space”) is the verbal personality of the actor, “presented” by the director’) (Elistratov 2010, 15). Especially representative in this regard is Aleksandr Dem’ianenko, who played Shurik in Leonid Gaidai’s comedies ‘Операция “Ы” и другие приключения Шурика’ (*Operation ‘Y’ and Shurik’s Other Adventures*) (1965), ‘Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика’ (*The Prisoner of the Caucasus, or Shurik’s New Adventures*) (1966), and ‘Иван Васильевич меняет профессию’ (*Ivan Vasilievich Changes Profession*) (1973).

While Dem’ianenko made a significant number of screen appearances, including ‘Карьера Димы Горина’ (*Dima Gorin’s Career*, directed by Frunze Dovlatian and Lev Mirskii (1961)), it was his iconic role as Shurik, ‘a young intellectual marked out with thick glasses, who is completely unfit for reality’, and the power of his personality to imbue phrases from Gaidai’s films, which had the greatest impact on viewers (Beumers 2009, 138; Kabiak 2019, 257). Kabiak’s recent study involving 102 native Russian speakers over 18 years of age worldwide, who completed an online questionnaire, revealed two of Shurik’s lines amongst the top ten most quoted winged phrases from Soviet cinema: ‘Надо, Федя, надо!’ (‘It’s necessary, Fedia, it’s necessary!’) and ‘Птичку жалко!’ (‘I’m sorry for the bird!’) (Kabiak 2019, 152). The first phrase is used by Shurik in ‘Операция “Ы” и другие приключения Шурика’ when he punishes and reeducates Fedia – a lazy petty criminal who does not want to work at the construction site where he has been sentenced to community service. In modern Russian, Shurik’s phrase means that regardless of the desire, the interlocutor will do what the speaker insists on (Diadechko 2008, 414-415). The second phrase is from

‘Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика’, where Shurik travels to the Caucasus to study folklore. Having become drunk on some local wine, he is touched by a toast about a bird and starts crying. Elistratov suggests using the phrase ‘Птичку жалко!’ today as ‘ироничное выражение сочувствия, сострадания’ (‘an ironic expression of sympathy, compassion’) (Elistratov 2010, 224).

Prokhorova argues that dialogue in Gaidai’s comedies is ‘pithy, aphoristic, or nonsensical, and, while superficially belonging to the diegetic narrative, also creates a perfect comic gag [...] or engages the viewer with a wink’ (Prokhorova 2016, 523). In addition to Shurik, Gaidai introduced Soviet audiences to the stock slapstick trio of ‘Трус’ (‘The Coward’, played by Georgii Vitsin), ‘Балбес’ (‘Dumb Ass’, played by the clown of Moscow’s circus, Yuri Nikulin) and ‘Бывалый’ (‘The Experienced One’, played by Yevgenii Morgunov). As Beumers notes, ‘their characters combined the flatness of folk characters with streetwise behaviour, making them immensely popular on screen’ (Beumers 2009, 138).

A focus on the ordinary person

From the second half of the 1950s, after the death of Stalin, the conventions of cinema were reinvented, with the director’s focus shifting noticeably to the ordinary person – their simple feelings and day-to-day lives (Agafonova 2005, 150). As Woll puts it:

New physical types made their way on the screen, and very gradually the preternaturally sharp outlines of character and characterisation typical of Stalinist cinema blurred and thickened into something closer to human beings, just as the irreproachably clear diction of actors slurred into something resembling normal speech. (Woll 2000, 12-13)

Such a shift shortened the distance between common verbal exchanges in real life and screen dialogue, thanks partly to the extra liberty given to directors. The comedy genre underwent a reinvention after Stalin's death and gained renewed importance in the formation of the post-Stalinist popular film viewer. In current screen scholarship Leonid Gaidai and El'dar Riazanov are considered 'the two giants' of 1950s and 1960s Soviet film comedy (Graham 2016, 159).

In Riazanov's comedy 'Карнавальная ночь' (*Carnival Night*) (1956), the satirised villain is an 'inflexible bureaucrat' Ogurtsov, 'whose stubborn resistance to change and dislike of frivolity are obstacles to be overcome by the youthful, creative protagonists' (ibid., 158-160). Ogurtsov's suggestion to start a New Year's Eve festival performance with the appearance of a lecturer who is to deliver a dry speech 'Коротёнько, минут на сорок' ('A short speech, about 40 minutes') is not welcomed by his fun-loving, energetic team. In a similar way, the Soviet apartment superintendent Varvara Sergeevna Pliushch, played by Nonna Mordiukova in Gaidai's 'Бриллиантовая рука' (*The Diamond Arm*) (1968), instead of being a typical Soviet hero, is turned into a villain and a target of satire when viewed through the prism of Russian folkloric character types discussed by Propp in his work of 1928 'Морфология волшебной сказки' (*Morphology of the Folktale*). Prokhorova argues, that 'Gaidai's comedies challenged and put to comic use elements of the Soviet ideological narrative and its major device, the positive hero' (Prokhorova 2016, 520). The authoritarian voice of Varvara Pliushch in the winged phrases 'Наши люди в булочную на такси не ездят!' ('Our tenants don't go to the baker's in a taxi!') and 'А если не будут брать [лотерейные билеты], отключим газ' ('If they won't buy [lottery tickets], we'll cut off their gas supply') illustrates the complexity of relationships between those with power in their hands and the 'little people' of the Soviet Union who, it might be argued, are an extension of Pushkin's, Gogol's and Dostoevsky's

literary character type which first appeared in Russian literature of the 1830s (Kabiak 2019, 255).

Semiotic ambivalence of Soviet comedy

Graham notes ‘a semiotic ambivalence in early Soviet comedies, [...] that became increasingly incompatible with state cultural ideology’ and ‘the tendency towards double meaning [...] as an essential, even definitive, characteristic of the comic’ (Graham 2016, 163). Thus, Prokhorova argues that jokes in Gaidai’s comedies ‘operate on two planes’. She refers to the winged phrase ‘Будете у нас на Колыме – милости просим’ (‘You should come over and visit us in Kolyma’) from ‘Бриллиантовая рука’ and the answer of the smuggler Gesha: ‘Нет, уж лучше вы к нам’ (‘No, I’d rather you visit us here’). The joke ‘simultaneously invokes the smuggler’s true criminal identity and references the most notorious part of Stalin’s Gulag system’ (Prokhorova 2016, 524). In modern colloquial Russian this phrase will most likely be used ‘при прощании и взаимном приглашении друг друга в гости в будущем’ (‘when saying goodbye and mutually inviting each other to visit in the future’) (Elistratov 2010, 52-53).

The Soviet era has been described as ‘a period of development of the literary language of mass culture, the period of struggle between the norms of the elite and mass cultures’ (Vykhodtseva 2015, 26). In Soviet cinema, scripted language followed established linguistic rules and standards (Kol’ovska and Kul’gavchuk 2009, 110). Elistratov considers that from the 1930s every Soviet film was a combination of a fashion show, a demonstration of a perfect smile, hair style and the behavioural patterns of the film star (Elistratov 2010, 12). As a result, in an era and prevailing culture which offered relatively few outlets for such indulgences, every new Soviet film was greeted by onlookers with much anticipation (Shulezhkova 2001, 147).

There can be a very specific psychological impact on the viewer which differentiates cinema from the other arts. This article argues that this can result in the cinema viewer engaging more readily with a winged phrase. Feature films involve their viewers emotionally; during a film screening, the viewer is invited visually and aurally to identify with the world which is described on the screen (Ignatiev 2012, 109). In addition, elements of the viewer's ego are perceptible in the demonstrated object, which can be compared with gaining one's own experience while engaging with a film on an emotional level (Kudriavtseva 2008, 21; Ignatiev 2012, 110). In this respect, Elistratov accords Russian-Soviet cinema the same status as Russian classical literature, considering film as a continuation of traditions of psychologism in Russian literature (Elistratov 2010, 15).

All such factors are important: today winged phrases from cinema occupy a noteworthy part of the modern Russian speaker's active vocabulary and can be grouped according to the situation of verbal exchange. A greeting in colloquial Russian can sound like 'Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!' ('Hello, I Am Your Aunt!'), which is the title of the 1975 comedy directed by Viktor Titov; necessity of action can be expressed by the above-mentioned phrase 'Надо, Федя, надо!' ('It's necessary, Fedya, it's necessary!').

Why is it that contemporary Russian speakers revisit and repurpose winged phrases from this vanished era? How far can these texts travel? This article employs Lotman's writings on semiotics to offer some insights into this phenomenon.

The phenomenon of quoting Soviet comedies in modern colloquial Russian

While outlining the attributes of the semiosphere, Lotman focuses on the border of semiotic space as its 'most important functional and structural position, giving sub-

stance to its semiotic mechanism' (Lotman 2005, 210). This 'border' is described as a 'bilingual mechanism, translating external communications into the internal language of the semiosphere and vice versa', which divides 'the self from the other' and filters 'external communication and the translation thereof into its own language' (Lotman 2005, 210). Such 'translations' or pathways for winged phrases from Soviet comedies into modern Russian speech include not only colloquial speech, but media sources, literary texts, advertising and Internet communication, the speech of television show presenters and modern film and television series characters.

Modern Russian television series, such as the popular comedy 'Интерны' (*The Interns*) (2010-2016) – the primary aim of which is to serve the tastes of the mass public – are quoted to some extent today (Matrusova 2013, 78). However, it is Soviet cinema which has supplied the majority of film-related winged phrases to contemporary spoken Russian, including film dialogues in this medical sitcom. For example, the line 'Ещё очки одел! ('He's wearing glasses just for nothing')' ('Интерны', Season 1, Episode 2), belongs to the doctor Andrei Bykov who reproaches his intern Boris Levin for a lack of professional skills. The phrase was originally in Leonid Gaidai's 'Иван Васильевич меняет профессию': it was addressed to Shurik by the apartment block superintendent Bunsha's wife Iliana Andreevna. Shurik's enduring popular journey across different cultural forms – from Soviet comedy into the modern broadcast television series – can be explained not only by the popularity of Dem'ianenko's verbal personality, as discussed earlier, but also by Shurik being the 'modern version of Ivan-the-Fool' (Prokhorov 2007, 126). Shurik's similarity to this famous Russian folk character goes hand in hand with his connection to the student community of Khrushchev's post-Stalin Thaw era, adding comic effect. Woll comments on Shurik's dark-framed eyeglasses, suggesting that they 'act as a comic prop and sired a clutch of bespectacled comic heroes, *ochkariki*' (Woll 2000, 188).

The above-mentioned examples illustrate that Soviet films are often quoted when a situation of verbal communication matches a situation in a film. Other motivations for the modern use of Soviet film quotes can include their use as a form of verbal game or as a way of entertaining the interlocutor. In addition, the sense of belonging between interlocutors in a defined ethnocultural society would also appear to play a role. In quoting Soviet cinema we can also discern a contemporary nostalgia for elements of the Soviet past (Kabiak 2019, 166; Gritsenko and Emier 2011, 464).

In terms of peak periods for such winged phrase sources, Krupenko points out a tendency of Soviet films made close to the year 1970 to produce the highest number (Krupenko 2011, 164). Fomin asserts that the connection between cinema and folk art culture is stronger than the connection between cinema and literature. In particular, he highlights the influence of folk art culture on Soviet film-making of the 1970s – 1980s:

Для кинопроцесса 70-80-х годов особенно характерным стало обращение в первую очередь к тем пластам народной художественной культуры, которые полнее всего концентрировали в себе основы народной философии, более непосредственно отражали широкий, универсально-целостный взгляд на мир.

The film-making process of the 70-80s was first of all characterised by appealing to those layers of folk art culture which most fully condensed the foundations of folk philosophy and which reflected more directly a broad, universally holistic view of the world. (Fomin 2012, 21-22)

According to Dushenko, the end of *кинемалогос* (*kinemalogos*) or the active process of transference of winged phrases from film into colloquial Russian occurred in 1975 (Dushenko 2002, 121). This statement is debatable, as observations of winged phrases from film dictionaries indicate that films created in the Soviet Union after 1975 also supplied a significant number of winged phrases. For example, 'Покровские ворота' (*The Pokrovsky Gates*), a film made in 1982 and directed by Mikhail Kozakov, has from 61 to 122 winged phrases according to various sources (Kinotsitatnik 2016; Kozhevnikov 2001, 680-682). One of these examples is the winged phrase: 'Заметьте, не я это предложил' ('Please note, I wasn't the one who suggested this') which in the film and in modern Russian is used as a response to an invitation to have a drink. The phrase has travelled not only to colloquial Russian, but also to the television series 'Интерны' (*Interns*), mentioned earlier, where it is used by the intern Gleb Romanenko ('Интерны', Season 1, Episode 38). It is also observed in 'Сваты' (*Parents-in-Law*) (2008-2021) ('Сваты', Season 1, Episode 5), where it is spoken by the main character Ivan Stepanovich Bud'ko at a dinner party.

Elistratov's statement on the period of quoted Soviet and Russian films is most apposite: films made from the 1990s 'больше не цитируются народом' ('are no longer quoted by the people') (Elistratov 2010, 12). These later films appear not to have produced such a strong body of winged phrases for daily life. This may reflect the role of nostalgia in the popularity of a winged phrase: by contrast with today's nostalgic perception of some elements of the Soviet era, few Russians today would look back on the challenging period of the early 1990s with much fondness.

In stark contrast with today's wide choice of DVD discs and streaming resources, just three Soviet television channels in the 1970s and 1980s provided a standard and identical bank of videotexts which influenced the tastes of Russian speakers who are now in their 30s to 50s (Sadullaeva 2012, 168). This primacy of So-

viet films may not be absolute or static over time; there may be other factors at play. For example, it has been suggested that a certain amount of time must elapse in order for a film and its quotations to become a meaningful cultural reference (Kudriavtseva 2008, 26).

The phenomenon of the *фильм-цитатник* (*quotable film*)

Elistratov argues for the unique Russian cultural predilection for frequent quoting of Russian and Soviet films in comparison to other linguistic cultures: it is asserted that such a scale of quoting does not exist in any other language (Elistratov 2010, 14-15). This relatively widespread phenomenon of film lines becoming winged phrases has brought a specific term to Russian linguistics dedicated to most quoted films: *фильм-цитатник* (*quotable film*). Although there is no definition of such a term in academic literature, it is widely used to refer to films which have provided large volumes of popular winged phrases into colloquial Russian.

Kozhevnikov lists 17 *quotable films* in the preface to his dictionary of winged phrases from national cinema, while Kudriavtseva identified seven films that supplied the biggest number of winged phrases into Russian (Kozhevnikov 2001, 9; Kudriavtseva 2008, 25). There are various factors that contribute to the process of a film becoming *a quotable film*, a summary of which is presented below.

Film is often better known than even the most well-read novel, which means that quoting film gives the speaker a greater likelihood of their intended meaning being understood by their interlocutor. Another important influence conditioning the entry of a winged phrase into common speech is ‘общая адресация и литературная подоснова фильма’ (‘a film is made for the general public and is rooted in the literary canon’) (Kozhevnikov 2001, 9).

The propensity of cinematic scripts to transform themselves into winged phrases is also influenced by the extent to which film creators tend to employ aphorisms in their scripts. The effect is to make the dialogue more impactful, memorable and thus portable (*ibid.*). According to Kostomarov and Burvikova, the relative positioning of lines in the script – the heading or title of the film, the text position at the start or at the end – is a conditioning factor for these lines becoming a precedent text or winged phrase (Kostomarov and Burvikova 1994, 74; Kabiak and Thompson 2024, 131). Kozhevnikov adds the notion of repetition of a phrase as a further facilitator (Kozhevnikov 2001, 9). For example, in Leonid Gaidai's comedy 'Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика' the main character Nina is described several times by her uncle Dzabrail and by her unsuccessful groom, the bureaucrat, comrade Saakhov, played by Vladimir Etush, as 'Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица' ('A student, a young Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Young Communist League] member, an athlete, and last but not least, a beauty'). Today, decades after the Komsomol has ceased to exist, the phrase is often used as a friendly compliment for a girl; it is the third most often-quoted winged phrase in modern Russian (Kabiak 2019, 252).

Kudriavtseva lists numerous cinematic techniques that contribute to script lines becoming a winged phrase, such as close-up shots, frozen frames, pauses and change in the volume or pace of speech (Kudriavtseva 2008, 27). Kozhevnikov notes the impact of intonation not often used in common speech: a special or rare pitch of the voice of the actor; the remarkable (and, therefore, memorable) nature of the situation in which the line is pronounced (Kozhevnikov 2001, 10). All these factors increase the chances of elements of film scripts 'crossing the semiotic border': travelling through time into modern Russian and becoming winged phrases in the public consciousness.

While placing emphasis on the role of comedy in the cultural processes of the post-Stalin Thaw, Graham distinguishes Soviet comedy subgenres: ‘eccentric comedies’, which were directed in the 1960s and 1970s by Leonid Gaidai, ‘musical comedies’ such as El’dar Riazanov’s ‘Карнавальная ночь’ and Andrei Tutyshkin’s ‘Свадьба в Малиновке’ (*Wedding in Malinovka*) (1967), and ‘heroic comedies’, such as ‘Гусарская баллада’ (*Hussar Ballad*, directed by El’dar Riazanov (1962)) (Graham 2016, 158, 165). The previously mentioned study of online questionnaire respondents by Kabiak in 2019 revealed that 70% of the most popular winged phrases amongst native Russian speakers were sourced from Gaidai’s comedies ‘Операция “Ы” и другие приключения Шурика’, ‘Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика’ and ‘Иван Васильевич меняет профессию’ (Kabiak 2019, 153). These findings attest to the fact that the subgenre of ‘eccentric comedy’ generates winged phrases more readily than others.

External factors, such as the length of time a film appears in release and the frequency of its screening as repeats on television, also influence film lines enduring as winged phrases (Kozhevnikov 2001, 10). For example, it remains traditional in modern Russia for the Soviet film ‘Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!’ (*Irony of Fate, or Have a Good Sauna!*, directed by El’dar Riazanov (1976)) to be screened on Russian television every New Year’s Eve. ‘Какая гадость, какая гадость эта ваша заливная рыба!’ (‘Oh, how terrible, how terrible this jellied fish of yours!’) from this film is one well-known example. In ‘Ирония судьбы, или С лёгким паром!’ Ippolit loses hope of celebrating New Year’s Eve with his fiancée Nadia when he finds her with another man – Zhenia. Ippolit expresses his disappointment while sampling the jellied fish Nadia has prepared for the dinner they were supposed to have together. In modern colloquial Russian the meaning of the phrase has expanded: it is used not only with reference to an actual jellied fish, someone’s culinary abilities or as a refusal to

accept something, but also with wider reference to New Year's celebrations at the table, at a banquet, or to describe a dainty dish (Diadechko 2008, 291; Kabiak 2019, 185).

Existing scholarship in this field also makes a connection between the type of film character and their lines becoming winged phrases. Kozhevnikov states that lines which belong to villainous characters became winged phrases more often (Kozhevnikov 2001, 9). For example, comrade Saakhov from 'Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика', who is often quoted in modern Russian, is a typical villain identified by Propp in folk tale narratives. On screen, Saakhov is given a physical appearance similar to Stalin; in this way he is immediately rendered unattractive to the post-Thaw Soviet audience. Quoting villains in the Soviet era can be explained by the seemingly unquenchable desire of Soviet citizens to say what they really think openly, just as the villains do on screen. Phrases from such cinematic characters give people a licence to speak in this way by repeating the phrases in everyday life.

The folk motives in each Soviet film provide a solid foundation for their popularity. As Plamadiala argues:

Именно наличием генетической связи между фольклором и кинематографом можно объяснить особую популярность последнего в народе.

It is the presence of the strong and observable link between folklore and cinema that can explain the particular popularity of the latter among the people. (Plamadiala 1985, 17)

Literary text in screen adaptation

While adaptation plays an important role in the history of Soviet cinema, the process of winged phrases entering into spoken Russian through adaptation can vary. Today, film adaptations of literary texts often act as the primary source of winged phrases, with their literary source being a secondary one (Elistratov 2010, 6-7; Kozhevnikov 2001, 8). Therefore, cinema may not only be a powerful vehicle for preserving winged phrases from literature. Films can also become an interpreter of the original phrase as it crosses the ‘semiotic borders’ from literature to film and then from film to everyday speech, and, most interestingly, an additional source of winged phrases altogether – independent of the literary source script.

To illustrate this contention, Kozhevnikov points out that often winged phrases which are associated in the mind of a Russian speaker with a specific literary adaptation in fact have no connection with their original literary source (Kozhevnikov 2001, 8). One of the most quoted adaptations, ‘Иван Васильевич меняет профессию’, based on Bulgakov’s play ‘Иван Васильевич’ (1935), ‘пришёл в народ именно через кино’ (‘came to its popularity in the public consciousness largely through the cinema’) (Elistratov 2010, 7).

In ‘Иван Васильевич’ Bulgakov explores dream and fiction – themes which had already been well-established in his previous works. The engineer Timofeev invents a time machine and temporarily sends a nondescript apartment superintendent Bunsha along with a thief George Miloslavskii into Ivan the Terrible’s 16th-century Moscow. At the same time, Ivan the Terrible is transported into a communal Soviet apartment of the 1930s. In 1973, when the play’s adaptation appeared in cinemas, Gaidai was already one of the most prominent Soviet directors, and Bulgakov’s Timofeev was turned into Shurik, who graduated from the university, married and became an inventor. Some of Bulgakov’s original lines became winged phrases, such as ‘Это

я удачно зашёл!’ (‘How lucky for me to drop by!’) – a line said by the thief Miloslavskii upon entering Shpak’s apartment (Bulgakov 2017, 121). Bulgakov’s lines were sometimes also transformed, but were still recognisable. ‘Я требую продолжения банкета!’ (‘I demand a continuation of the feast!’) is Gaidai’s transformation of Bulgakov’s original line ‘Я требую продолжения танца!’ (‘I demand a continuation of the dance!’) (ibid., 169). In the play and in its adaptation, Bunsha, who is acting as Ivan the Terrible, utters these words so that a particularly enjoyable experience can continue. In modern Russian it is used in the meaning ‘let’s not stop, continue!’ (Elistratov 2010, 322).

However, the majority of winged phrases quoted in modern Russian were invented by Gaidai and his scriptwriter Vladlen Bakhnov, or were a result of improvisation during the filming process. Amongst them are the frequently quoted lines, ‘Ох, красота-то какая! Лепота!’ (‘Oh, how beautiful it is! Beauteous!’) as Ivan the Terrible admires the 1970s Moscow architecture; ‘Здравствуйте, царь, очень приятно!’ (‘Hello, I am the tsar, it is nice to meet you!’); ‘Танцуют все!’ (‘Everybody must dance!’); ‘Эх, Марфуша, нам ли быть в печали?’ (‘Oh, Marfusha! The night is still young!’) – superintendent Bunsha is acting as Ivan the Terrible at the banquet and is comforting the tsarina Marfa Vasilievna; ‘И тебя вылечат, и тебя тоже вылечат ... и меня вылечат’ (‘They will cure you, they will cure even you ... and they will cure me, too’) – Bunsha’s wife Uliana Andreevna thinks that she has two husbands – Bunsha and Ivan the Terrible. She pronounces this line while taking her wig off, increasing the comic effect of the situation.

In this way, contemporary ‘readings’ of ‘Иван Васильевич’ are based on an appreciation of Bulgakov’s play through Gaidai’s adaptation. Bulgakov’s ‘text within a text’ (Lotman 1992, 160) appears to be a linguistic object that exists to a considerable degree as a winged phrase in the minds of contemporary Russians. Thus, many

popular lines have no connection to Bulgakov's play at all: they were created by the film maker Gaidai (Kabiak 2016, 81).

Winged phrases from Soviet cinema today: patterns of usage

In his study of language games in contemporary Russian, Norman notes 'a tendency to use ready-made phrases', 'especially in the spheres of mass culture and mass information'. As he puts it:

Texts increasingly follow standard patterns, with cliché, paraphrase, reminiscence, allusion and hidden or open quotations becoming more and more important. This is not only a consequence of the so-called 'period of stagnation' or evidence of mental laziness, but also, in so far as such ready-made phrases tend to be re-vitalised in new contexts, an example of verbal creativity and language games (Norman 1999, 108).

Kozhevnikov describes verbal games which involve winged phrases from Soviet films as follows:

Один из говорящих произносит какую-либо фразу из популярного фильма, обрывая её и явно ожидая, а точнее – провоцируя собеседника на продолжение, и в результате – завязывается целый диалог, целиком состоящий из цитат.

One of the speakers pronounces a phrase from a popular film, cutting it short and clearly awaiting, being more exact – provoking the interlocutor to continue, and as a result, a whole dialogue starts, which entirely consists from quotations. (Kozhevnikov 2001, 6)

Norman notes that ‘language games have a long tradition in folklore and in literature, particularly in Russia’; he argues that ‘the conditions that make language games possible are inherent in the very nature of language as a semiotic system’ (Norman 1999, 105). He provides a detailed classification of verbal games in contemporary Russian according to both the rationale behind them and the linguistic criteria. Amongst such types are the deliberate confusion or identification of language with reality, the opposite tendency when the total dissociation of language from the world of objects takes place, violation of the conventional correspondence between the aspects of the verbal sign (*ibid.*).

The following types of verbal games are particularly noteworthy. Norman includes examples of these types in the form of winged phrases from Soviet films:

1) Artificial blurring of grammatical boundaries, the expansion of grammatical categories and the creation of occasional grammatical forms, in particular, the practice of producing occasional forms with the ‘wrong’ gender: ‘Чей туфля? – Моё’ (*ibid.*). This line is said by Трус when he hides money under his shoe from Балбес and Бывалый and turns the situation into a joke in ‘Кавказская пленница, или Новые приключения Шурика’. ‘Туфля’ (‘shoe’) is a feminine noun, it should agree with the feminine pronouns ‘чья’ (‘чей’ is a masculine form) and ‘моя’ (‘моё’ is a neuter form). In addition, incorrect stress is observed in the noun ‘туфля’ (the correct pronunciation is ‘ту́фля’). Interestingly, in modern Russian and in dictionaries of winged phrases from Soviet cinema it is reproduced with the same grammar and phonetic errors with which we hear it in the film; it is used in contexts when someone makes a sudden discovery, or as a parody of someone’s illiterate speech (Kozhevnikov 2001, 327; Elistratov 2001, 290).

2) Deviations from the norm in the area of syntax. ‘Женщина симпатичная, но, [к сожалению], активная’ (‘A pleasant woman, but [unfortunately] an activist’)

(ibid., 107) – this is how Novosel'tsev describes his colleague Shura in 'Служебный роман' (*Office Romance*, directed by El'dar Riazanov (1977)). In this example the unusual use of the conjunction 'но' ('but') is an illustration of a syntactic language game. Shura's active position in the office often puts her colleagues in unpleasant situations, especially when she mistakenly thinks Bublikov has died and collects money for his flowers, only to discover later that he is alive.

Kozhevnikov also notes the case of 'упреждающее цитирование' ('forwarding quoting') which takes place during the second and subsequent viewings of a film in a circle of family or friends. In this case, the winged phrase is said by one of the viewers before it is heard from the film actor (Kozhevnikov 2001, 6).

There is a large group of well-known humorous quotations which are used to add a jocular tone to speech. Berkov and Berkova suggest that at times a comical effect is evoked by a contradiction between the literary, high style of the quotation and the triviality of the situation in which the winged phrase is employed. However, the largest group of such humorous quotations consists of those which are taken from humorous texts (Berkov and Berkova 2000, 12-13). Norman stresses the phonetic corruption of norms, e.g. 'дитЯм – мороженое', said by Liolik who works for a blackmarket boss in 'Бриллиантовая рука', and suggests an explanation of this event as a replication of the speech peculiarities of a specific character when quoting this character (Norman 2006, 98). Liolik's accent 'дитЯм' (instead of 'дétям') is mimicked in modern Russian when the winged phrase is used to signal that everything is (or should be) in order (Elistratov 2010, 93).

Winged phrase usage can also occur within a group of people who have known each other for a long time, where such phrases act as a form of coded recognition: the winged phrase is used to retell anecdotes both well-known and well-received within this group. The main aim of deploying winged phrases in such situations is to

imbue a sense of shared nostalgia: the wish to appeal collectively to a time when the phrase was heard for the first time (Kozhevnikov 2001, 6).

Taken together, the aforementioned ways of employing winged phrases from Soviet comedies can be seen as a cultural *text-code* described by Lotman.

Winged phrases as text-code

The fact that Norman refers to the area of semiotics when he writes about language games provides a basis for applying it to language games involving winged phrases from Soviet cinema. In answering the question of why contemporary Russian speakers repurpose winged phrases from Soviet-era film and examining how such phrases are employed today, this article draws on Lotman's concept of the *text-code*, which exists in the narrator's unconscious mind in 'mythologically oriented' cultures. Such codes present limitations of text variations and can be further described by Propp's model of a fairy tale (Lotman 1992, 150-151). This offers a useful framework for analysing the connection between the Russian folk tale, Soviet film script and the occurrence of a *text-code* within the film.

The concept of *text-code* makes it possible to understand the text because it is known in advance by a group of people, as described in Lotman's essay, 'О двух моделях коммуникации в системе культуры' (*About two models of communication in the system of culture*) (Lotman 1973b). When Russian speakers make a compliment to a girl, such as 'Студентка, комсомолка, спортсменка, наконец, она просто красавица', they recall Gaidai's film character Nina or do not even connect the phrase to the film at all, as they repeatedly hear it in the spoken language.

The connection between twentieth-century Soviet cinema and Russian classical literature, as well as folklore, indicates a close bond between these art forms. This permits us to view the language of cinema as a part of twentieth-century oral folk tra-

dition. Such close cinematic connection to folklore can be explained by a number of factors: on one hand, there is a link between Proppian folkloric types within the fairy tale – as outlined in *Morphology of the Folktale* – and Soviet film characters. The popularity of Soviet films in modern Russian linguistic culture can be explained by their ‘фольклорный тип эстетического восприятия’ (‘folkloric type of aesthetic perception’) (Fedorov 2009, 103). In this way, the dialogue spoken by Shurik (as a modern ‘Ivan-the-Fool’), comrade Saakhov, Coward, Dumb Ass and the Experienced One, Varvara Sergeevna Plushch and Liolik (as ‘villains’) from Gaidai’s comedies relate to the main Proppian folkloric types: Propp’s logic would suggest that these types remain unconsciously lodged in the consciousness of contemporary native Russian speakers.

It might equally be argued that repetitive viewing of Soviet films provides a ‘code’ in the form of winged phrases, a ‘code’ which preserves itself in the viewer’s memory. In a similar way to someone reading or listening to a fairy tale, the film viewer transforms ‘полученные им штампы в тексты своего сознания’ (‘received stamps into texts that exist in his or her mind’) (Lotman 1973b, 243). It follows that winged phrases are perhaps so easily memorised partly because of the film makers’ intentional ‘programming’ of a winged phrase to be memorised, as well as a film dialogue’s ‘aphoristic nature’. This can be seen most clearly in Gaidai’s films (Kudriavtseva 2008, 27; Prokhorova 2016, 528). This, it is argued, is why winged phrases with intentional corruptions of language norms are repeated in their original form, without any modifications (such as ‘Чей туфля? – Моё’, ‘дитя́м – мороженое’). In a situation where a winged phrase is being used, it is understood because it is ‘known’ in advance. While Lotman notes such codes with reference to texts taken from Pushkin’s poetry, parables, myths and sayings, he argues that cultural codes are the codes ‘концентрирующие в себе информацию о самом типе языка’

(‘concentrating in themselves information about the type of language itself’) (Lotman 1992, 150-51; 1973b, 239).

To implement a winged phrase successfully into a contemporary context, the code (in the form of the winged phrase) is recalled from the narrator’s memory, such as the greeting ‘Здравствуйте, я ваша тётя!’ or the invitation ‘Будете у нас на Колыме – милости просим’. While the accuracy with which such codes are reproduced can vary and winged phrases may be transformed (Kabiak and Thompson 2024), the codes could be reproduced in an isolated way, without reference to their source. In this way, one may argue that in winged phrases from Soviet films we are indeed witnessing such a new coding model, in which *text-code* is entering contemporary Russian.

Conclusions

This study of winged phrases in modern colloquial Russian demonstrates that Soviet comedies are a source of quotations in everyday modern language in a similar way to Russian classic literary sources. If a popular Soviet film is itself a literary adaptation, like ‘Иван Васильевич меняет профессию’, it is the author of the literary source – in this case, Mikhail Bulgakov – as well as the film’s creators, who supply winged phrases into modern Russian. An actor’s individuality and popularity play an important role in their lines enduring in everyday speech. Famous Soviet-era actors such as Aleksandr Demianenko, Georgii Vitsin, Yuri Nikulin, Yevgenii Morgunov, Vladimir Etush and Nonna Mordiukova continued this tradition in the 1960s and 1970s through Leonid Gaidai’s enduringly popular eccentric comedies.

The reinvention of the Soviet comedy genre during Khrushchev’s Thaw, the director’s focus on the ordinary person combined with the semiotic ambivalence of Soviet comedy and satirising Soviet ‘villain’ bureaucrats (such as Ogurtsov, Pliushch,

Saakhov, Bunsha) all appear to be important wider influences on the popularity of winged phrases from Soviet films in today's colloquial Russian speech. It is noteworthy that films created during the Soviet era are quoted to a much larger extent than post-Soviet films. A unique Russian cultural predilection relates to the phenomenon of *фильм-цитатник*. Such films – often quotable by heart for many native speakers even today – emphasise comedy and jocular scripts as a source of winged phrases in modern speech.

It is hoped that this study adds a new dimension to existing scholarship where winged phrases are viewed as a cultural and linguistic bond between generations of Russian speakers (Elistratov 2010, 5). These phrases from Soviet comedies can be seen to constitute a cultural *text-code* which exists in the Russian speaker's unconscious mind. Such *text-codes* are understood, even if they have been modified, because they reflect a 'through line' of language and culture – and, in this way, are known in advance.

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E. Susanna Weygandt, *From Metaphor to Direct Speech: Contemporary Russophone Drama and Performance Theory*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2025. ISBN 9780299351403. 248 pages. Notes. Index.

Susanna Weygandt's monograph *From Metaphor to Direct Speech* examines theatrical experiments in post-Soviet Russia and offers occasional comparative references to similar developments in contemporary Belarus and Ukraine. Weygandt explores the works of the representatives of the group of artists associated with New Drama that were promoted from 1989 by various festivals, including the Golden Mask and Liubimovka. As Weygandt elucidates, the plays written in the style of New Drama 'shed light on a nexus of crosscurrents in contemporary Russia that categorize the post-Soviet transition' (p. 3). As a scholar of theatre, Weygandt is especially interested in new techniques and postdramatic aspects of documentary-like performances. Commenting on Mikhail Durnenkov's plays about Konstantin Stanislavsky *His Life in Art* (2011) and *Outside the System* (2013) based on Stanislavsky's letters from the Stanislavsky Archives in the Moscow Art Theatre, Weygandt suggests that these plays offer 'alternative modes of character portrayal' (p. 5) and a new relationship with sound, with a view to creating subjectivity post-somatically. In her book Weygandt strives 'to articulate a new cultural sensibility with far reaching resonance for post-Soviet Russian culture by documenting a post-Stanislavsky and post-somatic performance aesthetic' (p. 7). While developing some of the approaches offered in the study *Performing Violence: Literary and Theatrical Experiments of Russian New Drama* by Birgit Beumers and Mark Lipovetsky, Weygandt analyses how New Drama rejects 'physically embodied imitative theatre' and promotes 'a disembodied act-

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ing practice that focuses on voice, text, direct speech, documentary, and intonation' (p. 10). Her case studies focus on playwrights and performers such as Mikhail Durnenkov, Ivan Vyrypaev, Anatoly Vasilliev, Kirill Serebrennikov and Polina Agureeva.

The book comprises Introduction, five chapters, Conclusion, Notes and Index. It includes excerpts from Weygandt's interviews with several representatives of New Drama conducted over several years, and numerous photographs of significant actors and directors. It is well-researched, informative and engaging, a welcome addition to the growing area of research in Russophone drama and performance. An admirable aspect of this study is the insightful discussion of close contacts between the representatives of Russian New Drama with practitioners in the UK and Continental Europe. According to Weygandt, the 2013 translation of Hans-Thies Lehmann's book *Postdramatic Theatre* into Russian inspired 'New Drama's most innovative moments' (p. 15) and enabled Russian playwrights to liberate themselves further from conventional playwriting and screenwriting.

While Weygandt's study mentions briefly Yuri Klavdiev and Elena Gremina, it is a pity that Klavdiev's extraordinary play *I am the Machine-Gunner* (performed in Russia and abroad) and Gremina's highly subversive play *The Chekhov Brothers* were not scrutinised in this thoughtful study. The book would have also benefitted from inclusion of some of the reviews of Russian New Drama plays published in Russia and abroad, with the view to highlight the effectiveness of the new experimental language and its impact on the audience.

Nevertheless, Weygandt's study will be of interest to cultural historians and theatre specialists as well as specialists in Russian contemporary literature.

Alexandra Smith
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Kateryna Zarembo, *Ukrainian Sunrise: Stories of the Donetsk and Luhansk Regions from the Early 2000s*, Tetiana Savchynska (trans). Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2024. xviii + 114 pages.

The Ukrainian book of which *Ukrainian Sunrise* is a translation bore the title *Skhid ukrains'koho sentsia: Istorii Donechchyny ta Luhanshchyny pochatku XXI stolittia* and was first published in 2022, just after the full-scale invasion. ‘Stories’ is an apt stand-in for *istorii*, better capturing the variety of ways in which the book represents the two easternmost Ukrainian oblasts than would the more literal translation, ‘histories’. In *Ukrainian Sunrise* the essayistic alternates with the scholarly; autobiographical excurses punctuate the reporting of empirical data illustrated with tables and graphs; and analyses of ‘Ukrainian communities and movements in Donetsk and Luhansk regions that existed between the 2000s and 2014’ (p. xiv) stand alongside expositions of the region’s earlier history. The multiplicity of perspectives from which the book’s subject matter is contemplated reflects the author’s professional versatility. A graduate of Kyiv National University (English and Italian languages and literatures) and University College Dublin (European Studies), Kateryna Zarembo is a fellow at a Kyiv research organisation called the New Europe Centre, a political analyst, university teacher and translator. Her social media presence reveals her also to be an active organiser of volunteer aid for Ukraine’s armed forces.

In her Preface Zarembo states her motivation for writing the book: to provide a corrective (originally for Ukrainians, but in English translation for the world at large) to the stereotypical image of Ukraine’s east as comprehensively ‘Russian-speaking, pro-Russian, a land of miners, oligarchic clans and criminals’ (p. xii). Zarembo focuses on the substantial Ukrainian activism that formed part of the life of the two oblasts prior to 2014, noting that what she proposes is, deliberately, ‘just one side’ of their reality. This ‘one side’ Zarembo illuminates in six chapters, the first of which, ‘The

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Myth of Donbas: An Attempt at Deconstruction' addresses widespread misconceptions concerning Ukraine's easternmost part; the remaining five describe, in turn, the pro-Ukrainian 'Poshtovkh' (Impulse) movement and the battle to rename Donetsk University in honour of Vasyl' Stus, the dissident poet who died in the Gulag in 1985; manifestations of protest art and poetry, and the organisations that fostered them; the narrative, erased from Soviet consciousness and not regenerated in post-Soviet times, of the origins of Donbas mining in the rapacious activities of British, Belgian and French capitalists; the villages of Ukraine's east, even in the recent past holdouts of Ukrainian language and customs; and the region's religious composition, characterised, contrary to common assumption, not by the dominance of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate that was widely regarded as a conduit of Russian World ideology, but by a rather equal competition between that church and an array of Protestant confessions, with Islam also a significant presence.

Part of the book's argument against ingrained generalisations about the easternmost oblasts of Ukraine is directed against the tendency, evident in journalism as well as scholarship, to label them as 'Donbas' *tout court*. The problem is not that the name should properly apply only to the Donetsk Coal Basin, which covers only part of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts and stretches across the border into Russia. Rather, it is that the term 'Donbas' is shorthand for a Soviet-era cultural and ideological construct that idealised mining and heavy industry and its workers while ignoring other swathes of the population, among them agricultural workers, women and intellectuals. This Donbas project involved the production of a 'melting-pot' form of consciousness in which national identity and historical memory were erased in favour of a sense of Soviet belonging with a *de facto* Russian face.

Attention to the detail of particular situations is the source both of the book's persuasiveness and its charm. It is salutary to be shown, with the aid of statistics, how

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the social reality of a ‘Russian-speaking east’ was created after the brief Ukrainisation of the 1920s and early 1930s, the process propelled by school closures, arrests of intellectuals, and winding down of institutions identified with Ukrainian culture. It is bracing to read stories of courageous and energetic individuals who, disregarding the inhospitable context, contributed in the 2000s to a small-scale renaissance of Ukrainian self-identification: Serhii Zlyvko and Iurii Matushchak, the initiators of the cultural organisation ‘Poshtovkh’, for example, or Oleksii Chupa, who initiated a series of poetry slams in Donetsk, or Oleksandr Sihida, founder of the STAN art association in Luhansk.

The book is a vivid portrait of the face of the Ukrainian east that is not captured by the ‘Donbas’ stereotype. One can suppose that today, in the parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts occupied by Russia, few traces of that sunny alternative to dour Sovietism survive. Many of its spokespeople have been displaced to other parts of Ukraine or abroad. One hopes for a future in which they can return and rebuild their cultural home.

Ukrainian Sunrise is a lively book, its readability enhanced by Tetiana Savchynska’s fluent and stylish translation. It can tell readers of many profiles – scholars and students, as well as interested members of the public – important things that help understand a part of the world which Russia wants to annex, and which Ukraine is fighting to defend.

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Brett Winestock, *Written For The Drawer: Leonid Tsypkin, Uncensored Literature, And Soviet Jewishness*. Madison WI, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2024. ISBN 978-0-299-35000-0. xiii + 208 pages.

At a time of debates on topics related to a reconsideration of the literary canon and the notion of Russophone literature, a book on Leonid Tsypkin, the author of *Summer in Baden-Baden*, is a timely publication. The novel written about Dostoevsky's honeymoon trip abroad, based on Dostoevsky's wife's 'Diary', presents a case of the complex relationship developed by Tsypkin towards Dostoevsky and his wife. Relevant to current debates on the re-examination of the literary canon is Winestock's exploration of Tsypkin's identity as an educated Soviet Jew and the vexed problem of Dostoevsky's notorious antisemitism. The issue of cultural identity interested Tsypkin who wrote short stories and essays dedicated to the expression of the complexities of being a Russian-speaking educated Soviet Jew, perceived as a subversive outsider.

An admirer of classical Russian literature, Tsypkin was one of many Soviet Jewish people who fully affiliated themselves with Russian high literary culture and learned to live with daily antisemitism as something to cope with and detest. Winestock's study of Tsypkin's archives in Stanford University opens for the book's readers an insight into formerly uncommented and unpublished material comprising family photographs, essays, and some short stories – all of which typify and illustrate lives of a Soviet Jewish family from the times of high Stalinism to 1982, the year of Tsypkin's untimely death which coincided with the publication of his novel abroad. The time-span includes World War Two and the family's survival thanks to their evacuation from Nazi-occupied territories, the infamous anti-Cosmopolitan campaigns and the Doctors' Plot (1953). The latter is particularly relevant for the Tsypkin family, as both of his parents were medical doctors, as was Leonid Tsypkin himself who was persuaded by his parents to choose the medical profession as a strategy for survival in

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case he was to end up in a concentration camp. The early 1980s were a time of curbing the 1970s Third Wave of mainly Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, and Tsypkin's application to leave the country was declined. His son's emigration was the official excuse for sacking Tsypkin in 1982, an event that resulted in his coronary and death.

The publication history of *Summer in Baden-Baden* is both typical of and exceptional for literature 'written for the drawer'. Delivered to the West by émigré friends, the manuscript was also published by an émigré group of publishers. While it was at first known mainly among the émigré Russophone community, it was brought to the attention of wider international audiences thanks to Susan Sontag's discovery of it in English translation in a London bookshop in the 1990s. Impressed by the innovative narrative style characterised by unusual syntax, Sontag considered the novel to be an event on the literary scene. The republication of the novel with Sontag's preface in 2001 propelled it into a wider international scene. Notably, it was a meeting between Sontag and some prominent members of the Russian-speaking émigré community in the New York restaurant Samovar (owned at the time by Joseph Brodsky and Mikhail Baryshnikov) that contributed to the publication of *Summer in Baden-Baden* in the United States. The history of the novel's publication thus became part of the history of Soviet emigration.

This intertwining of personal and family histories, the social history of Soviet Jewry with themes of literary writing and destinies of manuscripts, form the architectonics of Winestock's book. To date, Tsypkin's work is available both in the original Russian and in English translation (*Leto v Badene i drugie sochineniia* by Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2013; *The Bridge over the Neroch and Other Works*, translated by Jamey Gambrell, 2012; *Summer in Baden-Baden*, translated by Roger Keys and

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Angela Keys, 2001), and it is these translations together with the original Russian material that Winestock uses in his book.

Chapter 1, 'The Uncensored Text as a Family Photo Album', examines Tsypkin's first major prose work, *The Bridge over the Neroch* (1972), as the story of a Jewish family before and after the war. Winestock sees representation of 'the traumas of history through the devices of fragmentation, doubling, and substitution' (p. 21) together with visuality as keys to understanding this text. Chapter 2, 'A Soviet Jew in Armenia', describes a trip to the Armenian SSR by a Jewish protagonist and his failed participated identification with the Armenians who, unlike Jews of the Soviet Union, can find a sense of national identity in remembering their history, since the Armenian genocide was recognised (unlike the censored and truncated discourse around the Holocaust). Chapter 3, 'Reading Tsypkin Reading Dostoevsky', focuses on *Summer in Baden-Baden*. Winestock shows how Tsypkin structures the novel in dialogue with Dostoevskaya's diary and crafts his own identity vis-à-vis both Dostoevsky and his wife. Winestock is right to mention the vicissitudes of Dostoevsky's reception in the USSR as an author whose work was not fully published (see V. Seduro, *Dostoevsky's Image in Russia Today*, 1968). Hence the authorial identification of Tsypkin 'writing for the drawer' with Dostoevsky, whom he represents in the novel as an outsider in the literary establishment of his time. Tsypkin is also right to mention that Soviet Dostoevsky scholarship in the 1970s and early 1980s was opportunistically using Dostoevsky's anti-Jewish statements (see Ural'skii and Mondri, *Dostoevskii i evrei*, 2021). The case of Dostoevsky's writing and its reception demonstrate the political capabilities of literature and the exploitative discourse around it. The final chapter, 'Tsypkin in St. Petersburg', returns to photography and studies Tsypkin as a photographer selecting Old St. Petersburg architecture. Substituting Leningrad with Petersburg is seen

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as a form of distancing and a tool that helps to escape contemporaneous stifling Soviet political realia.

Winestock successfully uses a variety of interpretative approaches suited for the texts and the visual material. The book will appeal to readers interested in identity studies, the psychological underpinnings of narrative strategies in dealing with trauma, and the formative role of the literary canon in the construction of the self and the other.

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Natallia Kabiak, *Learn Russian through Contemporary Short Film*. London & New York: Routledge, 2024. ISBN 9781032739380. xiv + 137 pages, 51 b/w illustrations, bibliography, index.

Audiovisual materials have long held a prominent place in foreign language education. Their popularity stems not only from their engaging and varied formats, but also from the linguistic and cultural richness they offer. Such resources present elements of everyday life, national mentality, and social norms in ways that traditional textbooks cannot easily convey – especially for learners unfamiliar with the cultural context. Moreover, their use of authentic language – spontaneous dialogue, natural intonation and idiomatic expressions – makes them an invaluable asset for language instruction.

Within this category, short films occupy a particularly valuable position. Their compact narrative structure – featuring a clear beginning, development, and conclusion – allows learners to grasp a complete storyline within a short period, providing a sense of accomplishment. In contrast to television clips or news segments, short films do not rely heavily on extended cultural or narrative context, making them especially

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suitable for pedagogical use. Their typical length (3 to 15 minutes) enables full integration into a single lesson, including pre- and post-viewing activities.

Owing to their format, short films frequently rely on vivid stylistic devices, which are often easier to perceive and interpret in this medium. These features invite learners to engage in reflection, express opinions, and develop intercultural competence, as well as critical thinking skills. Furthermore, short films often present realistic models of communication that include regional variation, informal registers and dialects – allowing learners to experience the diversity of authentic language in use.

The accessibility of such films online further enhances their pedagogical value. Teachers can easily incorporate them into curricula, and learners can rewatch them independently for reinforcement. However, this abundance can also present a challenge: selecting appropriate content, aligning it with language goals, and preparing accompanying exercises requires time and expertise. For this reason, resources offering ready-to-use, film-based lessons are particularly welcome.

In this context, *Learn Russian through Contemporary Short Film* by Natallia Kabiak – lecturer in Russian Studies at the University of Melbourne – stands out as an exemplary contribution to Russian language pedagogy. The author has carefully curated a selection of twelve contemporary short films produced between 2014 and 2022, which serve as the foundation for a comprehensive instructional resource aimed at young adult and adult learners at the B1–C1 levels.

The book's primary goal is to enrich language instruction through the integration of authentic audiovisual content. It aims to familiarise learners with aspects of daily life in Russian-speaking countries, while also developing linguistic competencies – particularly listening comprehension and the understanding of informal, spontaneous speech. Kabiak adopts a communicative approach throughout, and the exercises she proposes develop all four language skills: listening, speaking, reading and

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writing. In addition, learners engage with grammar, vocabulary and word-formation, based on authentic excerpts from the films.

The textbook is organized into a clear structure that includes an introductory chapter (*Let's Speak about Short Films*), a list of abbreviations, twelve main chapters (each focused on a single film), an answer key, and a lexical index. The introductory section presents essential vocabulary and expressions for discussing cinematic works and the social issues they address.

Each unit follows a consistent structure: it begins with basic information about the film (year of production, director, cast, runtime), followed by pre-viewing tasks such as summaries, vocabulary glossaries, and contextualisation activities (e.g. locating geographical references). After viewing, learners complete exercises designed to assess both general and detailed comprehension. They then analyse characters using guided tools, such as a table of personality traits, and work on grammar and word-formation tasks derived from the film's language.

Particularly noteworthy are the sections devoted to oral communication and discussion. These offer a wide range of activities designed to strengthen speaking fluency, including dialogues, retelling and analytical conversations about the film's themes. The writing section encourages independent language production through tasks such as film reviews, opinion pieces, and essays – some of which are based on Russian proverbs. Each chapter concludes with a multiple-choice quiz, which can be especially useful when time for deeper analysis is limited.

One of the textbook's major strengths lies in its accessibility and flexibility. Its monolingual format makes it suitable for multilingual classroom settings, and its clear, repetitive instructional patterns support learners in navigating the tasks independently – even at the B1 level. The exercises follow a logical progression of difficulty, both

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within and across chapters. For example, writing tasks are scaffolded to address the needs of both B1 and B2 learners.

The exclusive use of original films created for native speakers lends the textbook a high degree of linguistic and cultural authenticity. The selection of films is thoughtful and well-aligned with topics commonly taught at the intermediate level. Their themes are engaging and relevant, often addressing ethical, emotional or social concerns, which makes them suitable for both language and cultural reflection.

Thanks to its content and design, *Learn Russian through Contemporary Short Film* is ideal as a supplementary resource in adult language courses, university-level Russian programs, and practical language skills classes.

Although the textbook is outstanding in terms of content and instructional design, it is worth noting a minor limitation related to its visual presentation. The book is printed in black and white, and its serif font – while aesthetically traditional – may pose difficulties for learners with dyslexia or visual processing issues. Additionally, the absence of stress marks in the Russian texts, although not mandatory at the B2–C1 level, may present a challenge for learners at the B1 stage. Including such features in future editions would enhance the textbook's accessibility and usability for a broader range of learners.

In conclusion, Natallia Kabiak's textbook distinguishes itself through its coherent structure, diverse and engaging exercises, and expertly chosen film content. It deserves serious attention from instructors. Its versatility and pedagogical soundness make it a valuable resource for a variety of teaching contexts and learner needs. This is a modern, thoughtfully crafted publication that can be confidently recommended.

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Marko Pavlyshyn, *Ukrainian Literature: A Wartime Guide for Anglophone Readers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025. ISBN 978-1-009-55906-5; DOI: 10.1017/9781009559089. 84 pages.

This book is part of a *Cambridge Elements* series entitled ‘Elements in Soviet and Post-Soviet History’. Its structure consists of ten sections, each focused on a key event in Ukrainian cultural history, positioning it within its literary context. The events are arranged in reverse chronological order, commencing with ‘2023: Invasion and Defiance’, thus continuing the overarching theme of the half-title: *A Wartime Guide for Anglophone Readers*. This reader found the arrangement of time frames from most recent to earliest a congenial way of layering the history of Ukrainian literature. However, the construction of this book, with its densely packed information, makes a discursive review impractical. As a result, this review concentrates on enumerating the sections, identifying their keynotes where appropriate.

In the Foreword, the author clearly states that this book ‘is a partisan text, in solidarity with the sovereign and territorially integral Ukraine whose existence is at present under threat. It is also unapologetically in sympathy with the idea of a Ukrainian nation of individuals of different cultures, languages and faiths, but united by a shared attachment to their state and its democratic civic ideals’ (p. 2).

The first section ‘2023: Invasion and Defiance’ (which explores contemporary Ukrainian writing extensively) uses as its focal point the death in July 2023 of Victoria Amelina in Kramatorsk in Eastern Ukraine, as a result of wounds sustained from a Russian missile strike. The author of this guide comments on a wide variety of writers active during this period whose individual works have been translated into English. However, equally important are the anthologies of recent Ukrainian writing listed in the Appendices. It is significant for Australasian readers that, according to the holdings listed on OCLC’s *WorldCat*, many of these are held in university and public li-

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braries in Australia (Monash, State Libraries of Victoria and NSW and National Library of Australia) and New Zealand (Otago and Massey). It is to be hoped that the resources which this title enumerates serve as the basis for acquisition by libraries of more English translations of Ukrainian works in this and other regions.

The initial section is followed by '1992: Independence Established, Enjoyed and Explored', initially focused on *Recreations*, a novel by Yuri Andrukhovych which epitomised 'the rebellion against Soviet ideological and aesthetic orthodoxies ... [with its] roots in the 1970s and 1980s' (p. 15). This is succeeded by '1965: Dissenting from the Party-State', which takes as its focal point a memorandum to the Communist Party of Ukraine by Ivan Dziuba, denouncing 'Great Russian chauvinism'. The following two sections round out the Soviet and Post-Soviet part of the guide. Firstly, '1933: Death and Life with Totalitarianism' covers the literature contemporaneous with the Holodomor, using as its touchpoint the suicide of Mykola Khvylovy. This section also covers the Stalinist terror resulting in, *inter alia*, the 'Executed Renaissance' of Ukrainian writers. Secondly, '1918: The National Revolution', which is centred on Pavlo Tychyna, initially considered a Symbolist, but later in his career, more as an adherent to the Party line. This section also covers the Modernist school of Ukrainian poetry, which spanned both the late Tsarist and Austro-Hungarian eras as well as the early Soviet period.

The author then devotes three sections to the emergence of Ukrainian Literature, its role in nation-building and its subsequent repression by both Tsarist Russia and Austria-Hungary, both of which ruled parts of Ukraine during this period. The reverse chronological structure entitles these sections: '1876: Empires Endured', '1847: From People to Nation', and '1798: The New Ukrainian Literature Begins' respectively.

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The final two sections delve deeper into the historical bases of this emergence. '1610: Early Modern Multifariousness' provides a nuanced review of the complexities of the contention between Orthodox and Catholic Christianity, including the separation of Uniate churches. The author points out that these complexities are embodied in the person of Meletii Smotrytsky: 'educated in [an Orthodox] school in Ostrih, the Jesuit academy in Vilnius, and in German Protestant schools, including the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig' (p. 67). '1185: The Presence of the Medieval Past' uses as its touchpoint the 'epic poem generally regarded as the most accomplished work of Kyivan Rus' literature' (p. 69), *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. This anchors discussion of the ecclesiastical literature of the time written in Church Slavonic.

An Afterword connects these sections neatly, drawing the threads from Kyivan Rus' to the present day through the agency of a line in Ivan Drach's 1974 poem 'Pablo Neruda's Guitar': 'What can the poet do in the world?', to which Drach responds: '[...] the poet can celebrate the presence of beauty in the world; rebel against injustice; or become immortal by dying for an idea' (p. 73). Each one of these responses can be sheeted back to Pavlyshyn's illuminating 'wartime guide', which is dense, yet easy to assimilate.

In summary, this concise but compendious guide provides a distillation of Ukrainian literature, firmly anchored in the context of significant points in Ukrainian cultural history. As such, it belongs in every Slavonic reference library.

John Cook
University of Melbourne

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Bohdan Klid, ed., *Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Edmonton & Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2022. ISBN 9-781894-865661. viii + 227 pages.

Myroslav Shkandrij (ed.), *Documenting the Famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine: Archival Collections on the Holodomor Outside the Former Soviet Union*. Edmonton & Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2023. ISBN 9-781894-865685. ix + 353 pages.

The reviewed books present an important contribution to scholarship on the Soviet famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, the Holodomor, and its development as a separate field of study. Both volumes present the results of international conferences, which brought together leading scholars in famine studies, area studies, and Soviet and Ukrainian history. The publication of both books has been supported by the Holodomor Research and Education Consortium at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. The very publication of the reviewed books should be seen as evidence of the growing field of Ukrainian famine studies and the expansion of the collaboration beyond the Ukrainian academic network, by including experts on major famines in modern history.

Documenting the Famine is a selection of articles edited by Myroslav Shkandrij, Emeritus Professor of the University of Manitoba, on those archival collections about the early 1930s famine in Ukraine which are located outside the countries of the former Soviet Union. The book is structured into four sections: 1) archival collections, 2) responses of the Western governments, 3) international reception about the famine and collectivisation, and 4) new research perspectives on individual experiences of famine survivors. While the majority of scholarship on Soviet famines and the Holodomor in Ukraine has been focused on archival holdings within the former

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USSR, this book now directs much-needed attention to the less-explored and less-utilised holdings abroad. The geographical areas covered in this volume include the United States of America, Canada, Japan, Germany, France, Great Britain and Austria.

The published articles include different individual, social and institutional perspectives on the famine, ranging from personal testimonies of famine survivors to representations of the knowledge about the famine in the work on foreign states, from ethnic communities abroad and émigré organisations. The authors of this volume have worked with the documents of the US Department of State (Andrii Bolianovkyi) and the US Commission on the Ukraine Famine (John Vsetecka), the Ukrainian Bureau in London (Roman Wysocki), as well as Japanese (Hiroaki Kuromiya), Canadian (Serge Cipko) and German state and diplomatic records (Paolo Fonzi). French and Soviet media are utilised as a source to study the knowledge about the famine abroad, on the example of Edouard Herriot's trip to the USSR (Iryna Dmytrychyn). Among the personal accounts analysed are the USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (Inna Gogina), the Maniak Collection (Olga Klymenko), the Mennonite community in Ukraine (Colin P. Neufeldt), and the Cold War's survivor collections (Olga Andriewsky). In addition to the view on Ukrainian emigration in Europe in the interview period (Miroslaw Czech, Ola Hnatiuk), the authors of this book provide an analysis of the representations of the famine among other ethnic communities – Jewish (Gennady Estraiikh) and Russian (Mykola I. Soroka). The effects of the famine are analysed in a chapter on the traumatic impact of the Holodomor on survivors (Larysa Zasiiekina).

This volume reflects significant changes in the field of Soviet and Ukrainian famine studies. While earlier studies examined the political context, causality and demography of the Holodomor, this reviewed book focuses on the variety of sources about the famine outside the Soviet Union. Overall, it achieves several aims: 1) expanding the area of Holodomor history scholarship with non-Ukrainian primary

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sources, 2) widening the spatial focus of Ukrainian famine studies, and 3) providing an analysis of a variety of lesser-known and less-utilised sources (official, diplomatic, press, and personal accounts). The presented studies challenge the earlier common misconception about the lack of knowledge of the early 1930s famines in Ukraine and the Soviet Union abroad due to censorship and lack of access to the communist space by foreigners. As it appears, the foreign governments and ethnic communities were well aware of the desperate situation of Ukrainians and other ethnicities in Soviet Ukraine through official, diplomatic and personal channels of communication.

Empire, Colonialism, and Famine is another recent study on the history of famines that explores these mass catastrophes from a colonial perspective. Edited by Bohdan Klid, this collection of papers takes a close look at the connection between imperial power structures and famines in modern history. The book provides glimpses into the most well-known and catastrophic famines of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the Great Irish famine (Peter Gray, Michael Hechter), the Holodomor in Ukraine (Liudmyla Hrynevych), the famine in German-occupied Ukraine (Oleksandr Lysenko, Tetiana Zabolotna and Oleksandr Maievskyi), Bessarabia and Transnistria during the Second World War (Paul A. Shapiro) and the Nazi ideology and politics of starvation (Kiril Feferman), the hunger in Bengal (Janam Mukherjee), and the Great Chinese Famine (Lucien Bianco). The introductory chapter on famine and empire (Bogdan Klid) and the concluding chapter on genocide and colonialism (Douglas Irvin-Erickson) situate the volume in the context of comparative famine studies and in relation to each other. While these famines occurred in different historical, geographical and political contexts, the common thread of their histories is the role of state and imperial power, which subjected society to starvation and, in the most extreme cases, to genocide.

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The chapters in this volume contribute to the most heated debates in the field: How to interpret modern famines? What was the role of the state, both in imperial and occupied regimes, in inflicting famine on the civil population (Soviet Union and Germany)? How could internal colonialism (Ireland), the incompetence of the colonial state (India), or political domination and economic control (Ukraine) be the cause of famine? What was the role of the colonised actors and perpetrators in inflicting the famine? What were the effects of the famine, beyond the political and demographic losses of mass starvation?

This reviewed volume illustrates that the common feature of the analysed famines was that they occurred in peripheral regions, colonies or former colonies of empires, whose economies depended on the agricultural exploitation of their resources (Klid, pp. 16-17). By comparing the famines with each other and the different political and economic modalities in which they occurred, the authors of this book provide a fruitful base for further research on colonial dimensions and power hierarchies of famines and food crises in modern history.

Both reviewed books bring attention to the need for a comparative framework in studying famines. While the historiography in famine studies predominantly focuses on singular and regional famines, these books instead bring to the centre a comparative approach, both as a research method and a study focus. The discussions that these volumes have initiated will undoubtedly result in thought-stimulating conversations about the importance of looking beyond singular case studies of famines and the crucial need for a critical comparative study of famine studies. While the predominant focus of both volumes lies in explaining the dynamics of the famines, they invite the readers to think about the aftermath of famine and the inflicted political, social and cultural transformations in post-famine years, ‘mov[ing] beyond a narrow focus on

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famine as a circumscribed historical event', as Janam Mukherjee suggests (Klid, p. 84).

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Volodymyr Kravchenko and Marko Robert Stech (eds), *The Unpredictable Past? Reshaping Russian, Ukrainian, and East European Studies*. Edmonton & Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2024. xii + 462 pages.

The genesis of this remarkable, necessary and often startling collection of thirty essays by historians of Ukraine, and the wider region of which Ukraine is part, lay in a symposium at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies two and a half months after the Russian Federation's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire on matters including the imperatives that the war imposes on their scholarly disciplines, the appropriateness of the theoretical paradigms available for the study of Ukrainian-Russian relations, topics requiring intensified research and/or reinterpretation, and historians' ethical and practical obligations in the context of the present war. The resulting texts differ in length and form (the majority are scholarly articles; a few remain less formal responses to the questionnaire), but agree that history, its interpretation and distortion are among the central causes of Russia's invasion, and that, generally speaking, historians in the West have been remiss and even unjust in their adoption of what are now transparent as Russocentric perspectives on Ukraine.

The editors, historian Voldymyr Kravchenko and writer and translator Marko Robert Stech, introduce the volume with wide-ranging essays. Kravchenko surveys

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the evolution of Western scholarship concerning the Soviet Union and its successor countries from the Second World War onward and the failure of this scholarship, notwithstanding its 'imperial turn' in the 1990s, to attend adequately to the 'peripheries' of this 'space'. Stech's contribution, titled 'Academic Theories Disproven in Practice', enumerates misperceptions in the scholarly and international relations spheres that undermined Western understanding of the contemporary Russian state and caused the invasion and its attendant brutality to come as a surprise to many observers. Among these errors Stech, like many other contributors, identifies the attribution of 'rational actor' qualities to the Russian Federation; tacit acceptance of Russia's claim to special prerogatives in dealings with its neighbours; and readiness to accept the Russian narratives of Ukraine as an artificial, unstable quasi-state and as an implement of NATO schemes to threaten Russia.

The other essays are arranged in alphabetical order by author, although they could also be grouped thematically. On matters of theoretical framing and approach, there is no single voice. Yaroslav Hrytsak defends a history of the *longue durée*, arguing that observation across long stretches of time of regularities in the behaviour of states (Russia being the case in point) enables prediction or at least diminishes the likelihood of surprise, while Andriy Zayarnyuk remains sceptical of such generalising models as aids to grasping the reality of the past; the colonial paradigm, for example, nowadays applied by many in conceptualising the nature of Russia's exercise of oppressive power over Ukraine, implies unsustainable parallels with other colonial predicaments. Myroslav Shkandrij, by contrast, recommends examining Russian culture anew through a postcolonial lens. Olena Palko endorses transnational and entangled history approaches to the study of empire, while Serhy Yekelchuk cautions against their potential to deflect attention from the oppression and violence that attend the exercise of imperial authority. Darius Saliūnas, likewise, warns that studies in the spirit

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of the ‘imperial turn’, focussed on the investment of both centre and peripheries in the making of empire, run the risk of underrepresenting its essential repressiveness.

Some contributors invoke regional analogies as resources for understanding the present situation of Ukraine. Tomasz Stryjek meditates on the past dominion of Poland over a major part of Ukraine and the relatively successful process of managing the memory of Polish-Ukrainian enmity, while John Connelly compares the impact on Ukraine of German and Russian imperialisms. Russian claims to exceptionalism and their consequences for historical scholarship and international relations are examined by Heather Coleman and Igor Torbakov. Histories of the discipline of history itself include Frank Sysyn’s reflections on the post-war mainstream (non-)study of Ukrainian history and endeavours by the Ukrainian diaspora to address this lack, Andrii Portnov’s and Tetiana Portnova’s study of colonialism as part of Ukrainian historiographical discourse from 1900 to the 1930s, and Sergei I. Zhuk’s diagnosis of a ‘historiographic Soviet nostalgia’ (p. 425) as a troubling disciplinary legacy that makes Putinist narratives strangely beguiling to some Western scholars. Looking to the future of Western historical study of Ukraine and its region, Olga Andrijewsky advocates for intensification of the study of minority and Indigenous populations, while Serhii Plokhyy urges upon Ukrainian scholars the writing of the history of Russia (and the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, Poland and Central Europe) as an empire from the perspective of its peripheries.

The most disturbing essays in the book deal with Russian state-sponsored historical disinformation. Hiroaki Kuromiya shows how even in the 1990s Western scholars’ access to Russian archives was managed so as to result in publications supportive of Russia’s favoured narratives. Andrew Wilson reports on the creation by Putin-era ‘political technologists’ of institutions and communication networks for disseminating the thesis that Russia is a unique civilisation facing the West’s implacable

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hatred, and that Ukraine, an artificial construct, is the West's anti-Russian Trojan horse. Tatiana Tairova describes the creation of journals for the propagation of such messages and the strategies employed to boost their standing in Western journal ranking systems.

The Unpredictable Past? is essential reading for all within academe who wish to write about anything between Berlin and the Bering Strait. It is a book that formulates, sometimes quite sharply, the consequences of the insufficiently critical treatment by scholars of enduring assumptions and value judgments about Russia and Ukraine, and makes quite clear the magnitude of the task to be addressed by those seriously intent upon a just, reliable and, therefore, usable understanding of the past out of which the current war has come.

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Susanna Rabow-Edling, *The First Russian Revolution: The Decembrist Revolt of 1825*, London: Reaktion Books, 2025, ISBN 9781836390213. 285 pages.

Emily Wang, *Pushkin, the Decembrists, and Civic Sentimentalism*, Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, WI, 2023. ISBN 9780299345808. x + 210 pages.

The year 2025 marks the two-hundredth anniversary of the failed uprising in St Petersburg on 14 December 1825 (o.s.), led by a group of mostly junior army officers dissatisfied with the failure of Alexander I to follow through on promised reforms, and of the subsequent and related attempt among sections of the Russian army to seize power in Ukraine. The uprising, which took advantage of the succession crisis follow-

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ing Alexander's death, was short-lived, and its instigators were harshly punished by the new tsar Nicholas I (five were hanged and the remainder exiled), but their actions very quickly achieved a mythological status. Condemned by the government on the one hand as dangerous traitors, and on the other hand praised by liberals as embodying honourable self-sacrifice for the public good, the Decembrists would come to be seen by Lenin and others as pioneers of the later Russian revolutionary movement. Curiously, although there have been several biographies of key figures, English-language scholarship does not appear to have produced a general full-length monographic survey of the Decembrist movement since Anatole G. Mazour's pioneering study, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825*, originally published in 1937 and reissued by Stanford University Press in 1961. Susanna Rabow-Edling's *The First Russian Revolution*, reprising the title of the earlier work, aims to provide an updated account seen through the lens of more recent scholarship and perspectives.

Rabow-Edling takes us succinctly through attempts at reform in the early phase of Alexander's reign and the conservative turn which followed, noting particularly the granting of constitutions to Finland and Poland, unfulfilled proposals for the emancipation of the serfs, the failed project of military colonies, the influence of Metternich in suppressing dissent abroad, and the rise of censorship at home. The generation of Russian army officers who had fought against Napoleon were much influenced by the Enlightenment emphasis on freedom to which they had been exposed in western Europe, and on their return constituted a form of civil society in Russia, which began to organise itself within the framework of freemasonry and voluntary societies long before 1825. Rabow-Edling surveys the complex organisational history that eventually led to the emergence of the relatively moderate Northern Society, based in St Petersburg, which espoused constitutional monarchy, and the more radical Southern Society, which advocated a republic. Two chapters discuss in detail the complex

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sequence of events in St Petersburg and Ukraine, and the inability of the Decembrist leaders to follow through on the initial impetus for constitutional change. These are followed by a discussion of the Decembrists' political vision, based on the manifestos and other writings which they produced, while acknowledging that beyond a broad desire for freedom, consensus among the Decembrist leaders was minimal. Chapters then follow covering the original imprisonment of the Decembrists in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg and the subsequent supra-legal process of their trial and sentencing, the journey of the convicted Decembrists, and in many cases their wives, to their assigned places of exile in Siberia, and the conditions of their Siberian imprisonment and subsequent release as 'free settlers'. These last chapters draw extensively on the correspondence and memoirs of the Decembrists and their family members, painting a picture of severe hardship often mitigated by a sense of continuing shared ideals. Radlow-Edling's *The First Russian Revolution* provides a valuable introduction to all aspects of the Decembrist phenomenon, which will serve as a springboard to more specialist works for those who wish to investigate it in more detail.

A striking feature of the Decembrist movement is the extent to which its ideals were expressed and communicated through the medium of poetry. Alexander Pushkin is famously reported as saying to Nicholas I that if he had been in St Petersburg at the time of the Decembrist uprising, rather than in exile on his father's estate at Mikhailovskoe, he would certainly have been with his friends on Senate Square. Pushkin was on close personal terms with many of the Decembrists, and early poems such as his ode 'Vol'nost' ('Liberty', 1817), which attacks autocratic rule, achieved widespread popularity among their supporters, yet he was not invited to join the secret societies, apparently because he was not considered sufficiently discreet. The thesis of Emily Wang's compelling *Pushkin, the Decembrists and Civic Sentimentalism* is that while Pushkin's political views overlapped with those of the Decembrists, he did not at a

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deeper level share their world view. Wang distinguishes three broad strains in the emotionally charged intellectual life of Russia in the 1820s, acknowledging that personal relationships and social, political and poetical life were very closely intertwined. These are traditional or domestic sentimentalism as represented by Karamzin and Zhukovsky, civic sentimentalism, exemplified by Radischev, Küchelbecker, Ryleev and Rousseau, and libertinism, which included Pushkin and Voltaire (p. 27). On Wang's reading, the Decembrists fall into the category of civic sentimentalism, where, for all their political and intellectual differences, they agreed on the idea that social progress lay in the cultivation of 'virtuous sentiment' (p. 6). This separates them from the traditional sentimentalists, who were more engaged in the sphere of personal feeling than the political, and from 'libertines' like Pushkin, who reject the seriousness of both sentimentalist approaches, celebrate flirtation and sex, and pursue a variety of artistic ends through experiment and play.

Wang uses this framework to inform illuminating readings of both Pushkin and Decembrist texts. One focus is the 'anti-love poetry' which became an important genre for the Decembrist poets in emphasising a rejection of love in favour of a higher social mission and of mutually supporting 'homosocial' friendships among their exclusively male membership. As Lidiia Ginzburg noted in the 1960s, this depended on inclusion of a series of 'signal words' in Decembrist texts which heightened the emotional response in initiated readers. Wang notes the presence of these signal words in the first stanza of Pushkin's 'Vol'nost'', which also begins by subordinating love to the idea of liberty, and suggests that they led to a misreading of the ode by the Decembrists, which ignored the apparently pro-monarchist conservative politics of the poem's ending. Wang finds another 'subversive' treatment of the Decembrist cause in the unfinished chapter 10 of Pushkin's *Evgenii Onegin*, which depicts members of the Northern Society operating in St Petersburg society as 'libertines'.

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Wang also explores the Byronic 'eastern poem' and its reflections in Russian literature as a point of both contact and misunderstanding between Pushkin and the Decembrist poets. For the Decembrists Byron was primarily a freedom fighter, and on the basis of Pushkin's 'southern poems' they projected him as a Russian national poet in similar vein. As Wang suggests, however, Pushkin's view of Byron was more complex than this, and in this light his 1824 poem 'K moriu' ('To the Sea'), completed shortly after Byron's death, can be read as a desire to be free both of tsarist censorship and the strictures of civic sentimentalism (p. 77). Wang finds a further example of the divergence between Decembrist and Pushkinian views in the different treatments of the military actions leading to the battle of Poltava in 1709. While Ryleev, in his long poem *Voinarovskii*, named after a nephew of the Ukrainian hetman Ivan Mazepa, follows Byron's *Mazeppa* in ennobling the political opponents of tsarism, Pushkin in his *Poltava* offers a more positive view of Peter the Great, while focusing on the conflict between love and duty which drives the behaviour of key characters.

Wang's final chapter looks at how civic sentimentalism developed after the failure of the Decembrist initiative, by looking closely at the writing of the relatively understudied poets Fedor Glinka and Gavril Baten'kov. Glinka was exiled to Karelia, and Baten'kov endured twenty years of solitary confinement in the Peter and Paul Fortress, and in response to this experience a new paradigm emerged, which Wang calls 'exile sentimentalism'. This entailed a reaction against the reliance on a community of peers which was a mainstay of civic sentimentalism, and a turning towards God as the 'only true refuge for the virtuous' in order to avoid the 'base passions' inevitably provoked by any contact with society (p. 113). Wang explores this approach through detailed analyses of Glinka's preoccupation with the biblical figure of Job and his long poem *Deva karel'skikh lesov* (*Maiden of the Karelian Forests*) and of Baten'kov's *Odichalyi* (*The Feral Man*), in which the title character imagines 'an emotionally pure

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community consisting of only himself and God' (p. 136). A coda notes a return to a more traditional sentimentalism in the work of Lev Tolstoi, whose projected novel on the Decembrists eventually resolved into his *Voyna i mir* (*War and Peace*), in which civic duty ultimately gives way to a focus on love and domesticity as the primary source of happiness.

Wang's book contributes to an increasing body of work considering early nineteenth-century Russian literature in its detailed social and interpersonal context. While some may find that the framework occasionally seems overly schematic, it nevertheless provides for much thoughtful and illuminating discussion, and by focussing on minor as well as major authors, Wang contributes significantly to a nuanced and complete understanding of one of the key periods of Russian literary history.

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Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz: The Last Foray in Lithuania. A Tale of the Polish Nobility in the Years 1811 and 1812 in Twelve Books*, Christopher Adam Zakrzewski (trans.). Brookline, MA: Academic Studies Press, Cherry Orchard Books, 2024. ISBN 9798887196053. xxxiii + 214 pages.

Mickiewicz's masterpiece *Pan Tadeusz*, with its vivid pictures of rural life in Poland among the minor nobility, occupies a unique place in Polish literature and culture. First published in Paris in 1834, it captures a pivotal moment in history, when Napoleon was launching his eastward drive into Russia and Polish patriots prayed for his success and with it the restoration of full Polish statehood. If Pushkin's *Eugene One-*

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gin is an ‘encyclopedia of Russian life’, this narrative poem by his Polish friend and contemporary plays an analogous role in the collective psyche of Poland. Few educated Poles are unable to quote its opening lines, and many carry with them extended passages.

English translations of *Pan Tadeusz* now number at least eight. The present one is the fruit of many years’ work, excerpts having appeared in 2009. For this latest edition it has been revised and a wealth of informative notes and introductory material supplied. Christopher Zakrzewski brings much authority to the task, having previously translated Mickiewicz’s ‘Crimean Sonnets’, studied the poet in depth and conducted comparative work on Mickiewicz and Pushkin. The merits of the scholarly apparatus are not in doubt; those of the translation itself, described in the publicity as ‘arguably the most authoritative’ yet produced, are more debatable.

If translating *Onegin* is a daunting project (5,446 lines of iambic tetrameter), *Pan Tadeusz*, at nearly 10,000 alexandrine lines is doubly so. Indeed, its ‘impossibility’, whether into verse or prose, has become a commonplace. English translations of *Onegin* provoked acrimonious controversy in the 1960s, when Vladimir Nabokov disappointed many with his unrhymed version, having tried and failed to reproduce Pushkin’s rhyme scheme. The critiques, and Nabokov’s contumelious counter-attacks, will live long in the annals of literary translation. At least five English versions of *Pan Tadeusz* have been in verse, but Zakrzewski, after attempting verse, elected to stick to prose, while plainly of the opinion that this will not do it justice: one of his notes reads: ‘To savor the full humor of the Steward’s anecdote [...] one really needs to hear it read in the poet’s rhymed alexandrines’ (p. 81). Andrzej Waśko, whose preface provides a useful summary of Mickiewicz’s career, the historical context and the place of *Pan Tadeusz* in Polish literature, also notes the drawbacks of prose versions (p. xxi).

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Mickiewicz's work makes extraordinary demands on its translators, whether producing prose or verse, among them an encyclopaedic vocabulary in a wide range of semi-specialist fields, including history, heraldry, mycology, ornithology, ichthyology, hunting, horsemanship, weaponry and Polish costumes and cuisine. Polish and Russian proverbs and contemporary allusions add to the difficulty.

Zakrzewski is clearly well equipped to tackle it. The translator's preface is erudite, to the point, well informed on matters of cultural transfer, and dyspeptic on 'deconstructionist cultural forces', the 'prevailing post-modern anti-culture' and 'post-Marxian' thought (pp. xxiv-xxv). He cites expert opinion, from Czesław Miłosz to Donald Davie. He has examined Russian versions and several English versions, from Maude Biggs's *Master Thaddeus* (1885), to the most recent by Bill Johnston (2018). (His footnote on 'Bill Johnson's [*sic*] noble attempt' [p. xxvii] at a verse rendering sounds like faint praise for a translation which has much to recommend it.)

Zakrzewski, having decided against verse, is clearly capable of undeniably poetic prose. In fact, at many points he might be said to strain for poetic effect, in the diction of a bygone age: 'the maenad hazel with her verdant thyrsi wreathed in a grape-like garniture of pearly nuts', (p. 51); 'Yonder mantles the rolling heath, festooned with mountain cranberry as with chaplets of coral. Darkness embosoms me!' (p. 60); 'Yonder waved the maize her golden tassels, and here and yon, [...] sat the stout-girthed watermelon' (p. 31). The original here and elsewhere is markedly more prosaic. One earlier translator, Kenneth Mackenzie, made the point that the poem owed much of its appeal to its 'down-to-earthness', which Juliusz Słowacki, less kindly, termed *wieprzowatość* ('piggishness'). Neither description can with justice be applied to Zakrzewski's prose, although more modern demotic idioms also appear, and sit uneasily with the lines cited above: 'drop by' (p. 165), 'gun down' (p. 176), 'leg it'

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(pp. 97, 107), 'the world's number one hero' (p. 116), 'divvied up' (p. 78); 'in the worst way' (p. 128).

Johnston has observed that even the best of earlier versions are rooted in nineteenth-century diction 'as reimagined in the 20th century', with inversions and much vocabulary from times long past. Zakrzewski eschews seneschals and apparitors, along with 'thou' and 'thy', but in many places out-archaises the versions which favoured them. Mickiewicz prefaced each of the twelve 'books' with a brief summary headed simply *Treść* ('contents'). Zakrzewski, following some earlier translators, heads these 'Argument', in the Shakespearean sense of the word. No such antiquity attaches to the original.

A taste for arcane if not archaic lexemes and phrasing is apparent throughout: 'ensanguined' does duty for 'bloodied' (p. 159), 'levin-flash' for 'lightning flash' (p. 60), 'housel' for 'sacrament' (p. 178), 'rowels' for 'spurs' (p. 30, *ostrogi*). 'Bootless' ('bootless Sophy's tears ...' [p. 147], 'bootless the Steward's warnings' [p. 70]) makes frequent appearances where the original wording is modern Polish. 'Harrow!' as a cry of distress, occurs at least six times (pp. 115, 116, 118, 125, 126, 140), and no close equivalent can be found in the original. Furthermore, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, this usage has been 'obsolete since 1600'.

Zakrzewski has written elsewhere of past translators committing 'the grossest of inaccuracies and licenses' in the 'headlong pursuit' of rhyme. But in a long translation few are immune: another 'harrow', the agricultural implement (*brona*), is not the same as a plough (*plug*) (p. 181), and the pursuit of rhyme played no part here. On occasion Zakrzewski repeats lexical errors from earlier versions: 'You, brothers, swill like bitterns' (p. 123), apparently derived from George Rapall Noyes (1917) and Watson Kirkconnell (1962), will perplex readers, not least the ornithologically-minded. The polysemous *bqk*, which also confounded some translators of Sienkiewicz, here

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denotes a bloodsucking gadfly, not a bittern, but since the original expression *ciągnąć jak bak* is a stock simile, it might be best rendered by a set phrase: cf. Biggs – ‘drink like fishes’ and Mackenzie ‘drink like fish’. At a later point, however, ‘the bittern’s booming bass’ is unquestionably correct (p. 129).

Other ornithological inaccuracies could have been avoided, but may be less striking: *siewka* is a plover (cf. Noyes, Kirkconnell and Mackenzie), not a snipe (p. 47), and we know from Mickiewicz’s notes to the original that he uses *jastrząb* broadly, to denote any hawk. By narrowing this to ‘goshawk’ (*Accipiter gentilis*) (p. 23), Zakrzewski introduces a contradiction: Mickiewicz’s hovering hawk is clearly a kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*).

The translator is given to tweaking English usage in curious ways, as if to remind us – unnecessarily – that we are reading a translation. Tadeusz is woken by a voice saying, ‘You have overslept yourself!’ (p. 61, meaning ‘overslept’, cf. Noyes). Mayflies are described puzzlingly as ‘almost viewless’ (p. 42). Source-language interference may be responsible when Jankiel is said to speak Polish ‘with a clean accent’ (p. 63). The Usher ‘emptied his quart pot to the drains’ is surely open to misinterpretation (p. 187).

An alert copy-editor might have queried some of the above, along with ‘two hundred muttons’ (p. 105), and an uncharacteristic lapse of grammar: ‘he lay [i.e. laid] into Tadeusz’s back with the knots of his belt’ (p. 24).

Annotation is a vital part of an endeavour such as this, and this edition benefits greatly from a generous supply of explanatory notes. Mickiewicz’s own 68 notes are translated, and Zakrzewski adds a further 230. Of course, recent translators can profit from the notes to earlier versions, and Zakrzewski gives full credit to Harold Segel for his annotation of Kirkconnell, while providing his own ample coverage of potential obscurities, leaving little out of account.

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This edition comes not long after Johnston's much-acclaimed rhymed version. Johnston's aim was 'a translation that could be read fluently and pleasurably by 21st-century English-speaking readers', uncluttered by archaisms. Many would agree that he succeeded spectacularly. Zakrzewski's stated goal is more modest: he hopes that 'a new more readable prose rendering will spur more translators to undertake renderings' and invokes Noyes, who saw his own prose work as a 'springboard for more creative experiments' (pp. xxvi-xxvii). Kirkconnell collaborated with Noyes in versifying his prose and brought their project to completion after Noyes's death. Clearly, all are of one mind: verse is greatly to be preferred. That being so, and given that the Anglo-sphere now has several poetic versions, one might wonder whether another 'springboard' in prose is really needed. The work of Mackenzie and Johnston, in particular, in rhymed iambic pentameter, commands unstinting admiration; Zakrzewski's thoroughly annotated volume, displaying much valuable erudition, is a significant contribution to English-language studies of Mickiewicz and his best-known poem, but the translation *per se*, like Nabokov's *Onegin*, leaves something to be desired.

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Galin Tihanov, Anne Lounsberry & Rossen Djagalov (eds), *World Literature in the Soviet Union*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2023. ISBN 979-8-88719-415-8. xiii + 277 pages.

This book is part of a series entitled 'Studies in Comparative Literature and Intellectual History'. Its structure consists of an Introduction by the three editors, followed by

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eleven chapters, each addressing a particular facet of World Literature from a Soviet perspective.

The Introduction outlines the scope of this title: 'The contributions to this wide-ranging volume, the first to consistently examine Soviet engagement with world literature from multiple institutional and disciplinary perspectives (intellectual literary; literary history and theory; comparative literature; translation studies; diaspora studies, to name but a few) ...' (p. ix). The Introduction then proceeds to divide the following chapters into seven sections: a framework chapter by Galin Tihanov ('World Literature in the Soviet Union: Infrastructure and Ideological Horizons') and an analysis of one of the salient characteristics of Russian literature by Anne Lounsbery ('On the Worldliness of Russian Literature') constituting the first two.

The next section emphasises 'the continuities between Soviet and pre-revolutionary conceptualizations of World Literature' (p. x), embracing 'Armenian Literature as World Literature: Phases of Shaping it in the Pre-Soviet and Stalinist Contexts' (Susanne Frank) and 'The Roles of "Form" and "Content" in World Literature as Discussed by Viktor Shklovsky in His Writings of the Immediately Post-Revolutionary Years' (Katerina Clark).

The next two sections are devoted to the 'practical efforts to realize [these conceptualizations]' (p. x). The former of these sections focuses on the 'World Literature' (*Vsemirnaia Literatura*) publishing house. It contains '*The Treasure Trove of World Literature: Shaping the Concept of World Literature in Post-Revolutionary Russia*' (Maria Khotimsky) and 'The Birth of New out of Old: Translation in Early Soviet History' (Sergey Tyulenev). The latter deals with an associated project: the multilingual magazine *International Literature* (1931-1943). This section also includes two papers: '*International Literature: A Multi-Language Soviet Journal as a model of "World Literature" of the Mid-1930s USSR*' (Elena Ostrovskaya, Elena

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Zemskova, Evgeniia Belskaia, Georgii Korotkov) and 'Translating China into *International Literature*: Stalin-Era World Literature Beyond the West' (Edward Tyerman).

The section following those outlined immediately above consists of a stand-alone piece: 'World Literature and Ideology: The Case of Socialist Realism' (Schamma Schahadat), and the collection is concluded by two pieces that address post-WWII developments: 'Premature Postcolonialists: The Afro-Asian Writers' Association (1958-1991) and Its Literary Field' (Rossen Djagalov) and 'Can "Worldliness" Be Inscribed into the Literary Text?: Russian Diasporic Writing in the Context of World Literature' (Maria Rubins).

Structure is one thing, content another: the fact that this book 'is based, in part on the proceedings of workshops on world literature in the Soviet Union held at Queen Mary University of London (QMUL) and at New York University (NYU)' (p. vii) is evident in the lack of links to guide the reader between sections, much less topics. Variations in approach between chapters/papers, of which Chapters 7 and 8 are the best example, struck this reviewer as abrupt, thus exacerbating the lack of coherence within the volume. Chapters 1, 3 and 4, by contrast, found this reader absorbed. The reasons behind this absorption are as follows.

Galin Tihanov's framework chapter (Chapter 1) performs a number of extremely useful functions. It firstly seeks to explore four distinct (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) meanings of the term 'World Literature'. Tihanov then proceeds to consider the 'Chronology and Infrastructure' of the Soviet interest in World Literature. This consideration serves as a basis for his dissection of the way in which Soviet ideological horizons changed over time, including a focus on two agents for the de-Westernisation of Soviet views of World Literature: Mikhail Bakhtin and Nikolai Konrad. These evolving views of the topic had knock-on effects on contemporary literary theory as well as historiosophical approaches to national literatures.

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This reviewer found Susanne Frank's treatment of Armenian Literature as World Literature (Chapter 3) similarly enlightening in its exploration of how a national literature can be at once assertively individual, under an imperial umbrella, and also considered as World Literature. Frank firstly makes some prefatory remarks on the genre of anthology. She amplifies this by considering three anthologies: *Sbornik ar-mianskoi literatury* [1916] (p. 42), *Poeziia Armenii* [1916] (p. 50), and *Antologiiia ar-mianskoi poezii s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* [1940] (p. 56). In doing so, Frank examines the way in which these anthologies were put together and the roles of the individuals who did so. She concludes by commenting about the 1940 title: 'the selection and the concept were now completely in line with the strategies of the Stalinist project of Soviet multinational literature after 1934, strategies to homogenize non-Russian Soviet literatures, to deprive them of their historical specificity, and subordinate them to the asymmetric, Russia-dominated concept of multinationalism' (p. 66), a comment that would resonate with many readers today.

Another chapter that this reader found completely absorbing was Katerina Clark's paper on 'The Roles of "Form" and "Content" in World Literature as Discussed by Viktor Shklovsky in His Writings of the Immediately Post-Revolutionary Years'. This was not only for reasons that embraced its content, but also its authorship, Clark's links to the University of Melbourne (where she completed her undergraduate study of Russian), and hence this journal.

In this paper Clark has used 'Form' and 'Content' as sophisticated keys to open an interesting and refreshing window on to one specific early Soviet perspective on World Literature. She tracks the development of Shklovsky's thought from his 1917 essay 'Iskusstvo kak priem' (Art as Technique) to his articles published during the period 1918-1921, which used authors such as Sterne, Cervantes and Fielding as

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templates from which he mined different paradigms and rules. Clark characterises this as a ‘double shift’:

... both a shift from a primary concern with the impact of specific features on the beholder/reader to a concern with overall plot organization and the orchestration of formal techniques, and a shift from a primary focus on Russian literature to a primary focus on West European literature (p. 72).

Using this ‘double shift’ as a launching pad, Clark explores the parallels between the early Soviet researches into an international language (analogous to Esperanto) and Shklovsky’s searches for ‘an inventory of literary forms that could apply trans-nationally’ (p. 75). Based on Shklovsky’s ‘The Writing Desk’, Clark sees his formulations of form and content as being inextricably intertwined and a large section of this paper is devoted to analysing this relationship through the topics of ‘the picaresque’ and ‘war’.

One of Clark’s conclusions is that Shklovsky used Western European authors to adduce ‘a transnational morphology of “forms” (compositional techniques) [... which disregards] much of the specificity of the texts he analysed’ (p. 88). This is underscored by the fact that Shklovsky knew none of the source languages of the texts on which his theories were based and read them all in translation. Whilst this paper takes an oblique view of World Literature through a particular lens, it shows the breadth of Katerina Clark’s Slavonic scholarship.

This collection is a ‘mixed bag’, with some editing oddities (such as the fact that ‘War:’ at the middle of p. 83 is obviously a heading that has been set as text). In addition, this reviewer felt that the application of such terms as ‘worldliness’ (found in the headings of Chapters 2 and 11) a little heavy-handed in their playfulness.

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Subject to the provisos itemised here and earlier in this review, specialists consulting *World Literature in the Soviet Union* may find individual chapters of this book useful resources for their researches.

John Cook
University of Melbourne

IN MEMORIAM

PATRICK ROSH IRELAND (28 JANUARY 1934 – 29 MAY 2024)*

Rosh Ireland, as he was always known, had a long career at the Australian National University. In fact he may well have been in contention for a record: he was appointed to the staff of Canberra University College shortly before it became part of the ANU, in early 1959, aged twenty-four, and remained employed or attached until 2014, making a total of fifty-five years. When the University instituted awards for long service, in 2009, these were for a maximum of forty years. No allowance was made for the possibility that a few, like Rosh, had been there for fifty. The Vice-Chancellor had to make special mention of that fact when he presented what Rosh referred to as his ‘good conduct medal’. To many, especially those working in Russian studies and modern languages more broadly, he was a highly appreciated colleague and friend.

Rosh was born and grew up in Scarborough, on the North Yorkshire coast. His school career was a distinguished one, in sport no less than in academic study. He was school captain, boxing champion and captain of the school rugby team, as well as excelling in his chosen academic field, modern languages (French and German), for which he won an exhibition to Cambridge.

Before entering university, however, like all other men of his age at the time, he was required to complete two years of National Service. Rosh joined the Royal Navy, but having demonstrated outstanding ability as a linguist he was selected for training as a Russian translator and interpreter at the recently established Joint Services School for Linguists (JSSL). The language program was intensive and rigorous;

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regular tests ensured steady progress, and repeated failure meant relegation to more usual military duties. No such relegation threatened Rosh, who quickly mastered the language, along with the skills of translator and interpreter, which would serve him well in the future. The latter part of his naval career was spent on a posting to Cuxhaven, near Hamburg, as sub-lieutenant RN, eavesdropping on Soviet naval movements.

From National Service Rosh proceeded to Caius College, Cambridge. Having acquired a qualification in Russian from JSSL, he was now able to undertake a degree in Russian and French, graduating in 1957 with first-class honours. In that year he joined the Foreign Office's Research Department and was posted to the British embassy in Moscow as a translator. This was the ideal opportunity for him to extend his knowledge of Russia and Russian, at a time when Khrushchev was beginning to ease the tight controls of the Stalinist period and cautiously open the USSR to limited Western contacts. Rosh made the most of it and absorbed the excitement of the period. While working at the embassy he also made the acquaintance of an Australian Soviet specialist employed by the Research Department, Harry Rigby, then on leave from his post at Canberra University College. Knowing that there was a vacancy for a lecturer in Russian, Rigby suggested that Rosh might submit an application. He duly did so and was appointed to take up the post at the beginning of the 1959 academic year. He quickly took to life in Australia, was soon married to Mari Jose von Huysen Muusze, known as Jo, and together they embarked upon a happy family life. The rest of a long and successful academic career would be spent in Canberra.

When Canberra University College was absorbed into the ANU, Russian and Soviet studies became firmly established, largely thanks to Harry Rigby's efforts, and an impressive team of experts was assembled. Rosh would have a vital role in the language and literature program, working closely with colleagues in other disciplines, such as political science, and able to contribute to courses in Russian history. His col-

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leagues in the teaching and study of the language and literature included at various times Margaret Travers, Reginald de Bray, who broadened the field to include other Slavonic languages, and a former student who later joined the staff, Robert Dessaix. Together they fostered a friendly atmosphere, giving great encouragement to students, and Rosh and Jo laid on regular hospitality at their home. It was largely thanks to Rosh that Russian-speaking weekends, usually at Kioloa on the NSW coast, became a fixture in the life of the Department, providing students with short-term immersion in the language. Rosh oversaw the studies of many outstanding students and supervised the undergraduate and postgraduate work of some who went on to achieve great academic and professional distinction.

Having specialised at first in the literature of the Soviet period, Rosh became a widely recognised authority on Russian drama of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was well versed in the plays of Chekhov, Alexander Ostrovsky, Eduard Radzinsky, Viktor Rozov and Evgeny Shvarts, whose work he taught, but his series of articles on the plays of Vasily Shkvarkin constituted his most outstanding contribution to scholarship in the field. His store of general and literary knowledge, concealed by a modest manner, reached far wider, however, and he was always able to draw on a capacious memory and situate these writers and their plays firmly in their historical, literary and social context.

When the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) was established to ensure uniform standards in a previously unregulated field, Rosh took on an important role in matters pertaining to the translation and interpreting of Russian. For many years he chaired NAATI's Russian panel. In that capacity, as in so many others, he was always efficient and quietly effective, making sure things got done and done properly.

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He also served for a period as sub-dean in the then Faculty of Arts at ANU, so he knew and understood the workings of the Faculty and the University extremely well. Internal reorganisation and restructuring in the 1980s brought amalgamation of small departments into larger administrative units. For some years, Rosh, as Senior Lecturer, presided as Head over a Department of Modern European Languages, which included Classics and Drama. In his unobtrusive way, he was a very capable manager of people: tactful, thoughtful, considerate, forceful when necessary and not afraid to take a stand on matters of principle. He was greatly appreciated by colleagues and students alike.

Rosh retired in 1998 but remained firmly attached to the University. As a Visiting Fellow, he continued to contribute in many ways, to give lectures very willingly whenever asked, present erudite seminar papers, and publish articles and scholarly translations. He and I collaborated on a number of substantial projects: they included four lengthy translations, from Russian and German, three of them for Oxford University Press, long after his retirement. In all of these, he was the ideal collaborator, painstaking, reliable, scholarly and scrupulous over detail, while never losing sight of the broader framework and context.

Rosh and Jo spent the earlier years of his retirement living happily at their rural property in Burra to the east of Canberra. Rosh enjoyed maintaining it and looking after their horses, while also earning local fame as a champion baker of fruit cakes.

In 2014, Rosh and Jo moved to Brisbane. There, in his late eighties, his health gradually declined, and he died on 29 May 2024. He is survived by Jo, his wife of sixty-three years, their children Rosh Michael and Louise, and Louise's daughters.

Kevin Windle, ANU

(With thanks to Jo and Rosh Michael Ireland)

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